









Historical bombshell

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ism in one country' against world revolution—is based on official Soviet sources which are beyond question. He draws his material from Lenin's 'Selected Works'—mainly volumes 33 and 36—and the 'Memoirs of Foteeva', one of Lenin's personal secretaries during the period under discussion. This attack on official Stalinist versions of Soviet history could not have come at a worse time for Gollan. Many rank-and-file workers are deeply disturbed at the electoral fiasco suffered by the Party on June 18. 'Morning Star' sales continue to stagnate while Party membership declines. At the same time, the Gollan leadership draws almost daily more closely to Wilson's 'left' apologists in the Labour Party and the trade unions. This move even further to the right leaves CP factory militants exposed to the Tory-backed employers' offensive on trade union and shop-floor organizations. Already Gollan's trade union allies are bowing the knee to their Tory masters. Here the questions of communist history raised by Lindsay are all-important. How did the Soviet bureaucracy degenerate to the extent that it now welcomes the Tory victory of June 18, and aligns itself with anti-communist regimes in Spain, Greece and elsewhere? The 'parliamentary road to socialism' of the British Communist Party is an integral part of this world Stalinist strategy, which had its origins in the events discussed by Lindsay (with the all-important proviso that the roots of the bureaucracy were also located in the international reverses suffered by the working class, starting with Germany 1923). Lindsay concludes his article with the statement: 'This story of Lenin's last days should be known to all communists. To talk of Leninism and of fidelity to Lenin without realizing what his struggle was those days is to insult his memory.' Fidelity to Leninism today means the fight for Trotskyism, which alone continues the struggle for the principles betrayed by Stalin. Lindsay has begun a very important discussion inside the British Communist Party. Is Gollan going to reply?

TODAY the Burnham Committee meets to consider the teachers' salary claim for 1971. Earlier this year the teachers won a £120-a-year interim rise on the basic scale prior to the termination of the current salary agreement. The £120 was won after prolonged strike action in several areas. The new claim for a scale of £1,250-£2,200 compares with the existing scale of £980-£1,720. IN TONES reminiscent of the Kenneth Williams show 'Stop Messing About', the National Union of Teachers general secretary Mr Edward Britton told a meeting in Boston, Lincolnshire, last week:

'I very much hope that the new government will keep its promise to increase substantially the level of education expenditure.' The one virtue of his speech is that its complacency serves as an alarm signal to the entire teaching profession in this crucial period as the Burnham Committee meets today to consider the NUT's claim for a new salary scale of £1,250-£2,200 to operate from 1971.

Before analysing the NUT's claim, it would be well to remember that this leadership sponsored Tory and Liberal candidates in the General Election, even though it is now affiliated to the TUC.

It also substantially backed the White Paper 'In Place of Strife' and the setting up of the Commission on Industrial Relations even while the teachers were locked in struggle with the self-same government over the interim £135 claim.

This equivocation is not naivety, but the hallmark of deep-seated middle-class opportunism. This fact must be foremost in the minds of all those teachers who want to fight for a living wage in the profession and who want to defeat the Tories and their 'Black Paper' friends, and defend comprehensive education.

The new claim represents a £5 3s-a-week increase at the lower end of the scale. By present-day pay claim standards, this is exceedingly modest, particularly if the current rate of inflation continues to undermine teachers' living standards. The unions are also demanding ten increments instead of the 14 required to reach the maximum wage. This would mean 36s-a-week every year rise and would hardly keep pace with the cost of living. The current claim could hardly achieve NUT salary policy of freeing teachers already in the profession from economic worry. Any retreat on any point of the salary claim by the union leadership is therefore a serious matter for the teachers. This claim must be won in

Productivity bogey behind teachers' claim



full and that means a full-scale national stoppage. The employers will seek to concentrate on the union's proposals for rationalizing the grades and posts. Head of Department states:

On this subject there has been much bleating from the NUT 'leaders'. The salary document says: 'Productivity as defined in the government's prices and incomes policies can possibly be applied with justice to workers who produce a tangible end-product or who provide services which can be measured quantitatively. It cannot be applied to a

liberal the end-product appears in the divine form of a mature adult. But to the capitalist class the end product is labour. This labour can be quantified and categorized, indeed there are whole civil service departments devoted to the assessment of the various categories and quantities of labour available and required. But the NUT leaders cannot continue their pose as simple-minded philanthropists. They know that productivity proposals will be put before them by the management side of Burnham. They read 'The Times' educational supplement. They, all of them, have a pretty good idea of what these proposals are likely to be from a series of articles that appeared in the supplement in February this year. These articles were prepared with the most exhaustive set of salary statistics, provided by the Department of Education and Science (DES). Why have the union leaders not seen fit to draw the attention of the teachers to the discussions raging in the DES about productivity? To say that productivity is 'not applicable' is to sidestep the point. —As the employers could show —as they surely intend to—that productivity is applicable, will the union leaders collaborate in implementing productivity proposals? Writing in a three-part series on teachers' salaries in 'The Times' educational supplement on February 20 this year, Professor Maurice Peston said: 'Some people think that economic factors do not matter in education. They approach the question of teachers' salaries in terms of what teachers deserve either because of their intrinsic merits or by comparison with others. My view is that economic forces do work in education. —At the present time education is a highly labour-intensive activity. It is a characteristic of economic growth that manpower gets dearer relative to other productive inputs and that any activity using a disproportionate amount of manpower will become expensive compared with activities in general.

Table with columns: TYPE OF TEACHER, PRESENT SALARY, SALARY UNDER CLAIM. Rows include Qualified Assistant Teacher (Min £980, Max £1,720), Graduate Assistant Teacher (Min £1,085, Max £1,825), Good Honours Graduate (Min £1,210, Max £1,950), and Head Teachers (Group 5 £2,632, Group 9 £3,570, Group 12 £4,249).

All salaries, above the maximum of the basic scale, are calculated on the basis of the teacher having reached the maximum of the basic scale. series are along the same lines. More recently, on May 1, the educational supplement published a leading article by E. J. T. Brennan of the Cambridge Institute of Education entitled 'Why not Productivity Deals?' He is less subtle and does not go in for economic justification. He asks: 'Does it really make sense... for teachers to be stuck with the incubus of 12 weeks annual holiday and the theoretical seven-hour day?' He proposes that in return for 'truly professional salary scales' teachers might agree to the extension of the working day, shorter holidays. Mr Brennan's views are certainly not confined to the corridors of the Cambridge Institute. Mr Britton may well cry... 'the management have not yet



NUT secretary Britton

teacher or to any professional worker whose services cannot be measured quantitatively. 'The end product of the teachers work is not even the school leaver. It is the mature adult... (Our emphasis.)' In this statement we find a vile concoction of professional snobbery, liberal philanthropy and bureaucratic complacency. Productivity is not 'possible', it is being applied. And not only in factories—but in offices and banks—occupations which likewise considered themselves immune. Nowhere is productivity applied with 'justice'. Its purpose is not the dissemination of 'justice', but the reduction of unit costs. Teachers do produce a tangible end-product. To a

defeat and disillusionment. The present demand must be won in full if teachers are not to face further attacks under conditions where a united struggle would be very difficult. But the issues raised by the pay claim and the cuts in the education system are questions which concern government and local authority finance at a time when finance is dictated by the banks and the needs of industrial monopolies preparing for recession. The struggle for wages and for a new leadership for teachers is inseparably bound up with the fight for a socialist solution for the crisis, based on a policy of the nationalization of the banks and private industry. It is the fight for socialist policies and leadership that teachers will find allies in all other sections of the working class.'

Certain of the elements of the next stage of social evolution are thus prepared at one level, but unless they are related to developments along the 'really revolutionizing road', within the basic production relations, they remain quantitative changes. In so far as the more basic development does not take place, then the other development 'tends rather to preserve and maintain' the old mode of production as its precondition. This is precisely the role of the 'barbarous' form of state developed out of the necessity of public works and all that went with them in the flood-valleys to ensure the continuation of agriculture.

PACT LEAKED Kremlin-Brandt deal against German unity

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE TERMS of the proposed Bonn-Moscow Pact, 'leaked' by a W German magazine this week, specifically endorsed the permanent division of Germany first agreed between Stalin and the allies at the end of the last war.

Clause three of the proposed pact reads, in part:

'... to regard as inviolable now and in future the present borders of all countries in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse line and the border between the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.' (Emphasis added.) According to the same source—the magazine 'Quick'—Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko insisted that any reference to German unity be omitted from the text.

COUNTERWEIGHT

Despite the devastation wrought by German imperialism in the Soviet Union during the last war, the Kremlin is seeking to build up W Germany as a counterweight to the US—even at the risk of an open split with Ulbricht's E German regime.

Agreement between the Kremlin and W German Chancellor Brandt on the calling of an all-European security conference centres on common fears of a united German working class.

British-Leyland, Oxford

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cepted by the senior stewards in order to save the 40 jobs that would otherwise have been eliminated. 'The main point about this agreement,' says Fryer, 'is that all the jobs in the piecework system remain and the piecework system remains fully intact. Effort is based on the piecework prices. Operators still receive the piecework national award. 'The right to negotiate normally under piecework in the event of changes remains. The agreements are subject to the piecework agreement. All merit, ex-office and condition payments remain the same.' What, then, is behind IS's lying distortion? For some time, this motley, middle-class revisionist grouplet has been maintaining that those in the trade union movement who stand out in uncompromising opposition to productivity schemes such as Measured-Day Work will 'isolate' themselves from workers it believes will be attracted to them by the siren of higher initial payments. 'Oppose productivity... but not negatively,' they say.

Positions

The situation of the Stalinist parties in relation to the Common Market is now as follows. In Britain they make gestures of opposition to British entry, in alliance with right-wing Tories. In France, they would welcome Britain into the EEC, but not as an agency of the US. In Italy, they now go the whole hog, asking only for one or two reforms in the structure of this organization of the monopolies.

WEATHER

London area, SE and central northern England, E Midlands: Bright intervals. Scattered showers. Winds NW, strong, becoming westerly, fresh. Near normal. Max. 19C (66F). Central southern, SW and NW England, W Midlands, Channel Islands, Glasgow area, N Ireland: Sunny intervals. Isolated showers. Winds westerly backing SW later, moderate or fresh. Normal. Max. 19C (66F). Edinburgh: Scattered showers. Winds NW, strong, becoming westerly, fresh. Rather cool. Max. 15C (59F).

CONCLUSION

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the leaflet its members issued in Oxford this week is that the group is seeking to 'prove' its own opportunist case by attempting to undermine the shop stewards who have unequivocally, and successfully, resisted all attempts to force the hated doctrine of productivity dealing down the throats of the workers they represent. Few more despicable forms of political adventuring can be imagined.

SLL AND YOUNG SOCIALISTS



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LATE NEWS

PRINTWORKERS' BALLOT 60,000 print workers—members of the National Graphical Association on provincial newspaper and in general printing—will be balloted between now and August on a revised pay offer from their employers.

TYNESIDE BUS STRIKE 3,000 busmen of the Northern General Transport will stage their third unofficial strike today. They are protesting at the union's slow progress—the Transport and General Workers are meeting the management over a claim for £20 a week basic. NGA general secretary John Bonfield said yesterday that a number of 'obnoxious' clauses in the employers' offer had been removed during the week and that because of the movement he had been able to tell yesterday's 400 strong delegate conference in

Materialist conception of history

growth of the surplus product within the commune, however, is the essential process of freeing man from the 'natural' undifferentiated commune and its direct tie to the natural environment. Only by freeing himself from these ties with nature and the primeval commune does man begin the long march to eventually restore communism at a higher level, a truly human and universal level, on the basis of all the conquests of the period of class society. Marx gives an analogous presentation of the transition from feudalism to capitalism: 'The transition from feudalism to capitalism is twofold.

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The producer becomes merchant and capitalist, in contrast to the natural agricultural economy and the guild-bound handicrafts of the medieval urban industries. This is the really revolutionizing path. Or else, the merchant establishes direct sway over production. However much this serves historically as a stepping-stone—witness the English 17th-century clothier, who brings the weavers, independent as they are, under his control by selling their wool to them and buying their cloth—it cannot by itself contribute to the overthrow of the old mode of production, but tends rather to preserve and retain it as its precondition.

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Certain of the elements of the next stage of social evolution are thus prepared at one level, but unless they are related to developments along the 'really revolutionizing road', within the basic production relations, they remain quantitative changes. In so far as the more basic development does not take place, then the other development 'tends rather to preserve and maintain' the old mode of production as its precondition. This is precisely the role of the 'barbarous' form of state developed out of the necessity of public works and all that went with them in the flood-valleys to ensure the continuation of agriculture.