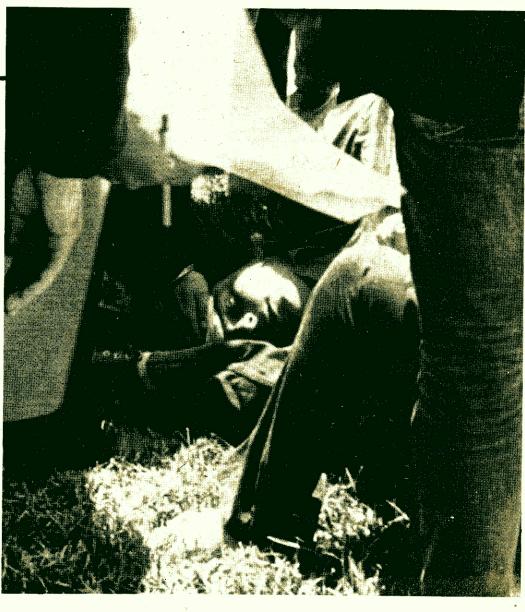
INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • PUBLISHED FROM TUESDAY TO SATURDAY • NUMBER 158 • FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1970

PRICE 6d.

Behind student murders

Nixon's real fire against U.S. labour

BY ROBERT BLACK



WHEN OHIO National Guardsmen shot dead four Kent University students last Monday, Nixon brought his Indo-Chinese subwar home to millions of American workers and youth. continent on fire

THE INVASION of Cambodia stretches to the utmost fought out the great class battles of the the forces of American imperialism in a sub-continent which is aflame with revolutionary struggle from the Chinese border to the straits of Malaya.

Nixon's desperate moves in Cambodia are in response to a situation in which the popular liberation movements threaten to drive imperialism out of the whole of SE Asia.

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The THAI and MALAYAN governments, backed respec-tively by US and British im-perialism, are now collaborating in joint bombing raids against the Communist guer-rilla movement in the frontier area.

Guerrillas also control large areas in northern Thailand bordering on Laos. It is this scale of popular resistance to imperialism and its political creatures that drives Nixon to jeopardize his position in America with the latest 'escalation'.

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Body-strewn and blood-stained streets are nothing new to the US working class.

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When US students strike and occupy their college buildings, they follow in the footsteps of their fathers, who broke the anti-union bosses of the 1930s by the sit-in strike and the mass picket. And when four students fell under a hail of bullets from Nixon's militia, they joined the thousands of working-class martyrs killed by the US ruling class in the fight for union rights, decent wages and tolerable working condi-

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Important sections of American workers have al-ready been stirred by the heroism of the anti-war students and youth.

That sympathy will turn into anger and hatred now that Nixon's guns have been turned on their own child-

For despite the wave of revulsion sweeping through even the most conservative regions of the United States, new massacres are being prepared. Governor Nunn of Kentucky ordered his State police onto the Lexington University campus with loaded rifles and fixed bayonets, while Colonel Critchfield of the State Police said:

'Use force'

'My officers are under orders to use such force as is necessary to perform their mission of protection. Any-PAGE FOUR COL. 1 ->

Ford's fly in glass supplies claim stewards

SHOP STEWARDS from Ford's Dagenham complex claim that supplies of glass to the paint, trim and assembly shop are being maintained from Holland, Belgium, W Germany, Eire and S Africa.

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'No expense is spared to break strikes,' one Ford wor-ker told the Workers Press. 'Replacements were flown in from Australia during a recent dispute over seats.'

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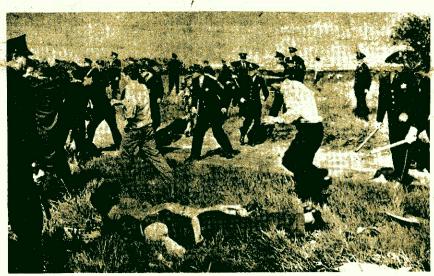
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Meanwhile the rank-and-file strike committee has plans for mass resignation from the General and Municipal Wor-

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Few rank-and-file union members, however, will be happy with general secretary John Bonfield's claim that this 1th-hour settlement is 'probably the best . . . we could make in the circumstances'.

Anxiety

There is already considerable anxiety in the union about its apparent inability to force web-offset newspaper printers Parrett and Neves into an acceptable recognition agreement at its Chatham Yesterday morning's decision

to drop the threat of strike action and hand over to arbitration on pay differentials by many members as a further climb-down in the face of increasing pressure from the employers against their craft

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Wedge

The press lords, having obtained a wedge for productivity dealing in Fleet Street's machine rooms from the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades, were prepared for total war with the NGA -even if a number of papers

Share prices fall

THE UNCERTAIN international situation, the war in Cambodia and the growing anti-war movement in the falls in share prices on the London Stock Exchange.

The market continues to reflect the major crisis of confidence in the future now afflicting the ruling class all over the world.

Yesterday, there were few buyers for shares, many of which fell steadily in price, though government securities -considered a 'gilt-edged' investment—rose slightly.
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however. Among leading shares which fell in price were EMI, Rank Organization, Glaxo, ICI and Unilever. British-American Tobacco

Hawkers and Bowaters also fell, though less sharply. Tube Investments, Guest Keen and Metal Box were among engineering which fell in price.

Irish government split

Irish workers must end partition

THE IRISH government crisis, which has already seen the dramatic dismissal of two Ministers, the resignation of a third, and an outbreak of unparliamentary violence, brings out into the open the acute class tensions in the South and emphasizes the growing revolutionary possibilities in Ireland.

The partition of Ireland, imposed on the working class for nearly 50 years, is once again in question. The 'green Tory' regime under Prime Minister Lynch, the creature of partition, is visibly decomposing.

The form this crisis takes at present is a sharp split between Lynch and the prointerventionist wing of the ruling Fianna Fail party.

Wednesday's crisis was, it now appears, precipitated by a top-level intervention from British premier Harold Wilson, who apparently in-formed Lynch that two of his ministers were involved in a gun-running plot un-covered by British Intelli-

Nigel Blaney, Minister for Agriculture, and Charles Haughey, Minister for Finance, are alleged to have been connected with a plot.

Sympathy

Local Government Minister Kevin Boland resigned in sympathy with the sacked

ministers.

The three ex-Ministers were known to favour military intervention in N Ireland last August, and it is rumoured they have been giving financial aid to gun-running into London-

derry.
It is said that the gunrunning was cloaked under ● PAGE FOUR COL. 4 →

Parliamentary 'regrets' as unemployment rises

IN THE years from 1964 to 1968, according to Local Government Minister Anthony Crosland, 'the exceptionally rapid and severe run-down in the traditiona industries' led to the liquidation of 678,000 jobs.

BY DAVID MAUDE

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Crosland was replying to a speech by Tory Shadow Labour Minister Robert Carr, who outlined point by point the Tories' plans for 'dealing with' unemployment —plans which include the creation of 'a new environment for the conduct of industrial relations' (i.e. antiunion laws), cutting public expenditure to a 'smaller proportion of the national income' (further cuts in education, transport, mining, etc.) and 'much less intervention to prop up in-efficient industries and com-

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Tories and the Labourites, however, conceal a growing hatred in the working class for everything the Tories

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Through their treachery, the Labour leaders have weakened the working class at a time when the em-ployers and their party plan fresh attacks on the right to strike and vast increases in the numbers of unemployed.

This makes even more urgent the need to defeat the Tories in the coming General Election and to fight for an alternative leadership in the labour movement which will carry out socialist policies of nationalization once and for all the scourge of unemployment.

MASSEY **FERGUSON**

President Warns strikers as unrest grows

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

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Two lectures to mark the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth

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RENEW

£20 CLAIM

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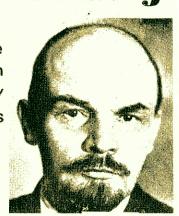
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MASSEY FERGUSON

President Warns strikers as unrest grows

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

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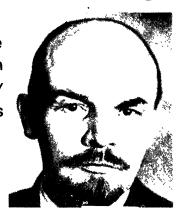
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to the dollar holdings outside

America and thereby further

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ity, so badly shaken in March 1968.

What is at stake is the entire superstructure of finan-

cial arrangements built up at

Bretton Woods by Keynes and

But whatever course the

will not and cannot

Americans may care to take,

avoid another gold crisis.

Paper money can only substi-

tute for gold in the chain of

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ments, and an artificial means

of settling them, has been fully

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a general and extensive dis-

turbance of this mechanism,

no matter what its cause,

money [here Marx means gold]

becomes suddenly and imme-

diately transformed, from its

merely ideal shape of money of

account, into hard cash. Pro-

fane commodities can no

longer replace it. . . . On the

eve of the crisis the bourge-

oisie, with the self-sufficiency

which springs from intoxicat-

ing prosperity, declares money

'Commodities alone are

money. But now the cry is

everywhere: Money alone is a

commodity! As the hart

pants after fresh water, so

pants his soul after money, the only wealth.'

Debentures

The sharp decline in share prices which is now afflicting

all world stock markets is a

subordinate pant of this general crisis. The growth of shares and debentures (fixed

interest stock) since the war has been part of the general expansion of credit which sustained the boom.

But much of the real value

which this paper represents has

long since disappeared: armaments produced by capital raised by governments have

been destroyed, just as much

of the plant and equipment

raised by loans floated on the

stock exchanges have long

The mass of paper claims,

together with the high degree

of over capitalization which

exists in many of the mono-

polies-a device used during

the boom to raise extra capital

—no longer represents any-

thing. It is what Marx called

'fictitious capital'. It appears as

a fraction of total social

capital and demands its appro-

priate portion of total surplus

the onset of the crisis, that

surplus value is not extracted

at a rate sufficient to main-

tain the rate of profit—the

driving force behind capitalism

and the source of all payments

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tion to a level in line with the

mass of surplus value can the

course, the collapse of share

prices and ruin for large areas

of capitalist economy and

stage of the crisis is, finally,

sounding the death knell for

Such economics rested upon

the ability of the capitalist

state to intervene in the

economy and in times of fall-

ing profits and restore pros-

perity through a general expansion of credit and a relaxation

of interest rates. Conversely, in

periods of inflation, credit

would be restricted and price

increases checked through

action on the money supply.

Techniques

Nixon and his Administration have now found that none

of these techniques work any

been put on the economy in

order to check inflation, the

more rapidly have prices

are both rising equally rapidly.

None of the Keynesians are

able to understand this new

The dilemma faced by the

Keynesians is a sure indica-

tion of the deep seated organic

crisis now facing the capital-

techniques which guided the

economic policies of all lead-

ing capitalist governments after

the war now contain any solu-

tions indicates that a new and

violent stage in the decline of

imperialism is being prepared.

slaught on the standard of

living and organizations of the

working class will the capital-

ist system have any hope of

restoring even a temporary

equilibrium within its crisis-

The tremblings on the stock

exchanges are an indication and

warning that we have now

entered such a period.

Only through a direct on-

The fact that none of the

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thev

limits.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S statement of last week that 'if I had any money I'd be buying stocks right now' will certainly have done Wall Street little good.

It recalls only too vividly John D. Rockefeller's comment immediately prior to the 1929 crash that 'Believing the fundamental conditions of the country are sound . . . my son and I have for some days been purchasing sound common stocks'.

The President's announcement, presumably designed to reassure investors and dampen down speculation, only indicates the near-panic which is beginning to infect sections of the American capitalist class as they attempt to understand the present crisis and hammer out a strategy to deal with it.

their considerable anxiety is not without cause. Lying behind the tumble of Wall Street shares stands a crisis facing the banks which now threatens the entire stability of American and world capitalism.

It is the banks and other financial institutions which the bankers control who are the major forces operating on the Stock Exchange: latest figures show that these 'institutional buyers' account for around 70 per cent of all business transacted on Wall Street.

Over 50 years ago Lenin explained the changed role of the banks under imperialism. From being mere financial intermediaries in the process of exchange, by the 20th Century they had assumed dominance over the whole of metropolitan capitalist economy, directly or indirectly owning large sectors of industrial capital, their activities closely allied with the state.

Collapse

It is thus no accident that the 1929 crisis took the form not merely of a collapse of share values on Wall Street.

This crash was only part of a more general crisis which hit the entire monetary and banking system of America and Europe. It was a crisis 'resolved' only through a series of currency devaluations, a shrinking of world trade, the creation of a pool of unemployed running into tens of millions, and finally through the resort to war in 1939.

As in all crises, but particularly so with capitalist crisis in the present century, such periods are marked by an tal values.

It was only through the wiping out of value on such a scale — which involved the Wall Street crash, banking failures throughout the capitalist world and bankruptcy for large sections of industry—that capitalism provided the basis for a renewed period of expansion after 1945.

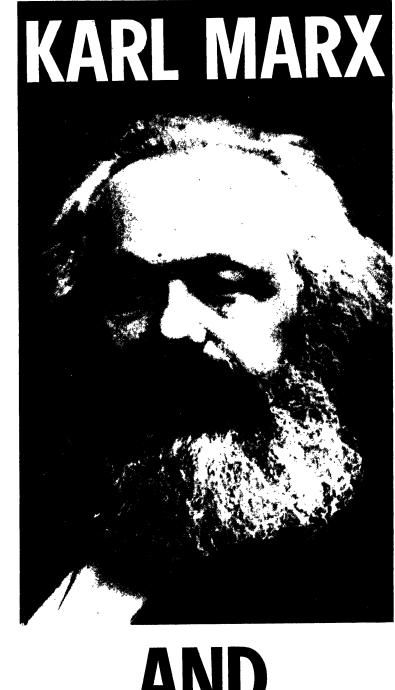
This is what Marx means in 'Das Kapital' when he explains that the law of value operates not in a smooth manner, but in a manner not subject to conscious human control and therefore 'blind' in its operation, a mechanism which must bring periodic crises and disruptions in the way that 'the law of gravity . . . asserts itself when a house falls about our

Under imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, such crises are inevitably general in their character and cannot be confined, as the reformists and. Stalinists would wish, to any one country.

The overall expansion of capitalism in the post-war period has, of course, rested upon the American economy and particularly upon the great growth of credit which the dollar provided after the war.

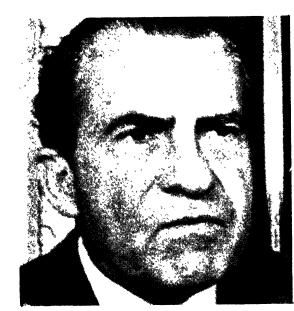
It was only by means of the vast quantity of dollars circulating in Europe (now estimated at around \$30 billion), a great deal of it unbacked by Fort Knox gold, that capitalism was able to stave off the crisis which many expected to follow the end of the war.

Such an expansion of credit was possible only while the



AND WALL ST

BY PETER JEFFRIES



Nixon: '. . . I'd be buying stocks right now'.

Americans continued to hold a considerable gold reserve and while general confidence in the dollar prevailed.

Neither condition exists any

Inflation has continually eroded the real purchasing power of the dollar since its gold value was first fixed by Washington in 1934 and a worsening balance of payments position since the early 1960s has drained away much of the gold on which the system rested.

Marx's comments on the role of the credit system might make instructive reading for any of our financial 'pundits' seeking an explanation for the growing crisis:

'Hence the credit system accelerates the material development of the productive forces and the establishment of the world market. . . . At the same time, credit accelerates the violent eruptions of this contradiction—crises—and thereby the disintegration of the old mode of production.'

As Rosa Luxemburg, basing herself on Marx's 'Das Kapital', explained in her polemics with Bernstein, the credit system, far from overcoming the contradictions within the capitalist system, only serves in the long run to give them a more

explosive and open form. Credit accelerates the socialization of production by first speeding up the growth of monopoly and secondly by making available to the monopolists and bankers the entire capital of society which they proceed to manipulate and employ with regard to nothing else but the creation of sur-

plus value. Marx's comments on the results of this process, even in the last century, indicate that the series of financial collapses, scandals and near bankruptcies which we have already witnessed are an

integral part of the crisis: '(The expansion of credit) reproduces a new financial aristocracy, a new variety of parasite in the shape of promoters, speculators and simply nominal directors; a whole system of swindling and cheating by means of corporation promotions, stock insurance and stock speculation. It is private property without the control of private property.'

Concern

The concern which now dominates the more farsighted sections of American and world capitalism, is not so much that a recession is being

prepared.

What they fear is that the recession will not be deep enough to restore the decline in the rate of profit which has operated continually since 1968 or to re-establish confidence in the world monetary system and in particular in the dollar, its lynch-pin.

Continuing inflation for the American capitalist class means not only a further worsening of the already record-high payments deficit; the deficit itself serves to add

THE Arrogance Power', written in 1966 and just published in paperback by Penguin, is worth reading only because it exposes the crisis of American liberalism

J. William Fulbright, himself a conscious representative of capitalism, is looked upon by middle-class liberals and radicals as one of the Once there is general fear of instability in paper cur-rency a collapse of credit is inevitable which restores the great hopes for America.

so clearly.

He was first elected to Congress in 1942 and became a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee where he introduced the 'Fulbright Resolution' which called for United States participation in an international 'peace-keeping' body.

In 1946 he sponsored the international educational exchange programme which gives grants to foreign students to come to the United States to study and to American students to study abroad.

In 1954 he was the only member of the Senate to vote against additional funds for Senator Joe McCarthy's witchhunting Special Investigating

He is now chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and has been responsible for launching several revealing investigations into American foreign policy.

It is characteristic of the contradictions of the US system of government that his domestic record is not nearly so liberal.

Ability

He is a Democratic senator from Arkansas, one of the most backward of the predominantly rural southern states and he has been reelected mainly on the strength of his ability to make deals and get the agricultural and programmes his financial electorate favour pushed through Congress.

There is no doubt that in the field of foreign affairs he has been a very annoying thorn in the side of successive administrations in the White

He justifies his 'rebel' position by repeating again and again that the true patriot owes allegiance to the ideals his country stands for—in this case 'freedom', 'democracy', etc.-more than to any particular Administration.

He balances carefully tween the Democratic Party leadership and his liberal supporters: for example in his book he describes an 'act of rebellion'—and then says that his own opposition was not really a rebellion because it arose out of a sense of moral responsibility.

He tells how, in September, 1965, several months after US marines were sent into the Dominican Republic to smash the revolution developing there, he made a speech in the Senate criticizing this counter - revolutionary intervention.

The morning before delivering it he sent a copy to President Johnson along with a letter explaining why he felt he had to express his criticisms publicly.

Obviously enjoying his role as enfant terrible, he quotes the letter in his book:

'As you will note, I believe that important mistakes were made. I further believe that a public discussion of recent events in the Dominican Republic, even though it brings forth viewpoints which are critical of your Administration, will be of long-term benefit in correcting past errors, helping to prevent their repetition in the future and thereby advancing the broader purposes of your policy in Latin America. It is in the hope of assisting you towards these ends, and for this reason only, that I have prepared my remarks.' p. 66.)

Gnashing

Making good use of the still-professed right and responsibility of one section of the government to criticize another—the so-called system of 'checks and balances'—and disingenuously accepting the supposed aims of the American government in Latin America —the same 'peace', 'freedom' and 'democracy'—he no doubt set Johnson gnashing his teeth.

His committee has made it a bit more difficult for the blood-thirsty military and the counter-revolutionary Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to manoeuvre because of the publicity they have been given in recent years; evidence given to Fulbright's committee on different aspects of foreign policy has sometimes been

'THE ARROGANCE OF POWER' By J. William Fulbright Pelican, 1970, 6s.

LIBERAL SHREWDLY ON THE SIDE OF CAPITALISM

REVIEWED BY BRIDGET DAVISON

But he and his liberal friends, while evidence of a real split in the American bourgeoisie, have never deterred the agents of the giant corporations and banks from single-mindedly pursuing their filthy work around the world.

Only a few of the facts have been exposed.

Fulbright bemoans the tendency by recent Presidents to usurp more power than the American Constitution actually grants the Executive branch of government without first consulting Congress.

Congressmen, he says, are more and more told what is going to happen and not asked what should happen.

Blockaded

During the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, for instance. important Senators were called to the White House by Kennedy and told that Cuba was going to be blockaded.

They were then asked for their comments which would obviously have no effect on decisions already taken. Fulbright and Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, a notorious racialist, advocated an invasion of Cuba by American forces!

of markets, resources, territory or principles—these are mere excuses or attempts to explain 'certain unfathomable drives of human nature'. (p. 17.)

The arrogance of power of the title is the alleged assumption by bigger nations that they are better just because they are bigger and that they must spread their 'better' civilization and its institutions around the globe.

Missionary

This missionary zeal, contends Fulbright, is what has time and time again landed America in trouble and led the country to make 'mistakes'.

He describes Americans as being like Boy Scouts dragging reluctant old ladies across streets they don't want to

Fulbright 'suggests as a remedy to this situation more psychologists in government to help Americans understand why they continue to commit the same neurotic 'mistakes'.

Fulbright knows this is nonsense. He is caught in the liberal trap and he wants to wriggle out of it. He sees that American capitalism is doomed if it continues as the



VIETNAM

In this case, one can only be glad Fulbright's advice wasn't

The 'liberal' is here exposed as a staunch supporter of imperialism. He tries to cover his tracks by rationalizing that had he been able to 'formulate' his views on the basis of publicly known facts rather than having to guess the nature of the situation, he 'might' have made a different recommendation; a pragmatist's feeble attempt to explain history on the basis of a 'lack of informa-

There would undoubtedly have been some debate over the form counter-revolutionary action in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Cuba and now Laos should have taken, but not over its substance.

Fulbright's book shows that he is feeling his impotence.

Flailing around for some explanation of the 'madness' of American foreign policy he lights on that old bugaboo human nature.

Wars are not fought because

champion of counter-revolution and advocates a change in course: Americans should instead become the 'friend' of social revolution.

He suggests this in a totally cynical way, adding that he doesn't expect it will happen.

This is the fundamental con-

Reform

tradiction he cannot confront. The US as the stronghold of capitalism is necessarily inextricably involved in every political and economic crisis in the world. To support the continuation of capitalism as a social system, which Ful-bright certainly does, but at the same time to call for a reform of method, is to call for the impossible in this period of wars and revolutions.

Imperialism, since this book was written, has been forced to send its policemen to intervene more and more in an attempt to maintain its stranglehold on the world's productive forces.

Nixon's State of the Union speech at the end of February. which was a declaration of war on revolution around the world, and the CIA-run war in Laos, which Fulbright has said 'scares him to death', prove that imperialism cannot turn back.

As the rate of profit continues to fall and national capitalisms battle it out, the American capitalists must try to increase their rate of exploitation both in the United States and abroad.

This will mean more and more brutality, misery, suffering—all those nasty things Fulbright doesn't wish to happen.

As a pragmatist and a liberal he wishes it was enough to say 'it hasn't worked, therefore let's do something different'. He longs for the good old days of Roosevelt, who, as he rightly points out, was able to save capitalism with reform.

But capitalism can less and less afford reform and the working class will not be bought off. The battle is joined whether individuals like it or not.

Pragmatic

In a pragmatic way Fulbright understands the counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy and sees that although there is a real struggle going on between capitalism and communism, it is not in the interests of Stalinism to upset the international apple cart either.

Fulbright's class position is revealed absolutely in his analysis of revolution. Revolution, he says, is brought about by 'social and political failure'.

He agrees with Eric Hoffer who suggested in 'The True Believer' that '. . . revolutions are prepared by "men of words"—intellectuals, that is, such as Rousseau, Mazzini, and Marx-carried to fulfilment by "fanatics" — such as Robes-pierre, Lenin and Trotsky and finally brought back to earth by "practical men of action"—men like Cromwell, Bonaparte and Stalin'.

Again starting from the crudely pragmatic position that America's opposition to national movements which are communist-led has ended in abyssmal failure, as in Vietnam, Fulbright puts forward the position that America support nationalist movements rather than automatically opposing anything

Eventually, 'extremists' will be replaced by more 'moderate' men (like Stalin) who will bring the society back to normalcy. After all, hasn't history taught us that every revolution has its 'Thermidor'.

To call Stalin a 'moderate' man is to come firmly, unequivocally-and shrewdly-down on the side of capitalism.

What is 'moderation' to imperialism is treachery. betrayal and brutal class collaboration to the workers' move-

Once again Fulbright reveals his true position. All the crocodile tears he is so quick to shed cannot hide his objective support for the social forces that massacre and mutilate workers and peasants all over the world.

Under the guise of tolerance and humanitarianism Fulbright is calling for collaboration with the Stalinist bureaucracies to defeat the working

They will do the work for us, he writes, we don't need to rush in with flags flying to defeat every budding revolu-

Descriptions

What Fulbright leaves out of all his descriptions (they are not analyses) is the international working class.

Starting from surface politics, from the particular forms in existence at a given period, he skates along the surface of history never analysing the social forces at work beneath.

The existence of social classes is not recognizedthere are only Americans, some richer and some poorer.

This is the last rabbit in the

liberal's hat. Yes, he agrees with those

who stand against American imperialism, some terrible things have been done by Americans, but now we Americans must struggle together to put them right by rising above the bad side of our all too frail human

By trying to make the American working class share responsibility for the crimes committed by American imperialism, he is using nationalism to tie the workers to the bourgeoisie.

There is no question where Fulbright and others like him stand in the class struggle, however much they deny its

Special 64 page issue Fourth International

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Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 Editors: Tom Kemp, Cliff Slaughter

PRICE 7s. 6d.

IN 1914 George Coppard was 'just an ordinary boy of elementary education and slender prospects'.

deadly economic rivalry between Germany and the older imperialist nations had just erupted into world war. Newspapers screamed for volunteers, military bands and marching troops filled the streets.

As if drawn by a magnet, the boy hurried to enlist.

As he gave his age as 19 the recruiting sergeant winked. The trap had shut:

'Like a log flung into a giant river, I had only just started to move. Later on I was to be pushed from behind, relentlessly, without any chance of escape.'

He was 16 years old. Now, over 50 years later, writing in a dry, casual style which tries to keep the remembered horror at bay, but in fact makes it seem even more stark and overwhelming, George Coppard retraces the steps of his youthful journey into hell.

Desperation

As the diary on which the book is based jumps along, from shock to shock, we feel the boy's jauntiness-his sense of glamour in being a soldier -collapse, and give way to misery, desperation, and terrible haunting fear.

The first training camp endless drilling, parades for visiting royalty, bad food, bad pay, miserable sleeping quarters. The men muttering in their ill-fitting uniforms, the officers immaculate, like beings from another world.

The excitement of the train journey through France -'almost like a Sunday school treat'. Then they march loaded like pack-animals in the broiling sun, while officers ride comfortably on well-groomed

horses. As they near the front line the colonel warns his men that they are now under military law and Private Coppard listens 'stupefied' as the adjutant

'WITH A MACHINE GUN TO CAMBRAI' By George Coppard HMSO 1969, 6s.

TERROR AND WARNING—

a private remembers 1914-1918

REVIEWED BY KAREN TREACHER

beautiful summer dawn to see hundreds of dead hanging on the German wire like fish caught in a net. For days he hears the cries of the wounded, left to fry in shell-holes under the sniper's eye.

Bullied

Arras, Cambrai-and at last badly wounded, back to hospital in England. By the time he recovers and is being bullied back into service the war in France is coming to an

For Haig, Beatty, and other high-ranking officers, golden handshakes of £100,000 apiece, earldoms and estates. For Coppard and fellow survivors of the revolutionary party. The real terror and warning his narrative lie in the disconnection of events as they loom up in his

consciousness, in the paralysing confusion of men forced to throw away their lives batttling for villages of rubble and corpses whilst being repeatedly told that this insane process is somehow necessary for the preservation of 'freedom'. Every day he spent in the

trenches Coppard faced the most glaring contradictions in his own experience—contradictions which stemmed from the class, imperialist nature of the war, but which he as an individual, with nothing but his own impressions to go on,

But for Coppard and his companions; after hours bent double under fire on a small strip of earth surrounded by water, the only relief seemed to lie in machine gunning the first Germans who came within reach. Left to themselves, men in

Pride in his skill in handling

the Vickers gun, pride in his

training to kill—the only train-

ing the capitalist system ever

gave him. Lovingly the young-

sters cherish the instruments

of death—the machine gun-

ners must become machines

On Christmas Eve, 1915,

'The whole world knew that

orders come round forbidding

fraternization with the enemy:

on Christmas Day, 1914, there

was some fraternizing at one

point on the line, and even an

attempt at a game of football.

Troops in the front line a year

later were naturally speculating

on whether a repeat perform-

ance would develop and if so

this situation tried to make a comfort out of ignorance: 'In a sense it was an advant-

age being a private for nobody told you anything. You just waited in a day-to-day kind of existence until things happened.'

Religion, patriotism, had burned out long ago, but superstition remained — the phantoms swarming across noman's land, the bullet somewhere with his 'number on it' —and also, the last desperate psychological reflex of their own misery clothed with the fantasies of official propaganda. 'an implacable hatred of the Huns', a feeling that 'it would have been un-British not to want to settle the score with

Nightmare

The question: 'Why the war?' is never asked. The sight of torn bodies, the screams of the dying, constantly beat on their senses, but there seems no way out of the nightmare. Gradually the angry muttering, the wry jokes cease and they fall back helplessly into weary irony, numb resignation: 'We're here, because we're

here.' The older Coppard still does not know why he had to go through that torture to which, paradoxically, he looks back half-longingly as a time of intensity and heroism in his

Anger still burns as he remembers the men hanging on the barbed wire, but these disturbing images float disconnected from any wider under-

standing of the war. This inability to draw conclusions from bitter personal experience and the suffering and death of millions is not surprising when we consider that the European working class had been literally abandoned at the outset of the war by their former leaders, the socialists of the Second Inter-

national. Instead of mobilizing workers to overthrow the capitalists about to unleash such barbarism, these leaders, terrified for their own privileges, rushed to support their 'own' national

bourgeosie. In the vacuum created by this desertion men more used to expressing themselves than Coppard felt overwhelmed by the fog of lies generated by

the capitalist war machine. As a junior officer, the poet Wilfred Owen was exposed to sights and experiences which blasted away his former romantic ideas about the world and drove him into solidarity with the working-class soldiers he had been trained to despise.

In the short time before he too was killed, Owen took a conscious decision to make known through his poetry the sufferings of those who could not speak for themselves.



Made raw and sensitive by the naked barbarism of the war the poet's mind strained to grasp the link between the nightmare at the front and the society he observed at home, between the frozen, twisted corpses sitting outside his dugout and the 'stinking Leeds and Bradford war-profiteers now reading "John Bull" on Scarborough sands'.

Owen's poetry shines a fragmented, flashing light on the link in exploitation between trapped miners writhing for air and the soldiers who die working 'dark pits of war', between those pulled by the bugle and those by the factory siren.

It goes beyond moral outrage, beyond the remnants of Christian pacifism evident in his letters, to expose unforgettably the criminal waste, destruction and stunting of human beings which is essential to capitalist 'freedom' in war and 'peacetime'.

Experience

But Owen must have felt that he was speaking into a void. Like Coppard, though coming from a different class background, he remained trapped within the contradictions of his own experience.

His feeling of solidarity with the oppressed could go no further than a passive solidarity of suffering because leadership still meant leading his men as an officer to death.

In Owen's poem 'Strange Meeting' the poet is welcomed in hell by the German soldier he killed the day before. Together they mourn the

loss of all the promise and richness of life and stand helpless before the vision of a world retreating into barbarism.

The poem slows and dies away despairingly — to slide into unconsciousness seems the only way out of the mutual slaughter:

'I am the enemy you killed, my friend.

I knew you in this dark: for so you frowned Yesterday through me as you jabbed and killed.

I parried; but my hands were loath and cold. Let us sleep now. . . .' Yet out of this nightmare.

this vast obliteration of human life and consciousness, came the Russian Revolution of October 1917, demonstrating to millions of workers in the trenches and millions more in the mines and factories that there was indeed a way out of the pit into which capitalism had flung mankind:

'You will either go on fighting for ten years or agree to make a difficult and severe revolution. There is no other way out. We say: the war which was started by the capitalist government can be brought to an end only by a workers' revolution.' (Lenin. May 1917.) Throughout the war only

the voice of Lenin and the Bolsheviks spoke clearly through the patriotic din, the babble of the pacifists and the double-talk of the Labour opportunists.

Only the Bolsheviks and a few socialists in other countries carried out consistent revolutionary propaganda, exposing the war aims of the capitalists, making known the truth about the fraternization between armies which took place despite the betrayals of the socialdemocratic leaders, and calling upon the soldiers of the warring countries to turn their arms against their own ruling

Searchlight

Lenin turned a searchlight on the rottenness of the capitalist system as reflected in the carnage of the war.

He placed the bewildering experience of soldiers like Coppard within the context of the war seen as a whole and the previous history of capitalism leading inevitably up to it—the decades of struggle for world supremacy between the great capitalist powers, the big banks reaching out to strangle the smaller nations in their tentacles, the bloody trail of 'little' colonial wars in which hundreds of thousands had been shot down unarmed, the constant drive to suppress and exploit their own working class, which lay behind all the frenzied talk of annexations, treaties and national freedom screamed into the ears of their soldiers by the English and French ruling class.

The vastly superior German trench system which, as Coppard says, made the British look like a lot of amateurs, reflected the world position of the country which Lenin described as the youngest and strongest robber to come to the capitalist feasting boardbetter organized, technically superior, ready to demand and take her share of colonial plunder.

Power

Through the Bolshevik fight to get socialists to campaign for the defeat of their own ruling classes in the war, to expose the Labour and 'Marxist' traitors, to build independent revolutionary organizations of the working class, a leadership was forged capable of taking the power and holding it.

As Wilfred Owen died and Coppard tramped the streets looking for jobs, the Russian workers who had been pulled into the imperialist war alongside the workers of the advanced capitalist countries were building, amidst enormous hardships and the backwardness of centuries, the first workers' state and a Red Army capable of defending it against the combined attack of the capitalist powers.

An army which owed its crushing victories over the Tsarist forces to the leadership of Trotsky and his military commissars, leaders who, in Trotsky's words, enjoyed 'no caste privileges and could

die and teach others to die for the cause of the working

October sent shock waves through the labour movement of every country inspiring massive strike struggles, army and navy revolts and growing 'Hands off Russia' campaigns.

Through inexperience, lack of real theoretical understanding of the Bolshevik achievement and the failure of Marxists to seize the initiative as these struggles built to a peak, there was no British and no German revolution.

Capitalism, ably assisted by the Stalinist bureaucracy, now tightening its grip on the world working class, was given an extra lease of life to produce slumps, fascism, and a further succession of imperialist wars.

Extermination

To the 10 million dead of 1914-1918 were added the 50 million of the Second World War, the 9 million of Korea, the untold millions of Vietnam and the ever-present threat of total nuclear extermination.

Today the shattered bodies of Vietnamese men, women and children point to the future that capitalism has in store for western workers.

As Wilson, Brandt and the Stalinist exponents of class peace prepare to hand the working class over to sabre-rattling Tories and the American capitalist warlords. the protesters with no roots in the working class have once more come to a dead end.

Protest politics is incapable of cutting through the whole imperialist heritage of racialist and anti-communist poison.

That can only be done by directing the heroism and selfsacrifice of workers and peasants throughout the world towards the real war—the war for working-class power.

The whole course of 20th century history and the present rapidly deepening crisis of capitalism, with all its murderous implications, show that there is no other way out.

FRIDAY

BBC 1

9.40 - 11.45 a.m. Schools. 12.55 p.m. Maes a mor. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory .4.55 Banana splits. 5.35 Junior points of view. 5.44 Parsley. 5.50 News

and weather. 6.00 Entertaining with Kerr. 6.25 Television top of the form. 6.45 The Virginian.

7.55 Culture vultures: 'Double, Double, Toil and Trouble' with Leslie Phillips. 8.25 Dick Emery show.

9.10 Forsyte saga. 10.00 Amateur Boxing Association Championships 1970. 10.30 24 Hours. 11.00 ABA Final continued.

11.45 Weather. REGIONAL BBC

11.00 a.m. Schools. 4.20 p.m. Anatomy of first aid. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Atom Ant. 5.20 Tom Grattan's war. 5.50 News.

6.03 Today. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 Wheel of fortune. 7.30 Gunsmoke:

ITV

'Prairie Wolf'. 8.30 Doctor in the house: 'Look Into My Eyes'.

9.00 Manhunt: 'The Death Wish'. 10.00 News. 10.30 Two shot golf:

Christy O'Connor (Great Britain) v Gary Player (South Africa).

11.00 Aquarius. 11.45 Out of town. 12.05 a.m. Ideas in print.

North of England: 6.00-6.25 Look North, weather. 11.47 News, weather.

8.00 Wheelbase: 'Who can afford a car?'.

8.25 The spoils of Poynton. 9.10 World cinema: Manule Summer's 'La Nina de Luto' (The Unsuccess-

10.40 Line-Up.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.02
Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.13 Diane's
magic theatre. 4.20 Ghost and Mrs
Muir. 4.55 Captain Scarlet and the
Mysterons. 5.20 Skippy. 5.50 London.
6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35
Crossroads. 7.00 Doctor in the house.
7.30 Road to the Red Sea. 8.00 Bitter
Years. 8.45 Pour vous Madame. 9.00
London. 10.30 Finders seekers. 11.00
London. 11.40 News, weather in
French, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 4.00 News. 4.02 Gus Honeybun show. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 11.45 Faith for life. 11.51 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Zingalong. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene South-East. 6.40 Out of town. 7.00 London. 7.30 Doctor in the house. 8.00 Hawaii five-O. 8.55 Weekend. 9.00 London. 11.45 News. 11.55 Weather. 'Youth forum'.

HARLECH: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.20 Wind in the willows. 4.35 Junkin. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report. 6.10 Bugs Bunny. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'No Sleep Till Dawn' with Natalie Wood, Karl Malden and Efrem Zimbalist Jr. 9.00 London. 10.30 Funny you should ask. 11.00 London. 11.45 Weather.

HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 11.00 Y dydd, 11.30 Hyd a lled. 12 midnight Weather.

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.01 Y dydd. 6.30-6.35 Report—Wales.

ANGLIA: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.25 Newsroom. 4.35 Romper room. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Survival. 7.30 It takes a thief. 8.30 Doctor in the house. 9.00 Manhunt. 10.00 News at Ten. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15 Film: 'A Cold Wind in August'. 12.41 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.02 Women today. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 The Champions. 8.30 London. 10.30 That girl. 11.00 London. 11.45 Midland member: Sir Gerald Nabarro. 12.03 Pulse, weather.

ULSTER: 11.00-2.40 London, 4.30 Romper room, 4.50 News, 4.55 Lost in space, 5.50 London, 6.00 UTV reports, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 Cinema: 'The Village', 8.30 Doctor in the house, 9.00 Manhunt, 10.00 News, 10.30 Sportscast, 10.55 Friday night, 11.00 Aquarius, 11.45 Living and growing.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 Schools. 3.55
Houseparty. 4.10 Zingalong. 4.25
Matinee. 4.50 Rainbow country. 5.20
London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.30 Wheel of
fortune. 7.00 Battleground. 9.00 Manhunt. 10.00 News. 10.30 Yorksport.
11.00 Aquarius. 11.45 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00-2.40 London. 4.15 News. 4.17 Zingalong. 4.25 Short story. 4.55 Stingray. 5.15 Woobinda—Animal doctor. 5.50 London. 6.00 Newsview. 6.05 Pentangle. 6.30 Gilligan's island. 7.00 Saint. 7.55 Doctor in the house. 8.25 Branded. 8.50 Put it in writing. 9.00 Manhunt. 10.00 News. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15 Whiplash.

TYNE TEES: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.08
Newsroom. 4.10 Better driving. 4.40
London. 4.55 Cowboy in Africa. 5.50
London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Voyage
to the bottom of the sea. 7.30 Doctor
in the house. 8.00 It takes a thief.
9.00 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15
Movie: 'Kiss of Evil' with Clifford
Evans and Noel Willman. 12.50 News.

BORDER: 2.00-2.37 London. 4.00 News. 4.02 Houseparty. 4.15 Fencing. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Roundabout. 7.30 Bracken's World. 8.30 Dear mother . . love Albert. 9.00 Manhunt. 10.00 News. 10.30 Two-shot golf. 11.00 Aquarius. 11.45 News.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-2.40 London. 3.00 Sign off. 4.20 Friday early. 4.30 London. 4.55 Adventure time. 5.25 Lone ranger. 5.50 London. 6.00 Scotland now. 6.30 Legend of Jesse James. 7.00 Wheels of fortune. 7.30 Saint. 8.30 Finders seekers. 9.00 Manhunt. 10.00 London. 10.30 In camera. 11.00 Aquarius. 11.45 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.25 Survival. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Why on earth. 6.30 Room 222. 7.00 Wheel of fortune. 7.30 Saint. 8.30 Calum's Ceilidh. 9.00 Manhunt. 10.00 News. 10.30 Scotland for me. 11.00 Special of the week—Aquarius. 11.45 Epilogue.



Irish guards tend to wounded German prisoners during the First World War.

drones out the names of those executed for 'derelictions of

And so into the trenches of

the front line. All quiet, except for the morning exchanges of fire and the snipers' victims crashing to the ground. Then on through the Belgian

mining country to the battle of Loos and a sudden vision of hundreds of dead Scots soldiers, their darkened faces contrasting weirdly with the fantastic colours of kilts and bonnets and gaping wounds. Next a posting to the machine gun' section at the

notorious Hohenzollern Redoubt. Here speciallytrained teams of miners burrow frantically beneath the ground, competing to blow great holes through the earth above. The dislodged mass falls indiscriminately on either side, burying many alive, as storm troops rush under fire to grab the smoking crater from the enemy.

Choking with the stench of the dead churned up in bits and pieces all around, Private Coppard fights to keep his reason and stay alive.

Givenchy—days and nights spent in liquid mud up to the knees. The Somme-and Private Coppard looks out in the of the trenches, maimed bodies. fast-dwindling pensions, and the endless queues

for jobs. . . George Coppard is no revolutionary. His mind is still clouded by the mass of patriotic lies hammered into him during the war and since. But 'With a machine gun to Cambrai' is well worth reading.

Firstly, because it shows the nightmare reality of the First World War as it has rarely been shown — through the experiences, thoughts and feelings of the working-class soldiers who, betrayed by their leaders, were forced to fight and die in their millions so that their masters might

carve up the world. Secondly, because it gives the lie once more to all those middle-class opportunists who, in order to dismiss the need to build revolutionary parties, trade in arguments about the spontaneously revolutionary nature of the working class.

Consciousness

Coppard's book cries out in support of Lenin's insistence that revolutionary socialist consciousness has to be brought to the masses from outside through the policies, programme and organizations

was quite unable to trace to

their source. The contradiction between the life of officers in warcared for by batmen, supplied with blankets, shelter, hot food, cigarettes and duty-free whisky—and the physical and psychological misery of those who, soaked and frozen, eaten by lice, faint with hunger and fatigue, waited every minute to be blotted out by a bullet

or torn apart by a shell. The contradiction between conditions at the front where men were killed like cattle. and the free drinks, treats and outings, the invitations from rich and titled families which awaited the heroic Tommy on

Between the threat of a £7 fine when he, Coppard, loses his revolver, and the fact that 'the whole battle area was littered with material worth millions of quid and there was no apparent urgency to recover

Questions start up in his mind as the list of executions is read out: 'Would I be able to shoot straight at another Tommy?' The older Coppard decides he probably would because of 'the code of slavish obedience to orders given, no matter what' and 'an inborn pride in being a volunteer'.

All regions as BBC-1 excent:

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.26 Midlands today. Look East, weather. 11.47 News, weather. Weekend prospects for anglers. Road works report.

Wales: 1.30-1.45 Ar lin mam. 6.00-6.25 Wales today. 6.45 Heddiw. 7.05 Dyna wall. 7.30-8.25 Week in week out. 11.47 Weather. Scotland: 6.00-6.25 Reporting Scotland. 8.25-8.50, 10.30-11.00 Current account. 11.47 News, weather. Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 Scene around six, weather. 11.47 News,

weather. South and West: 6.00-6.25 Points West. South today. Spotlight South-West, weather. 11.47 News, weather. Week-end road works report.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play school. 7.05 p.m. Heritage:

'Free As Air'. 7.30 News and weather.

ful Bride).

10.35 News, weather.

FROM PAGE ONE

The old agreement terminated on March 30, 1970, and on March 23 at 11 a.m. the convenors reported back the terms of the agreement reached by the NJNC.

48 strings for £1 were read out to the stewards who

voted for rejection.

At 3 p.m. the same day the deal was taken to a mass meeting which also rejected the offer.

Subsequently the company increased the wage rise to £2 plus strings and this offer was accepted.

Disputes in the factory have now arisen as the impact of the strings becomes apparent and the cost of living continues to rise steeply.

The president's attack must taken as a warning to

Massey workers.

As their profits fall, the employers will fight back to impose productivity strings on every wage concession and the Tories will back them with the force of the law if they return to power.

All wage demands must be fought for without strings, whether they masquerade under the title of productivity bargains, Measured-Day Work, 'quid pro quos' or any other names that the employers like to stick on them.

■ FROM PAGE ONE

one attempting to defy them

This is the US ruling class

speaking, not a policeman.

It is the language of a class

stricken by panic, that knows

only one reply to its crisis, whether in Cambodia or Ohio.

That reply is violence and

The looters of Snoul and the sharpshooters of Kent speak this language because

it is the only one they have been taught.

Wedge

constant stream

demagogy has been used by

the US ruling class to drive a wedge between the working

class and the students, just

as it has used racialism and

anti-communism to confuse the working class over the

real issues behind the war in Indo-China.

US imperialism is con-

stantly haunted by the

example of France, where, after a series of brutal

attacks by the police (CRS)

on the Paris students in the

WEATHER

London area, SE England, E

and W Midlands, NW and

central northern England:

Variable cloud and early

morning mist patches and

scattered thundery rain. Wind

easterly, light or moderate. Very warm. Max. 21C (70F).

Central southern England, Channel Islands, SW England:

Rather cloudy with hill fog and outbreaks of thundery

rain. Wind easterly. Moderate.

Normal. Max. 14C (57F). Edinburgh: Bright periods but coastal fog patches. Occasional

thundery showers. Winds east-

erly, moderate. Normal. Max. 12C (54F).

Glasgow, N Ireland: Mainly

dry with sunny intervals but

isolated thundery showers. Winds easterly, light or moderate. Rather warm. Max. 16C

Outlook for Saturday and

Sunday: Continuing warm in

most areas away from the East

coast. Mainly dry with sunny intervals in the North. Cloudy in the South with outbreaks

of thundery rain.

does so at his own peril.'

Nixon's real

fire against

Upper Clyde Union leaders retreat on shipyard sacking

French cost

THE FRENCH ruling class is taking back the concessions made after the May-June general strike of 1968 through a continuous round of price increases.

According to the Finance Ministry, the cost of living rose by 5.9 per cent last year, compared with 5.3 in 1968 and 3.4 in 1967.

Wage increases of up to

14 per cent were won by the workers two years ago. But even so, real wagesas distinct from money wages-went up by only 8 per cent that year, while in 1969 they increased by barely 3 per cent.

French workers, students and youth are all coming under attack from the employers' new offensive on wages, social services and education.

It is in this situation that the Pompidou regime pre-pares its new laws against pressions against all left-wing and revolutionary organiza-

Terror against Guatemalan Communists

THE ENORMOUS publicity killing of the W German Ambassador to Guatemala is 'balanced' by the complete silence on the killings of leftwingers and trade unionists by a right-wing terrorist organization-killings which are being pursued by the Guate-malan government with a good deal less energy than they showed in the case of the German ambassador.

In the last few days three such murders have come to

The corpses of Rogelio Zermeno, Rigoberto Ramirez and Lisandro Ortega have been found, with notes saying they were slain because of their Guatemalan Party of Labour membership (the Guatemalan Communist

Zermeno's body was found to be mutilated with 26 bullet wounds, while that of Ramirez had been decapitated.

Seven deaths

Their deaths bring to seven the number of known mur-ders of left-wing political figures in recent weeks.

Some of the previous victims were found with injuries which indicated they had suffered the most appal-

BURTON'S PROFITS DROP

financial year.

LATE NEWS

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, I ondon, S.W.4.

I ondon. S.W.4.
Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

NIXON ACCUSED OF VICIOUS TACTICS'

(See page one) Washington, Thursday Nixon Administration official responsible for relations with youth, Anthony Moffett, resigned today, charging the President had sanctioned vicious tactics against student protesters and did not want to hear their grievances.

US navy boats are moving up the Mekong river today in an attempt to open up a way to the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh.

CAMMELL LAIRD LOANS

Merseyside shipbuilders Cammell Laird can have secured loans from the Industrial Reorganization Corporation up to about £6 million to prevent

'total collapse'. Paymaster-general, Harold Lever, told the Commons yesterday: 'The government have agreed to provide finance for a 50 per cent shareholding . . . at a price to be settled by independert valuation'.

French workers compelled the Stalinists and reformists to call a one-day protest strike in solidarity with the

while students-many of them from working-class familiesare shot down by Nixon's police and soldiers.

rupt the war plans of the

on wages and job security, the American working class line of the fight against

of Britain and Europe, they can put an end to the imperialist system once and

- class!

T&GWU who operate 70 vans in the London area were expected to be picketting today to prevent emergency to about 2,000 customers.

smaller

National Teachers has published a list of areas where action may be taken in the NUT campaign for the reduction of class sizes in schools.

These are: Darlington, Gateshead, Bootle, Liverpool, Wigan, Bradford, Doncaster, Dudley, Walsall, Essex County Herts County, Bournemouth, Brighton, Plymouth, Gloucester County, Reading, Flint, and the outer London boroughs of Brent, Havering and Redbridge.

Then came the sit-ins and the four-week general strike, heralding the arrival of a new wave of revolutionary struggles the advanced capitalist

spite all its political weak-nesses, is no different to the French or any other in this

struck not only against the Tories, but in

Front line

- Hands off US stu-

CREWS of Security Express vans were on unofficial strike yesterday for an 80 per cent wage rise.
The 220 members of the

N.U.T. lists class areas

THE ACTION Comittee of

U.S. labour

No different

The US working class, de-

It must not stand idly by

Two years ago, students dominated the anti-war move-

ment in Britain just as they do now in the USA.

But the Socialist Labour League insisted then that the only force which could disimperialists was the working

On May 1, the Liverpool dockers gave their answer to those who have argued that the working class would not take action on international

solidarity with the peoples of Indo-China.

Already faced with the threat of a recession, attacks Nixon's war.

Together with the workers

Hands off Indo-China!

International solidarity with the US working

I would like to subscribe to Workers' Press for

to 2,300—over the next five months. BY DAVID MAUDE

Upper Clyde Shipbuilders was working normally

yesterday despite a previous decision by finishing trade

workers to ban overtime in protest against plans to

reduce their numbers by more than 2,000—from 4,500

BOLD AND determined action to prevent union

officials, shipyard managements and the gov-

ernment hanging the industry's deepening crisis

around the necks of its workers is now urgent.

A call for strike action

was rejected at a mass

meeting towards the end

Shop stewards claim that the decision to call off the overtime ban, taken after

union-management discussions

on Wednesday, will not prevent the men striking if any

It nevertheless represents a

Wednesday's discussions re-

Union officials are now hoping that an upturn in orders will reduce the num-

bers who have to go and that

natural wastage will take care

It is certain, however, that at least 1,000 will have to be

paid off in the next few months in addition to those

there for less than two years;

there has been no let-up in government pressure for UCS

FIRST, whip the union leaders into line with their

attack on working practices with the threat of massive

sackings.
SECOND, win their tacit

support for redundancies with

what appears to be a partial

climb-down on the numbers

Not responsible

The acting shipbuilding

Confederation of Shipbuilding

and Engineering Unions, Amalgamated Society of

Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers' vice - president John Dennett, insisted at York

on Wednesday that the in-

dustry's financial crisis was

'something for which we are not prepared to accept re-

But since the publication of

the Geddes Report in 1966, as both Dennett and ASB presi-

Dan McGarvey

made clear, the unions have

waged a consistent campaign

against breaches of disputes

procedure, demarcation dis-

putes and so-called restrictive

Dennett put it at York, 'that

the record of hours lost through strikes in shipbuild-

ing has been reduced tremen-

'There is no doubt,' as

practices.

UCS's strategy is now clear.

to halve its wage-bill.

further dangerous retreat by

sulted in an agreement that men with less than two years in the yards would be asked

shipyard worker is sacked.

the vard leaderships.

to leave voluntarily.

of the rest.

of last week.

dously by the action of the 'The history of this industry before Geddes,' McGarvey told readers of 'The Guardian' on April 30, 'was booms and slumps, strikes and lock-outs

... it was with this in mind that the unions decided on a policy of change and cooperation with management to re-establish the industry, accepting that we may be the cause of the trouble.' (Empha-

Disarm

It was in this way that the union leaders set out to disarm their members in the face of what is in fact a reflection of capitalism's international crisis—and not at all the responsibility of shipyard wor-

Who has benefited from this policy, from the spate of mergers and closures and from the massive outpourings of government aid of the last few Certainly not the shipyard workers.

The number of jobs lost in shipbuilding and marine engineering since 1964, according to figures announced recently, totals 20,000 . . . and

more are on the way.

The £2.6 million loss announced by Swan Hunter on Wednesday, as all Fleet Street's shipping commentators admitted yesterday, is primarily caused by the company's expected deficit on three fixedprice tanker orders booked during the 1967 buyers mar-

would be difficult to make a better case for nationalization not only of the entire shipbuilding and ship-repair industry, but of all its shipowning clients.

OPEN LETTER

ary cannot be questioned.

ARTICLES published in

movement recently show

that the Spanish Com-

munist Party offers no way

forward for the working

class and in particular the

The Spanish Stalinists con-

tinue the Popular Front policies which murdered the Spanish Revolution by cover-

ing up for their allies in E

Europe and the Soviet Union and aiming their appeals at the liberal wing of the

Their criticism of the Stalinist bureaucracies' rela-

tions with Franco are not

made to prepare the Spanish working class for the fight

against the fascists, but to

show their 'national independence' to the liberals.

That the Spanish Commun-

ist Party trained in the theory

of socialism in one country is completely counter revolution-

Asturian miners.

Spanish bourgeoisie.

Spanish workers'

the

The open letter to the British Communist Party from the Socialist Labour / League published in the Workers Press on Saturday, February

'In the "Morning Star" of February 5, 1970, it was reported without comment that the Spanish Communist Party in its paper "Mundo Obrero" (which has to be published clandestinely) had called upon the Polish United Workers' Party (CP) to deny the reports of Polish coal

supplies.' It has certainly been only the Workers Press, and not the 'Morning Star' or its Spanish counterpart which Polish strike breakers.

'Mundo Obrero' on February 6 carried a lead article

• FROM PAGE ONE the banner of the Inter-national Red Cross and that high Dublin customs officials had been instructed to allow 'Red Cross' crates through without the usual

Prime Minister Lynch, despite moving the army up to the border last August, has since publicly opposed

any form of armed intervention in the North.

Both sides of the split are well aware that the Irish bourgeoisie is unable to unify the country.

But the split is not merely power struggle. Above all, Lynch, in the interests of imperialism, had to oust the pro-interventionist fac-

tion of his party — which has a strong petty-boureois base in the country - in order to introduce more right-wing legislation against the working class. Proposed anti-union legislation already makes provision for limiting negotiat-ing licenses and prohibiting unofficial strikes, while the Criminal Justice Bill provides for the transfer of prisoners from civil to

court order if the relevant Minister considers the jails are too full. The workers in the South have shown complete con-tempt for his 7 per cent wages ceiling and have shaken the government in a series of militant strike struggles.

Fear

Ireland cannot be unified by peaceful means—a fact which Haughey and Blaney are demagogically using. Lynch fears that the reopening of the whole ques-tion of partition, even in this distorted way, will blow apart his carefully-nurtured

with British imperialism. The Tories in Ulster express exactly the same Lynch has the support of the extreme right-wing Fine Gael party and the Labour

structure of collaboration

The crisis of working class leadership in Ireland is more and more openly emerging to the surface.

The fight against antiunion laws, partition and

for the overthrow of British imperialism and the victory of the working class now means the building of the Irish section of the Fourth International.



POLISH DEALS WITH FRANCO

Spanish

headed 'All help to the

This article praises the determination of the Asturian miners as a major part of the struggle for freedom in Spain, as a stimulus for the uniting of all progressive forces which are struggling for a bourgeois

We learn that 'a large section of the Asturian clergy' in the official bulletin of the Archbishop of Oviedo (capital Asturias) read in most churches has declared that the strike was for 'just demands'. The CP's provincial committee in Asturias issued a

9616112111111261591611611111161111

8,000 Asturian miners are again out on strike, demanding improvements in wages and working conditions. Polish productivity experts are currently visiting Spain to advise the Franco regime on increasing the profitability of Asturian mines.

manifesto saying that the strike was in the interests of

the whole population. No mention of the Polish strike-breakers is made in any of these state-ments. Presumably the prayers of the clergy will call this

TELEGRAMS

This betrayal of the miners by the Stalinist bureaucracy was carried further in the February bulletin of the Workers' Commission of Madrid, which printed telegrams of support for the Asturian strikers from the central committee of miners' unions of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Rumania.

In the February publication of the CP's Madrid Committee, Santiago Carrillo, the General Secretary of the Spanish CP, was questioned about its role and relations with the E European bureau-

This interview shows how

CONCENTRATION of the W European steel industry

is expected to accelerate

rapidly over the next five

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

far the Spanish Stalinists have gone over to the bourgeoisie as the party of national unity future guarantor of democracy:

'The importance of the CP and one of the reasons for its strength is that it is the best guarantee that democracy won't be an attempt to repeat what happened in the past, that democracy will not only be an improvement on the present regime, but also on the pre-Civil War period.'

AMNESTY

The CP would overcome the class struggle of the Republic and Civil War since the CP had sons of fighters from both camps in its ranks and called for an amnesty for

The interviewer then asked Carrillo about an article, probably written by the Spanish under-secretary for foreign affairs, which appeared in 'ABC', a fascist daily. This article claimed that the

Spanish CP's opposition to

the Soviet invasion of Czecho-

slovakia and the consequent

expulsion of two pro-Soviet

members of the Central Committee had led to permanent tension between the Soviet leaders and the Spanish CP. This tension, it continued, had allowed Franco to open up commercial offices in Warsaw and would certainly allow Spain to open up diplomatic

and economic centres in other

E European countries.

'The countries of the East have realized that they must get agreement with the only legitimate authority of Spain.'

GENERAL

On the question of diplomatic relations, Carrillo offered mild criticism of the Soviet and E European bureaucracies in general terms

without referring to the strike-breaking by Poland.

since the Spanish CP needs the support of these bureau-cracies and their distorted links with the Russian Revolution to maintain its hold on the Spanish working class.

'It is known that we have always thought that the socialist countries, even when trading with Spain, should not formalize political, consular nor diplomatic relations until the regime changed. At a certain moment the Russian comrades modified their attitude and established consular relations. We did not agree with this semirecognition of Franco, and we told them so sincerely. At that time we were assured by other socialist countries in Europe that no relations would be established whilst Franco was still in power. Now, suddenly, Poland, Hungary turn back on this agree-

'MISTAKES'

'We are still against this. And we would have preferred, especially now when Franco reaches his end, that the European socialist countries maintained their attitude towards a regime imposed with the aid of Hitler and Mus-

For this Stalinist, strikebreaking and trading with fascist states are unfortunate mistakes, made by otherwise good comrades.

The Spanish CP will be

unable for very long to deceive the Spanish working class. The contempt of the Soviet and E European bureaucracy for the Spanish working class and the bourgeois programme of the Spanish CP are both based on a Stalinist fear of the revolutionary action of the working class and a con-

ling tortures before they were

BURTON'S, the giant tailoring firm, suffered a drop in profits of almost £700,000 in the first half of the current

Mr Lionel Jacobson, the company's chairman, predicted that the second six months will also show a fall.

Feather steps in at Doxford's

VICTOR FEATHER, TUC general secretary, is attempting to end the eight-week strike of 45 workers at the Doxford and Sunderland ship-building and engineering yard.

The strike, which arose over a proposed productivity deal, has now involved the laying off of 3,000 men.

CLAIM REPORT

DUNLOP workers will be meeting today to hear a report from officials on their £6-a-week wage claim. 1,500 engineers have been on unofficial strike for a week over the claim and 4,000 other workers have been laid off, bringing the tyre factory to a

British-Leyland yesterday restarted production of Austin-Morris 1100 and 1300 models at Birmingham and Oxford after a fortnight's shutdown because of a haulage strike at

EAR OF LENIN TROTSKY Full subscription £10 a year (For any two days (Posted daily) you select)

Post to: Circulation Organizer, Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. (Tel: 01-720-2000)

Party leader, Brendan Corish, apparently supports the idea of a national government.

years, according to the Common Market Commis-In its memorandum to

increase the Consultative Committee

European steel mergers

of the European Coal and mission has stated that the Common Market's 100 steel

The Commission has already approved the recent merger between the W German steel giants August Thyssen-Hutte (itself the product of a previous merger) and Mannesmann.

firms will have been merged

into ten groupings by 1975.

munist internationalism