The daily organ of the **Central Committee of the** Socialist Labour League

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER . PUBLISHED FROM TUESDAY TO SATURDAY . NUMBER 163 FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1970

IIII ARS DIASS

# A programme for 'law and order' Birch, cane, hang & electrocute 'em What

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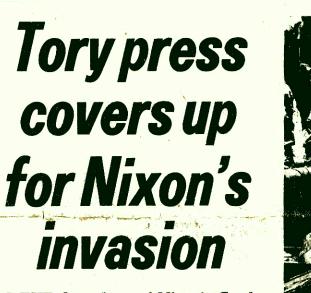
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BY DAVID MAUDE

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# May £1,000 **Appeal Fund** reaches £151 16s 9d

PRICE 6d.

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We need £848 3s 3d by May 31 in order to complete the target. It would be splendid if we could pull in a flood of donations this coming weekend. Please do everything you

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Will I.O.S. collapse?

Socialist Labour

League and **Young Socialists** 

LENIN **CENTENARY** 

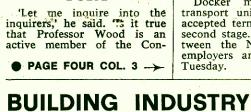
**PUBLIC** 

MEETING

Birmingham

Sunday, May 17

7.00 p.m.



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But despite their silence, the Council condemns the ban on working class can and must drive the witch-hunt back. We say: Close the ranks! No concession to the witch-hunt! Vote Labour and keep instatement.' the Tories out!

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'Supply dump . . . nothing but a supply dump'! Vain search for Vietcong HQ in

The 'Telegraph' editorial of the same day proclaimed Nixon 'a courageous President as he and his Pentagon allies planned the slaughter of thousands of workers and peasants 6,000 miles away from the well-protected White House comforts. Always willing to support its stable companion in an anti-communist crusade, the 'Sunday Telegraph' of May 3 narrowed down the NLF quar-

'US reaches Communist HQ zone.' And yet not quite.

# Still searching

tions of Trotsky's works Special article: 'Lenin, the youth and the revolutionary After noting that 'American troops, led by tanks, reached the headquarters zone of the party' Pictures of the best YS May Day demonstration Communist command yester-day . . .' the 'Telegraph' cautiever. ously added 'But they were still searching for the under ground headquarters itself'.

PAGE FOUR COL. 6 -> 

# **'U.S. propaganda like Nazis'** He added that 'the US did not want S Vietnamese forces

says author

To 'respect Cambodian sovereignty', the task force

would not go within three miles of Phnom Penh, the

Cambodian capital.

Cambodia

**KEEP LEFT** 

Young Socialists'

official paper

MAY ISSUE

**OUT NOW!** 

Full report on Young Socialists'

10th Annual Conference New YS National Committee's

on Cambodia 
Selection of foreign news 
'Jean Jaurès

-fifth in the series of transla-

16 pages for 6d

Order from Keep Left

186a Clapham High St.

London, SW4.

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Meanwhile, in Phnom Penh, thousands of Viet-

namese are being put onto

S Vietnamese Navy vessels

and taken down the Mekong to the Vietnamese

The pogrom of the Viet-

namese minority in Cam-

One of the victims was a S Vietnamese Army

corporal, who was beaten to death by a band of right-

border.

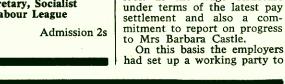
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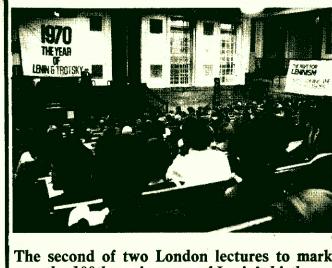
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● PAGE FOUR COL. 5 →

DIGBETH CIVIC An employers' representa-HALL tive at the meeting-of the National Joint Council for the industry — pointed out that there was a commitment to look at the wagé structure Speaker : Gerry Healy, national secretary, Socialist Labour League



# Lenin Centenary



# the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth

Monday, May 18, 7.30 p.m.

'Lenin and the coming **English Revolution** 

Lecture given by G. HEALY, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League

# **BEAVER HALL**

Garlick Hill, London, E.C.4 (Near Mansion House tube station) Admission two shillings

# Secret job-evaluation talks

A SECRET meeting between union leaders and employers to establish the use of job evaluation systems for the building industry was held last weekend -at Eastbourne according to this week's edition of the building trade paper 'Construction News'.

> BY BERNARD FRANKS work out a job-evaluation system for the industry and

they now wanted to 'share their thinking with the trade unions'.

## **Points** system

According to Professor Phelps Brown, head of the working party, a points-rating system was needed based on requirements of physical skill, mental skill, acquired knowledge, responsibility and job environment.

On this basis '. . . a plumber would have a total points evaluation of 115 compared with 58 for a scaffolder's labourer'.

Some of the reasons put forward by the employers for particular need for job evaluation were:

INTRODUCTION of the 'balanced' gang principle in industrialized building.

THE NEED to improve output and the progress of mechanization and

REPLACING of craft processes by the simple fixing of factory-made materials and components.

The report states that trade union head George Lowthian said there would have to be 'counter - productive conces-sions' from the employers, but did not say what these would be.

# Job reductions

At a time when thousands of workers throughout the industry are out of work the employers and union leaders get together in secret to lay the basis for new methods which must inevitably lead to further giant reductions in iobs.

The introduction of job evaluation in the building trade is nothing more than a pay rationalization process in preparation for the introduc-tion of Measured-Day Work throughout the industry.

'The Cambodian army isn't fighting', said the General. 'It seems more afraid of us than of the Vietcong. They don't seem sure of our motives.' William Shirer's point is made more clear by US Secretary of State Rogers' promise on Wednesday that

all American ground forces would be out of combat in Vietnam by the middle of This had been urged by next year.

of US military forces in Vietnam. S Vietnamese land forces of on Wednesday linked up with Marines who had come up the Mekong river. Their commander, General Do Cao Tri, told reporters that they were opening up the Saigon-Phnom Penh road.

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TORY

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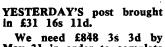
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'Supply dump . . . nothing but a supply dump'! Vain search for Vietcong HQ in Cambodia

**KEEP LEFT** Young Socialists' official paper MAY ISSUE **OUT NOW!** 

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**PUBLIC MEETING** 

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DIGBETH CIVIC

HALL

Speaker : Gerry Healy, national secretary, Socialist

Labour League

THE YEAR

Admission 2s

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The second of two London lectures to mark

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Monday, May 18, 7.30 p.m.

'Lenin and the coming

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Lecture given by

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**BEAVER HALL** 

Garlick Hill, London, E.C.4

(Near Mansion House tube station)

Admission two shillings

Socialist Labour

League and

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LENIN

**CENTENARY** 

# Secret job-evaluation talks

A SECRET meeting between union leaders and em ployers to establish the use of job evaluation systems for the building industry was held last weekend -at Eastbourne according to this week's edition of the building trade paper 'Construction News'.

BY BERNARD FRANKS

work out a job-evaluation there was a commitment to look at the wage structure under terms of the latest pay system for the industry and they now wanted to 'share their thinking with the trade unions'.

# **Points** system

According to Professor Phelps Brown, head of the working party, a points-rating system was needed based on requirements of physical skill, mental skill, acquired knowledge, responsibility and job environment.

On this basis '... a plumber would have a total points evaluation of 115 compared with 58 for a scaffolder's labourer'.

Some of the reasons put forward by the employers for the particular need for job evaluation were:

**INTRODUCTION** of the 'balanced' gang principle in industrialized building.

THE NEED to improve output and the progress of mechanization and

**REPLACING** of craft processes by the simple fixing of factory-made materials and components.

The report states that trade union head George Lowthian said there would have to be 'counter - productive concessions' from the employers, but did not say what these would

### Job reductions

At a time when thousands of workers throughout the in-dustry are out of work the employers and union leaders get together in secret to lay the basis for new methods which must inevitably lead to further giant reductions in iobs.

The introduction of evaluation in the building trade is nothing more than a pay rationalization process in preparation for the introduc-tion of Measured-Day Work throughout the industry.

'Vietnamization''.' of US military forces in which S Vietnamese forces S Vietnamese land forces take over the duties of US troops. The invading forces in

promise on Wednesday that all American ground forces would be out of combat in Vietnam by the middle of

on Wednesday linked up with Marines who had come up the Mekong river. Their commander, General Do Cao Tri, told reporters that they were opening up the Saigon-Phnom Penh road. To 'respect Cambodian sovereignty', the task force would not go within three miles of Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital.

'The Cambodian army isn't fighting', said the General. 'It seems more afraid of us than of the

Meanwhile, in Phnom Penh, thousands of Vietnamese are being put onto

S Vietnamese Navy vessels

and taken down the Mekong to the Vietnamese

border. The pogrom of the Viet-

namese minority in Cam-

One of the victims was a S Vietnamese Army corporal, who was beaten to

says author Vietnam.

THE CHANGES which took place in the Kremlin after Stalin's death posed difficult problems for the French Communist Party leadership. It had for many years proudly proclaimed its unswerving fidelity to Stalin and Thorez had moulded himself in Stalin's image.

From the Cominform meeting in July 1953, at least its inner core was aware that the new Soviet leadership would be obliged to 'reveal' and repudiate many of Stalin's crimes.

Thorez and Duclos must also have been aware of the in-fighting taking place in the leadership of the Soviet Party. Unwilling to break with their old habits or to face the Party crisis which would result when the 'revelations' became known, they continued to play for time as long as they could. As late as March, 1956, Duclos indulged in a public apologia for Stalin.

After listing Stalin's contributions he summed up:

'Nobody can forget the role played by Stalin in the training and development of the Communist parties. Comrade Stalin's merits are inscribed in history; they are part of the heritage of the international workers' movement.'

Needless to say the Party press scarcely, if ever, mentions Stalin today.

At\_this stage — in 1956 the Party leaders were dragging their feet even in relation to the public sessions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. This tendency lasted for so long, and the adaptation after the publication of the 'secret speech' of Khrushchev was made with such reluctance, that it is clear that they were not yet sure that the faction in the Kremlin which they favoured, the 'hard-liners' like Molotov, would not come back into power.

Meanwhile the Party was wallowing in a new phase of opportunism presented by the existence of Mollet's government and seeking a closer understanding with the Socialist Party.

This line, which included the vote of special powers in Algeria, was coming under fire in the Party. The calling into question of the role of Stalin threatened to strengthen the critical tendencies. Thorez temporized, tried to create diversions (such as a discussion on birth control) and even indulged in some mild selfcriticism in which he condemned the formula 'the party of Maurice Thorez'-and then denied responsibility for it !

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH From, the upheaval of 1956 to the death of Thorez

Practically all workers in Paris struck work on April 24, 1961, in protest against the military coup in Algeria. The right-wing nationalist generals attempted to oust de Gaulle because of his proposed settlement which would give Algeria independence. Above : Bus crews on strike in the centre of Paris.

# 50 years since the founding of the French Communist Party

retain

since 1947, mainly as a result of its betrayals. Intellectuals, whose separation from workermembers was virtually com-plete, had been little affected by the aspects of Party policy which represented class-collabpower.

counter-plot.

to draw closer to the Socialist Party and the left bourgeois parties, i.e. to form a new Popular Front in conditions quite different from those of 1936. So in the critical days following May 13 the Party deputies gave full support to the Pflimlin government.

munist deputies had voted the government's emergency powers, 'L'Humanité' of May 17 carried the banner headline:

'Mighty anti-fascist wave throughout the country-Vigilance, Action, Unity. To Break the conspiracy of General de Gaulle and his accomrebel onslaught against republican institutions.

A few days later they voted overwhelmingly for de Gaulle. It was left to the CP and the other lefts to organize the funeral march of the Fourth

The Party had failed to use the dual threat of army rebellion and a demand for power from de Gaulle in order to gain access to a coalition government. In the eyes of many workers it therefore shared the discredit which had overtaken parliamentary institutions and it contributed to the political apathy which

In the referendum which followed, 80 per cent voted for de Gaulle's constitution.

bureaucracy could do a deal with the General or use him

as a bridge to the USA. During the 1960s, therefore, the French Communist Party more or less openly approved de Gaulle's foreign policy and, by continuing to hold back the working class, became one of the pillars upon which the Bonapartist regime was built.

Party policy, in other particulars, underwent no fundamental change. It adapted to the situation, contributing to saving de Gaulle during the barricades affair in Algeria and the attempted military coup in 1961.

At the same time, as the regime began to show its face, many of the Party's electors and supporters began to return to it. The working class had suffered a setback, but not a defeat, and it soon began to regain its combativity. This process was completed by the time of the 1963 miners'

of the oncoming generations such as Lecoeur, Servin, Casanova and a number of Party intellectuals.

The legacy of Maurice Thorez was therefore a colourless leadership of apparatus men schooled in the politics of opportunism and essentially activist in their outlook.

A strict division of labour was preserved between the intellectual-theorist with their own groups, journals and institutes and the workerleaders who directed the Party apparatus and its work in the factories and the CGT. The result in theoretical terms was a general impoverishment.

## Control

The important thing for the leadership was control over the working class, its use as a power base for carrying on political manoeuvring aimed at establishing a government able to pursue a policy in line with the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

# **Blockage**

Communist Party The remained, as the principal Party based on the working class, the main blockage on the road to the development of the consciousness of the class. It determined the policy of the CGT, which remained the main national trade union centre.

Despite the defection or expulsion of many intellectuals in and after 1956 it could still claim a considerable following in such circles, though these were still the most 'unreliable' from the leadership's point of view.

Despite what Thorez had said in 1956, the Party was still very much 'his'. He had built it up from a declining Party of 30,000 into a great mass Party of the working this. class. He was closely identified with every stage in its history and with the policies it had proclaimed—the Popular Front and the French Front, the 'outstretched hand' to the Catholics, the French road to socialism, the nationalism of the war and post-war

intellectuals like Picasso and Aragon. While undoubtedly a man of the apparatus, Stalin's choice and a reluctant 'de-Stalinizer', Thorez had given the French Party a style which bore a personal stamp. In the last decade or so of his rule he (and his wife

period, even the appeal to the

in one factory or one part of a factory, for one hour or half a day. When a large section of workers broke away from the control of the bureaucracy, as did the miners in 1963, the tactic was to isolate this struggle while giving it nomi-nal support, all the time limiting the extent of the struggle.

Friday, May 15, 1970

The Party was able to retain its support in what were often privileged and conservative strata of the working class organized in the CGT unions.

It paid little attention to the new recruits to the working class, whether from the French peasantry or from immigrants from Algeria and other colonies or the less developed areas of Europe.

In fact, then, the Party's decline during the 1950s, which had seemed bound to accelerate after 1958, was arrested.

According to Party figures of cards issued, membership declined until 1963 and then began to revive. As membership turnover was high, many of those in the Party by the mid-1960s knew nothing firsthand of the Stalin period or of the effect of the Khrushchev report and the Hungarian Revolution. These were known about only in the form permitted to the Party press or as referred to in Party classes and schools.

> When the Party was not tacitly supporting de Gaulle's

government because of its own foreign policy of 'friendship with the Soviet Union and E Europe it was seeking an alliance of all 'left' parties for electoral purposes. Its political aims were summed up first as 'renovated

democracy', then as 'advanced democracy' — in both cases what was meant was a bourgeois republican regime based on parliamentary forms within which, presumably, the peaceful road to socialism could be pursued.

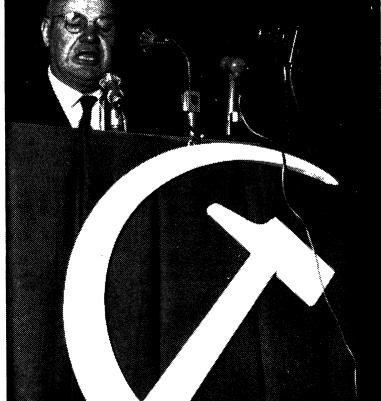
The Party's life was thus geared to elections for local or national office within the constitutional framework of the Fifth (Gaullist-Bonapartist) Republic. The search for allies and determined hostility to any revolutionary alternative were natural corollaries of

Marxist revisionism had become second nature to the Communists from French Maurice Thorez downwards. The language of Marxism and lip service to Leninism (Stalin was, of course, no longer mentioned) served demagogically to conceal class colla

boration. The practical side of this was the Party's ability to hold the working class in check and to fragment its struggles in such a way as to wear down

its willingness to fight. The CP and the CGT in the vears before 1968 became adept at this technique.

There were partial struggles



# opposition currents

which openly expressed them-selves in 1956 and the immediately succeeding years fined to intellectuals.

appeal was for the Party to close its ranks against the enemy. Critics and oppositionists could thus be designated as agents of the bourgeoisie or at least as victims of its propaganda.

echoed 'Pravda' and loudly

applauded the suppression of

the workers' uprising. As in similar crises, the

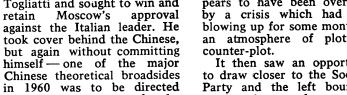
The

were almost exclusively con-That is not to say that workers were unaffected by the crisis, but many workers had drifted away from the Party

oration: they may even have

applauded them.

against him as a proxy for the



Soviet leadership. Meanwhile, in French politics the Party sought to win its way back to respectability at a time when the development of the Algerian war was

can institutions', while preventing the intervention of the working class as an independ-

ent force into the struggle for The Communist Party appears to have been overtaken by a crisis which had been

blowing up for some months in an atmosphere of plot and It then saw an opportunity

Reporting that the Com-

Republic on May 28.

set in.

In other words, many Communist voters had gone with the majority. In the legislative elections at the end of November the Party lost over 14 million votes, giving it only

cast. victory of de Gaulle the refusal of the Party to lead any real struggle in May and its electoral defeats in the referendum and for the new Assembly sharpened internal crisis. the There were a number of expulsions. Critical statements circulated and the opposition tendencies were given a new lease of life. These manifestations of discontent had no more success than those of 1956 in building up an effective opposition to the Party leadership or creating an alternative pole of attraction. The leadership meanwhile pursued its way almost as though nothing had happened. Verbal opposition to de Gaulle and claims that the Gaullist regime expressed the interests of big monopoly capital cannot disguise the fact that it had decided to peacefully coexist inside its bosom.

strike.

some 19 per cent of the votes

Here again Thorez manoeuvred with some skill so that he did not commit the Party irrevocably to any one of the tendencies now forming. He was cautiously opposed to Togliatti and sought to win and

WORKERS PRESS

### Ferment

However, by April 1956 the ferment had engulfed the world Stalinist movement and statements about Stalin and the 'personality cult' were coming from many parties, including the Chinese. By June, Khrushchev's speech had become public property, denouncing Stalin and specifying his crimes in some detail. A Party crisis could no longer be avoided.

However, in the months which followed, when the revolt in Poland and the Hungarian Revolution aggravated the situation, the leadership was both able to keep the situation inside the Party under control and to adjust itself to the changes in the Kremlin. For the latter purpose a delegation visited Moscow at the end of June and returned to proclaim 'the complete harmony of view of the two parties'. The 14th Congress which

opened shortly afterwards was kept strictly in hand. The controversies in the international movement were referred to in muted terms to suggest that there was nothing wrong in the French Party. The hope clearly was that the sound and fury would soon die down and that the less said the better.

In fact the difficulties were only just beginning. The upheavals in E Euope imposed strains of a kind which had never had to be faced before.

The tactic of Thorez was basically simple and merely a continuation of that used by Stalin. Rather than expressing an individual view, like Togliatti, with all the risks that implied, he followed with tight-lipped fidelity the line .of Moscow. True the Khrushchev leadership had demoted Stalin, but, in the circumstances. Thorez saw nowhere else to

turn. Support for the Soviet Union against its imperialist foes had always been a strong point with the Party membership which had been reinforced by the Red Army's victories and by the Cold War of the 1950s. The Party apparatus and a large proportion of the membership was convinced that the Soviet Union could do no wrong. Thorez was thus able to base himself upon this sentiment.

In the case of Hungary in particular the Party press and its official statements faithfully MAURICE THOREZ, 1900-1964 : Perfectly suited to Stalin's needs in the Comintern.

shaking the foundations of the

state and preparing the way for

a revolutionary situation. So,

when the crisis blew up

following the settlers' revolt

which began on May 13, 1958,

the Party's role as a defender

of the bourgeois social order

the main struggles in industry,

as well as the campaigns

against the Algerian war, had

taken place outside of Com-

The Party had been stag-

nating numerically and was

immersed in routine politics

centring on meetings and peti-

tions and the parliamentary

When the institutions on

which it had been living, those

of a bourgeois parliamentary

regime increasingly discredited

and unpopular, were in peril,

it lined up with the established

1958, precipitated a deep crisis

in which the bourgeois poli-

ticians were faced with a mili-

tary take-over or the alterna-

tive of a Gaullist dictatorship.

The crisis showed that few

The Algerian revolt of May,

For some years before 1958

was clearly exposed.

munist Party control.

game.

order

The issues which now affected intellectuals were regarded by many workers who remained in the Party or had joined it in the previous years as being a result of anti-Soviet propaganda. If the critics succumbed to it they were only displaying their weaknesses.

The opposition journals and groups which were formed in 1956-1958 thus found it difficult to obtain much audience from workers in the Party, nor did they make this their main object — which would require the putting forward of an alternative programme for the building of a revolutionary

Although a number of prominent intellectuals broke with the Party after 1956 or were expelled because of their part in the opposition groups, no break took place in the leadership nor were inroads made into the bulk of the rank and file. By adaptations and manoeuvres the Thorez leadership was able to weather the storm and isolate and discredit the dissidents.

The more serious problem which confronted it was the Frenchmen were prepared to risk their lives to save the leadership's relationship with the Soviet bureaucracy and Fourth Republic, its deputies the attitude to adopt towards and its parliament. It also the new situation in the intershowed the CP standing foursquare in defence of 'republinational movement.

plices.

In fact the majority of the deputies, faced with the threat of a military take-over, were seeking some way to capitulate to de Gaulle. All the Communist Party could do was to vote with this majority-even when it passed votes in support of the army — and confuse and disarm the working class. It cultivated the illusion that the Socialist Party was prepared to resist de Gaulle.

# Illusions

The Party extended these illusions to President Coty, who was preparing to open the door for de Gaulle. His order to the army, declared Duclos in the Chamber, the order to obey the government, should be hung up in every army barracks:

'French justice should stop condoning the behaviour of rebellious generals and seditious deputies, and the radio should stop making propaganda for de Gaulle."

Who was to hang up the orders and do the stopping was never made clear.

Never had the parliamentary cretinism of French Stalinism been more obviously shown. Nothing was more calculated to cause demoralization and dismay in the working class.

To make matters worse the Party militants were put on alert to defend their premises and kept keyed up with persistent rumours of paratroop landings and other army movements.

The keynote was defence of parliament and the regime. Nothing was done to mobilize the working class, because such a mobilization could only be against the regime with which the Party had closely identified itself ever since the onset of the crisis.

While giving the impression of being ready to fight, and thus saving face with Party militants, it failed to rouse the working class for action. What was the Party's game? To join up with the other parties in a broad front for the defence of 'republican institutions'.

'Without the people stand-ing behind the Communist Party', declared Duclos to his parliamentary colleagues, 'you cannot effectively resist the

Referring to the new Bonapartist constitution Thorez himself said: 'We shall take into account the fact that it exists. We will

not let ourselves be turned away from our theses of 1946, confirmed ten years later by our 14th Congress, on the possibility of peaceful roads toward socialism, or on the role that a true parliament can play, a true expression of popular sovereignty, based on the masses.'

# Socialism

He appealed to all republicans to recognize socialism as a 'legitimate ambition'---to be realized in the dim and distant future by means of parliament. There is plenty of material in the writings of Thorez to make some apt comparisons with Kautsky and other revisionists and reformists. The Chinese were to take full

advantage of this a year or two later. In fact, the Soviet bureaucracy was not displeased with the outcome of the French crisis. They feared either a strong government with a

Western, pro-American orientation or a struggle for power which would bring a workers' and peasants' govern-

ment onto the scene. De Gaulle was known to have his own ambitions and to be seeking a more independent policy in conformity with French interests. The



The Hungarian Revolution (above) and its brutal suppression aggravated the crisis in the Party which had developed with the death of Stalin and Khrushchev's speech to the 20th Congress of the

Under the Fifth Republic the Communist Party was able to resume its old forms of work. It retained its apparatus and although, in Thorez's closing years, a number of leading figures were cleared out of the Party or silenced, there were no splits

in the leadership. He was able to steer the Party clear of the dangers represented by the Sino-Soviet dispute and the changes in the Soviet bureaucracy itself with the same skill as in the late 1950s.

It might have been expected that the Party would be so discredited as a result of its posi-tion in 1958, its conciliation with de Gaulle and its attitude towards the Algerian war that it would go into decline and tend to lose its influence with the working class. In fact these tendencies were counteracted by others such as the growing unpopularity of Guallism, the absence of any alternative pole of attraction and the revival of class struggle in the 1960s.

The Party held on by virtue of an extensive bureaucracy the roots which it had put down in the institutions of bourgeois society and its continued capacity-deriving from the Russian Revolution — to attract workers, youth and students coming into politics afresh.

It had to retain its grip in the factories and in the working-class areas.

It needed to fight against, try to discredit and if necessary use physical force against those other left tendencies which challenged its hold. All the old Stalinist methods remained fully in force.

Jeanette Vermeesch) had carried out a series of purges of critics and suspected enemies and rivals. Personal fealty was demanded; the cult of Thorez was pervasive enough even though he lacked Stalin's means to enforce it.

The younger cadres who came forward were very much in the image of Thorez, but they lacked his experience and powers of command. Despite his physical decline he exercised political leadership to the end: he made and imposed the line. In his lifetime the Party remained 'monolithic' as it had been since the 1930s.

Thorez carried through the 'de-Stalinization' of the French Party on the basis of support for the de facto controllers of the Kremlin and despite his personal antipathy for Khrushchev the 'adventurer', as he was said to have called him in private.

# Subservience

That suited Khrushchev, too. Though his personal opinions about Thorez are not known, his subservience had always been counted upon by the Soviet bureaucracy. That was the price Thorez paid for being master in his own house. The death of Thorez in July 1964, besides severing a

tie with the past, opened up a crisis of leadership in the French Party which remains unresolved. This was part of his own making.

The list of capable cadres he had expelled or demoted is a long one consisting as it does not only of old-timers, like Marty and Tillon, but many

The French Communist Party had long since passed definitively to the side of the defence of the bourgeois social order.

Nothing demonstrated this more clearly than its policy in May 1958 or than its rela-tionship with the Gaullist regime.

Nevertheless, it still purported to be a revolutionary party and it was on this ground that it recruited and held its most active militants, especially from the youth.

# Lip-service

It was necessary to pay lip-service to the revolutionary goal and the ultimate achievement of socialism as the parties of the Second International had done.

But such a revolution had to be 'peaceful', achieved by parliamentary means. It was never clear how this could be done in the face of the Gaullist police state.

Let Maurice Thorez himself sum up the position as he did in an anticle in 1962:

'The working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard want a bloodless revolution. This would accord with the interests of the economy, and with the subjective desire of the working people. A nonviolent revolution is possible when the preponderance of forces is on the side of the working class and its allies and when the big bourgeoisie are forced to make concessions. The whole policy of the anti-monopoly alliance is aimed at bringing about a situation

of exactly this kind.' Refraining from too close an examination of the nonsensical aspect of this statement ---what are 'the interests of the economy'?---what 'concessions' do the big bourgeoisie make

in the course of a revolution? -what about the teachings of Lenin in 'State and Revolution'? In fact, within a few years. the most essential of Thorez's conditions, 'the preponderance

of forces on the side of the working class and its allies' was to be as complete as it had ever been. What it did under these conditions, in May 1968, provides a fitting commentary and conclusion in this 50th year of the Party's history.

IN 1956 the Hungarian **Revolution had thrown** out the Stalinist bureaucracy, and Imre Nagy, as the new Prime Minister, appointed as his Minister of Culture a survivor of the first Hungarian Soviet government (1919).

This man, although exiled in the Soviet Union during the 1930s had escaped the purges to become Professor at the University of Budapest.

Unlike Nagy, who was executed by the Russians after they had retaken Hungary for the bureaucracy, Lukács was merely deprived of his Communist Party membership and exiled to Rumania for a year.

Now he lives quietly in Budapest at work on a Marxist aesthetic, a living monument to the 'liberality' of the Hungarian bureaucracy.

Lukács was born in Hungary in 1885. Precociously gifted, he had written his first book, a study of tragedy, at the age of 23.

His career falls into three distinct periods, his work in each being closely related to the specific historical character of the time.

Between 1908 and 1919, Lukács was a philosophical idealist, and in his early writings, 'The Soul and the Forms', 'The Sociology of Modern Drama', and the 'Theory of the Novel', literary genres (tragedy, drama, novel) are seen largely as timeless, historical essences and only in his study of drama does he directly link literature with class structure.

These writings show Lukács to be anti-bourgeois, but also to see man in tragic terms, as alienated from himself and his community, striving to invest his life with value and meaning.

# Vision

This bleak, idealist vision ends with the Russian Revolution: the Bolshevik victory moved Lukács away from despair to Marxism.

In 1918 Lukács had joined the Hungarian Communist Party; in March 1919 he became Commissar of Education in Bela Kun's short-lived government and in August. with the Revolution defeated he left Hungary for Vienna.

Although the working class



**IMRE NAGY BELA KUN** 

> 'GEORGE LUKÁCS : THE MAN, HIS WORK AND HIS IDEAS' Edited by G. H. R. Parkinson Weidenfeld and Nicolson 63s

Essays

# minimize

Lukács'



The book was greeted with

hostility by sections of the

Comintern, and at the Fifth

Congress of the Communist International (1924) Bukharin

denounced Lukács for 'relapses

into the old Hegelianism',

while Zinoviev urged the Con-

gress to repudiate 'this extreme

left tendency' and to prevent it from 'spreading and becom-

ing an international phenom-

Stalin had formed his bloc

with Zinoviev and the policy

of building socialism in one

country was in the process

of replacing internationalism

In this situation mechanical

Reflection

place for consciousness as an

active force, but saw it as a

mere reflection of the social

situation. And since, accord-

ing to Stalin, western capital-

ism was now 'stable', revolu-

tionary consciousness was

stable too: there would be no

question of developing con-

sciousness within the prole-

tariat or of conscious inter-

vention. Mechanism replaced

the dialectical conception of

consciousness which Lukács

In 1933 Lukács publicly

denounced his own work as

idealist, theoretically false and

He linked himself abjectly

In practical terms Lukács

was now prepared to compro-

mise with Stalinism and to

concentrate almost exclusively

on literature and philosophy

and to more or less ignore

with 'comrade Stalin' to strug-

gle for 'iron ideological implac-

ability and refusal to compromise with all deviations

from Marxism-Leninism'.

practically dangerous.

had stressed.

Stalinist 'theory' had no

and permanent revolution.

'Marxism' reasserted itself.

clearly political: by

onslaughts were

1924

art and literature. Exiled in Russia in the 1930s Lukács wrote 'The Historical Novel', 'Studies in European Realism', 'Goethe and His Age', and his

Left Opposition. Presumably they were mere sectarians and 'Utopians'. Lukács, not Trotsky, was the 'realist'.

Originally given as lectures at Reading University, the essays evince both a strong desire for peaceful co-existence and a certain lack of critical acumen

There is no attempt to situate Lukács' work historically and concretely. Vague remarks are made from time to time on 'pressures' from above but these are assumed to be mere incidentals to the real task of critical evaluation.

Thus in their discussion of the 'Historical Novel', Pascal, Craig and Lehmann concentrate on Lukács' interpretation of Walter Scott, but fail to connect this with his later discussion of mediocre historical novelists such as Romain Rolland and Heinrich Mann whom he regarded as continuing the Scott tradition (the novel of 'democratic humanism').

Popular-Front ideology demanded the elevation of these 'optimistic' writers over the more 'pessimistic' Proust, Joyce, Kafka.

**BUKHARIN** 

The essays are silent, too,

on Lukács' continuing 'critical'

acceptance of Stalinism. In his

essay on Solzhenitsyn ('Social-

ist Register', 1965) Lukács

wrote of the urgent need for

a 'critical appraisal of the

Stalin era' arguing that 'One

Day in the Life of Ivan Denis-

ovich' constituted the begin-

nings of an overall and total

view of contemporary Soviet

Eve

on, was on the eve of a 'renais-

sance of Marxism',-yet today

Solzhenitsyn and other writers are either in Soviet jails, exiled, and their work banned.

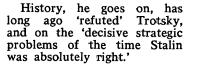
Lukács fails to apply his Marxism to society and

reserves his critical edge for

In his 'Reflections on the

The socialist world, he went

society,



'Socialism in one country' is Leninism, and Stalin is Lenin's legitimate heir. Lukács characterizes the struggle between Trotsky and Lenin in wholly personal terms and fails to grasp the underlying social currents in Russia during the 1920s which led to Stalinism.

As for the purges, Lukács is significantly silent.

He is far happier writing of the late 18th and early 19th century, on bourgeois society and bourgeois literature: Goethe, Hegel, Schiller, Balzac, Stendhal.

The result is that although his analysis of this classic period of bourgeois culture has undoubtedly deepened our understanding of it (especially his reading of Hegel in terms of 18th century political economy), Lukács' Marxism tends to be academic.

He finds great difficulty in analysing modern literature.

Trotsky, for example, could praise a novel like Celine's Journey to the End of the Night' (1934) for its vigorous portrayal of the emptiness of life in France between the wars even though the book was pessimistic.

# Decadence

Lukács would probably see in Celine's failure to create 'lasting human types' a mere reflection of an amoral, bourgeois decadence.

Engels had written that realistic literature should aim to create typical characters under typical circumstances: Lukács, in defining this general statement as the dominant criteria of literary merit turns a remark (in a letter) relating to a specific historical period, the 19th century, and a certain type of presentation, realism, into a dogma.

The Parkinson symposium singularly fails to discuss this aspect of Lukács' literary doctrine.

For the Stalinist Lukács, Marxism is mere scholasticism.

It is not the practice of a revolutionary class which aims to change the world, but simply a device which allows us to understand and appreciate great bourgeois literature.

The dialectical relationship



between consciousness, practice and the world, which Lukács had emphasized in 1923, turns into its opposite in the later writings.

Thus in the chapter on the dialectic, Mészáros shows how Lukács is forced to postulate moral solutions to practical political problems.

**'Problems'** 

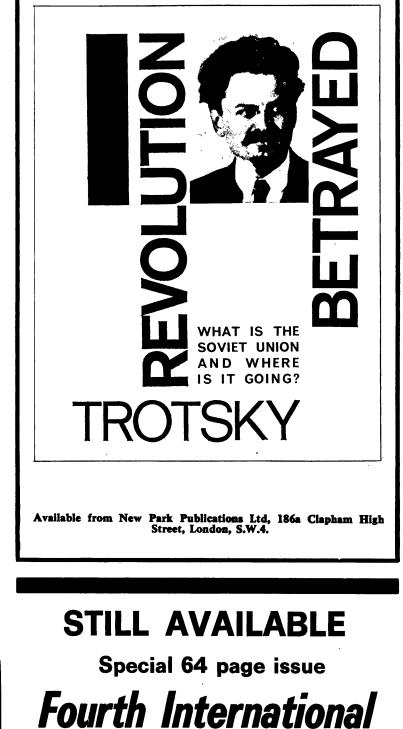
For Lukács, the 'problems' of Soviet society can be solved only from above, by a moral decision. Mészáros' argument that here Lukács is merely continuing a train of thought within his early, idealist writings, thus fails to grasp the specific historical basis for the revisionism which exists between 'History and Class Consciousness' and the Stalinist period.

Lukács has long abandoned his belief in the revolutionary proletariat as the only possible agent of change, and is thus forced to postulate his moral injunctions

As a whole the book is disappointing.

It does contain some useful information on Lukács' work and life, but there is too much repetition, a failure to grasp his ideas and development historically, and to ignore or minimize his Stalinist background.

A more complete evaluation is clearly the task for Marxists who will situate him precisely in his historical context, and show the close relationship which exists between his ideas, the conflict between Stalin and Trotsky, the Popular Front and the ideology of peaceful coexistence.



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Editors: Tom Kemp, Cliff Slaughter

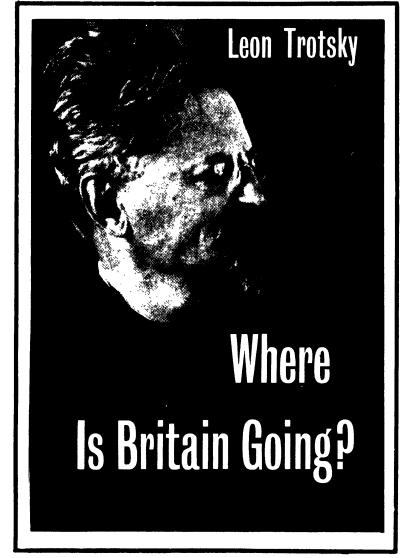
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had suffered defeat in Hungary, the revolutionary potential of the European working class was still undiminished. In 'History and Class Conscious-ness' (1923) Lukács reflects this revolutionary optimism.

'History and Class Consciousness' was Lukács' first specific Marxist work. Like Gramsci and Karl Korsch, he attacked the mechanical Marxism which had characterized the theory of the Second International (Kautsky, Plekhanov, La Fargue), arguing for the strong Hegelian roots of Marxism.

Mechanical 'Marxism', Lukács argued, was scientism, the belief that progressive change was inevitable since capitalism was governed by inexorable external laws; the

'Orthodox' Marxism, Lukács



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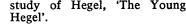
enon'.

These

element of consciousness, the subjective factor, of man intervening in the historical process through knowledge of the real relations of capitalism was minimized and virtually eliminated.

# Critical

argued, was a method, not a set of dogmatic truths; it was the critical consciousness of the revolutionary proletariat, with the Communist Party in a living, organic relation with this class.



In his memoirs, Victor Serge relates how one day he met Lukács in Moscow. As a known oppositionist, Serge was not surprised that Lukács, who was working at the Marx-Engels Institute, had no desire to shake his hand.

Serge had met Lukács for the first time in the 1920s in Vienna and he tells of Lukács' hostility to opposing the Stalinist bureaucracy:

'The times are bad,' he said, 'and we are at a dark crossroad. Let us reserve our strength: history will summon us in its time.'

A clear contradiction of his earlier emphasis on the subjective element in Marxism. Lukács' remark points to the way in which he developed the other strand of Hegel's thought to accommodate himself to the bureaucracy: history on these terms possesses a logic all of its own, Hegel's 'cunning of reason' that works out its contradictions independently of those individuals who carry out the historically specific activities.

Like Deutscher, Lukács returns to a pre-Marxist, idealist Hegelian conception to show that Stalinism was a necessary historical stage of the proletarian revolution.

## Unswerving

Lukács survived in Russia in the 1930s because he gave unswerving support to the bureaucracy, and although he now writes of Stalin's 'errors' and 'excesses', arguing that they were 'unfortunate and inexcusable', the fact remains of his support in the 1930s and today for the policy of 'socialism in one country'.

This has been Lukács' justification for his silence on the 'excesses' of the Stalinist bureaucracy. To build socialism in Russia, proletarian democracy and internationalism were 'unfortunately' damaged; but this was a necessary price to pay and Stalin's policy was the correct one.

political and historical analysis. The contributors to Parkin-According to his own testison's book tend to accept mony this was a deliberate uncritically Lukács' position as he has stated it and there is decision to accept the purges no mention of Trotsky and the in order to spread his ideas on

Cult of Stalin' ('Survey', April 1963) Lukács shows quite clearly what Marxism means for him.

**BBC 1** 

6.45 The Virginian.

'No Retreat'.

cinema.

bath tub.

REGIONAL

11.35 Weather.

10.30 24 hours.

weather.

other times.

Stalin was a 'notable and far-seeing statesman' whose concept of 'socialism in one country' embodied the 'salva-tion of the Soviet form of development'.





**ALL TRADES** UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

**GLASGOW** 

'Against shipyard sackings! Keep the Tories out!' Saturday, May 16 10.30 a.m. Christian Institute Bothwell Street

### SWINDON

'Productivity Deals and the Tories' Sunday, May 17, 8 p.m. Speaker : Bernard Franks The Oxford Hotel Corner of Groundwell Road

**SE LONDON** 

'Fight the Tories in the unions! Build a socalist alternative!' Sunday, May 17, 3 p.m. The Kerfield Tavern Grove Lane Camberwell Green, S.E.5

## PETERHEAD

(near Aberdeen) 'The Crosse and Blackwell strike — Fight the Tories' Monday, May 18, 8 p.m. **Rescue Hall** 

## WEATHER

London, SE, central southern and SW England, E and W Midlands, Channel Islands: Rather cloudy. Outbreaks of rain, perhaps thunder. Wind north-east, light or moderate. Cooler. Max. 14C (57F). Edinburgh: Dull and misty near coast. Sunny intervals developing well inland. Wind north-east, light or moderate. Cool on coast. Max. 8C (46F): near normal inland, Max. 14C (57F).

NW and central southern England, Glasgow, N Ireland: Sunny spells. Mainly dry but isolated thundery showers. Wind light, mainly north-east. Warm. Max. 19C (66F).

Outlook for the weekend: Mostly rather cool and cloudy in the East but warm sunny spells in the West. Mainly apart from isolated thundery showers, and probably some more general thundery rain in the southeast at first.

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

MANY WORKERS at CAV's Acton, London, factory fear that the shop stewards' committee meeting due to be held next Tuesday will accept tele-control onto the site for what one steward described as 'the proverbial 30 pieces of silver'.

# As we reported earlier

this year, stewards voted deny there is any formal effiat the beginning of March ciency agreement, they admit that in return for the interim to accept the 'big brother' rise they have agreed to coproduction monitoring operate with management on system into two departefficiency. These same stewards are ments on a trial basis, pronow trotting out all the fami-

vided suitable terms on liar arguments for accepting the management's plans. They money and labour guaranspeak of the possibility of shut-down 'if stewards keep tees were forthcoming refusing these new production from the management. methods'. This followed submis-One convenor, who has

sion of a factory claim of £6 for men and £8 for women, which was proposed by senior stewards as a quite separate issue

from the introduction of tele-control.

stated last year that tele-control would come into Ac-In January, when this claim was lodged, stewards were adamant that the claim ton over his dead body now claims he has no objections. should be without strings, though it was noted that the senior stewards were opposed to adding these actual words Some of the factory lead-ership also state that the 'big brother' system has already been accepted in the rest of

to the claim. Inevitably, the CAV man-agement have asked for telecontrol—a system which al-ready operates at their Sudbury factory-and for which they have been gracious enough to offer 1s per point for all excess bonus earned over the average for a given period.

> Price This rise would work out at an average of 10s a worker a week. Together with the

is preparing a complete capi-tulation on the management's £1 interim rise won recently. the price of tele-control would demands. average 30s a week. Some weeks ago, workers at the factory who received be back-pay found paper slips in their pay-packets headed

'Acton site efficiency agreement'. Though senior stewards

> All talk of a 'trial basis' is sheer nonsense. The system has proved itself to the management's sat-

enormously increased.

either the ear of the manage-ment, or the gift of extra-

sensory perception, warned that if the workers struck in support of their factory claim, they would be out for four

months rather than four weeks.

Untrue

This is not true. Despite a

year of management efforts to introduce the system at the

Fazakerley works in Liverpool, workers there have reiterated

their continued opposition

and have backed maintenance

workers who were disciplined

for refusing to install or con-

It is clear that a section of

Stewards and workers must

clear about the issues in-

If CAV workers do not

wage a concerted fight to win

their factory claim, the dan-

ger of tele-control will be

the Acton factory leadership

nect up the apparatus.

who

nition.

recognition.

win!

strikers.

strike.

In the face of attempts

by the local press and the employers to whip up a

'red scare' about the strike,

they reiterated their de-mand for across-the-board

increases of 5s 4d and 100

per cent trade union

One strike committee member told the meeting: 'If you back this strike

to the bitter end we will

Support

a resolution to send sup-port to the Pilkington glass

The meeting also passed

The 300 strikers were

inspired to take action against their low wages and

poor conditions by the

example of the successful 21-week strike at the nearby

The strike committee at

Ottery is making use of all

the experiences of that

Not shaken

However, none of their threats has shaken the

workers' confidence.

Centrax factory.

Ottery strikers.

A senior steward

the group.

volved.

C.A.V. (Acton) men fear a tele-control sell-out

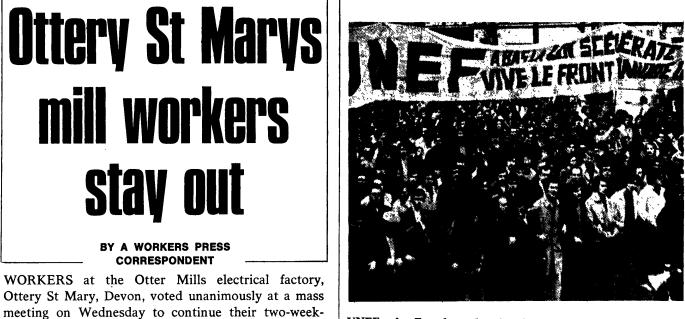
mill workers

stay out

BY A WORKERS PRESS

CORRESPONDENT

old strike for substantial pay rises and union recog-



UNEF, the French students' union, was excluded by the CP from the campaign against the laws.

Tory press covers up

FRANCE

**Anti-working** 

class laws

go to Senate

THE law proposed by Pompidou's government to establish collective

criminal and civil liability for all who participate in or organize

'illicit' demonstrations goes to the Senate next week, having already

It represents a legal de-

claration of war on the

whole labour movement,

So serious a step is it

that on the eve of the de-

bate in the National As-

sembly the Gaullist de-

puties themselves were

day by a military spokesman.

This statement not only

Nevertheless, the 'Telegraph'

the claims of the

divided.

right of free assembly.

been passed by the National Assembly.

1,500 engineers at Dunlop's Birmingham factory yesterday voted to continue their twoweek-old strike in support of their demand for a £6 increase cism with more than a little imagination, John Draw in Saigon had concluded that The men's determination since the headquarters had never been actually seen, it has been strengthened by the management's insistence on tying an offer of £3 to £3 10s to 100 'voluntary redundantherefore be 'undermust ground'. The dreadful alternative-

that in fact it exised only in The decision to stay out came after the plant's AEF the minds of war-hungry Pen-tagon officials—simply could not be contemplated. convenor Mr Norman Mills

This same report spoke with great authority of the existreported that the union's executive would be considering making the strike official. ence of 'seven-storey caverns' and 'two underground hospi-tals containing 1,200 beds'. No The stoppage has caused the laying off of 4,000 workers factory which is more, no less.

Like the headquarters itself,

for a new injection of

September's IOS share issue

at the time when Cornfeld

These included the 'blue chip' names in European

and American finance —

Drexel Harriman and Ripley and Samuel Barney of New

Guiness Mahon of London

and Banque Rothschild of

Paris and Pierson Heldring

Not liked

King should make available

a \$40 million credit for IOS

But this is not to the liking of the leading banks.

No doubt concerned with

King's intimate ties with

Cornfeld's empire and simi-

lar interests in the mutual

trust field, they are not prepared to see the Denver financier remain in control.

Nerves have not been

Promised for the begin-

some of IOS assets may

valued and inadequate

allowance made for bad

debts in a period of in-

tensifying credit squeeze in

A collapse of IOS would

certainly be a major disaster

for financial stability and

could only reinforce the continuing decline in all

Europe and America.

world stock markets.

have been seriously over-

steadied by the delayed publication of IOS's 1969

for three years.

accounts.

The original idea was that

and

York, Hill Samuel

Pierson of Amsterdam.

went public.

will certainly collapse.

flected the story, which began with an admission that

however, readers were told that 'troops were still search-ing' for these installations. The spokesman said that there was nothing to indicate that the supply depot first sighted by American Air Cavalry troops on Monday Not confident

Other papers were not so confident as the 'Telegraph'. was anything more than a supply depot. The Observer' bluntly told dashed

its readers : 'Troops fail to find enemy HQ'; while the 'Sunday Times' White House, but the reputa-tion of the 'Telegraph', which from the beginning of Nixon's invasion had not only backed (in contrast to the 'Telegraph', which spoke of 'pincer moveand vast 'encirclements' it uncritically, but celebrated its triumphant progress durments' of 'communists') ad-mitted: 'Vietcong vanish as ing the first days of the US tanks close in'. By Monday, May 4, the 'Daily Telegraph' was in

campaign. performed an invaluable ser-vice on behalf of imperialism. serious difficulties. Its headline read

It clung to Nixon's crude 'US Hit Vietcong Bases.' But the headline hardly repretext for his Cambodian

BY DAVID BARNES

that is a frontal attack on How did this happen? And the right to strike and the how can the law still be stopped ?

The central reason why the law has got so far is the manoeuvres of the French Communist Party leaders to stifle class opposition to it. They started their campaign against it with a public meet-ing in Paris called with only two days' notice.

### Spokesmen

Naturally, they were not worried at the 'liberal' charac-Present on the platform were spokesmen for the main ter of the law, nor that it might diminish the 'rights of trade unions, the Communist, Socialist, Unified Socialist and What made them hesitate was their well-founded fear Radical Parties, and assorted democratic organizations. 'Leftists', including the that the French working class would recognize the law clearly for what it is, and French Trotskyists, were ex-

cluded from the campaign at the insistence of the Stalinists, mobilize decisively against it. The honourable deputies overcame their fears and who amplified their campaign who amplified their campaign of slander and accusations that 'leftists' were provoca-teurs, used by the government to justify the new laws. On April 23, the day of the meeting, the debate in the National Assembly was post-poned to April 29. The right was unsure of it-self, retreated, and opened passed the law (with unimportant amendments) by a large majority.

self, retreated, and opened the way for a campaign which could well have stopped the laws at that point.

Confidence

In the course of that week they regained their confidence. Why?

The main action called from the meeting of April 23 was a 'day of action' on April 29, with demonstrations, lobbying and factory meetings of 'pro-test' up and down the coun-

try. The clear proposal from those who really wanted to mobilize big forces against the law—to turn May Day (in France a public holiday) to the question of the law, uniting all workers' organizations in the biggest demonstrations possible, was turned down.

No intention

stration, sanctioned the law.

had already been taken, and

all that remained were pro-

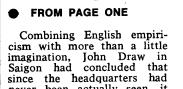
had been given no perspective

by the organizers for con-

tinuing the fight against the

The main action against in

And April 29, of course,



# FIGHT ON

LEBANON GUERRILLAS

THE response to Israel's attack on Lebanon this week has not been the one in-tended. Four attacks were launched by Arab guerrilla forces yesterday morning near the Lebanese border.

This was a few hours after warning from Israel's Deputy Prime Minister, General Yigal Allon, that Israel would carry out further actions against Lebanon unless guerrilla atment' tacks were stopped.

Our assessment yesterday, that the Israeli action met much fiercer opposition than the invaders expected, is confirmed by later reports. The withdrawal of Israeli

armoured forces was consider-ably delayed, when Arab guerrillas and Lebanese govern-ment troops pinned them down.

The attack was supposed to 'search and destroy' guerrilla bases on Mount Hermon. But the Arab positions were all re-occupied after Israeli forces

# LATE NEWS

#### **NO RECOGNITION**

RUSSIAN recognition Prince Sihanouk's Cambodian government in exile in Peking is still being withheld. Kosygin's telegram to Sihanouk on Monday referred to 'full but Sihanouk is support', reported to have sent a letter to Moscow specifically asking for formal recognition, so far

without reply. Soviet embassy in Phnom Penh, capital of Cambodia, still remains. Last three N Vietnamese officials withdrawn yesterday.

#### **ANOTHER OPERATION**

YET another invading force crossed into Cambodia yesterday-'Operation Binh ('pacify west')—launched by the 22nd infantry division of the Saigon puppet armed forces.

The invasion took place 15 miles South about the Se San region, where US and puppet troops have been searching for the elusive guerrilla headquarters over the last ten days. The invasion was supported by US forces and guided by US army 'advisers'.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street. London. S.W.4. Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU). 180b Clapham High Street. London. S.W.4.

finally withdrew on Wednesdav. In the Suez Canal area, fighting has reopened between Israeli and Egyptian planes and artillery.

Senator Edward Kennedy called in the US Senate yesterday for more jets to be sent to Israel, and for 'a new diplomatic initiative to achieve a long-term Middle-East settle-

Despite the violent language of Soviet UN representatives, Soviet policy is clearly aimed in a similar direction. But a 'settlement' in Palestine im-posed by the big powers can Acton.

only be at the expense of the Arab people. The rapidly growing movement of resistance against the Zionist agents of imperialism is preventing such a sell-out taking place at present.

But close Arab connections with Soviet diplomacy are the greatest danger to the Arab liberation struggle.

> which would cripple the wor-kers of this country if they are implemented ?' No comment has so far been forthcoming from Pro-WALL STREET DOWN fessor Wood.

New York, Thursday - After of half an hour's trading yester-day the Dow Jones share inhad already fallen 4.80 points to 688.95.

TV AND RADIO INQUIRY Mr John Stonehouse, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, announced in the Commons that the government had decided to set up an independent committee of inquiry to review the future of sound and television broadcasting.

Lord Annan would be chairman.

## 6 p.c. FOR BBC MEN More than 4,000 BBC manual workers will get rises

of at least 6 per cent under a productivity deal starting the G&MWU's St Helen's No. 91 branch and Liverpool renext month. gional committee.

AID PLAN SHELVED A plan to pump £5 million into Handley Page in a last ditch effort to save the ailing aircraft concern has been

. . . . .

shelved. Creditors are to apply for the company, which has liabilities of more than £3 million, to be put into compulsory liquidation.

١

isfaction at the Sudbury site. victory as only the begin-ning of a major SW wages Once it is installed anywhere in Acton it will be extended to every possible offensive. That is why the Tory production area. press is trying to mount a witch-hunt against the

Unite Certain stewards delude

themselves that there is a middle course: that they can return to the free-for-all of departmental claims, but this is clearly not an answer.

The strikers are to meet again next Wednesday, by The fight for the claim can unite all sections of the Acwhich time they expect the ton factory—particularly the women workers—for higher strike to be made official by the General and Muniwages without strings, and cipal Workers' Union, to to keep 'big brother' out of which the majority of Otter Mills workers belong.

**'RIGHT'** 

"kangaroo court" on us.'

added another.

derision.

'Anyway we're only going

back when Pilki's pay up,'

Few pickets expressed any

interest at all today in the

secret ballot on a return to work called for Saturday by

News that it is to be super-

vised by clergymen of all de-

nominations-'to ensure im-

partiality' — is greeted with

Members of the strike com-

mittee, however, met regional officials of the G&MWU this

afternoon in a bid to hammer

out terms under which they

could recommend participa-tion in the ballot.



The TUC has asked the General and Municipal Wor-FROM PAGE ONE kers' Union to meet the servative Party? Is it true that finance and General Purposes Professor Wood helped to formulate the trade union Committee—the TUC inner cabinet—on Monday to disproposals of Edward Heath,

cuss the strike.

# **Bonus** strike

The strike remained solid this morning despite the com-PAINTERS and joiners at the Clydebank division of Upper pany's full-page advertisement Clyde Shipbuilders yesterday in local papers yesterday threatening jobs and despite returned to work for a short the announcement by shop stewards loyal to the General and Municipal Workers' Union time after beginning a strike on Wednesday but later continued their action after being of yet another secret ballot. joined by several hundred electricians.

The dispute is over bonus payments for work on a pas-senger car ferry being built 'John Potter was right,' several pickets told the Worfor the Fred Olsen line kers Press outside the key Canal Street sheet works, 'they could easily do a

MEMBERS of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers (AEF) at the British Rail-ways Swindon workshops earlier this week passed an amendment to their stewards' resolution to reject the pay and efficiency deal.

The deal is causing widespread fears of redundancies.

The mass meeting was called to discuss the integration under the deal of the skilled and unskilled

**I.O.S.** 

Europe's largest tyre plant.

**Dunlop** strike

continues

with no strings.

ciés'.

at the

management's insistence

### • FROM PAGE ONE

And on Wall Street, \$2.6 a share were wiped off King Resources.

Liquidations

Cash is continuing to pour out of IOS's 18 mutual trust funds. Liquid-ations during May have reportedly risen to \$32 million over incoming cash from new sales.

With a cash outflow now said to be rising to \$5 million a day, King's \$40 million cash injection begins to look like decidedly small beer.

There is still no sign that after yesterday's statement Resources is any King nearer to gaining concrete support from American and European bankers.

Even if he is able to reveal the members of his consortium over the coming weeks, European bankers will certainly look closely at their quality and status

King was to have signed an initial agreement of his deal with IOS during Wednesday and, according to IOS, to present the list of backers

### Fighting shy

But many American financial institutions now seem to be fighting shy and

# **Rail engineers** reject deal

'American forces sweeping the "Fish-Hook" border area of Cambodia failed to find the elusive Vietcong High Command HQ....' So even the most experienced guerrilla hunters of Rothschild have publicly broken off all negotiations

Fleet Street were now finding the enemy 'elusive'! Then suddenly, 'The Guard-ian', which had been among money, without which IOS the most sceptical on the whereabouts or even existence Far from gaining any new of the 'headquarters', took up the chase just as the 'Telebackers, King (or his repregraph' began to flag. On Tuesday, May 5, its front page proclaimed: sentatives) were locked in battle in London with the chief underwriters of last

Cautious

'Vietcong HQ sighted: big push imminent.' Meanwhile, the 'Telegraph', having been caught so many times before, was much more cautious. Instead it headlined the massacre at Kent Univer-sity, and devoted barely two column inches to 'The Guardian's' sighting. By Wednesday, the NLF 'headquarters' had been for-

gotten. 'The Telegraph' was reverting to the use of the more vague term 'sanctuaries'. Finally, on Saturday, May 9, the 'Telegraph' informed its readers of something that millions had guessed from the very beginning of the in-vasion: 'Cambodian Base is

day overwhelmingly voted to continue their month - old strike which has restricted the not HQ of Vietcong'. movement of ships in and out Crestfallen, the report went of Liverpool. on: White House claims that The men are demanding an increase of £7 to bring their American troops have found basic pay up to  $\pounds 25$  and have rejected a  $\pounds 3$  offer.

the Communist central office for S Vietnam during the The tugboat men are sup-ported by about 400 gigboat course of their move [sic!] into the Fish Hook area of Cambodia were dashed yester-



CZECHOSLOVAK THE Ministry of Culture has reestablished its central control over the productions put on in all Czech theatres 'as it was until 1968' according to an announcement earlier this week in the Prague paper 'Prace'. 'Prace' also cites a num

ber of recent official statements to the effect that the theatre should not allowed to go against state policy. The censorship has been

reimposed because the ac-tors have refused to make pronouncements in favour

of official policy. Soviet plays have been boycotted and passages in

invasion for as long as it could without entirely under Of course, a formal justifimining the paper's credibility cation for this was given. The What the 'Telegraph' says openly, all of Fleet Street debate started on the 29th and the CGT (the Communist-led trade union) had already called a demonstration on its desires claims for May Day.

Full square

With all their reservations about Nixon's crude methods, In the end, however, it bethe entire capitalist press stands full square with UScame clear that the Stalinists and reformists never had any and British-imperialism as it intention to mobilize the fights for its very existence move against the law. in SE Asia and at home. In effect the May Day de-The witch-hunt against the monstration in Paris, policed with an iron hand by the CGT

unions and the apologetics for Nixon's invasion are all part to keep the students and rethe same ruling-class volutionary youth away from the main body of the demonstrategy.

The record of the capitalist press, from the ultra-right 'Telegraph' to the 'liberal' 'Guardian', brings home yet again the importance of again the importance of a workers' daily paper which fights for internationalism and in defence of the trade unions against the ruling class and

its publicists. That is the task of the Workers Press.

Merseyside's tugmen yester-

men and shore workers.

easily be interpreted as criticism of the Soviet in-

ing that he did not read it

before signing it.

vasion in 1968.

New heart This dissipation of forces put new heart into the repre-**Tugmen** sentatives of 'law and order'. The law now moves to the stay out Senate.

law.

tests.

The Stalinists and reform-May 21 is to be a day of nation-wide lobbying against the law. The announcement scarcely served to provide a fig-leaf for the retreat.

In fact the Stalinists have already begun to look for the 'positive side' of the law. Fajon, member of the CP secretariat, said on May 4 that 'directed as it is against the rights of the masses, the repressive law has the advantage of making clear to them the class nature of the regime'.

### Painful

Abandoning the defence of what the working class has gained and holds, they look for painful 'stimuli' to boot the working class into action. On this argument the Colonels' regime in Greece has the 'advantage' of illum-inating the class character of the regime!

Resistance to the Husak The way to stop the law, putting the employers back on the defensive is made clear in regime remains absolutely determined, though forced to express itself in indirect the straightforward proposal

ways. The government have of the French Trotskvists : For a United Workers' only now found the first signatory of the 'Manifesto Front against the law-which will not end its camof 2,000 Words'-issued bepaign until the law is fore the invasion condemn-ing the record of post-war abandoned. Stalinism in Czechoslovakia —prepared publicly to with-draw his signature. Jiri Raska, a ski-jumping champion, has done so, say-

It is in struggling for this that the lie will be given to the slander that 'Trotskyism is fascism in disguise' and the fighting unity will be built which can defeat the employers for good.

ning of May, they will now not be ready until the end of the month. A representative of Arthur Anderson and Co., which is conducting the audit, said its 20-man team could go no faster than the IOS would permit in verifying the books and records. fitters' grades. **Over-valued** This issue has already led There is concern that

to strikes at the Acton and East Leigh workshops. The stewards' resolution

was to accept the inte-gration of the two grades with five years taken off the length of service of the unskilled grade 'for redundancy purposes'.

The meeting accepted the stewards' grading policy, but by 32 votes to 24 decided to reject the deal as the way of fighting redundancies.

They consider the Centrax