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Naturally, we were denied access to the report and the possibility of publishing it tomorrow's Workers Press the latest Tory 'plan' for dismembering the nationalized industries.

With the election of the Tory government, pledged to shackle the trade union movement on behalf of the employers and bankers, the Tories are now consciously attempting to witch-hunt and isolate those in the workers' movement who fight for revolutionary socialist principles.

The Rosemary Whipple case, the capitalist press launched into the witch-hunt with glee on behalf of their Tory masters.

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We appeal to all trade unionists to campaign against this attack on the democratic rights of the working class to speak out through its press against the Tories' reactionary plans. The Workers Press will not be silenced.

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Link with Tories anti-union plans

Mersey dockers act after glass lock-out

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... backing by Leyland stewards too

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The meeting collected £27 7s 6d for their expenses, reaffirmed their right to strike, supported the reinstatement of all sacked men and called

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'They think if they get rid of the leaders they will be able to get rid of their following.'

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1970: Thirty years since Trotsky's assassination

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Leon Trotsky's last words:

'I am confident of the victory of the Fourth International Go forward!'

This means: Forward with the first Trotskyist daily newspaper—WORKERS PRESS

ALSO: The first public showing of the latest Young Socialists' film—'Youth in Action in the Year of Lenin and Trotsky.'

WORKERS PRESS

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

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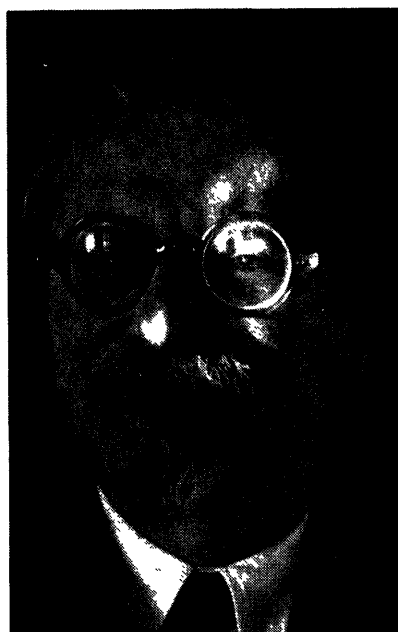
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This means:
Forward with the first Trotskyist daily newspaper—WORKERS PRESS

ALSO: The first public showing of the latest Young Socialists' film—'Youth in Action in the Year of Lenin and Trotsky'.

WHAT PRICE 'CO-EXISTENCE'?

THE SOVIET-W GERMAN treaty, which was signed by Brandt in Moscow yesterday is in no way a guarantee of peace in Europe.

In fact the talks held between the two governments have achieved nothing of real benefit either to the peoples of E Europe or to the German working class.

On the contrary, since the talks were mostly "behind closed doors" and since both the capitalist government in W Germany and the Soviet bureaucracy are pursuing more repressive measures against their workers, there may well have been some confidential discussions of a very harmful and reactionary nature.

So far as peace is concerned, the main point to emerge in the treaty is a formula that was already agreed upon in the preliminary negotiations, by which the two sides promise to respect the inviolability of existing borders between European states.

Although both parties have agreed to this point, that does not make it an 'equal' treaty. It was only W Germany which previously questioned the borders.

What is more, the reference to 'borders of states' leaves the point open to interpretation, because W Germany still does not recognize the regime in the East—the German Democratic Republic—as being a state.

In official publications in W Germany, the E German state is still referred to as the 'Soviet occupied zone'.

Although Brandt has been prepared, in the course of pursuing 'peaceful' policy, to modify this protocol, and use the term 'GDR' in approaches to the E German government, the W German government has continued not only to deny recognition to E Germany, but to pressurize E governments into withholding recognition.

The question of German reunification, as one state—whether peacefully or by force—is not simply a matter of removing a boundary.

It is a question of what sort of state.

There are now not only two states in Germany, but two different social orders.

In W Germany there is capitalist society, dominated by a ruling class of big financiers and industrialists.

These are the same big business interests which placed their wealth behind Hitler, and prepared the Second World War.

Their state machine is staffed by the same old Nazi generals, diplomats and police chiefs.

In E Germany, the main industries and the banks have all been nationalized, and a planned economy established.

Nobody would call the Stalinist regime in E Germany a workers' democracy. It is among the most repressive regimes in E Europe.

Expropriated

But the old ruling class has been expropriated, and lost its power, and the planned economy represents a gain for the working class.

The Soviet bureaucracy is reported to have made it clear in the Moscow talks that it upholds the continuation of W German capitalism.

Meanwhile, the W German side has secured inclusion with the treaty of a unilateral letter from the W German government referring to eventual reunification of Germany.

Unlike the Stalinists, with their anti-German racialism and insistence on the permanent division of Germany, Trotskyists have always supported the right of the German working class to reunify the country; and to extend the nationalized economy, replacing both the capitalist state in Bonn and the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East by a Socialist Germany.

On the part of the W German ruling class however, and its allies in Britain and the United States, the demand for German reunification means the restoration of capitalism in E Germany. Contrary to what the believers in peaceful co-existence with capitalism say, this is the reactionary aim not just of a handful of 'revanchists', but of the W German ruling class and NATO.

On October 23, 1954, W German chancellor Adenauer signed the Paris Treaties, setting out common policies with his NATO allies. Article 7 of the Treaties states:

... The Three Powers and the Federal Republic will cooperate to achieve, by peaceful means, their common aim of a unified Germany enjoying a liberal-democratic constitution, like that of the Federal Republic.

WEST GERMAN PLANS FOR RESTORING CAPITALISM IN THE EAST



West-German Chancellor BRANDT.

BY CHARLES PARKINS

and integrated within the European Community.

On January 14, 1970 W German chancellor Brandt declared in the Bundestag:

"For the Federal government neither the Paris Treaties nor our obligations to NATO are a subject for discussion."

In case anyone needs to be told just what is meant in the Paris Treaties by a 'liberal-democratic constitution, like that of the Federal Republic', it has all been set out in detail by the W German ruling class itself, with the traditional thoroughness on which it prides itself.

Department

The Bonn government department maintained for this purpose is known as the 'Research Council for Questions of German Reunification'.

It was established in 1955, and is a commission of the Ministry for Inner-German Affairs, headed by Egon Franke. The council consists of representatives of the banks, former estate owners, and right-wing emigré organization.

In 1956 this commission decided on three main steps to be taken in 'Middle Germany' after reunification. (The term 'Middle Germany' was used instead of 'E Germany' because the W German rulers insisted on reserving the latter as a geographical term for areas such as Sudetenland,

Silesia, and E Prussia). These steps were:

- 1 To reintroduce private banks.
- 2 To abolish the plan economy and re-introduce western market economy.
- 3 To reduce 'the rights of the nationally-owned factories during a provisional period.'

When the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact was signed in 1939, the Stalinists hailed it as a triumph.



In 1966, the Research Council issued its report, from which these extracts are taken:

● 'The task will be to give a freedom-loving form to the economy and society of Middle Germany on the basis of a market and competitive economy. The length of time needed for this transformation cannot be predicted, but it should be kept as short as possible.' (p. 16-18.)

● 'The modern road of development in the Federal Republic must be implemented in Middle Germany. . . . Since 1958 the Federal Republic has been integrated step-by-step in the Common Market. Reunification will mean that Middle Germany will be integrated not only with W Germany, but also with the other

Common Market countries.' (p. 19.)

● 'By and large it can be stated that all plans have been completed for the smooth implementation of re-unification. . . . A market economy shall be introduced in re-united Germany.' (p. 20.)

● 'The Research Council has dealt in the main with the "nationally-owned factories" in the industrial sphere. When reunification comes these factories shall become independent undertakings. . . . In many cases it will be of advantage to conclude "factory utilization agreements" which will give full scope to the initiative of private enterprises.' (p. 20.)

● 'Steps shall be taken to open private banks, so that the bank machinery is able to meet the demands of a market economy.' (p. 21.)

● 'The social security system, unemployment insurance, . . . shall be completely freed from the present political, organizational and financial management of the Free German Trade Union Confederation.' (p. 359.)

Further plan

A further plan drawn up for the East under 'reunification' states:

'It is to be expected that . . . up to 90 per cent of all persons working in the state apparatus must be replaced. A list must be prepared forthwith of those required to take over their post. No nonsense about "peaceful co-existence" between different systems' here!

So what has been achieved by the talks held in Moscow? Has W German capitalism given up its aims of restoring its rule over the East?

Perhaps the 'Morning Star' can tell us?

Its editorial on Saturday, August 8, headed 'Hopeful step forward' declared that the Treaty signed in Moscow 'is an achievement for the basic Soviet aim of peaceful co-existence. . . .'

It goes on to hail this achievement as being: '... a great encouragement to all those in the peace movement, the Communists, and the Labour Left, and the many trade unionists who have been working to lessen the danger of war, that the Soviet-W German treaty has come into existence.'

'Anyone would think reading this that it was the first time German capitalism had ever signed a treaty with the Soviet bureaucracy.'

It is not. Nor is it the first time that, on the basis of such a scrap of paper, the Communist Party in Britain and elsewhere has been telling everyone that it is a triumph for Soviet peace diplomacy.

When the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact was signed in 1939, the Stalinists hailed it as a triumph for Soviet policy.

Reliance on treaties with capitalism was paid for by 20 million Soviet citizens.

The 'Morning Star' editorial notes that 'there are still powerful forces among W Germany's ruling circles who will try to wreck the possibilities of peaceful development which the new treaty opens, and will never give up their hopes of a return to the Hitler frontiers.'

This is just the usual Stalinist method of implying that it is only 'certain elements' among the ruling class who have aggressive aims, and that all that is needed is for the reasonable 'realist', elements (like the 'moderate Tories' in Britain) to resist the pressure from these extremists.

But as we have shown, the

aim of restoring capitalism in E Germany is not just the policy of a handful of extremists, it is official W German and NATO policy.

The fact that Willy Brandt is a Social Democrat does not alter the fundamental nature of W German capitalism, any more than Britain ceased to be an imperialist power because there was a Labour government.

The Social Democrats in W Germany, like their counterparts in Britain, govern on behalf of the real rulers, the capitalists, and they have pursued a 'bi-partisan' foreign policy.

It was Brandt himself who wrote in a fairly recent book, 'Friedenspolitik in Europa' that:

'The reference to the frontiers of 1937 . . . must be seen as a reasonable starting point for negotiations for a peace treaty.'

Interviewed

On September 12, 1967, Brandt was interviewed by a newspaper about whether his foreign policy could be served by the ex-Nazis who still proliferate in the diplomatic corps. Brandt replied:

'Anyone who was able to represent the Third Reich as loyally as the Weimar Republic, and the German Federal Republic as loyally as the Third Reich, should have no difficulty in representing to the world the changing development of our democratic Germany. There has been no break, only the expression of a developing policy.'

When Albert Speer, the Nazi arms manufacturer and war criminal, was released from prison, he received the pleasant surprise of a gift of flowers from Willy Brandt; and at Whitsun this year, Brandt sent a personal message of greetings to the right-wing-organized rally of Sudeten Germans from Rumania.

These rallies are customarily

places for W German reactionary politicians to whip up enthusiasm for re-taking the 'lost territories' in the East.

The Soviet government is entitled to make any treaties it considers necessary for the defence of the Soviet Union so long as these treaties are not regarded as permanent undertakings to support the continued existence of capitalism, and do not interfere with the rights of the workers' movement to overthrow the capitalist governments with which the treaties are made.

The Soviet policy of 'peaceful co-existence', which was begun by Stalin, with his theory of 'socialism in one country', is wrong for both these reasons, and cannot be accepted by revolutionaries.

The Stalinist policy for Germany, of 'socialism in half a country', and the Treaty made in Moscow this week, do not achieve anything for peace or for the working class.

The policy which the Soviet leadership and its supporters in the Communist Party are now pushing, of a European Security Conference, can only mean in reality a preparation for a united attack by the Soviet bureaucracy and the European capitalists on those whom they regard as the common enemy—the working class and the revolutionary youths.

(Just as the Soviet government informed NATO beforehand of its intention to invade Czechoslovakia; and the French CP helped de Gaulle restore 'law and order' in France.)

Peace will not be achieved by secret diplomacy and deals with the imperialists.

It will be achieved when the workers in W Germany, Britain, France, and the USA smash NATO and overthrow their rulers, taking power themselves.

The struggle against those who support 'peaceful co-existence' policies is an essential part of this struggle for power.

IMPORTANT READING

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS

STALINISM IN BRITAIN

A TROTSKYIST ANALYSIS

BY ROBERT BLACK

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS PRICE 22s.6d

THE DEPOSITION of Kings is a recurring theme in Elizabethan drama. Marlowe's 'Edward II', broadcast on BBC-2 last Thursday, grapples with it again.

Christopher Marlowe had followed Shakespeare's example in turning to English history for poetic themes. But his play pre-dates 'Richard II' (reviewed yesterday) by several years and Shakespeare was evidently profoundly inspired by both the theme and dramatic treatment in Marlowe's masterpiece.

Edward II's reign opened the 14th century whereas Richard II's saw it out. We thus move back in time, but the historical setting is fundamentally the same—the rise of the merchant bourgeoisie, the crisis of the landed nobility, the struggle for a centralized monarchy and the subjugation of Scotland and Ireland to create the necessary markets and political framework in which trade could flourish.

Separating the two reigns was the Black Death (1348), which created a dire shortage of agricultural labour and intensified the trend towards sheep farming and the wool trade.

To the 'aid' of the bankrupt

'What shall we do with the King?'

EDWARD II

PART TWO of MARK JENKINS review of Shakespeare's 'Richard II' (in yesterday's Workers Press) and Marlowe's 'Edward II' shown on BBC 2 on Thursday, July 30 and August 8, respectively.

monarchs came the Italian bankers in league with the Church of Rome and all the stagnant feudal empires were thrown into turmoil.

Likewise are all the established relations between men.

Here the dramatist sets to work to trace the effect of these upheavals on human emotions and behaviour.

Marlowe presents the King as a pleasure seeker who would have satyr-men 'grazing on his lawns', who wishes to surround himself with diversions of the flesh and mind. He is a demoralized being, obsessed with homosexual desire for a banished Gascon knight, one 'Gaveston'.

And in less sober moments he even considers leaving the barons to fight it out amongst themselves. Of the realm he says:

'Share it out and leave me a corner to frolic with my dearest Gaveston.'

But the affairs of the flesh intertwine with property and politics (as the ruling class often discover, to their embarrassment).

He raises his favourite to high state office and makes him Earl of Cornwall. He even plans for him a marriage to a member of the nobility (a woman as prescribed in law), which would give him greater power still.

However, in the period before the bourgeois revolution, the King's choice of friends and

advisers was far from being a 'personal' question.

Factions of the nobility, the Commons and the Church all vied with each other for even the most obscure positions in the court where their petitions and policies might receive a more sympathetic ear.

The court was thereby the centre of all manner of corruption, intrigue, murder and depravity.

Conjures

Marlowe's play conjures up this seamy atmosphere even more uncompromisingly than Shakespeare.

The barons and the Commons rebel and plot to oust Gaveston and replace God's appointed monarch, just as Bolingbroke did later in Richard's reign.

But the barons' murder of Gaveston transforms the pining Edward into a tyrant. He defeats them in battle and executes them in great numbers.

The Queen Isobel conspires with Mortimer to place Edward's son on the throne before his time.

We see her character undergo a complete transformation from a pitiful, wronged but loyal and loving wife, unable to understand her King's perverted love for Gaveston, to a ruthless female 'Machiavelli' who keeps her ambitions and desire for revenge to herself whilst presenting quite a different picture to the world.

The portrayal of her character is an abrupt departure from the previous formal depiction of women as objects of love or possession.

It reflects the growing complexity of Renaissance psychology and emotions. It is a revolutionary treatment of character, as dynamic and ever changing.

Edward also incurs the wrath of the Rome by seizing the lands and rents of the Bishops, an act which anticipates by a century the reformation of Henry VIII.

The Bishop of Coventry threatens to inform the Pope and 'elect another King'. Edward answers:

'Why should a King be subject to a priest? Proud Rome that hatchest such imperial grooms For these thy superstitious taperlights, Wherewith thy antichristian churches blaze, I'll fire thy crazed buildings and enforce Thy papal towers to kiss the lowly ground. With slaughtered priests make Tiber's channel swell. . . .'

Disguised

There, from the mouth of the King, speaks the voice of the revolutionary Puritan bourgeoisie, disguised.

But Edward makes enemies on every side.

'Base leaden earls Go sit at home and eat your tenants beef . . .'

In lakes of gore, your headless trunks, your bodies I will trail.'

Here, too, the King becomes Marlowe's vehicle for the most anti-aristocratic sentiments. It is

a device Marlowe employs to the full.

(In 'Doctor Faustus' he makes Satan appear in the garb of a priest.)

Finally the King is overthrown and must take orders from his subjects. The tyrant becomes a prisoner, mocked by his jailers.

'Your majesty must go to Killingworth! 'Must!' cries Edward, 'Tis somewhat hard when Kings must go!'

Fate

Slowly realization of his fate dawns on him.

'But what are Kings when regiment is gone

But perfect shadows in a sunshine day . . .'

In Elizabeth's day the monarch was just a shadow in the rising sun of capital. A long shadow, but a shadow nonetheless.

Alone in a dungeon the King is tortured by premonitions of the cruelty of his tormentors. His death is horrific and without pity, a red hot poker where it hurts most.

Both Shakespeare and Marlowe abide by dramatic protocol in dissociating the King's successors from the murderers.

But in the gathering dusk of feudalism these cultural owls of the bourgeoisie had taken flight.

Some 50 years later the finely balanced compromise with the monarchy was kicked aside. Charles' beheading was quick, clean and efficient.

History and the theatre had taught them much.



Ian McKellen as King Edward II.

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INTERNATIONAL youth NEWS

Summer camp reflects turn to Marxist theory

A DECISIVE turn on the part of layers of the British working class away from reformism and towards a fight to understand the revolutionary nature of Marxist theory was clearly reflected in the response to the summer camp organized jointly by the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League.

With the largest attendance ever at a summer camp since the International Assembly of Revolutionary Youth in 1967, the four-night lectures and discussions from July 25 to August 8 confirmed the impact of the Workers Press and the Socialist Labour League through its consistent struggle for Marxist theory in the workers' movement—particularly amongst the youth.

The camp was attended by members of the Socialist Labour League, the Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance.

There were also a number of foreign delegates who, as a result of great sacrifice, were able to make the journey to England to attend.

With the Tory government in power and the betrayal of the national dockers' strike by the reformist trade union leaders—backed by the Stalinists—the question of training as revolutionary cadres to build the party was sharply posed for the whole camp.

For two weeks intense discussion ranged from the basic question of Marxist theory to the most complex ones of party building.

Special study groups in between the lectures were organized

especially for the newer YS and SLL members which assisted with reading and questions from the lectures which were not understood.

In six full camp lectures given by Gerry Healy, SLL national secretary, on the fight for Marxist theory and its relation to building the revolutionary party questions came thick and fast. As many as 20 questions and contributions to discussion were dealt with at one lecture.

Such was the intense interest in the work at the camp to create a basis for understanding Marxist theory and the dialectical materialist method that over 100 decided to say for the second week after attending the first.

John Crawford gave two lectures in the first course 'Capitalism and its place in history' and 'Imperialism and the present capitalist crisis'.

He was followed by Peter Jeffries who lectured on 'Dialectical Materialism and idealism' and 'The trade unions, the Labour Party and the working class'.

The last lecture for this course, 'Stalinism and the British working class', was given by Cliff Slaughter.

Second course lectures were begun by Cliff Slaughter on 'Reformism and Revolution'. Tom Kemp gave two lectures on 'Imperialism' and 'Strategy and Tactics of Revolution'. Peter Jeffries concluded for the fortnight for this course with 'The history and characteristics of the British working class'. The great interest in Marxist

theory was reflected by the crowd constantly round the bookstall where the Socialist Labour League's recent publications 'Stalinism in Britain' by Robert Black and 'Germany 1931 to 1933' by Leon Trotsky were on sale along with books by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The record sale of approximately £700 was reported by the end of the fortnight.

A happy ray of the free time was the impromptu discussion groups which continued to talk over the questions raised by the main lectures.

On a lighter note, but still very much part of the struggle for Marxist consciousness, were the evening's activities of films and stage productions.

Professional actors presented productions by the 'Steam Stage Package' company of an adaptation from D. H. Lawrence and Shakespeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream'.

There were also two anthologies—the 1926 General Strike and 'Women and industry'.

There was a tremendous reception for the new Young Socialists' film 'Young Socialists in the Year of Lenin and Trotsky' which received its first showing ever at the camp.

On the basis of the political development fought for at the camp the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists prepare to go forward to a six days a week Workers Press, a weekly 'Keep Left' next year and a mass anti-railway of youth at Alexander Palace on February 14, 1971.



Above: GERRY HEALY National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League address the 1970 YS and SLL Summer Camp. Below: A discussion group continues to talk over questions raised in the lectures.



CLASS STRUGGLES IN AFRICA

By N. Makanda

A VALUABLE selection of writings by W African nationalists, a British politician and a missionary are contained in Henry S. Wilson's book on the origins of African nationalism.

It has a selection of the writings of Edward Blyden, Stephen A. Benson, Alexander Crummel, James Africanus Horton, Casey Hayford and other pre-Garvey W African nationalists, mainly from Liberia and Sierra Leone.

It also contains equally valuable material from the writings of Earl Grey and the missionary Henry Venn—19th century forerunners of the policy of 'indirect rule' and 'native authorities' elaborated by Lugard in particular in the 20th century.

BLYDEN

In his introduction Wilson explains that Blyden's ideas were 'an open avowal of his belief in the geographical separation of the races, involving the return of the American Negro to his homeland' (p. 35).

Blyden's Garveyism was as old as 1857, a long time before Marcus Garvey himself, and antedating the Black Muslim and other Blyden-Garveyist movements by a whole century.

Wilson makes it clear that Blyden's acceptance of separation came from 'contemporary European and white N American ideas of permanent racial divisions according to physiological and cultural characteristics'.

But he does not relate this racialism to colonialism and its later form, imperialism, the general causes of racialism, especially of colour racialism.

Inasmuch as the book contains interpolations by Wilson, this remains its inherent weakness.

Blyden, an early champion of the founding of Liberia, believed that 'the races were different, but not superior or inferior' (p. 35).

We might add that this was also the expressed viewpoint of Dr Verwoerd, the white supremacist murderer of the Africans at Sharpeville in 1960. It is also official S African policy on 'race'.

What Wilson fails to bring out in his own comments is that any acceptance of the existence of races among mankind is itself racialism.

ence or patronage, were direct forerunners of the nationalism and reformism of Kwame Nkrumah, Azikwe and others in W Africa.

In 'Liberia as She Is', delivered by Blyden at Monrovia in 1857, he sees that 'Most of the talent of the country is in the employ and at the control of foreigners' (p. 79).

Among these are the missionaries.

His solution was a form of segregation.

CRUMMEL

This idea was interwoven with that of American 'Negro' patronage of the African 'natives' in Liberia, as expounded by President Benson (p. 87) in 1858 and Alexander Crummel in 1862.

Blyden himself took up the same 'white man's' theme in 1865 (p. 94).

In 1870 Crummel put forward the basic thesis which Marcus Garvey copied much later—W African (Liberia in this case) as a 'home' for all 'Negroes' (p. 114).

GREY AND VENN

Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary under Lord Russell from 1846-1852, and Henry Venn, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) were advocates of 'indirect rule' long before Lugard.

They put forward a policy of using local 'self-governing institutions' in their colonies as media of rule by the CMS, and antedating the Black Muslim and other Blyden-Garveyist movements by a whole century.

Wilson makes it clear that Blyden's acceptance of separation came from 'contemporary European and white N American ideas of permanent racial divisions according to physiological and cultural characteristics'.

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BOOK REVIEW

VALUABLE WRITINGS ON AFRICAN NATIONALISM

ORIGINS OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM by Henry S. Wilson. Macmillan University Press, Glasgow, 1969. £2.

the 'personality cult', later resuscitated by Liberal political Negro-philists like Basil Davidson.

Horton was one of the early exponents of 'Africa for the Africans' (p. 171), which he said 'will be a political as well as biological truth' (p. 171).

Before this Uncle Tom's Black Power Utopia, however, the Africans would have to be ruled by Chiefs which may be appointed by the British Governor (of Sierra Leone).

Horton's description of the Chief's council was substantially that envisaged by Venn and Grey. It was Black Power under British rule.

In these early writers and orators it is already clear that African nationalism is the servant of British imperialism—and that the 'anti-white' nationalist is the most abject mental slave of 'white man's boss'.

Thus Horton regarded 'the English element (as) unquestionably the best civilizing agency' (p. 199).

He wanted a Codex Constitution from Britain for the Gold Coast (p. 204).

In 1873 Governor Pope Hennessy wrote to the Earl of Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, as to methods of 'utilizing the native element' as a vehicle of colonial rule (p. 222).

Blyden's ideas on using the 'African tribal family' as a basic unit for 'self-rule' was taken up very much later indeed by Julius Nyerere, who made the 'family' the social unit of his 'African Socialism'.

Kwame Nkrumah's descriptions of the common ownership of property under tribalism (p. 259) became basic ingredients of subsequent 'African Socialist' theories.

'Origins of West African Nationalism' continues with many useful extracts from the policy-making statements of the late 19th century, such as the British view:

'It is far better for us, if we can rule the people through their chiefs, because they are ruled far more willingly in that way' (p. 278).

Britain used its own policy of educational starvation and segregation to feed the 'native

SCIENTIFIC WORLD

Cut holes and sink 'em

SNUBBING several Caribbean governments, United Nations Secretary-General U Thant and a 'top-level 'face-saving' British scientific delegation, the United States Army is displaying its usual cavalier disregard for international protest as it goes ahead with its plans to dump several train-loads of assorted chemical weapons into the Atlantic Ocean.

The last consignment of obsolete gas-filled ordnance left arsenals in Alabama and Kentucky at the weekend for a roundabout journey to Sunny Point, N Carolina where it will be loaded onto barges and sunk in 16,000 feet of water off the Bahamas.

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

This is not the first such operation for the US Army, which maintains huge stockpiles of chemical weapons, posing a major disposal problem. Since there was at least 12 similar consignments are thought to have been sunk at sea.

Some of the risk involved in the operation—codenamed CHASE (cut holes and sink 'em)—can be gauged from the fact that the Pentagon considered it too dangerous to try and separate the explosive parts of the ordnance from the chemical weapons it was designed to deliver.

Instead the whole consignment—13,000 rockets each containing 11 pounds of nerve gas—has been embedded in steel and concrete 'coffins'.

These, US Army spokesmen freely admit, will not prevent eventual leakage of the contents into the sea, but they hope the sea will dilute the chemicals sufficiently to make them fairly harmless.

This seems an illusory hope. The contents of the rockets are among the most deadly military poisons known. One drop of certain types of nerve gas, in contact with the skin for as little as 60 seconds, can cause a particularly nasty death.

Each rocket contains enough nerve gas to kill many thousands of people over a large area. The gases are lethal not only to human beings, but to most other forms of animal life.

It appears that the present consignment was made during the Korean war for use against the Chinese troops who turned the tide against the American forces on the Yalu river nearly 20 years ago.

They have been stockpiled in the W Pacific since that time, no doubt on the off-chance that they might be needed in Vietnam.

The nerve gases are a family of chemicals closely related to the organo-phosphorus insecticides. In fact, it was while he was examining organo-phosphorus compounds for insect-killing power that Dr Gerhard Schrader, a chemist working at one of I. G. Farben's German factories, stumbled on the first nerve gas.

This was tabun (also called GA) the first of a family of compounds known as G-agents.

Other G-agents include sarin, soman, GE and GF. All are highly toxic—much more poisonous than previously discovered chemical weapons like mustard gas—and all act on the body mechanism which transmits nerve impulses.

The G-agents are invisible, odourless and tasteless, can be absorbed through the skin as well as through the lungs, and can be spread as a liquid, as fine droplets (aerosol) or as a vapour.

All of them achieve their deadly effects by breaking a vital link in the chemical chain that carries nerve impulses through the body. They act on the nerves to prevent the transformation of the enzyme cholinesterase and thus stop the nerve from functioning.

This leads to rapid and progressive paralysis of the body.

The process has been described in gory clinical detail by Dr Harold C. Lueth of the American Medical Association:

'Early symptoms include headache, blurring of vision, tightness of the chest and dizziness. Rapidly there will develop severe headache, profuse salivation, tightness and pain in the chest, nausea, vomiting, dimness of vision, early fatigue, drowsiness, cyanosis, collapse, convulsions and death may supervene.'

Apart from G-agents, in themselves quite lethal enough, the Sunny Point consignment contains a land-mine stuffed with the even more deadly V-agent VX.

This compound was discovered and developed in Britain at Porton Down during the mid-1950s and is much more advanced weapon than the G-agents.

Though relatively little detail is available about its action, it is known that even a small drop on the skin can be almost instantly fatal, and that the liquid form of VX will evaporate very much more slowly than the G-agents, making it possible to render whole areas sterile for long periods.

What the effect of these chemicals will be once they escape from their undersea grave is nobody knows. But at the very least they will almost certainly kill any fish and other sea animals in the vicinity.

Since such very low doses are toxic, it seems reasonable to assume that the gases will be lethal even at very large dilutions—posing a potential hazard to human beings if the ocean currents carry the gas to inhabited coasts.

Since the dumping-ground is only 33 miles from Nassau in the Bahamas, this possibility is not as far-fetched as it might sound.

Only a week ago Ambassador Christopher H. Phillips, Nixon's representative on the bottom of the sea, told a United Nations International Seabed conference in Geneva that his government welcomed a draft convention on the use of the seabed as serving the 'interests and needs of all mankind' and promoting 'rational and sensible use of the marine environment for the future'.

The draft agreement specifically rules out activities carried out without 'strict and adequate safeguards for the protection of human life and safety and the marine environment'.

No stretch of the imagination can force nerve gas dumping into this category.

Imperialist barbarism finds its highest expression in these Pentagon preparations. Not only do they threaten the revolutionary struggles of workers and peasants in Asia with their poisons, but they endanger the oceans with their chemicals.

The arrogance of the Pentagon is surpassed only by its cheerful disregard for the fate of the millions of potential victims of its gases and poisons.

Twenty-five years after Hiroshima imperialism remains the number-one enemy of humanity.

BBC 1 TV schedule listing programs like Cricket, News, and regional broadcasts. Includes BBC 2 and REGIONAL TV sections.

Glass lock-out

FROM PAGE ONE
G&MWU in Pilkington's is, in this sense, of more than episodic interest to trade unionists. It is very much a part of the music of the immediate future.

It is, in fact, echoed in the statement of Mr Vic Feather quoted in yesterday's 'Guardian'. When asked how seriously he took Mr Carr's warning about 'cost-inflation', Mr Feather replied ingratiously: 'This is absolutely true.'

According to 'The Guardian' Mr Feather was worried that Carr was proposing a 'free-for-all' rather than an 'era of joint co-operation' (1) and that 'there could be no restraint while the government was holding down economic growth'.

Agreement

It is absolutely clear from this that whatever differences might separate the Tories and the TUC there is general agreement on 'restraining' wages and attacking 'unofficial' movements like that at Pilkington's. In 1969 the TUC's advice to Wilson was 'Don't bother about legislation; we'll police the unions for you'.

'Genuine left demands struggle'

More Moscow praise for TUC 'lefts'

COMMENTING on resolutions submitted to the forthcoming annual TUC Congress, Moscow Radio Home Service claimed that 'the preliminary agenda... shows that the British working people intend to resist any attempts by the Conservative government to continue the offensive against their trade union rights...'

'A straight substantial rise' - say Bradford strikers

THE 900 manual workers at the Bradford factory of the International Harvester Co of Great Britain are meeting this afternoon on the third day of their strike for a 'straight, substantial' wage increase.

SHARES RISE

NEARLY £30 million was added to the value of Unilever shares on the stock market yesterday after the company announced a sharp jump in its first half year profits to £81.4 million.

Iranian students protest repression

AS PART of a world-wide protest against the arrest and torture of oppositionists in Iran members of the Iranian Student Society yesterday began a hunger-strike at St Martin-in-the-Fields church, London (below).

The latest repressions follow a tremendous wave of strikes and demonstrations against the repressive regime of the Shah.

A student and a religious leader have already died under torture and in the last three months alone over 1,000 people have been arrested.



BY ROBERT BLACK

porters in the Soviet 'Left Opposition' fought against this line for a return to the revolutionary perspectives of Lenin's day.

Today, with the betrayed dockers' strike heralding even bigger struggles against the employers and the Tories, the TUC leaders will most certainly look for protection on their left flank while they adapt to Tory pressure on their right.

Here, the 1926 events will not be repeated in a mechanical way. Stalinism is in deep and world crisis, while Trotskyism - armed in Britain with a daily press - is increasing its influence and its striking capacity rapidly.

Considered

A TUC sell-out to the Tories, masked by British and Soviet Stalinism is certainly being considered in Moscow as part of the bureaucracy's overall strategy of a deal with world imperialism.

But this time the working class, behind revolutionary leadership, can and will win.

Selecting for special praise the 'lefts' on the TUC General Council, the broadcast continued:

'The genuinely left-wing forces in the British trade union movement demand from the TUC leaders resoluteness in the struggle with big business...'

It was the same Moscow Radio that throughout the recent dock strike gave uncritical support to the 'left' leadership of Jones, endorsed the Pearson Report as in favour of the dockers' claims, and finally called the return to work a defeat for the employers and the Tories.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is certainly following the development of the class struggle against the Tories very closely and sees the TUC leadership, and especially its 'lefts', as a valuable buffer between the Tories and an increasingly militant working class.

Tory thinking

And this, to a large extent, is also the thinking behind the Tory Minister Carr's most recent statement on 'strengthening' the union leaders against militant rank-and-file challenges.

Soviet Stalinist support for the TUC bureaucracy is certainly not a post-war development. As early as 1925, the Soviet trade unions, under Tomsky's leadership and instigated by Stalin, formed an alliance with the British TUC for the purposes of joint action in the event of a war threat against the Soviet Union.

But due to the opportunistic policy pursued by Stalin's faction, of 'socialism in one country', this alliance was used by the TUC leaders against the British working class.

The British Communist Party found its hands tied in the 1926 General Strike by Stalin's policy of supporting uncritically the TUC General Council.

Instead of preparing the revolutionary alternative to the right wing and the 'lefts' the Party put forward the slogan 'All Power to the General Council'.

The General Council used the prestige the alliance with Russia gave them amongst militant workers to ward off criticism against their right-wing policies.

Betrayal

And through their support for Stalin's line, the British Communist Party leaders were drawn into the May 1926 betrayal.

The Soviet bureaucracy, even at that early date, leaned for support not on the revolutionary potential and struggles of the British working class, but on its most bureaucratic and class-collaborationist leaders.

Only Trotsky and his pup-

Repressions continue in Oman

ACCORDING to a broadcast by Radio Damascus earlier this week, the new 'progressive' regime in the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman has begun a large-scale campaign of arrests... covering a large number of citizens.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of the Arabian Gulf, which had been leading the armed struggle against the old regime, also denies rumours that the new Sultan of Muscat has released 45 political prisoners.

Normal service will be resumed...

CLOSE links maintained between the Kremlin and the anti-communist Greek military junta were once again exposed yesterday when the Athens regime announced measures to check the spread of the cholera outbreak in S Russia.

A junta spokesman stated yesterday that health authorities at airports and other entry points have been alerted, and all passengers arriving from the Soviet Union will be subjected to strict controls.

Gas arrives

Sunny Point, Carolina, Wednesday - Two heavily-guarded train-loads of lethal nerve gas arrived at this military port today after trundling across the southern states for the last two days under a 35 mph limit.

The trains are being unloaded and their deadly cargoes transferred to an old wartime liberty ship, which will be towed out to sea and sunk in 16,000 feet of water about 300 miles off Cape Kennedy.

Nixon vetoes welfare Bills

THE NIXON squeeze on America's poor tightened yesterday with the White House statement that the president had vetoed both the school and housing appropriations Bills because they exceeded his upper spending limit by a billion dollars.

Announcing the cuts, Nixon said that it was 'painful but necessary to hold down the rising cost of living...'. More welfare spending, he continued,

would lead to higher prices, interest rates and tax increases.

'I flatly refuse to go along with the kind of big spending that is wrong for all American people. That is why I must veto these bills which add an extra billion dollars of pressure on to prices.'

So millions go short of education and housing to keep down the taxes of the rich.

French Stalinist support for Prague trial exposed

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE following letter from French Communist Party member Robert Simon was published in the French daily 'Le Monde' for August 11.

Its bitter attack on the record of his party's leadership during the period of the E European purges - notably the Prague 'trials' of 1952 - comes at a time of growing conflict within the French Party over the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and the

whole record of Stalinism internationally.

Slansky, Clementis and London were three of the 14 defendants at the 1952 Prague trial. The first two were executed, while all three were Jews.

This point is of particular importance, for anti-Semitism dominated the whole proceedings of the trial, in which 24 out of the 14 accused happened - by chance, the Stalinists claimed - to be Jews.

Nearly all the defendants, reciting scripts learned by heart and prepared for them by Soviet legal advisers, confessed to being fascists, imperialist agents, Zionists and... Trotskyists.

The framed-up verdict, finally quashed in 1963, is now being stealthily endorsed in the wake of the new Stalinist purge in Czechoslovakia.

It is this aspect of the French CP controversy that makes the issues raised by Simon such political dynamite.

(Tilton and Marty were expelled from the French Party in 1952 for alleged 'opportunism'. Marty was also accused of having been a police spy in the Party since the early 1920s, which placed him on the same level as Slansky and his comrades. Tilton, re-admitted to the Party, has now again been expelled for raising the same questions as Simon.)

In the article entitled 'The fundamental contradiction in the PCP which "Le Monde" published on July 24, the author, Mr Maurice Duverger, mentions, in addition to the "proceedings of l'Aveu", ["the confession"] the silence which the leaders of the communist parties maintained during the 1950s on the question of the Siberian deportation camps.

The impression given to readers of your paper is that

the French Communist press published absolutely nothing on the Slansky-Clementis-London affair during 1951-1952.

Over eight days he telephoned Paris with extremely harsh reports against Slansky, London and those accused with them. 'L'Humanité' of November 28 1952 was particularly violent against the condemned, and loudly approved the verdict and its authors.

Also on November 28, at Bordeaux, Jacques Duclos made a scathing attack on the traitors of Prague and those of Paris: André Marty and Charles Tilton. Of the 11 Czech communists condemned to death and of the other three condemned to life imprisonment he said: "These men thought that they could count on internal betrayals, to facilitate their attempt to precipitate events so as to unleash war."

Then, mentioning the accusation of anti-Semitism made against Prague authorities, he protested: "It is a filthy smear and a stupidity! This trial is an episode in the class war between the proletariat and those who wish to liberate themselves from servitude, exploitation and misery."

At the same time, in his capacity as head of the propaganda of our party, Jacques Duclos had an article entitled "The verdict of Prague: Heavy defeat for the imperialist warmongers, grand victory for the cause of peace" written for the edition of "France Nouvelle" appearing at the beginning of December 1952.

The author, Florimond Bonte, hit out at the non-communist press, who, "under the false pretext that 11 of the 14 condemned scoundrels were of Jewish origin, make the vile and stupid accusation of anti-Semitism against the government of the Czechoslovak republic and the Communist Party."

Then he claims as "incontestable" that the verdict of Prague was not pronounced because the accused were Jews, but because they were bandits, and goes on to conclude that the extermination of the "clique of Slansky and Co." constituted a great victory not only for the Czechoslovak people, whose power is reinforced by the elimination of the cancer which was gnawing at them, but also for all peoples, for all progressive humanity!

None of the above escaped the notice at the time of the editors of "Le Monde", whose readers were able to see day by day that, far from keeping quiet about the most conspicuous proceedings in l'Aveu, our Communist Party at the level of its leadership did not spare its approval and applause.

Saigon prisoners shackled and tortured--Report

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

A PRISONER in the Saigon regime's notorious 'tiger cage' camp lost the use of his legs after being shackled for three years, it was revealed in Washington yesterday.

A US official made a tape recording of accounts by prisoners of their sufferings on the 'tiger cage' island of Con Son, when two Congressmen visited the camp on July 2 this year. A Con Son captive, who identified himself as a Buddhist monk, said: "I am paralysed because of being shackled and tortured for three years."

The demonstrations, which were intended to have an entirely 'symbolic' character, were called by India's pro-Moscow Communist Party and the two sections of the Socialist Party, who support Ghandhi's Congress Party government.

The leaders of the protest in the occupations to last only a week. They saw them as a means of regaining political support, hard hit when the Stalinists of the Popular Front in Bengal sent police against strikers and demonstrators last week.

It has been the Naxalbaris (Maoists) who have led the militant movements of peasants to occupy the land, and this has made a certain influence in the Rome Curia.

The writer goes on to note: "There is no doubt that various trends and various opinions are clashing with each other in the Rome Curia... it would be wrong to ignore that... the Vatican has adopted a bolder attitude than so far in opposing conservative influences [!] and taking a stand in favour of realistic peaceful solutions. "This is confirmed by its attitude towards the treaty between the USSR and the GFR." (Our emphasis.)

This incredible statement shows how far the Polish government has moved towards class-collaboration with imperialism.

Its praise for the Vatican is the ideological reflection of its strike-breaking in Spain and Ireland. Ulbricht has every reason to fear that the Polish and Soviet bureaucracies will make even more far-reaching concessions to Bonn on the status of E Germany to secure a 'détente' with imperialism.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETING SW LONDON: Tuesday, August 18, 8 p.m. Princes Head, Falcon Rd, SW11. 'Lessons of the dock strike'.

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LATE NEWS

2ND FORCE SHARES BONANZA? Shares will be sold in the new 'second force' private airline it was announced yesterday. The airline, which will most probably be highly profitable, is to be formed out of the take-over of British United Airways by Caledonian and the handing over of routes worth £6 million a year by the state-owned airlines. HUSSEIN CONTACTS EX-ARMY CHIEF Faced by growing Palestinian commando resistance to acceptance of the US 'peace plan', King Hussein of Jordan sent a cable yesterday to his former Commander-in-Chief of the Jordanian army who was exiled to London last month because of his attacks on the Arab guerrillas based in Amman.

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WEATHER

London, SE England: Bright intervals, rather cloudy with occasional drizzle. Normal. Max. 20C (68F). Midlands, SW and central southern-England, Channel Islands: Rather cloudy, some rain or drizzle. Normal. Max. 19C (66F). NW and central northern England: Cloudy, rain and hill fog. Bright intervals and showers later. Near normal. Max. 18C (66F). Edinburgh: Bright intervals, variable cloud with scattered showers. Near normal. Max. 17C (63F). Glasgow, N Ireland: Mostly cloudy, showers. Near normal. Max. 16C (61F). Friday and Saturday: Generally unsettled. Some rain in most areas, bright intervals. Near normal temperatures.

STILL AVAILABLE

THE 1970 DOCK STRIKE Working-class unity needed to defeat the Tory government... BY Barry Cavanagh... A SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PAMPHLET PRICE 6D Available from 186a, Clapham High Street, SW4