Workers Press, August 11, 1970

PEACEFUL

ARRESTED

No

Shackles

More motors

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glassmen

BY A WORKERS PRESS

CORRESPONDENT

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#### PRICE 6d.

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UNITED STATES imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow have agreed to separate US and Soviet forces being stationed in Israel and the Arab countries.

US and Russian officials have already worked out details of a joint plan to police the Middle East.

It is now clear that the frequently quoted statements about US 'fears' of Soviet involvement in Egypt were only meant as a blind, while Moscow statements denouncing the plans of US imperialism

What

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Step to

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The more radical guerrilla groups have declared repeatedly their determination to fight on and break up any 'peace' settlement which robbed the Palestinians of their homeland. But they are now faced with the question of how they can defeat the forces of imperialism, Stalinism and the Arab nationalist

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#### **Programme**

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Liberation of Palestine demands a Marxist leadership which can provide a socialist programme for Israeli workers as well as the Arab masses. Only such a leadership can mobilize the workers and peasants of the Middle East

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# **August Appeal Fund** stands at £662 12s 3d

£83 4s 0d arrived in yesterday's post, which brings the fund up to £662 12s 3d.

ONLY THREE DAYS LEFT



May Day 1969, above — final amount raised towards £25,000 daily paper fund!

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Don't let's sit back on this fund. In three days we must raise £337 7s 9d to complete our target. We can do it—with a massive effort! Don't post too late—send your donations today to:

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#### **COVENTRY**

# Busmen agree to work-study

COVENTRY Corporation Transport bus maintenance craftsmen have hesitantly accepted the management's plans to carry out a trial time study in the garages.

After a three-year fight against the scheme, a poorly attended meeting on Wednesday agreed by a two-thirds majority to accept what many busmen rightly consider to be the thin end of the productivity

Despite the vote, the un-easiness of the men was ex-

#### TORIES TO **AUCTION** LAND

WHEN the Tories abolish the Land Commission the land it holds will be sold by public auction, announced the Commission yesterday.

Where land was to be developed by a particular local authority or builder, it will now be offered to them for purchase before it is auctioned

The Commission was set up by the Labour government with the idea of stopping speculation in land scheduled for development. A complicated system ol levies had to be introduced in an attempt to make the Commission

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The Tories are now making speculation in development land—a source of great wealth -possible once more.

Failure of the Labourite's scheme underlines that only nationalization of the land can prevent landowners growing fat while thousands lack de-

BY DAVID BARNES

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#### BY A CORRESPONDENT

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No shop-floor representa-tives will be used to carry out work study and the trial will last no longer than one month. The busmen insisted that no use be made of MTM 2, through which the management hopes to introduce speed-up by the use of verbal shorthand and tape-

#### **NEW BASIC**

In addition, negotiations are to begin on a new basic rate, starting no lower than £30 a week, and on the payment of average earnings for holi-

days.

The acceptance of the work-study trial is dangerous and this retreat can be laid at the door of those local officials who have insisted that no substantial wage increases could be won without productivity 'strings'.

The recent victories at Centrax and British-Leyland prove otherwise.

#### **SUPPORT**

A resolution at the meeting calling for a rejection of work study, a £5 increase without strings and three weeks' holiday won the support of a third of the meeting. This support must be mobilized to block the management's place before it is agement's plans before it is

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# Spanish CP condemns

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Leaving, they placed two bombs in the transmitting apparatus which caused serious damage and put the station out of action. In a message sent to the

press in Uruguay, the 'Tupa-maros' have accused the USsponsored Agency for International Development (AID) nominally a source of funds and advice for economic development, of being a channel for the US government to send 'security advisers' and weapons to assist Latin American regimes in their repression.

Uruguayan president Pacheco Areco, whose troops are attempting to impose martial law throughout the country, and whose goals now hold hundreds of political prisoners deprived of civil rights and lawyers, has declared to an audience of foreign diplomats that he will not negotiate with the 'Tupamaros' for the release of their hostages—a Brazilian consul and a American official.

#### 'DEATH'

'We are not going to sign the death certificate of democracy in Uruguay', he said.
In Sao-Paulo, BRAZIL,
three policemen have been charged with crimes as members of the ultra-right terrorist group, the 'Death Squad'. They seized a drug-peddler,

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### Trotsky Memorial Lectures



#### Monday, 14 September

'Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism'

#### Monday, 21 September

'Trotsky's fight against revisionism' BEAVER HALL

GARLICK HILL

Admission 2s Starts 8 p.m Both lectures given by G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)

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#### More motors backing for glassmen

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SPANISH Communist

Party paper 'Mundo

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Leaving, they placed two bombs in the transmitting apparatus which caused serious damage and put the station out of action.

In a message sent to the press in Uruguay, the 'Tupa-maros' have accused the USsponsored Agency for International Development (AID), nominally a source of funds and advice for economic development, of being a channel for the US government to send 'security advisers' and weapons to assist Latin American regimes in their

repression. Uruguayan president Pacheco Areco, whose troops are attempting to impose martial law throughout the country, and whose goals now hold hundreds of political prisoners deprived of civil rights and lawyers, has declared to an audience of foreign diplomats that he will not negotiate with the 'Tupamaros' for the release of their hostages—a Brazilian consul and a American official.

#### **'DEATH'**

'We are not going to sign the death\_certificate of democracy in Uruguay', he said. In Sao-Paulo, BRAZIL, three policemen have been charged with crimes as members of the ultra-right terrorist group, the 'Death Squad'. They seized a drug-peddler, tortured him and then shot

him in the back with the intention of making it appear that he had attempted to escape. The man, Mario Dos Santos, miraculously survived and brought the charges. Over a thousand brutal

to broadcast a message.

### **BY DAVID BARNES**

killings are attributed to the 'Death Squad', to which the Brazilian authorities had previously turned a blind eye; their terrorism is directed against left-wing political activists and 'criminals'.

# Trotsky Memorial Lectures



#### Monday, 14 September

BEAVER HALL

Admission 2s

LITERATURE

AND REVOLUTION

acquisition of mankind in

handling the problems of life.

They must not be thrown away

'Literature, whose methods

and processes have their roots

far back in the most distant

past and represent the accu-

mulated experience of verbal

craftsmanship, expresses the

thoughts, feelings, points of

view and hopes of the new

but dialectically overcome:

'LITERATURE Revolution' is best known for its attack on the idea of a 'proletarian culture'.

Put forward by groups of artists and writers after the Russian Revolution, this idea soon played into the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which tried to give some special historical value to the products of Russia's backwardness and isolation.

This, the theory of 'socialism in one country' and all that went with it, was the bureaucracy's programme of opposition to Trotsky's insistence on the revolutionary role of the working class and the defence and development of dialectical materialism.

The task of the proletariat was and is to create a classless society in which art and all culture will be 'truly human', and its class character surpassed.

In the course of the many years of proletarian revolution, there would be developments in art which would inevitably reflect the problems and achievements of the revolution, but even that art which could be called 'revolutionary' (not 'socialist' or 'proletarian') is produced in the context of definite artistic traditions, according to the past achievements within each art form etc., and is not freshly baked according to some recipe deduced from the nature of the proletariat:

'It is untrue that revolutionary art can be created only by workers' (p. 217).

And what is the dialectic of artistic and literary creations? Obviously Marxists do not think that each novel, poem, play, painting etc., is simply the unique expression of an individual's imagination. It is that, but, for it to mean something to others, it must express something common to all those who read, see or hear it.

Historical materialism shows that the characteristic attitudes, assumptions and modes of feeling of any epoch are not 'natural', however much they are taken for granted. These thoughts and sentiments grow out of (and also then help to give shape to) the necessary economic foundations of life. and especially from the interests of the classes which oppose one another as a result of their relation to that foundation.

#### Individual

If Marxists say then that an artist (writer, painter, poet etc.) expresses a particular class or section of a class or group of classes under the impact of particular historical experiences, choices etc., does this mean that the individual talent and uniqueness of the artist is set at naught?

That would be a totally undialectical conclusion:

'One of the most important tasks of criticism is to analyse the individuality of the artist (that is, his art) into its component elements, and to show their correlations.

'In this way, criticism brings the artist closer to the reader. who also has more or less of a "unique soul", "artistically" unexpressed, "unchosen", but nonetheless representing a union of the same elements as does the soul of a poet.

'So it can be seen that what serves as a bridge for soul to soul is not the unique, but the common. Only through the common is the unique known; the common is determined in man by the deepest and most persistent conditions which make up his "soul", by the social conditions of education, of existence, of work and of associations.

'The social conditions in historic human society are, first of all, the conditions of class affiliation. That is why a class standard is so fruitful in all fields of ideology, including art, and especially in art, because the latter often expresses the deepest and most hidden social aspirations.

'Moreover a social standard not only does not exclude, but goes hand-in-hand with formal criticism, that is, with the standard of technical workmanship. This, as a matter of fact, also tests the particular by a common measure, because if one did not reduce the

Name

Address

etc.), that their deepest assumptions are expressed, and it is these deepest assumptions that are moulded by the most basic, class-historical interests.

**TROTSKY** 

particular to the general there

would be no contacts among

people, no thoughts and no

It is therefore precisely in

those attitudes and values

which individuals (and artists

themselves) do not question,

but 'take for granted' and

express naively, in relation to

all sorts of questions (the

family, love, personal integrity

poetry' (p. 60).

(This illuminates the wellknown fact that Marx and Engels, for example, never judged writers by their explicit political opinions, but only by their artistic success in penetrating to these basic questions. Engels even said that a literary work would be better, from the proletarian standpoint, if it was not politically

#### 'Incriminating'

Opponents of Marxism, in Trotsky's day as now, objected to the Marxist analysis, complaining that it was simply a way of blackening or 'incriminating' a writer by pointing to his class affiliation

or interest. Trotsky, in replying, elaborates on the way Marxists should approach these questions:

'[Marxism] does not at all "incriminate" a poet with the thoughts and feelings which he expresses, but raises questions of a much more profound significance, namely, to which order of feelings does a given

complexes of feelings and thoughts broken through the shell which divides them from the sphere of poetic conscious-

TROTSKY ON

By Cliff Slaughter

artistic work correspond in all

its peculiarities? What are the

social conditions of these

thoughts and feelings? What

place do they occupy in the

historical development of a

society and of a class? And,

further, what literary heritage

has entered into the elabora-

historic impulse have the new

'Under the influence of what

tion of the new form?

ness?' (p. 170). The final sentence in this quotation begins to answer our question: what is the struggle of opposites at the root of

artistic creation?

As Trotsky sees it, there exists the whole tradition of past literary creation; 'the sphere of poetic consciousness'. Inevitably, in class society of every type, this 'sphere' has been relatively and often completely isolated from the life

and sentiments of the masses. The breakthrough of a new class in history, and its relation to the lives and feelings of all the oppressed masses, changes all these relationships, and conflicts with the old forms. Under this 'new historic impulse' the 'new complexes of thoughts and feelings' break through 'the shell which divides them' from poetry, from art.

#### Enriching

To a certain extent the changes taking place in social reality are always tending to modify the literary consciousness; only in revolutionary periods are the conditions created for profound changes. and there is then often a long interval before the new class. its interests, and its characteristic feelings, come to define and work out artistic styles.

'Artistic creation is always a complicated turning inside-out of old forms, under the influence of new stimuli which originate outside the art' (p. 179).

The old forms are developed and transformed, not created completely anew by the new

Here Trotsky, in a passage which recalls Lenin's exposition of the dialectical theory of knowledge ('Philosophical Notebooks'), insists that the literary forms developed by writers in the past are an epoch and of its new class'

(p. 180). This applies to the forms and techniques of all the arts, some of which are now of course (like film) directly associated with the development of science and the forces of production.

Past literature and art, therefore, while having a class character determined by the type of exploitation of the ruling class, also represents the progress of humanity in its contradictory historical course:

'What the workers will take from Shakespeare, Goethe, Pushkin or Dostoievsky, will be

In other words, Shakespeare, Goethe etc., the giants of bourgeois literature, did not only develop literary forms, but through those forms made genuine discoveries about the nature of man. Art and litera-

ture thus have a distinct role

of enriching man's perception

a more complex idea of human

personality, of its passions and

feelings, a deeper and pro-

founder understanding of its

psychic forces and of the role

of the subconscious etc. In the

final analysis, the worker will

become richer' (p. 225).

and capacity for life. For the proletariat to appropriate these cultural gains, it must concentrate all energiesthrough the leadership of a revolutionary party based on Marxism — to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of its political power. This provides the conditions

for creating a classless society. The Russian Futurists wanted to work out an art and literature just from this revolutionary nature of the proletariat, condemning the individualism' of bourgeois literature. The dangers involved in such an attitude of revolt rather than revolution are indicated by the fact that their fellow-Futurists in Italy found themselves intimately associated with Mussolini's fascists, who also took a new broom to sweep away the 'decadence' and 'individualism' of 'democracy' and the 'old

#### 'Thre;hold'

Trotsky points out that the proletariat, by its revolution, only puts itself on the threshold', culturally speaking.

'When the Futurists propose to throw overboard the old literature of individualism, not only because it has become it contradicts the collectivist nature of the proletariat, they reveal a very inadequate understanding of the dialectic nature of the contradiction between individualism and collectivism.

'There are no abstract truths. There are different kinds of individualism.

'Because of too much individualism, a section of the prerevolutionary intelligentsia threw itself into mysticism, but another section moved along the chaotic lines of Futurism and, caught by the Revolution - to their honour be it said came nearer to the proletariat.

'But when they who came nearer because their teeth were set on edge by individualism, carry their feeling over to the proletariat, they show themselves guilty of egocentrism. that is, of extreme individualism.

'The trouble is that the average proletarian is lacking in this very quality. In the mass, proletarian individuality

IMPORTANT READING

#### The death agony of Transitional **Programme** adopted by the Founding Conference of the with the Statutes of the tasks of the

4th International

A SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PAMPHLET

New Park publications 186A Clapham High St. SW4.

PART 2

has not been sufficiently formed and differentiated.

In Two Parts-Part One appeared in yesterday's Workers Press

'It is just such heightening of the objective quality and the subjective consciousness of individuality that is the most valuable contribution of the cultural advance at the threshold of which we stand today.

'It is childish to think that bourgeois belles lettres can make a breach in class solidarity' (p. 225). We return, then, but on the

basis of the most fundamental historical and theoretical considerations, to questions of policy of the workers' state and the Bolshevik Party.

The Bolsheviks represent and lead the working class and must determine its policy towards other classes and towards the literary intelligentsia, some of whom seek in the Revolution a new source for their creativity.

'In its struggle for the preservation of continuity in artistic culture, the left wing of the old art, whose social basis has been destroyed by the Revolution more thoroughly than ever before in history, is compelled to seek support in the proletariat, or at least, in the new social environment which is being formed about the proletariat. 'In its turn, the proletariat

takes advantage of its position as ruling class and tries and begins to make contacts with art in general, and thus to prepare the ground for an unprecedented influence of art. In this sense it is true that the factory news-bulletins pasted on their walls represent a very necessary, though very remote, premise for the new literature of the future.

'No one, however, will say: Let me cross out everything else until the proletariat shall have risen from those walled bulletins to an independent craftmanship of art.

'The proletariat also needs a continuity of creative tradition. At the present time the proletariat realises this continuity not directly, but indirectly, through the creative bourgeois intelligentsia which gravitates towards the proletariat and which wants to

keep warm under its wing. 'The proletariat tolerates a part of this intelligentsia, supports another part, half-adopts a third, and entirely assimilates a fourth.

'The policy of the [Soviet] Communist Party towards art is determined by the complexity of this process, by its internal many-sidedness.

It is impossible to reduce this policy to something short like a bird's bill. Nor is it necessary to do this' (p. 227). It is the release of the productive forces by the new collective social relations of socialism which lays the basis for the 'truly human' culture of the future. The content of this culture will constitute a re-working of the whole cultural heritage of past class societies in the context of quite new tasks.

Men no longer confront their destiny as some blind fate or as a set of powers exercising uncontrollable power.

They will, under communism, be 'the associated producers', consciously creating and catering for human needs, with the contradiction between the common interest and the free development of the individual resolved. 'And as all problems in a

socialist society—the problems of life which formerly were solved spontaneously and automatically, and the problems of art which were in the custody of special priestly castes—will become the property of all people, one can say with certainty that collective interests and passions and individual competition will have the widest scope and the most unlimited opportunity . . .

'It will be the aesthetic schools around which "parties" will collect, that is, associations of temperaments, of tastes and of moods. In a struggle so disinterested and tense, which will take place in a culture whose foundations are steadily rising, the human personality, with its invaluable basic trait of continual discontent, will grow and become polished at all its points. 'In truth, we have no reason

to fear that there will be a decline of individuality or an impoverishment of art in a socialist society' (pp. 231-232). 'Literature and Revolution' is one of the classics of Marxism.

Trotsky's vision of the future society, of communist man, has often been praised for its passion and nobility,

and rightly so. But nowhere else, besides his book, has any Marxist so clearly traced and defined the relationship between that future, the revolu-tionary tasks before the Marxist party, and the funda-mental elements of dialectical materialism.

This is what gives 'Literature and Revolution' its great

#### Culture and **Socialism**



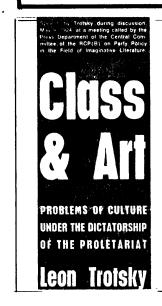
### Towards an Independent Revolutionary

Culture and Socialism and a Manifesto Art and Revolution

An article compiled by the author from a talk he gave to a Moscow club on February 1926, and a number of other addresses.

The Manifesto, appearin<mark>g in</mark> 1938 under the signatures of André Breton and Diego Rivera was in fact drawn up n collaboration with Trotsky Price: Two shillings and sixpence

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#### BBC 1

12.55-1.25 p.m. Bric-a-brac. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Noggin and the Omruds. 4.55 Score with The Scaffold. 5.30 Wacky races. 5.40 Junior points of view. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 ENTERTAINING WITH KERR.

6.25 CHAMPIONS' QUIZ BALL.

6.45 THE VIRGINIAN. 'Linda'.

7.55 DON'T ASK US.

8.20 ME MAMMY. 8.50 NEWS and weather

9.10 IT'S A KNOCKOUT.

10.25 24 HOURS. Including voices from the Russian underground. 11.10 THE BISHOP AND THE ACTRESS. 11.40 Weather.

#### REGIONAL BBC All regions as BBC /l except:

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00- 6.25

Your region tonight. Midlands to-day. Look East. 11.42 News and weather. Weekend prospects for anglers. Road works report. North of England: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight. Look North. 11.42 News and weather.

Wales: 1.30-1.45 Ar lin Mam. 6.00-6.25 Wales today. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw.

7.05-7.30 Ryan a Ronnie. 7.30-7.55 Speaking for myself. Scotland: 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 6.10-6.25 Se Ur Beatha. 11.42 News and weather.

Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 Scene around six. 11.42 News and weather. South and West: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight. Points West. South today. Spotlight South-West. 11.42 News, road works report, weather.

#### BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL. 7.30 p.m. NEWS and weather.

8.00 COLLECTORS' WORLD.

8.25 SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION. 'The Philanderer'. 9.10 CINEMA: 'Late summer'. With Henki Kolstad, Solfrid Heier. An author living in northern Norway gets a surprise visit from his teenage daughter and two of her friends, and finds him-

self becoming involved with one of the girls.

10.35 NEWS and weather. 10.40 LINE-UP.

#### ITV

2.05 p.m. Cricket. 4.10 Raj. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Arthur! 5.20 If I were you. 5 50 News.

6.03 EARLY BIRD. 6.30 PEYTON PLACE.

7.00 KENNY EVERETT EXPLOSION.

7.30 GUNSMOKE. 8.30 IF IT MOVES, FILE IT.

9.00 CONFESSION. 'Allergy'. 10.00 NEWS.

10.30 MANNIX. 'The many deaths of St Christopher'. 11.30 FACE THE PRESS.

12.00 midnight IDEAS IN PRINT.

#### REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 4.30 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.40 London. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 News. Weather. 6.10 Channel report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Dangerman. 8.30 London. 10.30 Matinee: 'Summer place'. With Richard Egan, Dorothy McGuire. 12.40 Weather.

WESTWARD: As Channel except: 4.25 News. 4.27-4.40 Gus Honeybun show. 6.00 Westward diary. 6.25-6.35 Sports desk. 12.45 Faith for life. 12.50 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 4.05 Paulus. 4.15 Ivor the Engine. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Robin Hood. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene South-East. 6.30 Junkin. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Weekend. 7.35 If it moves, file it. 8.05 Hawaii Five-O. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: "Rogue's March'. With Peter

Lawford, Janice Rule. Incriminating documents have been planted in the luggage of an army captain, and he is drummed out of his regiment as it is about to embark for India. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather.

HARLECH: 4.25 Women today. 4.40 Zingalong, 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.01 Report. 6.10 Sky's the limit. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 Man in a suitcase. 8.30 London. 10.30 Funny you should ask. 11.00 Interview. 11.30 Conceptions of murder. 12.00 Weather.
HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above except: 4.23-4.25 and 6.01-6.35 Scene West. 11.00-11.30 Mad movies. HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 11.00-11.30 Y Dydd. HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.01 Y Dydd.

Mad movies.

ANGLIA: 2.05-4.10 London. 4.25
News. 4.35 Romper room. 4.55 Lost
in space. 5.50 News. 6.00 About
Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 It takes
a thief. 8.00 Glamour '70. 8.25 London. 10.30 Film: A Raisin in the sun'.
With Sidney Poiter, Claudia McNeil,
Ruby Dee. Strife in a normally happy
family upon the arrival of a 10,000
dollar cheque. 12.45 Reflection.

6.30-6.35 Report Wales. 11.00-11.30 Mad movies.

ATV MIDLANDS: 4.02 Women today.
4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 4.55
Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 ATV
today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 That
girl. 7.30 Champions. 8.25 London.
10.30 Baron. 11.30 Midland member:
Sydney Chapman, MP for Handsworth, Birmingham. 11.45 Who
knows! Weather.

ULSTER: 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 News. 6.05 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cinema: 'The Huggetts abroad'. With Jack Warner, Kathleen Harrison, Jimmy Hanley. During their trek across the Dark Continent to the new land, the Huggetts become involved with a diamond smuggler—and get lost in the desert. 8.30 London. 10.30 Two shot golf. 11.00 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased).

YORKSHIRE: 2.05 Cricket. 3.55
Houseparty. 4.10 Zingalong. 4.25
Matinee: 'Gabrielle'. 4.50 Phoenix
Five. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar.
Weather. 6.35 Beverly Hillbillies.
7.00 'Sitting Bull'. With Dale Robertson, Mary Murphy, J Carrol Naish.
A young army officer risks court martial to prevent fullscale war breaking out between the US Army and the Sioux nation. 9.00 London. 10.30
Yorksport. 11.00 Edgar Wallace. 12.00
Weather.
CRANADA. 4.10 News Short story.

GRANADA: 4.10 News. Short story GRANADA: 4.10 News. Short story.

'The imperfect gentleman. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News.
6.00 Newsview. 6.05 Put it in writing.
6.10 Doing their thing. 6.45 Film:

'Escape from Fort Brave'. With
William Holden, Eleanor Parker, John
Forsythe. Adventurous escape attempt
of four Southern prisoners of the
American Civil War. 8.25 London.
10.30 Name of the game.

TYNE TEES: 4.35 News, 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 7.30 If it moves, file it. 8.00 I spy. 9.00 London. 10.30 Movie: "The misfits'. With Clark Gable, Marilyn Monroe. Roslyn in Reno to get a divorce, lonely and very uncertain of her own emotions. 12.45 News.

12.45 News.

BORDER: 4.13 News. 4.15 Room 222.
4.40 London. 4.55 Forest rangers.
5.15 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Border roundabout. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00
Sky's the limit. 7.30 Ours is a nice house. 8.00 It takes a thief. 9.00
London. 10.00 News. 10.30 Movie:
"The safecracker'. With Ray Milland, Barry Jones, Jeannette Sterke. From the honest job of an expert on locks to the criminal one of safecracker is an easy step for Colley Dawson after he meets an unscrupulous antique dealer. 12.10 News and weather.

SCOTTISH: 4.15 Dan. 4.30 Cross-roads. 4.55 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.50 News. 6.05 Mad movies. 6.35 Makem country style. 7.05 Name of the game. 8.25 London. 10.30 Festival now. 11.00 Songs re-membered. 10.30 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 4.30 Rumblie Jumblie. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 News. Weather. 6.10 Nanny and the professor. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.25 Preview. 7.35 Garrison's gorillas. 'Now I lay me down to die'. 8.25 London. 10.30 Never say die. 11.00 Outer limits. Road report.

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#### **BRITISH STALINISM:**

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JUST OUTI

REVIEWED HERE BY JOHN SPENCER

# THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY

RECORD

THROWN INTO deep crisis by the movement of the international working class and the growth of the Fourth International the British Communist Party is today unable to answer any of the fundamental questions about its own history now increasingly being posed inside and outside its own ranks.

Instead it is forced back upon the same slanders and distortions of history that did duty during the 1930s, when Stalin's GPU was engaged in the physical extermination of Bolshevism and of the revolutionary party built by Lenin.

But while Stalin was able to physically liquidate the leaders of Lenin's Bolshevik Partyincluding Leon Trotsky - he was unable to exterminate Bolshevism and the Fourth International, which today continues in a vastly more favourable situation, the work and struggle of Lenin and Trotsky.

#### Main barrier

Stalinism today is the chief counter-revolutionary force.

It is the main barrier between the working class and the achievement of workingclass power; not only internationally, but in Britain as

'Stalinism in Britain', published next Monday, is a 'must' for all those, both inside and outside the Communist Party, who want to understand how the party—founded fifty years ago almost to the day as a section of Lenin's Third International-became the counterrevolutionary and reformist

organization it is today. The book began as a reply to a slim booklet published by the Party under the title 'UltraLeftism in Britain'. Written by veteran anti-Trotskyist Mrs Betty Reid, the pamphlet reproduced, in very slightly updated form, all the slanders against Trotskyism which her mentor J. R. Campbell retailed during the 1930s.

But 'Stalinism in Britain' does much more than simply refute Mrs Reid's lies.

Drawing on material from the Stalinists' own publications and speeches, Workers Press foreign editor Robert Black shows how the leaders of the Party participated to the full in every betrayal of the working class carried out under Stalin's leadership.

He traces their slavish adherence to the criminal politics of the Soviet bureaucracy not only overseas - in China, Germany, Spain, Italy and Greece-but inside Britain itself. And above all, the book lays the ghost of the Stalinists' favourite myth: that everything they did was with the aim of assisting the Soviet Union and maintaining the conquests of the October Revolution.

As Black shows with the aid of quotations from impeccable Party sources, its Stalinist leaders consciously served the interests of British capitalism when they broke strikes during the war. The book shows how.

despite vacillations of political line—from the 'third period' to the popular front and from the period of the 'imperialist war' to the 'war for democracy' —the content of the CP leadership's politics remained counter - revolutionary and directed towards preserving British capitalism strengthening the Labour bureaucracy, as well as preserving bureaucratic domination over the Soviet working

Black begins by systematically demolishing the Stalinist myths about Trotsky's relations with Lenin and his part in the October Revolution. He establishes that not only were



**BETTY REID** 

Trotsky and Lenin in political solidarity on the basic questions after Trotsky's adherence to the Bolshevik Party in 1917, but that, in the last period of Lenin's life, this solidarity was directed against Stalin.

Lenin's final political act before the stroke which led to his death was to establish a bloc with Trotsky to fight against the growing bureaucracy headed and nurtured by Stalin, and to break off all relations with Stalin.

The book contains ample textual evidence, drawn from Lenin's works, to show that Lenin at no time accepted the theory which later formed the cornstone of Stalinism—the reactionary nationalist concep-'socialism in one tion of country'.

Having thus demonstrated the fundamental political and theoretical solidarity between Lenin and Trotsky, the book goes on to show how the Stalin leadership carried through its betravals in China and in Germany—and in Britain during the 1926 General Strike-and,

just as important, how the leaders of the Communist Party not only accepted but glorified these betrayals.

Black shows, too, the conscious character of the betrayal Stalin carried through in Germany—the betrayal which led to Hitler's seizure of power in 1933. As he demonstrates, responsibility for this crushing defeat, which are the Comments defeat, which set the German and world working class back several decades and made the Second World War almost in-evitable, lies fairly and squarely with the leaders of the world Communist Parties — and the British Party bears its full share of this responsibility.

The so-called 'Popular Front' period which followed the defeat of the German working class in 1933 is regarded by present Party leaders as a kind

#### Forget

of 'golden age'.

When they are busy attacking genuine revolutionists as 'sectarians and splitters', they prefer to quietly forget the disastrous errors of the 'Third Period', when Stalin's bureaucratic sectarianism led to the crushing victory of Nazism. Instead, people like Reid, Matthews, Gollan and their ilk extol the virtues of the class-collaboration policies followed by the Stalinist parties during the 1935-1939 period. Black thoroughly exposes the policies with which the Stalinist parties took part in the so-called 'People's Fronts'. He shows how this period sprang out of the 'Third Period' and

This cartoon appeared on the front page of the Daily Worker of Friday March 6 1953—the day following Stalin's death. The headline read: 'STALIN, THE ARCHITECT OF SOCIALISM IS DEAD'

how it served precisely the same counter - revolutionary ends. As is well known, the leaders of the British Party were among the most slavish supporters of the Moscow Trials, which took place precisely at the time when they were trying to ingratiate themselves with their own bour-

geoisie — with Liberals and 'patriotic' Tories—in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy's foreign policy.
Black is able, with the aid of quotations from the Stalinist press of the time, to show how the campaign against Bolshevism inside the USSR combined

with the politics of international Stalinist class-collab-Stalin's turn towards Hitler in 1939 caught the British

Stalinists unawares. But they swallowed this development too without baulking. Until the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, they castigated British imperialism -which previously they had exalted as 'democratic' - and maintained discreet silence about the position of German imperialism.

In Germany, the reverse applied.

East German premier Walter Ulbricht, then a functionary of the German Party-in-exile in Moscow, made the following incredible statement:

When the middle-class papers declare in one article that England is fighting for freedom and report in another article in the same paper the arrest of fighters for freedom, the muzzling of the workers' press, the establishment of concentration camps and special laws against the workers, then the German workers have the proof before their eyes that the ruling class in England is carrying on the war against the woking class, and that, if Germany were conquered, the German working class would be treated in the same way.'

#### Unprincipled

Those who might think that Ulbricht had plumbed the ultimate depths in the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact were to see some even more unprincipled action from the British Stalinists during the next period of the war, after the invasion of the USSR.

Once again the abrupt change of line caught the British Stalinists unawares.

Indeed for weeks before the invasion, the British CP press devoted a good deal of space to

**NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS** 

# STALINISM **BRITAIN**

A TROTSKYIST ANALYSIS BY ROBERT BLACK

pooh-poohing any idea that Hitler would invade Russia. They proved absolutely incapable of rendering the slightest support to the Soviet working class in the period when Hitler was building up his forces ready to strike.

On the eve of the invasion. the Young Communist League paper carried the headline 'Why is Ambrose's band being taken off the air?'—a commentary on just how seriously the Party prepared its mem-

bers for the turn in the war. The invasion was the signal for a 180-degree turn by the Stalinists: from being opponents of British imperialism they became its most ardent advocates. Strikes were broken all over the country and the



WALTER ULBRICHT

Stalinists became the leading advocates of the 'production drive'—developing many of the class-collaboration techniques which have since stood their former members like Will

Paynter in such good stead. After the war, too, as the book shows, the Party leadership continued their slavish support for Churchill: opposing the return of a Labour government after the war and continuing their collaboration in the factories during the 'postwar reconstruction'.

These leaders backed to the hilt the efforts of the Italian, French and Greek Stalinists to perserve capitalism according to the limits laid down at Teheran and Yalta by the 'Big Three', justified the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and became the chief advocates of the division of Germany and the policy of making all Germans pay for the war by stringent repara-

Anyone who wants to understand the present policies of the CP in the trade unions will find the chapters of Black's book which detail the Party's productivity drive in the factories and the mines during and after the war extremely illuminating.
This book is important not

simply as a chronicle of Stalinist treachery, but because the Party's history must be under-stood by all those workers who are trying to break from its present disastrous policies of support for the 'left' trade parliamentary road to social-

The chapters and appendix on the 'British Road to Socialism' give an extremely full account of the development of this openly reformist perspective under the impact of demands from Stalin and the bureaucracy.

There are also extremely important chapters on the Party's attemps to justify the show trials of the 1950s in East Europe. The CP's support for Stalin

in his slanderous attacks on the Yugoslav Communists is also well documented.

#### **Important**

One of the most important chapters in the book is that on 'Stalinism and Idealism', in which Black takes up its revisions not only of Marxism, but its attacks on the very basis of Marxism—materialism - in which the Communist Party has played a leading

quotation from the so-called 'Red Dean' of Canterbury gives the flavour of the chapter: 'To the materialist, mind is merely a function of matter . . . That belief is now dead . . . None indeed opposed the materialist view of life more resolutely than Lenin himself.'

was breaking strikes on the railways, this man was a member of the editorial board of the 'Daily Worker' and the book from which this quotation was taken became required reading for thousands of Stalinists and their sup-

It is a tribute to the growing strength of the Trotskyist movement that it is able to answer in the most decisive manner possible the slanders aimed at it by the Stalinists. The material comrade Black has gathered into this book is political dynamite for the Communist Party and its leaders.

Young Socialists and trade unionists must read this book and ensure that it gets into the hands of CP members, who must be made to face their Party's black record of be-

This book is a weapon in the fight for Marxism, which cannot be undertaken without a thorough understanding of Stalinism and an unremitting

# US Round-up)

# Things go better with Coca-Cola

Workers in Florida's citrus groves.



LAST WEEK we reported on the state of the auto industry; and on the fact that the auto workers, the highest paid section of American workers, are falling further and further behind the cost of living increases.

However, there are millions of American workers below the bare subsistence level: the most powerful capitalist country in history maintains them on the verge of starvation.

The migrant worker suffers the worst conditions of all. He lives on average only 49 years. His death rate from influenza and pneumonia is twice the national average. The incidence of deaths from tuberculosis among migrant workers is 2½ times the average, and accidental deaths are three times as frequent. Infant and maternal mortality rates are 125 per cent above the national average.

The investigation on Migratory Labour instigated by a United States Senate sub-committee chaired by Senator Walter Mondale, is only the most recent in an endless series of governmental inquiries.

The facts are well-known. Witnesses have levelled particularly strong attacks at the Coca-Cola Co. for their treatment of migrant workers employed to pick the Florida citrus crop.
Since it bought Minute Maid

orange juice in 1960, Coca-Cola has become one of Florida's largest citrus growers and land-Coke now owns or controls some 33,000 acres of citrus three processing

It employs about 1,000 migrants a day throughout the eight-month harvesting season. Conditions at the Minute Maid grove at Frostproof are The workers are herded into quarters that house 200-300 people; there is no hot water,

no indoor plumbing or toilets. According to a witness before the committee, the absolute 'social control' maintained by the corporation is even worse. When a worker is ill, it is not

determines whether or not he can work. And his decision is If the worker refuses to go out in the groves he faces eviction; eviction means total

doctor but the foreman who

loss of income, medical support, housing and food. Children have no place to play, so generally they hang around with their parents as they pick. Anyway, they are

needed to pack oranges.

They average only 78 days'

They are specifically exempted from unemployment and workmen's compensation benefits. Migrants are also outside the National Labour Relations Act. The employers certainly dis-

blacks, Puerto Ricans all enjoy the benefits of migrant work. And there is no geographical

California, Michigan to Texas. J. Paul Austin, president of Coca-Cola, told the committee he had remained ignorant of the migrants' conditions for eight

And when he discovered the real state of affairs? He was appropriately shocked and horrified. Indeed, three tears actually buried themselves in his thick carpet.

work a year, for an average annual income of 891 dollars.

play no racial or national bias. Mexican immigrants, whites,

bias. Migrants are exploited and abused from New York state to long years.

### TENS of thousands of US miners have been engaged in

bitter unofficial strikes in recent months not only against the naked corruption of union leaders but also the open collusion of the Nixon administration with mine-

One strike, involving 60,000 miners swept through three states—Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia—closing 50 pits. To say that the miners are in a life-and-death struggle is no

figure of speech, but fact. Just before the 50-pit strike, the Nixon administration had announced proposals to slash \$40 million from the mines' safety-research budget. This takes place against the background of a continuous fight to get even the rudimentary standards of the newly-enacted Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act enforced. To give just one example, the limit of gas emitted daily is supposed to be 100,000 cubic

feet.
Yet this is exceeded in 200

NOT SO LONG ago General Giap—the North Vietnamese military commander, stated that the morale of US troops in Vietnam was 'grass high'.

This is now tacitly conceded by the US High Command, who are extremely concerned about the prevalence of drug-taking by US forces in Vietnam. A lieutenant and two ser-

geants, military spokesmen said,

were recently tried and found guilty of drug offences on Mercedes-Castle air base, California, last year. lieutenant, Thomas McDonough, had offered mari-

iuana and LSD to plain-clothes police investigators. He is one among many: in 1969, almost 26,000 cases of pot smoking were investigated in the US armed services, compared

with only 17,000 in 1968. As might have been expected, a good part of these cases were in Vietnam.

Drugs are the surest sign of

ness to fight of an imperialist This is also the first sign of collapse of discipline of any army.

Marijuana smoking is part of
the troops' generally hostile reac-

the demoralization and unwilling-

tion to the Army, the war, the draft and military discipline.

When one Marine threatened to report his comrades for pot smoking, he was nearly killed by a grenade rolled under his

Drug-taking also provides the Army with a convenient explanation for outbreaks of fighting between different groups of US servicemen, and even for US troops shooting at their 'own' helicopters — an event which, apparently, is not uncommon.

However, the Pentagon says, while drug-taking is a problem. it has not in any way impaired military readiness or morale.

# ing millions of cubic feet of dangerous gas each day; miners

strike against such conditions. The response of the United Mine Workers' Union leadership? To negotiate a contract with the mineowners which forbids

strikes over safety questions. The miners' only official recourse is to arbitration and even here the UMW-under its president W. A. 'Tony' Boyle—has not been eager to get off the mark, to say the

Boyle's willingness to accept 'no safety-strike' clause has simple explanation. Under the contract between the UMW and the mine-owners,

the employers contribute 40 cents to the union funds for each ton

of coal mined! The Boyle clique's personal interests are therefore tied directly to high productivity, which inevitably leads to extremely hazardous conditions.

these circumstances, the union's move to avoid giving free hospital treatment to retired and crippled miners out of the coffers of the pension fund helped considerably to spark the recent

Miners' leader Joseph Yablonski put up a strong challenge to the existing leadership, winning the support of thousands of miners sick of years of graft and corruption; he was probably defeated in the UMW presidential election only by ballot-

rigging.
But shortly afterwards, Yablonski was murdered along with his wife and daughter. Yablonski's son—also named Joseph-is continuing his father's

fight, and, like his father, has come hard up against the government on several occasions. He was barred from Interior Department hearings on mine safety after UMW officials had opposed his attending.

Mine-owners used the hearings to press for a loosening of the safety regulations, protesting as usual that this was the only

One almost unbelievable

While the Communist Party

trayal.

struggle against it.

# Clyde sackings explode 'development area' myth

HARDLY A DAY goes by but hundreds of Scottish workers are thrown out of work through rationalization and factory closures.

The latest in a long list

of recent announcements

is the closure of two

factories of the industrial

refrigeration division of

Prestcold, the British-

Leyland subsidiary, sited in

the Maryhill and Hilling-

don districts of Glasgow,

which will result in 400

The recent national un-

employment figures — yet

again the worst in 30

years — reveal that the

spectre of 1930s-sized dole

queues is once again loom-

ing over the working-class,

particularly in the Scottish

Total unemployment there

is now nearing the 100,000-mark—nearly one-sixth of the

national total-and works out

at 4.5 per cent of the work

force: an increase of almost

1 per cent since August of

last year. In GLASGOW, 25,000—

more than 5 per cent of all

workers—are now unemployed. Employers waste little time in carrying out their plans.

Sales drop

of 800 redundancies at Clyde-

bank's Singer factory has re-

sulted in the first batch leav-

ing on Tuesday. Sackings will

the month.

completed by the end of

The reason given for these

pany's US sales.
Utopian theories of 'direc-

tion of industry' as the solu-

tion to the problems of Scot-land's 'depressed' areas are now being exploded by the

onset of recession and the development of an inter-

The Singer factory was re-

garded as a basic employer of 6,000 to 8,000 workers in

Clydebank, but has responded

rapidly to worsening market

ings occurred under the Tory government of Macmillan,

and, with the return of the

Tories, employers have lost

no time in opening their offensive, confident that Clyde-

bank's labour pool will provide the big stick for carrying out their plans.

Only a year

Further down the Clyde, near DUMBARTON, Bur-

roughs Machine's has an-

nounced redundancy of 450 workers at its Vale of Leven

factory, where 2,000,—nearly a third of its employees nation-

Burroughs has three fac-tories in Scotland, two of

them in new towns and geared

to the intensely competitive electronics and business machines market. Many of

the workers now to be sacked

were employed only a year

ago to boost the firm's output of dual-currency machines.

This costly overhaul, in preparation for British entry

into the Common Market, has

boosted Burroughs profits; but

the other side of the coin is

rationalization to face inter-

by American capital, which controls more than 80 per

Employers have not been slow to take advantage of the high unemployment in Scot-

British-Leyland, then British

Motor Holdings, was one of the companies which built

factories in Scotland with the

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.

national competition.

ally—are employed.

The last such wave of sack-

national trade war.

conditions.

was a drop in the com-

The recent announcement

redundancies.

militant youth of Derry and Belfast, joins Fitt's new

party.
After his outburst—and considering that Hume, Fitt and their associates have always opposed that politi-cal independence of the working class which is the only force to stop reaction — one can imagine with what contempt the Unionists will reject the new

party's statement: 'We now warn Chichester-Clark in the strongest possible terms that any attempt at a replacement in this most sensitive post [i.e. Porter's] by a right-winger or any addition to the government which increases its right-wing complexion will not be tolerated.'

There is no substitute for Marxist theory and the building of the revolution-ary party of the working class in N Ireland.

The British troops remain in order to place a wall between the working class and the reactionary preparations of the Unionist representatives of the capitalists.

Only the Socialist Labour League has demanded withdrawal of the troops from the day they went in. Every other political tendency in Ireland except Trotskyism has promised the workers and the youth a way out through subordinating themselves to the liberal middle class, which lacks all independence from the Union-

Every single political develop-ment since the crisis of O'Neill's regime has confirmed the principled stand of the Socialist Labour League and its supporters in Ireland.

Grave dangers face the workers of Ulster at the hands of right-wing forces who in fact have real control of the ruling party. These rightwingers are protected by Westminster and its troops. and are left free to force the treachery of the liberal, social-democratic and Stalin-

The struggle for the unity and the independence of the working class from these agents of the class enemy within the 'civil rights' and labour movements, the fight for a workers' and farmers' government, is one which can be carried out only on the basis of Trotskyism.

A united working class can

stop the right in N Ireland. The inability of reaction to divide the workers on sectarian religious lines in the factories, and the militant will to struggle shown on the streets in the last two years, only indicate the gigantic potential response from the young workers and trade unionists of Ireland to a principled fight for independent Marxist

#### WEATHER

London, central northern England, E and W Midlands: Dry, sunny spells after mist and fog patches. Warm. Max. 24C (75F).

SE, SW and central southern England: Sunny spells after fog patches. Thundery showers later. Warm. Max. 22C (72F).

Channel Islands: Sunny spells, thundery showers. Near normal. Max. 22C (72F). Channel Islands: Showers. Near normal.

Max. 22C (72F).

NW England: Dry, sunny spells after fog. Warm. Max. 21C (70F).

Glasgow, N Ireland: Dry sunny spells after fog. Warm. Max. 21C (70F). spells after mist or fog patches. Warm, Max. 20C (68F). Edinburgh: Dry, sunny periods after mist and fog. Above normal. Max. Saturday and Sunday: Warm, mainly dry. Unsettled weather in Scotland and N Ireland.

#### LATE NEWS

US ACCUSED OF 'POISON' RAIDS

charged yesterday Vietnam that the United States was launching continuous bombing raids and spreading poisonous chemicals on its territory in the northern part of the demilitarized zone between the two Vietnams. The charge was made in a

statement issued by Hanoi's Foreign Ministry and dis-tributed at the Vietnam 'peace' talks.

aid of large government handouts and then opened them under Measured-Day Work agreements. This was the real face of 'direction of industry'

#### Pare down

unemployment figures soar, the Tories hope to impose speed-up and pro-ductivity dealing and Glasgow workers have a constant re-minder of the inability of trade union leaders to mobilize any fight against these at-

Upper Clyde Shipbuilders continues to pare down its labour force, and is now within 1,000 of achieving the 3,100 redundancies announced in March.

Tory government is the government of unemployment. Older industries are now going rapidly to the wall, in-tense rationalization is taking place and US capital invested in areas like Scotland is being withdrawn to more lucrative fields elsewhere.

The only answer to the employers is the taking-over of the basic industries without compensation and under workers' control. The fight against unemployment is therefore not a 'regional' question but lies at the centre of a politi-cal struggle to force the Tories to resign and fight for socialist policies and leader-

## Spain

FROM PAGE ONE

to the methods condemned by the 20th Congress' (20th Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, at which Khrushchev exposed and denounced some of the crimes of Stalin).

In the Spanish Party, the instrument through which Stalin and his bureaucracy carried out the most terrible betrayal of the Spanish working class, the most essential task is a full poli-

It is an absolute prerequisite for victory in the struggle against Franco and the employers.

This must involve a comolete break with the present leadership of the Party, who oppose the Soviet invasion only under the most enormous pressure from their members, and also as a concession to bourgeois 'public

Recognition These leaders have never followed up their letter seeking 'clarification' from the Polish Stalinists of their action in sending coal to break the strike of Asturian

miners. Nor have they opposed the dangerous moves of the Stalinist regimes towards of Spanish fascism.

that Tory Chancellor Barber

stated that, if a nationalized

industry 'in the national in-

terest' resisted 'an inflationary

demand' and this led to a strike, 'the government would

not intervene in an attempt

to deter the Board of the

nationalized industry from taking this action'.

This, of course, has given

the green light to Robens to

prepare the maximum resis-

tance to the miners' claim as

productivity proposals.

Sovex workers wish to

thank Workers Press for regu-

larly reporting the issues in-

volved during our recent strike

and extend to all the readers

the same thanks for their sup-

The response we received proves not only the worth of

our own organization and

solidarity but the value of a

workers' paper that broad-casts daily the struggles of

workers and unites us all against productivity deals and

ties of the employing class. Why were we victorious?

How did we defeat the em-

ployers?
We, the same as Workers

Press, have consistently fought

against the idea of bargaining

If money is the reward for

What did we defeat?

conditions for wages.

port and understanding.

Dear Editor,

Shut-down pits, like the one shown above, disfigure the S Wales landscape with their unemployment threat.

Workers at Kent's Sovex conveyor and elevator plant at Erith

recently won a £3 2s 8d 'no strings' increase through a deter-

mined 12-week struggle against a vicious set of management

Engineers and Foundryworkers, the Transport and General

Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers.

The letter below—endorsed by rank-and-file workers in the factory—has been sent to us by three members of the strike committee; organized, respectively, in the Amalgamated

creases

of work.

from others.

labour under the present sys- are earned in the more organ-

certainly be revealed

when he 'replies' to it in the

middle of September. Yet, in the face of the

approaching collision between

the Tory government and the

miners, the union's leadership

The miners must now pre-

pare to do battle with the

Tories, but the burning ques-

tion of alternative leadership to 'left' talkers must be resolved.

tem, then any increase in monetary reward is not to be

gained from selling conditions

to the employer and, in so

doing, paying our own in-

productivity dealing in an area where the employers are

moving out to richer pastures,

to areas of greater unemploy-

ment where they hope exploit-

cause we gained support from these areas. They underesti-

mate the strength and under-

standing of workers in or out

feated the treacherous terms

agreement in engineering which

divided lower-paid workers

The fact that higher wages

of the last national wages

With this support, we de-

Their hope is doomed be-

We defeated the idea of

lems of the capitalists.

ation will be easier.

and solving the prob-

is preparing to retreat.

working party to examine

lutely correct to prepare for

The Tory government have made it plain where they stand on wages and particularly on such a claim in a nationalized industry which—the NCB claims—will increase its national wage bill by up to 33} per cent in a full year.

All Trades Unions

Sunday, September 6 High St

FOR FURTHER DETAILS WRITE TO: T. PARSONS, 61 DERWENT DRIVE, FERRY FRYSTON, NR

# 'Daily Mirror'

IOURNALISTS on strike at the 'Daily Mirror' met again last night after a return-to-work call from leaders of the

There was no London edition of the 'Mirror' yesterday after Wednesday's five-hour meeting of the journalists over six colleagues who have remained without jobs following the axing of the paper's colour

#### S Wales miners plan pay fight CORRESPONDENT SOUTH WALES

miners, well aware that the Tory government may use their national pay claim as the test case for resisting wage increases in the nationalized industries, are preparing to fight back. A three-hour private

delegate conference held at Porthcawl earlier this week recommended that lodge meetings are held to prepare miners for any strike ballot which may be taken over the current claim: £20 minimum for surface workers, £22 for underground day-wage men and £30 minimum for power-loading teams.

A special leaflet is being prepared and the conference was informed that the S Wales executive have already rejected an offer from the National Coal Board to set up the claim.

The Welsh miners are abso-

It is only a fortnight ago

Alliance Conference

# **MINERS**

Danum Hotel DONCASTER

CASTLEFORD, YORKSHIRE.

### strike

National Union of Journalists.

magazine.

### **British firms** scramble for Nigerian contracts IMPERIALIST interests, having first helped to provoke

the recently-ended Nigeria-Biafra war, are now competing with one another to cash in on the 'peace'.

So many British firms are applying for entry permits into Nigeria to engage in 'reconstruction' work that passport formalities have been temporarily relaxed by the federal government.

Permits for short term visits by British businessmen are now being issued in London. vouched for by the Confederation of British Industry.

#### 'LOOKING'

A CBI spokesman said

'In the last six weeks, people in engineering, con-struction equipment, office equipment, tyre manufacturing and food manufacturing have been involved. At this stage it is mainly looking and negotiating with no big con-

The full cost of the Nigerian reconstruction programme is put at around £1,200 million.

#### Secret talks danger, as U.S. Far East deal is prepared negotiator at the Paris talks Xuan Thuy has hinted at the possibility BY ROBERT BLACK

Agnew is connected with this.

US puppets that their interests will not be sacrificed

in any Far East deal with

dictator Park that his army

on Wednesday.

Having informed S Korean

Agnew is reassuring the

of secret meetings with US representative David The tour of Far Eastern capitals being made by Vice - President Spiro T.

Thuy has been boycotting the talks since December in protest against Nixon's refusal to appoint a top-level replacement for Cabot Lodge. He was not present at yesterday's regular weekly session, but will

attend next week. The possibility of private discussions about Indo-China is particularly dangerous, in view of the current series of deals being pre-pared between the US and the Soviet bureaucrats.

that US talks with Peking will not mean a halt in military aid to 'Nationalist China's' Formosa regime. Agnew will later visit

Saigon and Bangkok. Whether he sees Lon Nol in Cambodia is still not certain. The CIA-installed regime in Phnom Penh is under heavy attack from N Vietnamese. Vietcong and Cambodian guerrilla forces.

is to be modernized as US forces are withdrawn, Agnew A new attack only nine flew from Seoul to Formosa miles from Phnom Penh itself was launched on Tues-Here, his main purpose is day night, and continued to reassure Chiang-Kai-shek

# Sihanouk again demands Czech recognition **US-Moscow** NORODOM SIHANOUK has sent vet another 'co-operation'

BOTH TONE and content of President Nixon's reply to Soviet Premier Kosygin, who wrote to him on August 1—25th anniversary of the Potsdam conference—calling for closer collaboration in world affairs, suggest that the US ruling class is thinking along

Nixon, whose reply was broadcast over Moscow Radio earlier this week, said:

'I agree with you about the importance of the search for mutually acceptable and just solutions of concrete inter-national problems through the appropriate methods of nego-

With the Middle East deal clearly very much in mind, Nixon went on: 'We share the responsibility

to continue our common efforts aimed at preserving and strengthening inter-national peace and justice. Therefore I welcome and join with you in stressing the need to develop our mutual understanding and co-operation with the aim of widening the foundations of peace and security.'

The next target for Nixon and Kosygin, in their joint quest for 'peace and justice', is undoubtedly Indo-China.

Completely in the spirit of the 1945 Potsdam deal between Stalin and the imperialist allies, the bureaucracy and Nixon hope to impose a similar imperialist 'peace' on the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

#### Thorn strikers meet today

STRIKERS at Thorn Electrical's Team Valley plant in the North-East meet today over the management's proposals for ending the dispute.
The firm has proposed the redundancies of 20 semi-skilled men and eight skilled. 70 sheet-metal workers were

sacked last week. Many Thorn's workers feel that acceptance of any sackings would solve nothing and open the way for further attacks on wages and speed-up.

ized factories seemed to have

escaped the signatories to

Trade unions should organ-

ize and unite workers to de-

feat employers, not split and

We defeated the local em-

Their intention to fight

'no strings'

sternest resistance, forcing Vickers-Armstrong, one of

their most prominent mem-

bers, and known for hard-

line tactics, to settle with their

own workers before being

confronted by a strike such as

The lesson was learnt; we could only win with the kind of support and determination

We defeated the employer

because the whole of our strategy was based on social-

ist principles. Unity and par-

ticipation, as well as a basic understanding of the issues

A daily workers' paper is

vital in broadening the unity and participation of workers,

organized sections exactly

what is to be gained from

struggle with the employer

when these principles are

many, and not only did it in-dicate the existence of re-

awakened forces in the work-

ing class, but also the effect

on the employing class when

they are united in a principled

The more often the em-ployers dip the ladle into our

pot the better for us. Unity of the working class is poison to them and the more they taste

it the greater is our progress

We are the workers and

we need a daily paper to

and their retreat.

R. Pert (AEF)

way and used against them.

Our struggle was one of

involved, were essential.

settlements met with

divide us.

our own.

that we enjoyed.

understood.

ployers' federation.

that disastrous agreement.

etter from

calling upon him to recognize his Cambodian This follows an earlier

letter demanding the lifting of the police blockade continues: imposed on the Cambodian embassy in Prague after it was taken over three weeks and the right to receive mail. ago by student supporters of Sihanouk.

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

appeal to President Svoboda of Czechoslovakia

After thanking Svoboda for restoring water and gas sup-

government-in-exile.

#### Garrard's men strike first blow

GARRARD'S workers in Swindon have struck a first blow in their fight for their wage claim of £6 10s across the board with no 'strings'—the claim voted on at Monday's mass meeting.

Ten men from the factory's No. 103 building—sacked after they returned from Monday's meeting—have been reinstated after stewards and convenors from the Swindon plants of Garrard and Plessey, the parent company, threat-ened to bring out all the group's factories in the town. Garrard workers allege that the sackings were an attempt to intimidate them.

The men were sacked when they refused to speed up their work of feeding the assembly line to cover undermanned areas. A mass meeting was held the next morning and was

addressed by members of the

district committee. **BACKED** 

Convenors and stewards of other Garrard and Plessey factories backed the unanimous decision of the meeting mostly women workers, to stay out until the men were reinstated.

plies to the embassy, Sihanouk 'Unfortunately, they [his supporters in the embassy] are still categorically denied elec-tricity as well as telephones

#### 'STILL WORSE' 'What is still worse, is that

nobody is allowed to bring them food and the besieged have only the right to die of hunger or surrender the buildings of the Cambodian embassy to the representative of a regime which is the sworn enemy of its own people, sworn enemy of communism and a de facto ally of US imperialism which, in the name of anti-communism, delike a sword displacement. daily murders and disables napalm bombs and poisonous matter thousands of men, women, elderly people and children of the people of socialist Vietnam, an ally of your country, and of the Laotian and Khmer people, Laotian and Khmer people, who are your faithful friends.' As in his previous letter, Sihanouk asks the Czechs to choose which of the two missions in Prague represents the government of

bodia: 'I therefore cannot imagine that two weights and measures can be used—one in favour of the pro-American Khmer diplomats and the other to the detriment of the anti-imperial-Khmer diplomats and nationals who have formed a common front with the people socialist Vietnam, your

#### LIKE KREMLIN

Yet, following the example of the Soviet bureaucracy, that is just what the Husak

Like the Kremlin and all the other Stalinist regimes of E Europe (save Albania), the Czechoslovak government pre-fers diplomatic dealings with the anti-communists of Phnom Penh to fraternal relations with the CIA-deposed Sihan-ouk government, which now controls more than two-thirds of Cambodia territory.

Why do the leaders of the British Communist Party refuse to report, let alone endorse, the demand of Sihanouk full political backing to the legal government of the embattled Cambodian people?

#### Shopworkers' pay claim

THE UNION of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers yesterday announced a claim for increases in minimum wage rates for 400, 000 workers in retail drapery, out-fitting and footwear trades. The claim includes a £2 10s increase in the men's minimum rate, £3 14s 6d for in the present 42-hour week.

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J. Stapley (ASB)