1970: Thirty years since Trotsky's assassination

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Memorial Meeting

ACTON TOWN HALL High St, Acton

August 23 Sunday

Starts 3 p.m.

G. HEALY (SLL national secretary), C. SLAUGH-TER (SLL Central Committee), A. JENNINGS

M. BANDA Workers Press)

(Editor, Keep Left) (Editor, **WORKERS PRESS**

Young Socialists' film-'Youth in Action in the Year of Lenin and Trotsky'.

Wheet we think

rotsky

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Leon Trotsky's last words: 'I am confident of the victory of the

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Go forward'!

This means: Forward with the first Trotskyist daily newspaper-

ALSO: The first public showing of the latest

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Dangers ahead for air and dock workers

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WITH THE reluctant acceptance of the Devlin Phase Two proposals by London tally-clerks yesterday, the dock employers surmounted virtually the last hurdle to introducing speed-up, shift-work and Measured-Day Work on the docks.

Their success is a major setback for dockers — a setback for which the union leaders — both 'white' and 'blue' - bear the prime responsibility.

Devlin could and should have been defeated by the national dock strike last month.

But Transport and General chief Jack Jones preferred to accept the report of the Pearson enquiry rather than fight on for the £20 basic

He was aided in this by the leaders of the 'blue' National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, who called no meetings during the strike and posed no alternative to acceptance of Pearson. That is why, at the end of the day, the 'blue' proved unable to mount a fight against the productivity

This is not a reflection on those dockers who wanted to the deal, but on the wretchedly inadequate and politically-bankrupt leadership

'Good progress'

The same process of retreat in the face of the Tories' plans is already being pre-pared in another extremely important industrial sector. Negotiations for the 'second

force' airline merger between BUA and Caledonian are reportedly 'making good progress' as they near completion. Edwards committee, which drew up the 'second proposals, sat like Devlin under a Labour government. But Wilson baulked at putting its proposals into

The Tories have no such inhibitions. Now that the nationalized corporations are making money BOAC vesterday announced a record £31 million operating profit—the Tories are deter-mined that it will go to line

City pockets.

Magnates

The merged company is expected to employ about 4,500 workers and operate a fleet of aircraft worth £72 million. In order to make the oper-

ation worth the while of the financial magnates behind BUA and Caledonian, the national-ized corporations, BOAC and BEA, are to be stripped of their profitable routes to the tune of £6 million revenue a year. And that is only a start. It is only too likely that, as the Trade Union Congress pointed out in a press statement earlier this week, the government will continue to slice the juiciest cuts off BOAC and BEA should the 'second force' run into diffi-

culties. BOAC finance director Derek Glover was absolutely right when he described the second-force proposal as 'a form of denationalization'.

The £6 million revenue is merely the sharp point of the

Tory wedge.

A 'second force' airline can only operate at the expense not only of the nationalized airlines, but of the airline workers themselves.

Union-bashing

Denationalization means unemployment, wage-cutting and union-bashing for all workers in the air transport industry. The recent Robertson report on labour relations at the largest airport, Heathrow, made that very clear.

Once the profitable routes have been hived off the

nationalized corporations, the

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT drive will be on in earnest to

force up productivity and cut the labour force. That is the logic of the

Tory plans for the nationalized industries. Just as the miners over the last ten years have been decimated to open up profitable markets for the oil, capitalists, the airline to the profit ambitions of the private airline operators.

Why, then are the trade union leaders backing down from a fight against the 'second-force' airline? They have contented them-selves with purely platonic protests to the Board of Trade,

which the Tories contemptuously ignore. general secretary Victor Feather complacently

'It seems doubtful if the second force will ever get off the ground. It is premature at this stage in any case to be even thinking about any kind of industrial action in oppo-

'Change minds'

Transport Union leader Jack Jones, many of whose members will be directly hit by the Tory air plans, recently told the union's tinplate conference that the believed that 'provided trade unionists strengthen their ranks, we can change the politicians' minds'. The Tory government, he said, should be recognized as a fact of life, 'and we are prepared to negotiate with them even though we shall not change our political view-

Over the next few weeks, the dockers will be tasting the first bitter fruits of Jones' negotiations under the Tories for a £20 basic wage! Significantly enough, the ad-

vent of the Tories was the signal for the complete dropping of the demand for nationalization of the docks— ● PAGE FOUR COL. 9 →

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The resumption of dip-lomatic relations between

the two countries-severed

after the June war of 1967—is also expected soon.

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be used to pay off Nasser's debts!

Not able

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Egypt owes the US £52

£1,000 August

YESTERDAY'S post brought us £45, which gives us a total of £447 0s 3d for the

For the first time today, we have been able to print, in colour, a photograph of Trotsky in our Memorial Supplement. Achievements such as these can be made only with the help of this monthly fund.

Help us raise the remaining amount of £552 19s 9d by August 31. Send all donations to:

Workers Press, Appeal Fund. 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

All Trades Unions Alliance Conference

MINERS Sunday, September 6

Danum Hotel High St

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

Burmah march

200 MERSEYSIDE shop stewards and trade unionists met on Thursday night and decided to support the demonstration called for Monday against the arrest of 45 pickets on the Burmah Oil site.
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London depots including main Acton works. London Transport made a recent offer of 25s — 15s of which would be made up by

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savings. As one picket described it: '6d on the rate and your mate out the gate'. Already, workers leaving the industry are not being replaced by the LTB.

'ELEVEN p.c. cost-of-living increase — no "strings".'

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SOVIET UNION

Oppositionist jailed as 'insane'

A YOUNG SOVIET oppositionist has been locked in a lunatic asylum for an indefinite period after being found guilty of 'anti-Soviet activities'. Olga Yoffe, a 20-year-

Nixon makes £41m. 'aid' King Hussein of Jordan and President Nasser of Egypt conclude their three-day sesoffer to Nasser sion of talks in Alexandria



Nasser

'compensate' Arab refugees, Nasser-Rogers deal, will not be able to return to their Palestine homeland; from which they were expelled by the Zionist wars of 1948 and

This cynical move is yet more proof — if any were needed — that Nasser has sold out the Palestinians lock, stock and barrel.

Nixon's aid proposals are also viewed by observers in Washington as an indication that the Soviet government is preparing to withdraw support from the Nasser regime.

Eligible

Nasser's agreement to pay off his debts to the US will improve the credit standing of Egypt and this, it is already being said, will make the country eligible for new loans from the World Bank.

Faced with growing economic problems at home, the Soviet bureaucracy is no doubt anxious to cut its losses in the Middle East, at the same time drawing closer to a long-term deal with Nixon at the expense of the Arab revolution and the Palestinians.

Similar plans may well be in preparation for the Castro regime in Cuba, which has already been encouraged by the Kremlin to draw closer to the capitalist governments of Latin America.

old student of economics, was arrested in December of last year for having in her possession leaflets warning against the return of Stalinism. She was held in Moscow's

Lefortovo prison, which is becoming the usual destination for the victims of the bureaucracy, and brought to trial before the Moscow tribunal on Thursday. She was not present when judgement was given.

The judges declared her schizophrenic and ordered her to be held indefinitely in

a 'psychiatric hospital'. Cynical

Their cynical and cruel

action is aimed both at depriving her of legal redress and imposing mental and physical suffering even worse than she would experience in prison.

At the same time it is a mark of the political crisis of the bureaucracy, and the growing opposition to their rule, that they recoil from bringing her and her com-rades to open trial. The action against Olga Yoffe follows the incarnation of General Piotr Grigorenko

● PAGE FOUR COL. 1 →

Craftsmen strike for £10 no 'strings'

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

MOTOR-INDUSTRY struggles are hotting up

on every front. While the employers urgently require rationalization and speed-up, car workers are pushing forward for higher wages in factory after factory.

SES -

PROMISES

Prague boycott

wins big support

PRAGUE workers, youth

and housewives gave wide-

spread support to the boy-

cott called for the second

anniversary of the Soviet

invasion on August 20-21,

Many shops were empty and

virtually no one was reading

Leaflets calling for the pro-

test action had asked that all Czechs boycott the Stalinist press on August 21 and stay

indoors after 7 p.m.

One Prague woman described the silence of the

capital as 'the calm before a

Smallest sign

Police patrols were on the look-out for the smallest sign

of organized demonstrations

The success of the boycott is certain to provoke new

crises within the bureaucracy.

Its isolation from the mass of the Czech people, and especi-ally the working class, has

rarely been so blatantly demonstrated.

Israel keeps

hostages

ISRAEL will continue to de-

tain the two Algerians-taken

from a British airliner a week

ago—as hostages for Israeli prisoners held in Arab coun-

Both Algerians hold import-

one, Major Khatib

ant posts in the government,

Djelloul, was formerly Bou-medienne's security chief.

against the Husak regime.

newspapers.

LT WORKERS NIL

WE WAN?

OUR WAGE

At the Ferodo break-lining factory at Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire, 200 craftsmen are in their third week of strike action for a straight £10 increase in answer to the employers' productivity proposals. Engineering union met yesterday to consider the latest formula for ending the

18-day-old strike, and considerable pressure is now likely for a return to work. Ferodo is the main producer

of brake linings in Europe and S Africa. Management's answer to the workers' demand for £10-aweek 'no strings' increase has been refusal to cede more than £2, unless the following strings are agreed:

• Ending 100 minutes-aweek of tea breaks for an extra 18s. No more craftsmen's

 Payments for 'conscientious workmanship and diligence', with steward-management disciplinary collabora-

Instant dismissal for anyone breaking it. as concur would also be a condition.

BLESSING The company, which is controlled by international as-bestos giant Turner Newall, has for some time been forging ahead with a modernization programme at both Chapel-en-

le-Frith and Caernaryon. This is based on flow-line method and work study-in most cases with the blessing

of the union officials. These methods involve 'flexibility', 'natural wastage' and the like; in one section a system is in operation whereby certain staff have to re-apply periodically for their job

If re-application is not-made on the appropriate date, the employee reverts to a lowerstatus and his former post is then advertised as vacant, but at the starting

STRAIGHT RISE

The craftsmen struck for a straight £10 rise on June 5, following four months' attempts by stewards to meet the management over a substantial increase in the basic rate of 8s 4d an hour. Additional bonus and flexi-

bility money make up the wage of £24 12s for 40 hours. It took four days for the employers to come up with an offer of 1s-an-hour increase in the basic coupled with a deduction of 6d from the bonus. They made it clear that this was the final offer unless productivity strings were attached.

In the absence of a clear lead, the cash was accepted with the provisos that strike action would take place from July 28 if a more realistic offer was not forthcoming by that date and that no deal would be concluded unless satisfactory to all sections.

198-2 VOTE In the event, the management was given a further seven days to make an ac-

ceptable offer. However on August 4, a management document out-

● PAGE FOUR COL. 7 ->

Trotsky Memorial Lectures Monday, 14 September

'Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism'

Monday, 21 September

'Trotsky's fight against revisionism' BEAVER HALL

> GARLICK HILL Near Mansion House tube

Starts 8 p.m.

Admission 2s

Both lectures given by G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)

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● PAGE FOUR COL. 9 →

today. They were drawing up

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negotiations with Israel along the lines of the Rogers plan accepted last month.

Our foreign editor writes:

A £41 MILLION 'aid'

offer to Egypt is the

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Alliance Conference **MINERS**

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of organized demonstrations

The success of the boycott is certain to provoke new

crises within the bureaucracy.

Its isolation from the mass of

the Czech people, and especi-

ally the working class, has

rarely been so blatantly

Israel keeps

hostages

ISRAEL will continue to de-

tain the two Algerians—taken

from a British airliner a week

ago—as hostages for Israeli prisoners held in Arab coun-

Both Algerians hold import-

ant posts in the government, and one, Major Khatib

Djelloul, was formerly Bou-medienne's security chief.

demonstrated.

against the Husak regime.

Police patrols were on the

indoors after 7 p.m.

virtually no one was reading

newspapers.

DEM

ENGINEERS

IT WORKER NIL

WE WAN

OUR WAGE

INCR! AS!

At the Ferodo break-lining factory at Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire, 200 craftsmen are in their third week of strike action for a straight £10 increase in answer to the employers' productivity proposals. Engineering union officials met yesterday to consider the

latest formula for ending the 18-day-old strike, and considerable pressure is now likely for a return to work. Ferodo is the main producer of brake linings in both

Europe and S Africa. Management's answer to the workers' demand for £10-aweek 'no strings' increase has been refusal to cede more than £2, unless the following strings are agreed:

● Ending 100 minutes-a-week of tea breaks for an No more craftsmen's mates.

Payments for 'conscientious workmanship and diligence', with steward-managedisciplinary collabora-

Instant dismissal for anyone breaking in a concern would also be a condition.

BLESSING

The company, which is controlled by international asbestos giant Turner Newall, has for some time been forging ahead with a modernization programme at both Chapel-en-

e-Frith and Caernaryon This is based on flow-line method and work study-in most cases with the blessing of the union officials.

These methods involve 'flexibility', 'natural wastage' and the like; in one section a system is in operation whereby certain staff have to re-apply periodically for their job

If re-application is not-made on the appropriate date, the employee reverts to a lowerpaid status and his former post is then advertised as vacant, but at the starting

STRAIGHT RISE

The craftsmen struck for a straight £10 rise on June 5, following four months' attempts by stewards to meet the management over a substantial increase in the basic rate of 8s 4d an hour.
Additional bonus and flexi-

bility money make up the wage of £24 12s for 40 hours. It took four days for the employers to come up with an offer of 1s-an-hour increase in the basic coupled with a deduction of 6d from the bonus. They made it clear that this was the final offer unless productivity strings were attached.

In the absence of a clear lead, the cash was accepted with the provisos that strike action would take place from offer was not forthcoming by that date and that no deal would be concluded unless satisfactory to all sections.

198-2 **VOTE** In the event, the management was given a further seven days to make an ac-

ceptable offer.

However on August 4, a management document out-

● PAGE FOUR COL. 7 →

Trotsky Memorial Lectures Monday, 14 September

'Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism'

Monday, 21 September

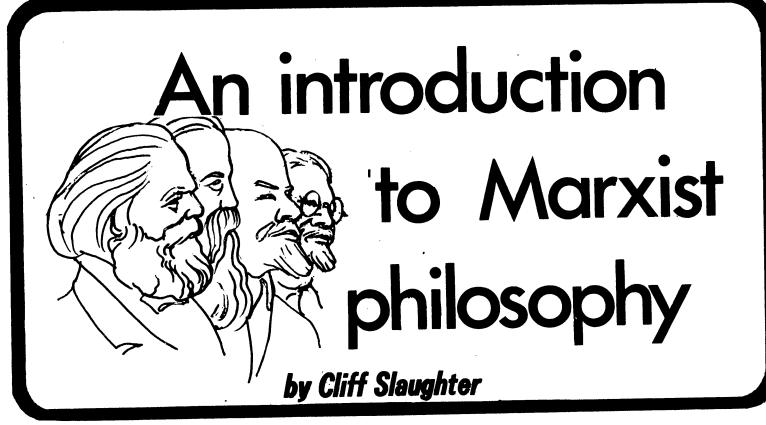
'Trotsky's fight against revisionism' BEAVER HALL

GARLICK HILL

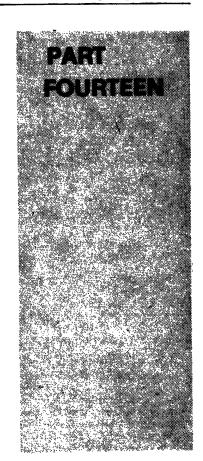
Admission 2s

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





CLASSES AND **CLASS** STRUGGLE: **POLITICS** REVOLUTION



(iii) Class and Revolution

The 'sociology of revolution', the relationship between party and class, the theory of the state and revolution, the nature of the transition to socialism -all of these are involved in understanding Marx's answer to the questions we outlined previously on the preconditions and nature of the 1848 events in France. This complexity is characteristic of Marx's approach to all such questions, and it is this which explains the importance in the history of Marxism of the disputes over 'revisionism' on all questions, philosophical, historical, economic, and political.

We do not deal in these articles with the later development of these questions by Marxists, in which Lenin and Trotsky, in their writings on the international developments during and after the First World War, particularly relating to the Russian Revolution, provided brilliant examples of the method elaborated by Marx. (cf. especially Trotsky, 'History of the Russian Revolution', 3 vols., and Lenin, 'Collected Works'.)

Trotsky turns on numerous occasions to the relationship between fluctuations in economic prosperity and workingclass militancy and revolution. (cf. Trotsky, 'The First Five Years of the Communist International', 2 vols., and 'Le Mouvement Communiste en France', ed. P. Broué.)

As for the second self-criticism made by Marx and Engels, to expand on it would be to trace the development of Marxist thought for over a century, since the development of the proletarian revolution and revolutionary consciousness is, of course, the core of Marxism.

Classic work

Lenin's 'State and Revolution' is the classic work on that aspect of the question which came to the fore in the second decade of the 20th

century.
His 'What is to be Done?' even though written as a pamphlet directed to a particular crisis in the Russian Social-Democratic Party, is a development of the general principles involved in the other essential question: the relation between party and class, theory and practice.

Marx's analysis of the stages by which first the proletariat and then the revolutionary democracy of the petty bourgeoisie, followed by each more 'right' section of the opposition were defeated, is presented in brilliantly concise, concrete and graphic form in Marx's two books on the period, and this summary cannot be a substitute for the works themselves.

The key to this process is in its first stage, the manifestation of the principal contradiction contained in the Feb-

ruary victory. It was the proletariat which, on the streets of Paris, established the new power, and there was no alternative to the pronouncement of a Republic with social emancipation inscribed on its banners. Respectable papers like the 'Moniteur'

'. . . had to propagate officially the "wild ravings" which

up to that time lay buried in the apocryphal writings of the Socialists and only reached the ears of the bourgeoisie from time to time as remote, halfterrifying, half-ludicrous leg-

Since 'everyone' was prepared to identify the finance aristocracy with the enemy described in the socialist pamphlets, and since the bourgeois themselves were represented by ideologues whose explicit Republican programme attri-buted any class distinctions not to economic relations, but only to the effects of monarchy and aristocratic institutions, 'nobody' was against the 'emancipation of the proletariat' and the 'social republic', and 'fraternité' united all classes in a post-revolutionary euphoria. It was this air which the Provisional Government breathed . . . for the duration of its very short life.

Marx's analysis shows that the necessities of bourgeois economy and particularly of the running of the state quickly made necessary a settlement with the extravagant promises given to the workers.

'The emancipation of the workers-even as a phrasebecame an unbearable danger to the new republic, for it was a standing protest against the restoration of credit, which rests on undisturbed and untroubled recognition of the existing economic class relationships. Therefore, it was necessary to have done with the workers.'

Twenty-four battalions of Mobile Guards were formed from the Paris lumpenproletariat in order to be turned against the working class, a working class which at first welcomed them as their own.

The National Workshops were set up and took in 100,000 workers. In reality nothing but workhouses, they yet bore the same name as the 'Ateliers' campaigned for by the socialists and Louis Blanc, who was in any case a minister in the Provisional government. The way in which pettybourgeois public opinion was rallied consequently against the working class showed a pattern which has often since then been repeated.

'All the discontent, all the ill-humour of the petty bourgeois was simultaneously directed against these National Ateliers, the common target. With real fury they reckoned up the sums that the proletarian loafers swallowed, while their own situation became daily more unbearable. A state pension for sham labour, that is socialism! they growled to themselves. They sought the basis of their misery in the National Ateliers, the declarations of the Luxembourg, the marches of the workers through Paris. And no one was more fantastic about the alleged machinations of the Communists than the petty bourgeoisie who hovered hopelessly on the brink of bank-

ruptcy. In the months before the meeting of the new Assembly and the formal declaration of the Republic in May 1848, the working class continued to show its strength, but it went through no preparation equivalent to that of its enemy. The

National Assembly of May now provoked the decisive struggle: to secure the republic for the bourgeoisie and to put the workers in their place.

The proletariat's representatives were removed from all government bodies, and the proposal for a Labour Ministry was rejected. On May 15, a workers'

demonstration invaded the Assembly, attempting to call it to order, to the February order, but the only real result of this action was the arrest of Barbés, Blanqui and the other

Next must come the settlement on the streets: if the workers' confidence derived from their predominance in the street battles of February, then they must be given a practical demonstration of the real relationship of forces. A rule of capital, the slavery of

Without here going into the later stages by which all the 'middle sections', and finally the democrats of the big bourgeoisie themselves, were defeated, we note one other result of the June defeat of the Paris proletariat.

All over the rest of Europe, this demonstration of both the menace of the proletariat and the necessity of its suppression pushed the bourgeoisie into the arms of reaction as a 'lesser

And in those nations where the February victory had sparked off democratic revolt against the Russian, Austrian and Prussian yokes, the old powers once again turned with confidence to the imposition of their rule, sure that 'revolu-

1848: Workers man a barricade during the February revolution in Paris

(iv) Classes and their political ideologists.

'Upon the different forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence, rises an entire superstructure of distinct and characteristically formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought and views of life. The entire class creates and forms them out of its material foundations and out of the corresponding social relations. The single individual who derives them through tradition and education may imagine that they form the real motives and starting point of his activity.'10

These general remarks are made by Marx by way of explanation of his insistence that the Legitimists and Orleanists

The individual will tend to regard the ideological expressions of his class interests as his own 'real' starting point, since that is in fact where he starts, but the material class interests themselves, and the impetus they give to a particular emphasis within the ideology of the society, create the ideological conditions within which the individual works at his ideas.

Marx gives the example of the petty bourgeoisie. It cannot break from the rule of the bourgeoisie or challenge any of its basic categories, but its class position leads it always to pose its own class interests as the general interests of society, of 'the people'. The content of its policies is:

'. . . the transformation of society in a democratic way,

Now the bourgeoisie must consolidate its rule, first through raising its 'Republican' political representatives to the head of state, and then liquidating these same bourgeois Republicans. These politicians, with their organ the 'National', had formed the official opposition under Louis Philippe.

Their political programme was 'realized', in the sense that June 1848 brought them into office, but in a manner determined by the real play of class forces and not at all by their own idea of how they would attain political office. Thus their political illusions fitted them very well for the specific role required by the bourgeoisie after June 1848, but only because they were real victims of these illusions:

'The republican bourgeois which had long section, regarded itself as the legitimate heir of the July monarchy, thus found itself successful beyond its hopes; it attained power, however, not as it had dreamed under Louis Philippe, through a liberal revolt of the bourgeoisie against the throne, but through a rising of the proletariat against capital, a rising laid low with grape-shot. What it had pictured to itself as the most revolutionary happening turned out in reality to be the most counterrevolutionary. The fruit fell into its lap, but it fell from the tree of knowledge, not from the tree of life.'12

In this relation between a class and its political representatives we have a striking illustration of the relation between 'being and consciousness' which dominates earlier writing of Marx.

The French bourgeoisie as a class is involved in the making of history through the totality of its relations with other classes (particularly the proletariat) and its internal relations; these again are part of the development of world capitalism, including the completion of capitalism's progressive struggle against the remnants of feudal absolutism (as we saw in Marx's analysis of the foreign relations of the 1848 Republic and the consequences of the June insurrection's defeat).

Conscious

The conscious representatives of the class, however, do not develop their ideas, programmes and policies on the basis of a direct and total translation of all these relation-

ships. Knowledge always represents only an approximation to reality, and in this case only through the specifically politi-cal relationships which the parties take to be their lifesubstance; this in addition to the fact that ideological, nonscientific thinking always takes as its material the historically given and does not penetrate to the preconditions and pro-cesses which produced that 'given' and prepare its dissolution.

When rapid changes take place in the life of a class, as in the torrent of 1848, or in the undetected developments at the economic base of society, the political representatives of the class will tend to persist in the framework of ideas in which they have always worked. They are not the class itself, and are not immediately subject to all the changes affecting the life of the class; on the contrary, they play a specific role, a political role, in the 'division of

labour' within the class. At times (June 1848) this very conviction of the selfcontained character of their own principles fits them for a dominant historical role, though, as we have seen, not in the way they expect. At other times (1849-1850) they pay the penalty of their ideas being

tied in the past. What was this republican section of the bourgeoisie?

opposition and consequently a recognized, component part of the political world of the day. It had its representatives in the Chamber and a considerable sphere of influence in the press. Its Paris organ, the "National", was considered just as respectable in its way as the "Journal des Débats". Its character corresponded to this position under the constitutional monarchy. It was not a section of the bourgeoisie held together by great, common interests and marked off by specific conditions of pro-

duction.'13

'Under the bourgeois mon-

archy of Louis Philippe it had

formed the official Republican

In combination with our earlier quotations from Marx on class and ideology ('The Materialist Conception of History') these remarks must suffice. In general, Marx's writings on 1848 remain the finest exposition of this rela-

What was in his polemic against Proudhon a theoretical explanation of the class source of petty-bourgeois ideology here becomes concrete in the history of the vacillating role of these middle strata in a revolution, covered over always with their tendency to earnestly express their own class interests in the guise of solutions for society as a whole. One of the prime conclusions drawn by Marx from the 1848 experience was the need for the proletariat to strive for its complete political independence from the petty bour-

Individuals

Only on that basis would individuals or sections from the petty bourgeoisie then attach themselves politically to the proletariat. Marx and Engels carried this fight into German Social-Democracy to the end of their lives.

1848 provided for Marx a living fulfilment of his characterization of the type of social and economic reform put forward by Proudhon as 'pettybourgeois'. Now the petty bourgeoisie moved to the acceptance of already outdated Utopian socialist schemes, as it sought for some way to express its specific complaint against capitalism:

'Capital hounds this class

chiefly as its creditors, so it demands credit institutions; capital crushes it by competition, so it demands associations supported by the state; capital overwhelms it by concentration, so it demands progressive taxes, limitations on inheritance, taking over a large growth by the state, and other measures that forcibly stem the growth of capital. Since it dreams of the peaceful achievement of its socialism-allowing, perhaps, for a second February lasting a brief day-naturally the coming historical process appears to it as the application of systems, which the thinkers of society, whether in companies or as individual inventors, devise or have devised. Thus they become the eclectics and adepts of the existing socialist systems, of doctrinaire socialism, which was the theoretical expression of the proletariat only so long as it had not vet developed further into a free historical self-movement.'14

and more round revolutionary socialism. round communism. for which the bourgeoisie has itself found the name of Blanqui. This socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the inevitable transit point to the abolition of class differences generally etc.'15

(13Ibid. p. 326.)

(12Ibid. pp. 327-328.)

series of provocative decrees and speeches in the Assembly forced the workers into the great insurrection and defeat of June 22, 1848:

'. . . the first great battle between the two classes that split modern society. It was a fight for the preservation or annihilation of the bourgeois order. The veil that shrouded the republic was torn to

Once the proletariat was defeated, the 'middle sections' or petty bourgeoisie came more easily under attack. Their misfortune was that, having chosen to attack the working class during the latter's period of strength, they were then forced to side with it only at the time of its defeat. The analysis of the role of the petty bourgeoisie in these events is one which retains validity as the guide to many subsequent historical situations.

Powerlessness

The powerlessness of this class derived from its middle position, tossed between the two great classes, victim always of its illusions about the good society of small and hardworking citizens like themselves, only disturbed by the inordinate strength and greed of the bourgeoisie on one side and the proletariat on the other.

The experience of the proletariat in these defeats, however, is of a different kind, a necessary experience in that the bourgeoisie must clarify in practice the meaning of its politics and the essence of its republican form of state, a bourgeois republic, explicitly disclaiming the 'social' republic of February. Thus Marx:

'By making its burial-place the birthplace of the bourgeois republic, the proletariat compelled the latter to come out forthwith in its pure form as the state whose admitted object is to perpetuate the

tionary' France would this time be too concerned with the suppression of the proletariat at home to encourage revolution in eastern and central Europe

The Hungarian shall not be free, nor the Pole, nor the Italian, as long as the worker remains a slave!'

This was the essence of Marx's conclusions from the revolutions of 1848 and the defeat of the Paris proletariat: until February 1848 the working class inevitably proceeded behind the banner of a revolution to change the form of

the state. That state was the monopoly of the finance aristocracy, of one section of the bourgeoisie. Through its 'revolutionary practice' of overthrowing this state, the proletariat discovered that its banner had been a false device by which it lost its political independence to the bourgeoisie and its

representatives. After June, the aim of the proletariat must be the social revolution, overthrow of the social-economic system, political independence of the proletariat, smashing of the bourgeois state, dictatorship of the proletariat:

'Our battle-cry must be; the permanent revolution!'

A Marxist view of any revolution would be of this type: i.e., not simply to provide an explanation of the classes and their roles, but to make this explanation from the standpoint of the enrichment of the experience and knowledge of the tasks of the working class, and of Marxism itself as the theory of the revolution of that

Before dealing with the closing chapter of the 1848 historical drama, viz., the accession to power of Louis Bonaparte, we must bring together certain of Marx's comments on class and ideology, since they are his most explicit statements on this subject (with the exception of 'Capital', where specifically economic illusions are analysed).

were divided not only by their explicit attachement to different royal houses, but by the property relations which determined the lives of those making up the two groups: 'large landed proprietors, ruling through priests and lackeys', on the one hand; 'high finance, large-scale industry, wholesale trade, i.e., capital, governed with its retinue of lawyers, professors

and orators', on the other. The fact that loyalty to one or the other royal house predominates in the conscious motives of individual representatives of the class, that a whole political party takes its decisions according to the degree of fervour aroused from time to time on this question, does not alter the fact that the royal houses are only titles for class groupings, forms by which the class interest is held together for certain purposes, but not the determinant of the content and social composition of the groups, despite a number of accidental adherents attached purely by loyalty to

These different sections of the ruling class will under some circumstances (degree of strength of the opposed class, etc.) draw closer together and even merge their material interests and their ideological outlooks.

the dynasty.

Two general points are important in this context: firstly, the conformity of the whole ideological superstructure with the economic base is a process, working through the survival of older historical forms of thought represented in the lives of certain classes; secondly, the individual ideologists have their own unique experiences and starting points in politics, but they make this experience in the matrix of conditions common to their class, with its characteristic emphasis within the ideology of the society.

(10Marx, 'The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', 'Selected Works', Vol. II, p. 344.)

but a transformation within the bounds of the petty bourgeoisie. Only one must not form the notion that the petty bourgeoisie, on principle, wishes to enforce an egoistic class interest. Rather, it believes that the special conditions of its emancipation are the general conditions under which modern society can alone be saved and the class struggle avoided. Just as little must one imagine that the democratic representatives are all shopkeepers or enthusiastic champions of shopkeepers. According to their education and their individual position they may be separated from them as widely as heaven from earth. What makes them representatives of the petty bourgeoisie is the fact that in their minds they do not go beyond the limits which the latter do not go beyond in life, that they are consequently driven theoretically to the same tasks and solutions to which material interest and social position practically drive the latter. This is in general the relationship of the political and literary representatives of a class to the class that they

A sort of process of 'selection' is involved, rather than the direct 'production' by each class of its own ideological representatives.

(Here Marx issues his own corrective in advance against any temptation to apply mechanically his formulation in relation to the Orleanists and Legitimists, quoted earlier, and occurring only three pages before passages we have just cited at length.)

Such ideological representatives of the class must not be mistaken for the class itself, which is held together by its particular historical basis in property in the means of production. Marx brings this home in describing the phase following the defeat of the June 1848 insurrection.

(11Ibid. p. 347.)

Experience at the same time gave the proletariat a sense of its own 'free historical selfmovement', and 'the proletariat rallies more

(14Marx, 'The Class Struggles in France 1848-1850', 'Selected Works II', pp. 288-289.)

(15Ibid.).

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FOR

BBC 1

SATURDAY TV

12.40 Weather. 12.45 Grandstand. 12.55 Football preview. 1.10 Ladies show jumping. 1.35, 2.05, 2.35, 3.05 Racing from Haydock Park. 1.45 Old Boston Apprentices Handicap Stakes, 2.15 Wood Pit Selling Stakes, 2.45 Matthew Peacock Handicap Stakes, 3.15 Wigan Sprint Handicap Stakes. 1.50, 2.20, 2.50, 4.30 Motor Racing. 3.20 Rugby League: Bradford v St Helens. 4.50 Results service. 5.15 Best of Basil Brush. 5.40 Debbie Reynolds Show.

6.05 NEWS and weather.

6.15 ICE SHOW. 6.55 HIGH ADVENTURE. 'Tomahawk'. With Van Heflin, Yvonne DeCarlo. An Indian scout tries to avert a head-on collision between the US cavalry and the Sioux.

8.15 IT'S LULU: Guest star Bruce Forsyth. 9.00 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE, 'A bullet for Mark'.

9.50 NEWS and weather.

10.05 MATCH OF THE DAY.

11.30 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Midlands and East Anglia, South and West, North of England: 11.32 West, North of England: 11.32 Weather. Scotland: 5.00-5.15 and 10.05-10.35 Sportsreel. 10.35-11.05 Curious character of Britain. 'A hard kind of

Paradise'. 11.32 News and weather.
Wales: 11.00-11.20 Cadi Ha. 11.25-12.40
Cricket. 10.05-11.05 March of the
day. 11.32 Weather.
Northern Ireland: 5.05-5.15 Sports
results and News. 10.45-11.10 Patterson people in Ardglass. 11.10-11.30
Sports final. Weather.

BBC 2

3.00-4.30 CINEMA: 'The Lemon drop kid'. With Bob Hope. A thirdrate tipster has to find 10,000 dollars before Christmas or face the wrath of a New York gang leader.

7.30 NEWS, sport and weather. 7.45 GREAT ZOOS OF THE WORLD: Antwerp, Belgium.

8.15 THE PHILPOTT FILE: The Guerrilla fighters of the M4. 9.05 SUMMER REVIEW: 'How to stage fights' and 'The original

Peter'.

9.55 GARDENERS WORLD. 10.05 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE: 'These men are dangerous'. Part 1: Mussolini. A triology dealing with an incident in the lives of three young men-Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin.

10.35 VAL DOONIGAN show.

11.20 News and weather. 11.25 MIDNIGHT MOVIE: 'Body and soul'. With John Garfield, Lilli Palmer. A boxer trapped by an unscrupulous promoter tries to weigh the importance of fame and fortune against his principles of fair play.

ITV

11.30 a.m. RAC road report. 11.35 Stay alive. 12.00 Wind in the Willows. 12.15 Captain Scarlet. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of Sport. 12.55 On the ball. 1.20 They're off! 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Lingfield racing. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Newmarket racing. 3.05 Boxing from Los Angeles. 4.00 Wrestling from Ossett. 4.55 Results service. 5.15 Stewpot. 5.45 News. 5.50 Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.

6.15 BEVERLEY HILLBILLIES.

6.45 OURS IS A NICE HOUSE. 7.15 MAGGIE'S PLACE. With guest stars Shari Lewis, Billy Dainty, Ian Paterson, Louisa Jane White and The Settlers.

'SERGEANT ROUTLEDGE'. With Jeffrey Hunter, Constance Towers. A negro cavalryman with a brilliant and heroic military record faces court martial for murder and rape.

10.10 THE GOLD ROBBERS. 'Account rendered'.

11.10 GARRISON'S GORILLAS. 12.05 IT HAPPENED TO ME.

REGIONAL ITV

GRAMPIAN: 12.00 Wind in the Willows. 12.15 Skippy. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of Sport. 1.20 London. 5.50 Laredo. 6.45 Movie: 'Mr Roberts'. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 News and weather. 10.10 Movie: 'The stripper'.

6.05 NEWS and weather. 6.15 LEADERS OF MEN: Moses.

comedy films.

10.05 NEWS and weather.

All regions as BBC 1 except:

7.00 NEWS and weather.

9.50 WHERE WAS SPRING?

BBC 2

11.10 FILM NIGHT.

6.00 CARTOON.

6.15 SHOWFORTH.

7.25 PLEASE SIR!

7.55 HAWAII FIVE-O.

9.50 POLICE FIVE.

6.35 INCLUDE ME OUT.

7.00 STARS ON SUNDAY.

standing feud.

11.40 Weather.

11.15 MY WORLD AND WELCOME TO IT.

REGIONAL BBC

7.25 THE WORLD ABOUT US: The Grizzly bear.

8.50 MUSIC ON 2: Beethoven at work.

11.00 NEWS, cricket scoreboard, weather.

4.15 Joe. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.30 Forest rangers.

8.50 WORLD OF MAYNARD FERGUSON.

Midlands and East Anglia, North, South and West: 11.42 Weather.

Wales: 3.00-3.30 John Player League. Glamorgan v Northamptonshire. 3.30-

gie's place. 8.00 Film: 'The jazz singer'. With Peggy Lee, Danny Thomas. A soldier returns from Korea and is reunited with a singer he met there. 10.00 News and weather. 10.00 Name of the game. 11.35 The party's moving.

3.50, 4.10-4.35 Doctors, 5.40-6.05 Show jumping, 11.42 Weather. Scotland: 11.42 News and weather. Northern Ireland: 11.15-11.40 Gaelic football: The all-Ireland semi-final, Derry v Kerry, 11.42 News and weather.

SUNDAY

TYNE TEES: 12.15 Joe 90. 12.45 News. 12.50 London. 5.50 Bonanza. 6.45 London. 8.00 Film: 'Houseboat'. With Cary Grant, Sophia Loren. When Tom Winston's's wife dies, his three BORDER: 11.50 All our yesterdays. 12.20 London, 5.50 Border sports results, 5.55 Joe. 6.20 Branded, 6.45 Kenny Everett explosion, 7.15 Mag-

1.25-1.50 Farming. 2.05 Heritage. 2.29 News headlines. 2.30 Inter-

national show jumping. 3.00 Film for the family: 'The son of Monte

Carlo'. With Louis Hayward, Joan Bennett, George Sanders. 4.35

6.45 EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL: Inaugural service. 7.25 FROM CHARLIE CHAPLIN TO LUCILLE BALL. Highlights from

Warner, Robert Beatty. Escape from a POW camp.

10.15 OMNIBUS AT THE PROMS, Bach and the Soft Machine.

8.40 IN TIME OF WAR: 'Albert RN'. With Anthony Steel, Jack

1.50-6.30 CRICKET. The John Player League. Warwickshire v Hamp-

8.10 CAROL BURNETT SHOW. With guest stars Michele Lee, Flip

11.00 Church service. 12.00-12.05 Appeal. 12.10 Casting around. 12.40

Families talking. 1.05 Decimalization. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15

University challenge. 2.45 The Big Match. 3.45 Never a cross word.

10.15 'HODDINOTT VEILING'. Amanda meets her finance's family for

the first time-and steps straight into the middle of a long-

10.15 SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION: Part 3: 'The Philanderer'.

Undersea world of Jacques Cousteau. 5.25 Show jumping.

children are almost strangers to him; but rather than let relations have them he takes them to his tiny Washington apartment. 10.00 News. 10.10 Theatre: 'Hoddinott Veiling'. 11.10 Gazette. 12.05 God of mercy,

CHANNEL: 12.45 London. 5.15 Road West. 6.10 London. 7.15 Film: "The buccaneer". With Yul Brynner. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 News. 10.10 Theatre: 'Hoddinott veiling'. 11.10 Court martial. 12.00 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

HARLECH: 12.15 Skippy. 12.45 London. 5.15 Robin Hood. 5.45 News. 5.50 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased). 6.45 London. 7.15 Cinema: 1 could go on singing': With Judy Garland, Dirk Bogarde. A girl who sacrifices happiness for stardom. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 News. 10.10 Cinema: 1 Portrait of a mobster'. With Vic Morrow. Two gangsters leave New York with a plan to crash the Chicago organization headed by Legs Diamond. 12.05 Weather.

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.45-7.15 Hyd a Lled.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.15 Joe 90. 12.45 London. 5.15 Jokers wild. 5.45 News. 5.50 Ours is a nice house. 6.20 Tarzan and the slave girl. 7.50 Name of the game. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 News. 10.10 Theatre: 'Hoddinott Veiling'. 11.10 Espionage. Weather.

SCOTTISH: 12.00 London. 12.15
Lesley and Oscar. 12.30 Animal
crackers. 12.45 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.10 News. 6.15 Sky's the limit.
6.45 Movie: "Ulysses'. With Kirk
Douglas, Silvana Mangano, Anthony
Quinn. 8.45 Ours is a nice house.
9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 News. 10.10
Match report. 10.25 Late call. 10.30
Late night movie: "Up periscope'.
With James Garner, Edmond O'Brien.

ANGLIA: 11.55 Seaway. 12.45 London. 5.50 Weather. 5.53 Branded. 6.15 Sky's the limit. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: "The George Raft story". With Jayne Mansfield, Ray Danton, Julie London, Neville Brand. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 News and weather. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 All our yesterdays. 12.05 Reflection.

GRANADA: 11.25 Casting around. 11.50 Underwater swimming. 12.15 Stingray. 12.45 London. 5.10 Flipper. 5.45 News. 5.50 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 6.45 London. 7.15 Tough Guys: 'Diamond Head'. With Charlton Heston. The head of an agricultural dynasty on Hawaii tries to halt the marriage of his beautiful sister to a Hawaiian boy. 9.15 Maggie's place 10.00 News. 10.15 Man in a suitcase. 11.10 Maynard Ferguson.

ULSTER: 12.45 London. 5.50 Laredo. 6.45 Film: "Ivanhoe'. With Robert Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Joan Fontaine, George Sanders, Emlyn Williams. Romance and high adventure. 8.40 Sports result. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 London 11.10 Prisoner.

YORKSHIRE: 1.30 Better driving. 1.55 Underwater swimming. 12.20 Woobinda. 12.45 London. 5.15 Big valley. 6.10 News. 6.15 Sky's the limit. 6.45 Film: "The war lover". With Steve McQueen, Shirley Anne Field, Robert Wagner. An action-packed war-time love story. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 News. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 Finders seekers. 12.05 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 12.22 Weather. 12.25 Mr Piper. 12.50 News. 12.55 London. 5.15 Joe. 5.45 News. 5.50 Cowboy in Africa. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: 'Scared stiff'. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 News. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 News. 11.45 Weather. Action 70.

European REVIEW



HUNGARIAN Stalinists, more than most, are feeling the pressure of the working class.

It transpires from a book re-cently published by Erwin Weit, until recently personal interpreter to Polish leader Gomulka, that at the Warsaw Pact meeting which preceded the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 Kadar was eager to avoid 'drastic measures' -an attitude which brought from Ulbricht the rebuke that he was not being 'helpful to social-

least until the autumn. Julia Raik, widow of Lazslo Raik—executed for 'Trotskyism' and 'Titoism' in 1949-and an author, Fereno Santa, brought charges of judicial murder against Rakosi.

Though these have been dis-

And last week also came the news that Rakosi, Stalin's dictator in Hungary before 1956, is not, after all, to be allowed to return from his exile in Alma Ata (Soviet Kazakhstan) — at \star

missed, under the general amnesty (declared in 1963) for 'all those who abused their authority during the suspension of socialist legality', the Hungarian bureaucracy are evidently withdrawing from such an obscene provocation to the opponents and victims of Stalin-

Leipzig six months after the Treaty of Rome was signed, and three months before the Common Market formally came into being, the Italian Stalinists took an apparently independent line on the matter. While Benoit Franchon, head

employers'.

Communist Party, as it is well known, opposes British entry into The existence of the Common the Common Market, and is even prepared to join hands with similarly-minded Tories in the interests of 'keeping Britain out'. Nonetheless, it appears that straws are blowing in the wind as far as the Stalinist attitude to 'European integration' is con-

cerned. A recent issue of the 'Morning Star' (August 17) carried an article by Tamara Phillips entitled 'Italians and the Comarticle mon Market'.

HER MAJESTY'S loyal British

It summarized an interview with Silvio Lionardi, an Italian Communist Party parliamentary deputy and one of the chief spokesmen on Common Market matters—also a Party representative in the European Parlia-

It is from this vantage point that he delivers various 'criticisms'—that Italy, with low employment levels and income per head, still 'exports' both labour and capital funds, that the Common Market is 'dominated by private monopolies and is run by autocratic institutions' which depend on the 'Council of Ministers, whose decisions are not subject to any democratic control and are not discussed by Parliaments of any countries belonging to the Community'.

There is, he points out, a 'continuous flow of material resources from . . . the Common Market into America', which increases Europe's 'dependence on America' and makes 'its own economic development more difficult'.

Lionardi's views, which appear in the 'Morning Star' without comment, are fully in line with the Italian Stalinist tradition of collaborating in the 'accomplished facts' of European capitalist integration—in many cases before the facts had been accomplished.

CONFERENCE

At the October 1957 conference of the WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions), held in

of the French CP — dominated trade union federation (the CGT) referred to the Common Market as 'this infernal machine forged by the monopolies at the instigation of the American monopolies', his counterpart Giuseppe Di Vittorio, of the Italian Communist-Socialist Union (the CGIL) described it, in much milder terms, as 'this type of

coalition on the part of the big

Market became for Di Vittorio (Italian Stalinism's most important figure in the trade unions, and therefore a key man in their plans for political collaboration with Nenni's Socialist Party) a reason 'to achieve agreement, at least for united action, among all workers' trade unions'.

'ITALIAN ROAD'

BRITISH CP?

Franchon's summary review of the topic', he said, was 'inade-quate' and underestimated the seriousness of the 'real prob-

Cutting across Franchon's stale rhetoric, together with his recommendation that workers should continue to fight for the Market's destruction, Di Vittorio proposed, as a first step to united action, that Communist Party trade unionists should sit the reformists who had already accepted the offer of places on the Common Market

In doing so, he anticipated the Italian Communist Party's future participation—as part of the Italian parliamentary delegation—in the European Parliament: a decorative body which has some (wholly theoretical) 'control' over the Council of

Ministers. The 'Italian line' on the Common Market has always had two strands—both equally treacherous

ALLIANCE

On the one hand, insofar as the Market is an alliance of the European and international capitalist class, the threat it represents can best be met from within. And on the other, it has a 'progressive' side.

Already, in March 1957, the Party said (speaking of the Treaty of Rome):

'The tendency . . . to new forms of international collaboration in the economic field is therefore understandable and also correct. The workers and the labouring classes cannot be hostile in principle to this

tendency. Even in 1962, when the Soviet Union (fearing British entry) put big pressure on the W European Communist Parties to oppose Market, the Italians stood their ground.

And now Lionardi's positions take up thread. 'We believe that a really inde-

pendent European Community would be in a position to approach the countries of the Third World, as well as the Socialist countries, on the basis of a real policy of peace and mutual interests and not of power blocs . . . 'We believe that Europe can

fully develop and get the best

from its own resources only when it takes the road to socialism, and then a Common Market economy will become an essential and indispensable factor.' (Our emphasis.)

The road to socialism, in the atlas of the Italian Party, is perfectly peaceful and passes by way of 'structural reforms'.

Apparently it is not just Italy that can travel this road, but (thanks to the Common Market) the other countries of W Europe. And when our feet are well planted on the road to socialism we shall find that the Common Market was an unmixed blessing in disguise-since the alliance of European capitalism in fact laid the 'indispensable' basis for . . . the socialist develop-ment of Europe.

Truly a miracle of Stalinist dialectics!

TREATMENT

It is no accident that the line of the Italian Communist Party now receives such preferential treatment in the pages of the

'Morning Star'.

Already highly vocal before
June 18, an ultra-right wing
tendency within the Communist Party has seized on the Stalinist election fiasco to advocate even closer collaboration with the Labour, and especially 'Tribune'-ite, 'lefts'.

The 'theoretician' of this openly Fabian grouping, Monty Johnstone, has long been a partisan of the 'Italian Road' in the British Party, and has since 1968 become its main spokesman for Dubcek's so-called 'socialism with a human face'. And with the concluding of the West German-Soviet 'non-aggression pact' in Moscow last week, there are indications that the old Kremlin line on the Common Market will be revised. for, after 1974, all member countries will have to cease individual dealings with Soviet-bloc states, and have their trade relations handled by the EEC.

Which leaves us all wondering why the British Party is still opposed to entry.

Perhaps the clue is to be found in the authorship of the Morning Star' interview?

Tamara Philipps is the wife of Wogan Philipps, otherwise Lord Milford and (when he dons his ermine) the sole current CP representative in Parliament. Since the House of Lords is likely to be one of the casualties of British entry, it must be obvious to all clear-thinking and progressive persons that joining the Common Market — which would reduce the Communist tion by 100 per cent—is, though only by an accident of history, altogether inconsistent with the British Road to Socialism.

OF THE OLD **SECTARIANS**

THE DEATH was recently reported in Italy of Amedeo Bordiga, one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party and for a brief period a supporter of the Trotskyist Inter-

Reacting in an impressionistic way to the parliamentary

Trotsky's call for a new, Communist International and together with the 'Ordine Nuovo' group of Gramsci began to build a Communist nucleus inside the old Italian Socialist Party.

FACTIONS

the Third International, the Italian Socialist Party was torn by the growing social crisis in Italy into three main factions: Communists, under the leadership of Bordiga and Gramsci, centrists—with Serrati as their main spokesman — and the reformist right wing led by Turati and Lazzari.

trist leadership, which con-trolled both the trade unions Milan and Turin.

and the majority of the party machine, came in the factory occupations of September 1920: when, for two weeks, the workers of North Italy not only seized but operated the great engineering plants of

of preparing to take the power or settling for reforms—thus preserving the capitalist regime -the centrists opted without hesitation for the latter course. The fascists — numerically

small up to this time-gained new recruits and confidence, and flung themselves on the confused and exhausted Italian labour movement. Mussolini's 'March on Rome' followed just over two years later. So the collapse of the cen-

trists faced Bordiga and his comrades with their great test. Splitting from the opportunists at the 1921 Livorno Socialist Party Congress (the centrists refused to accept the demand of the Second Comintern Congress that they expel the right wing as a condition of membership of the Communist International) Bordiga became a founder member of a Party faced with a situation where the working class was in full retreat.

He failed to heed Lenin's warnings, particularly appropriate in such a period, that a sectarian approach to the working class and its existing organizations condemned the vanguard to isolation and stagnation.

Unlike Gramsci, he refused to accept the tactic of the United Front as developed at the third and fourth congresses of the International (1921 and 1922); instead arguing—along the lines later taken to absurd lengths by Stalin-that the reformists and fascists were all in one reactionary heap, and that it was wrong to take advantage of any conflicts that might arise between them. The fascists thrived on the

rift in the working class, created on the one hand by the reformists' reliance on purely constitutional methods, and the Bordigaist refusal to engage in united — front actions on the other.

Then further blows hit the Italian working class and its Communist Party.

Just as the Gramsci line began to prevail in the leadership, the growth of Stalinism in the Soviet Union introduced new confusions into the Party. and drove it back towards the reformist programme of the Second International.

Under Stalin's banner of 'socialism in one country', the Italian Communist Party was cynically sacrificed — along with the entire Italian working class—to the ravages of the fascists.

EXPELLED

Bordiga reacted violently against this betrayal and was expelled from the exiled Party 1929 for 'sectarianism'. (This was at a time when the leadership of Communist International were denouncing every variety of centrism and reformism as 'social fascism'.)

His short association with the Trotskyist movement, dates from this period, during which he attempted a critique of the Stalinist course being followed by Togliatti from his Moscow exile.

But Bordiga never learned from Lenin's criticism of sectarianism and the mistakes of the early 1920s.

From his original proposition that all bureaucratized workers' organisations must be boycotted by revolutionaries, he evolved the theory that the Soviet Union had—under the Stalinist regime—ceased to be a workers' state. Bordiga — developing an

idealist impressionist line of thinking later to be taken up by other renegades from the Trotskyist movement, both in the United States and Britain - argued that the Soviet bureaucracy was a new exploit-



Just over two years after the betrayal of the centrists Mussolini marches on Rome (Oct. 1922)

ing class, and not, as Trotsky insisted, a parasitic layer or caste, similar in many ways to the privileged labour bureaucracies within the reformist parties of the capitalist world.

In the case of Bordiga (and later Schachtman and Burnham in the American Socialist Workers' Party) the theory involved the recognition of a totally new exploiting society —'bureaucratic collectivism'.

In the case of the 'International Socialism' group in Britain, it simply 'solved' the theoretical problems presented by the complexities of Soviet development by labelling the USSR 'state capitalist'.

But unlike the purveyors of this reactionary theory today, Bordiga had a long record of struggle within the workers' movement and — despite his sectarianism — played a key part in the fight to build a section of the Communist International in Italy.

After his break with Trotsky, he founded his own grouping, which even to this produces duplicated material in France and other European countries.

He remained faithful to his 'anti-parliamentarianism' to the verv end.

Such stobborness is worthy of a better cause. Sectarianism is a disease that will always afflict the workers' movement until its source—the betrayals of the reformists — are overcome and a mass revolutionary leadership built in every capitalist country.

REGIONAL ITY

CHANNEL: 11.00-12.05 London. 2.13 Weather. 2.15 Star soccer. 3.15 Golf tip. 3.20. Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 4.10 London. 5.30 Skippy. 6.00 London. 7.55 Film: 'Nine hours to Rama'. With Horst Bucholz, Jose Ferrer. 10.00 London. 10.15 World of Maynard Ferguson. 11.15 Avengers. 12.00 Epilogue. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.10 Muck problem. 1.45-2.15 All our yesterdays. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

TYNE TEES: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.25
All our yesterdays. 1.50 Farming outlook. 2.20 Shoot. 3.20 Matinee:
'Reluctant Heroes'. With Ronald Shiner, Derek Farr. When Michael Tone arrives at Salerno Barracks for his National Defence call-up, he finds his girl-friend already installed as an officer in the WRAC. 4.45 London. 7.25 Film: 'Billy the Kid'. With Robert Taylor. Brian Donlevy. Billy meets Dan Hickey, boss of the country-side, who is organizing its cattle ranches into a 'combine' and who hires Billy as one of his 'persuaders'. 9.05 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased). 10.00 News. 10.15 Maynard Ferguson, 11.15 Wayne and Shuster take an affectionate look at . . The Monsters, 12.10 Step into Joy.

GRAMPIAN: 1.40 News. 1.45 London. BORDER: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.45 Border diary. 1.50 Farming outlook. 2.20 Football. 3.20 Saint. 4.15 Hogan's heroes. 4.40 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's War. 6.00 London. 7.55 Love, American style. 8.50 London. 9.35 Cartoon. 10.15 London. 11.15 Wayne and Shuster take an affectionate look at . . . Jack Benny. 12.05 Epilogue.

GRAMPIAN: 1.40 News. 1.45 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 Seaway. 3.40 Telephone game. 4.10 London.

9.00-9.25 Nai Zindagi-Naya Jeevan. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and Believing. 5,30 Flintstones. 6.00 London. 7.55 Cinema: "The Interns", 10.00 London 11.15 Maynard Ferguson. 12.10 Reality of Christianity.

HARLECH: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.55 Decimalization. 2.10 Sports arena. 2.45 London. 3.45 Joe. 4.15 University challenge. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.55 Screen: "Tea and sympathy". All that's expected of a housemaster's wife in a New England school is to give the boys tea and sympathy, but something more is needed . . . 10.00 London. 11.15 Maynard Ferguson. 12.15 Weather.

HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 and HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 1.30-1.55 Testun Trafod.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.40 Douglas Fairbanks presents. 2.15 Star soccer. 3.15 'Cinderfella'. With Jerry Lewis, Count Basie and his music. 4.40 London. 7.25 Film: 'The adventures of Quentin Durward'. With Robert Taylor, Kay Kendall, Robert Morley. Treachery and chivalry in 15th century France. 9.05 Saint. 10.00 News. 10.15 Maynard Ferguson. 11.15 Strange report. Weather.

SCOTTISH: 1.45 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 Gazette. 3.45 University challenge. 4.15 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.55 'Geronimo', With Chuck Connors, Kamala Devi. 10.00 London. 11.15 'Hoddinott Veiling'. 12.10 Late call.

ANGLIA: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.40 Weather. 1.45 Farming diary. 2.15 Match of the Week. 3.15 Kenny Everett explosion. 3.45 University challenge. 4.15 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's War. Weather. 6.05 London. 7.25 Comedy: 'The Ladykillers'. With Alec Guinness, Cecil Parker, Herbert Lom, Peter Sellers. An unsuspecting widow lodges a dangerous criminal and his friends. 9.05 Hawaii Five-O. 10.00 London. 11.15 Maynard Ferguson. 12.10 In our time.

GRANADA: 11.00-12.05 London. 12.35 Imaginary dialogues. 1.00 Barenboim on Beethoven. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Interpol calling. 2.20 Football. 3.20 Time tunnel. 4.15 Gilligan's Island. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.30 Cartoon time. 5.35 H.R. Pufnstuf. 6.00 Felix the cat. 6.05 London. 7.25 Picture: 'Come fill the cup'. With James Cagney. Story of an ace newspaperman for whom nothing is too tough—even beating alcoholism. 9.30 A man called Shenandoah. 10.00 London. 11.15 Felony squad.

ULSTER: 12.10-1.05 London. 1.50 Saint. 2.45 London. 3.45 University challenge, 4.15 London. 5.30 Flipper. 6.00 Appeal. 6.05 London. 7.25 Bracken's world. 8.20 Movie: "Yesterday's enemy'. With Stanley Baker, Guy Rolfe. A ruthless British captain in Burma in 1942 will resort even to the killing of innocent people to gain information about a major Japanese offensive. 10.00 News. 10.15 Maynard Ferguson. 11.15 Conceptions of murder.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.05 100 years at school. 1.30 Yorkshire matters. 1.50 Farming diary. 2.20 Soccer. 3.20 'The girl in the picture'. With Donald Houston, Patrick Holt. Maurice Kaufman, Junia Crawford. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Felix the cat. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'The Cardinal'. With Tom Tryon. A priest who begins his career in his native Boston and becomes a cardinal. 10.00 London. 11.15 Maynard Ferguson. 12.15 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 London. 3.45 Seaway. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 5.30 Magic boomerang. 6.00 London. 7.25 Film: 'The opposite sex'. 9.30 Hark at Barker. 10.00 News. 10.15 London. 11.15 Maynard Ferguson. 12.10 Weather. Action 70.

national Left Opposition.

He was also the last of the old sectarian school condemned by Lenin in his 'Left-Wing Communism' written in 1920, along with Gallagher of the British CP and the 'ultralefts' in Germany and Holland.

opportunism of his party's leadership during and after the First World War, Bordiga adopted the ultra-left line of rejecting parliamentary work altogether. Founding the journal 'Il Soviet', he rallied to Lenin and

Though formally adhering to

The great test of the cen-

Faced with the stark choice

WEATHER

London area, SE and central southern England, E and W Midlands: Rather cloudy, a few bright intervals after clearance of early fog patches. Occasional outbreaks of rain, thundery at times. Wind variable, light. Rather cool. Max. 18C (64P).

variable, light. Rather cool. Max. 18C (64F).

NW and central northern England, Glasgow area, N Ireland: Rather cloudy. Bright or sunny periods after a little early morning drizzle in places. Perhaps one or two showers later. Wind north-easterly, light becoming south-easterly later. Rather cool. Max. 17C (63F). Channel Islands, SW England: Rather cloudy, bright or sunny periods after early drizzle in places. Becoming generally cloudy later. Wind variable, becoming south-easterly, moderate. Rather cool, Max. 18C (64F). Edinburgh: Mostly cloudy, fog patches on the coast with a little drizzle but bright periods inland. Wind easterly, light. Cool. Max. 14C (57F).

and the poetess Natalia Gor-

banevskaya in 'psychiatric

The bureaucracy have evidently formed a tame panel of

'medical experts' to certify

their political enemies insane.

Reports indicate that two

other students, comrades of

Olga Yoffe, will face similar charges before the Moscow

They are Irina Kaplun, a 20-year-old language student and Vacheslav Bakhmine, a

tribunal in September.

student of physics.

Moscow conference hails pact with W. Germany Triplex Safety Glass Co. Ltd.

BY ROBERT BLACK

doned this position, much to

the delight of the Brandt

also had the task of ensuring Ulbricht's collaboration in all

future dealings with West Germany and the entire NATO bloc.

Two years ago, over half a million Warsaw Pact troops

were sent into Czechoslovakia

on the pretext that the coun-

try was in danger of being

incorporated into the imperial-

ist world by West Germany.

In reality—and as the Moscow conference once again

proves - the target of the

Kremlin was not a Bonn invasion of Czechoslovakia, but

the politically-roused Czech working class.

Shoring up

The temporary checking of the struggle against Stalinism in Czechoslovakia, and the

shoring up of the isolated Husak regime by Warsaw Pact forces, has been a pre-condi-tion for the deal with Brandt

and preparations for a 'secur-

Documents published re-cently on the invasion prove

the US Central Intelligence

Agency had several months

advance warning that an intervention was being planned

CIA men even knew the

of the 'West German arms cache' planted by Kremlin agents before the invasion and

triumphantly unearthed after

it as proof that Bonn had

'counter-revolutionaries' to re-

store capitalism in Czecho-

Yet President Johnson main-

Go ahead

orating with Czech

ity conference'.

So the Moscow conference

LEADERS of the seven Warsaw Pact countries vesterday wound up their brief 'summit' meeting in Moscow with a statement hailing the recent Moscow-Bonn treaty as 'a major step towards

relaxing European tension'. While no details were released about the subjects discussed, these certainly included Kremlin preparations for the proposed all-European security conference -already agreed to by West Germany and France.

> An article in Thursday's 'Pravda' on the Bonn-Moscow pact has led government officials in West Germany to believe that East German leader Walter Ulbricht was 'put firmly in his place' at the Moscow conference.

> The 'Pravda' article went further than ever before in approving Bonn policy when it said Brandt was entitled to follow a line 'based on the realities and possibilities that

One of these 'realities', the German Social-Democratic Chancellor insists, is that he cannot extend diplomatic recognition to the Ulbricht regime in East Ger-

Abandoned

At the beginning of the talks, which led two weeks ago to the signing of the Bonn-Moscow 'non-aggression pact', Ulbricht tried to commit the Soviet leaders to an unconditional stand on Bonn recognition of East Germany.

Kosygin very quickly aban-

ECCLESTON WORKS, KNOWSLEY ROAD, ST. HELENS, LANCS. HEAD OFFICE

1. ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.1

August, 1970

Gt. Melons,

Further to your a edication for re-employment with this descript, we re not that at the properties to are unable to offer you consistion. We will be ever keep your application on file for future reference.



Far from being reinstated, some sacked Pilkington workers forced by circumstances to seek re-employment have — as the letter above proves — been refused.

Support grows for glass workers

SUPPORT CONTINUES to come in for Pilkington's sacked glass workers despite attempts to sabotage their

Workers at the Christian Shans building site at Run-corn and at the Crossfield, Warrington, site of Matthew Hall have pledged their sup-port in blacking Pilkington glass, as have Silcock and transport Collins workers operating at Ford's Halewood

However, the position remains unchanged on the docks at Liverpool and Bir-kenhead — where a decision was taken on Wednesday to end blacking, following a false rumour that the Pilkington management would re-employ all those sacked with a view to reinstatement in 4-6 weeks

Glassworkers' leaders have denounced this as 'a tissue of lies' and Pilkington's themselves have written letters rejecting applications for rebers of the breakaway General and Glassworkers' Union.

Teams of glassworkers went out to the docks yesterday to explain the real position to the Birkenhead stewards reiterated that they could not be expected to black the glass and risk sacking; particularly as the majority of glassworkers were inside the

This is no longer a question of 'confusion'. dockworkers have

shown that they are ready and willing to support the glassworkers' fight, but a section of the stewards are refusing to give a lead.

Dockers should demand dock-gate meetings immediately to clarify the true position and recommence blacking. This would be the most powerful answer to the Pil-

Foreign Ministry when they objected to police harassment. On August 20, Lilien-Ching kington management's man of the Chinese Foreign Minoeuvres to break the sacked istry lodged 'a serious protest' with the Czech charge After hearing speakers from Pilkington's rank-and-file comd'affaires in Peking, pointing out that the police blockade 'was a crude interference by

BY MARTIN ZARROP

mittee, a meeting of Liverpool Trades Council on Thursday night carried overwhelmingly a resolution calling for the reinstatement of all sacked workers and demanding that all trade unionists black Pilkington products.

China makes

BY A WORKERS PRESS

CORRESPONDENT

PEKING HAS delivered a

strongly-worded protest to

Czechoslovakia in connection

with the 'police blockade still

being mounted on the Cam-

bodian embassy in Prague,

which has been occupied for

the last two weeks by sup-

porters of the exiled Sihanouk

Since August 13, Chinese

diplomats in Prague have been

prevented from entering the

embassy, and were denied a

meeting with the Czech

the Czechoslovak authorities

in the normal diplomatic_activities of the Chinese Em-

government.

Guinea fighters down

THE LIBERATION movement in the Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau, the PAIGC, has announced, in a telegram to the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, that it is responsible for bringing down a Portuguese aircraft containing four members of parliament and two military

The aircraft's crash, several weeks ago, was originally announced by the Portuguese government, which said it was due to 'a cyclone'.

All the persons in it-who were on 'a tour of inspection'
—were killed. One of the MPs was the African Pinto Bull, who 'represents' Guinea in

Remands in Commons **qas case**

CORRESPONDENT

BOTH MEN facing charges in connection with the CS Commons were remanded until next Friday at Bow St court in London yesterday. Bail was continued for London publisher Bowes Egan.

Shadow Minister of Power Michael Foot remained as one of Egan's sureties despite the controversy over this in con-nection with Parliamentary privilege.

James Roach was again remanded in custody after police objected to bail.

He is charged with having two CS gas grenades in his possession on July 23 in the Palace of Westminster.

Egan is charged with conspiring with Roach and other persons unknown to contravene the provisions of the Firearms Act.

GKN stay out

5,000 WORKERS at the key GKN-Sankey car components factory in Shropshire yesterday voted to continue their 11-day-old strike.

The strikers are claiming a 4s 3d an hour increase.

CIA now active in

Cambodia

Midlands busmen angry at pay deal

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

BIRMINGHAM busmen are very dissatisfied at the retreat of a delegate meeting which caved in on their original claim for a £5-a-week 'no strings' increase and a reduction in the working week from 40 to 35 hours.

The Workers Press we readily admit would not have been possible without the political advice and encouragement given by Trotsky to the English and US Trotskyists in the 1930s.

We have shown we can survive the most reactionary epoch in history-soon we shall demonstrate our capacity to triumph.

Let us dip our unsullied banner in memory of the Old Man who gave our move-ment its programme, its strength—and inspiration to 'go forward' and overthrow imperialism and Stalinism. Long live the International

Committee of the Fourth International! Long live the Socialist Labour League!

France

Rover engine strike

PRODUCTION of Rover 2000 and 3500 models was shut down today at the company's main factory at Solihull, be-cause of a strike by nine workers at the branch engine factory at Acock's Green, Birmingham.

The strike, over a pay dispute, has halted supplies of engines to Solihull.

Thorn strikers to meet

200 engineering workers on strike at Thorn Electrical's Team Valley plant in the North-East are to meet today following yesterday's talks in Newcastle between manage-ment and officials of the Sheet Metal Workers Union and the Department of Employment and Productivity.

UNDER FIRE

The delegate meeting,

earlier this week, accepted

by a two-thirds majority

a management's offer of £2

—tied to accepting eight

standing passengers on the

large new buses from

Many of the 6,000 busmen

involved feel strongly that the

meeting should not have taken

the vote on the offer but referred the decision to a

ballot of the whole member-

October.

The role of the official union leadership has also come under fire.

Militant busmen at the Lea Hall garage defied a union instruction that no garagelevel meetings were to be held and ran in the buses to elect and mandate their own dele-

Lea Hall busmen told Workers Press that if this had been done everywhere the £2 certainly have been thrown

Union

even for the kind of national-

pact with CP THE FRENCH Unified Socialist Party (PSU) has proposed an electoral and political agreement with the

French Communist Party for the municipal elections, due to be held in March of next year. The PSU's raison d'etre is BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Centrists propose

to be the 'left conscience' of Stalinism. It provides a convenient watering-hole for all manner of revisionists and protest politicians.

In a long and wordy statement the PSU Political Bureau calls for 'the establishment of popular municipalities, that is

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forms of permanent collective action, organized to help the workers in the plants and to support the struggle against the regime . . .

and necessary,' the statement says, 'between the PSU and the French Communist Party, but its realization depends essentially on the possibilities of public expression . . . the content of the platform and the lifting of the exclusion on revolutionary groups.'

The statement is in line

with the policies decided at the recent PSU national council which have already been strongly criticized by the Stalinist Duclos.

The statement as a whole

In covering over past betrayals — making no mention of the way in which the Communist Party leadership headed off a fight against the recent laws creating 'collective guilt' on demonstrations, for instance — it prepares the way for fresh ones, and gives the Stalinist leaders the 'left' colouration they desperately

Meanwhile the police, with the approval of the Stalinist leaders, continue their persecution of left-wingers. Seventeen Maoist students are being held incommunicado

Under French law the police can hold people, without visitors or lawyers, for up

embodied in the government's Ports Labour The union chiefs have never defended nationalization in a

● FROM PAGE ONE

to say municipalities based on

'An agreement is possible

BROKER

or even characterization of Stalinism and can contribute only to furthering the PSU's treacherous role as 'honest broker' between Stalinism and revisionism.

seek.

by the police in Paris while

'inquiries are concluded'. to six days on charges con-cerned with 'state security'.

principled way. Instead, with the backing of the Communist Party—which has also quietly dropped the

demand for nationalizing the docks—they plead plaintively with the Tories to bring in higher wages and economic

Poultice

This reformist 'alternative' to Toryism is advanced as a universal poultice for all the evils of capitalism in crisis.

'To reverse the unemploy-ment trend', the Stalinist 'Morning Star' says yesterday, 'it is essential to win higher wages all round . . . raise pensions, to hold down prices and to expand production. The details have been repeatedly put forward by the TUC, Left Party.' (Our emphasis.)

You said it, gentlemen, not

completely with the union chiefs' retreat before the Tories, just as, on the docks, the Stalinists covered—or tried to cover—Jones' tracks

during the strike.

The union leaders, in reality, present no alternative to Toryism. They are frightened of challenging the denationalization plans because if they do this they will have to challenge the government

All-out fight

But the fight to force the Tories to resign remains the highest priority for the Labour movement. It is the only way the programme of nationalunder workers control can be made a reality.

It demands an all-out fight for alternative revolutionary leadership inside the trade unions as the only way in which the Tories can be driven

Tories sell off council houses

Tories' plans to sell off their houses.

The Greater London Council has decided to sell the 242 houses on the Brixton estate at Herne Hill to the London Housing Trust for £347,500 and tenants have already been warned that rents are to riste after certain improvements are carried out.

that they cannot afford any buy their freeholds from the GLC when the leases expired

The trust's tenancy agreement includes a deposit for

keys, no pets without permission and no oil fires.

advance at the trust's office instead of being collected as under the GLC.

The trust, which is registered as a charity, will be raising public money to make the purchase and has the sup-

port of Lambeth Council. Members of the management committee of the trust CORRESPONDENT

include Baroness Sharp, a Tory life peeress; directors of the Abbey National Building Society and . . . Sir Keith Joseph, present Tory social

George Clark, chairman of the Notting Hill Housing Service, is now 'helping' the Brixton tenants in their fight.

His advice to Brixton workers was to send their oldest neighbours to County Hall to 'sort out' the Housing Department

Meanwhile, the Tories are out the tenants.

destroying the councilhouse system, built up to provide low-rent accommodation

Calcutta police kill three

strators

CALCUTTA police killed at least three demonstrators and injured many more in clashes with supporters of the Maoist-led Naxalite peasant movement on Thursday.

The demonstration took to the streets in protest against the arrest of Kanu Sanyal, a prominent leader of the Maoist Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

Naxalites fought back against the police attacks with Molotov cocktails and other improvised weapons.

The clashes have spread to other areas of West Bengal. In Durgapur, one of India's major steel, mining and industrial centres, a 24-hour curfew has been imposed.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE **MEETINGS**

BIRMINGHAM: Tuesday, August 25, 8 p.m. The Wellington, Bristol St Bromgrove St. 'Lessons of the dock strike' COVENTRY: Thursday, August 27, 7,30 p.m. The City Arms, Smithford Way, Coventry. 'The Tory attack on the trade unions.'

students! continues peace is broken' should be

in full cry. The capitalist press could hardly suppress their glee at

the Appeal Court's decision to uphold all but one of the stiff prison and Borstal sentences imposed on Cambridge students who demonstrated against the Greek junta in February. The 'Financial Times' made it clear that more is involved than fitting a particular punishment to a particular crime.

'Students: the point has been made' (!), it goes on to say: 'Are these particular sentences longer than they have to be to meet the demands of public opinion (sic) and the need to deter future outbreaks among students? They are longer than Miss Bernadette Devlin got, in the far more explosive situation in N Ireland, for throwing a petrol

bomb.' (Our emphasis.)
What has changed is that the Tories are back in power and the big stick is being wielded with a vengeance. Of course, the 'Financial Times' hurriedly assures its readers, 'none of this excuses them or alters the fact that it

was right to send them to

The rest of the Tory Fleet St hounds were unashamedly 'The answer to mob rule,' proclaimed the 'Mail': 'Politics — in this case against the Greek regime—are

'But only sharp sentences from the courts will make it clear just how strongly the law and the public are op-posed to the rule of the mob. can be paraphrased as: deport

Britain should continue to

and Brazilian students, had they been deported, is not difficult to predict.

Lord Justice Sachs' comment that 'it is the degree of

mob violence that matters and

the extent to which the public

carefully noted. After the verdict, Cambridge Socialist Society chairman Stephen Amiel observed

[NLF influence strong

scale inside Cambodia.

Puppet administration controlled areas.

AFTER HELPING to depose the 'neutralist' regime

under Prince Sihanouk last March, the United States

Central Intelligence Agency is now operating on a large

necessary to warn against adventures that leave students and other demonstrators open to police provocation and The 'law and order' offen-

'mob rule', taming the unions never far from their thoughts.

The Appeal Court decision therefore of direct concern The trade unions must con-

Teams recruited from supporters of the pro-US regime in neighbouring Laos, and led by former US army men now employed by the CIA, are carrying out 'intelligence' and sabotage work in areas under the control of the Cambodian liberation movement. Units of eight to ten men

survey guerrilla supply routes from communist-held terriin Laos down into northern Cambodia.

The much-publicized 'withdrawal' of June 30 has merely served as a cover for the type of operations now

no doubt as to the employers' intentions and—by a vote of 198 to 2—they agreed to

Despite management discusconcessions, the men

attack lorries and other vehicles and call up United and ammunition dumps.

strike action.

sions with the Department of Employment and Productivity and the willingness of union officials to accept productivity determined to win the full £10

LONDON council tenants are up in arms over the

Many of the families say

Rents would have to paid in

tained a total ban on all such The Kremlin was given the green light to go ahead and smash the emerging political revolution against the bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia. Together with the Stalinist betrayal of the French general strike in May-June the same year, the Kremlin occupation of Czechoslovakia became a major stepping-stone for the Brandt-Kosygin deal. Soviet collaboration with Nixon over the Middle East therefore has its counterpart in Europe. In both cases, it represents a tremendous threat to the struggles of the working class £10 a year (Posted daily) (For any two day you select and the colonial peoples. £2 10s for three 1 for three months £4 a year Post to: Circulation Organizer, Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. (Tel: 01-720-2000) Workers Press, 186a would like to subscribe to Workers Press for

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LATE NEWS

TUBE MEN'S CLAIM London Transport chiefs have increased their offer to tube men in an attempt to avert strike action. The improved offer is £1 8s 2d in October and a further 10s next January. (See page one story.)

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CLASHES SPREAD

Release the Cambridge against political demon-

irrelevant. The courts will safeguard the right of citizens to assemble and express their Under the editorial heading

the judges were a little too More complex is the decision to set aside the recommendation for deportation made against the Brazilian student. It is hard to see why

The 'Telegraph's' message the foreign trouble-makers. Obviously this paper believes

offer hospitality to those who openly flout it.'
The fate of the S African

that this could mean that any demonstration would only need three agents provocateurs to be turned into a riot. Plain clothes police have been much in evidence on recent demonstrations. It is

heavy court sentences. sive is aimed both at students and at workers. The 'Daily Mail', after attacking the student demonstrators, has only one further piece of editorial comment . . . on car strikes!
When the Tories talk of

to the trade unions and all workers who are coming into struggle against the Tories. demn the jailing of the students and demand their im-

Call up Armed by the CIA, they States planes to bomb supply

being mounted by the CIA across the frontier with Laos.

• FROM PAGE ONE lining the productivity strings required left the craftsmen in

BY A

Sir Keith is also chairman the Mulberry Housing Trust, which operates in Westminster, but he is best remembered as Tory housing Rachman scandal.

mobilizing their forces to sort They are hell-bent on slash-

ing expenditure on housing for working-class families.