**CZECHOSLOVAKIA** 

Workers'

What we think

# **Rights** Fleet St. but not

THE Communist Party of Great Britain has refused to supply the Workers Press with press credentials for a reporter and a photographer to cover their forthcoming congress at St Pancras Town Hall this

The entire Tory press has, of course, been invited, together with a number of weekly papers, including 'New Statesman', 'Tribune' and 'Socialist Worker'.

The conflicting excuses given by leading Stalinists for this almost unprecendented refusal do nothing to dis-guise the fear and hatred with which they treat the Teachers' Association is calling out its 13,000 members for 24 hours on November 20. This could

The Inner London

close most schools in the

Half-day strikes have

been called in Birmingham,

Leeds, Sheffield and

Local branches of the National Union of Teachers are organizing one-day strikes in the North-East. This was

decided at a meeting at Gateshead on Tuesday.

Meanwhile, there are growing demands for the NUT

executive to stop playing at opposition to the Burnham offer—which it has described

as 'totally unacceptable'-and

Teachers at 230 Sheffield

schools are due to walk out this afternoon against the

East strikes—at Birtley Secondary School—is also scheduled for today.

Some 5,000 Birmingham

In Leeds, more than 3,000

teachers will stop next Wednesday, closing 450 schools.

teachers will strike on Novem-

ber 24 if members of the NUT are joined by those organized in the National Association of Schoolmasters.

Reject offer

ing voted unanimously to re-

ject the offer of the Burnham

committee and to support any action called by the NUT

But local branches are

The meeting was addressed

organizing their own token

by Jack Jones of the national

executive, who said that they

were planning strikes lasting two weeks in selected areas

and that subject to this being

agreed by a referendum of the

entire union these would con-

tinue until such time as the

Contributions from the

floor showed clearly that

members were extremely

doubtful that the executive

was prepared to fight all

A call for national strike

full demand was paid.

● PAGE 4 COL. 7 →

executive.

actions.

Tuesday's Gateshead meet-

an extended nature.

Leicester.

Trotskyist daily paper. Their adamant refusal admit our journalists their Congress reveals the utter bankruptcy and utter bankruptcy and thorough-going crisis of the Communist Party leader-

ship.
The CP's action, of course, violates an elementary principle upheld by the National Union of Journalists—the principle that

'As the other papers are being allowed in this is a definite piece of political discrimination, which I

'In a way it is a com-pliment. It shows that the Communist Party is really Press has to say,'

R. Mitchell Convenor, Wilson and Mathieson

'I condemn the policy of the Communist Party for its political discrimination against Workers Press in not allowing its reporter into the

> Ralph Day Communist Party AEF Leeds.

I cannot understand the allowance of the capitalist press, and people diametri-cally opposed to all that we stand for, being allowed to attend this conference to the exclusion of reporters from the Workers Press—a paper standing for Marxist principles and protest most strongly against this treatment at our hands.'

Mick Reynolds, Communist Party member, Shop steward at Lucas's Victor Works, Liverpool.

should newspapers allowed equal facilities to cover functions that are open to the press. But much more than this is

involved.

The Stalinist organ 'Morning Star' has for a long time conducted a campaign in favour of CP candidates being given 'equal time' on television and has rained action to win the teachers' £135 claim was passed by a petitions on the government large majority at a meeting of NUT members at Willesden High School on Wednesday pleading to be given government advertizing like other national dailies. This campaign now stands ex-

● PAGE 4 COL. 2.→ Young Socialists

**GRAND XMAS** 

BAZAAR

Saturday, Nov. 29

Canning Town Public Hall

doors open 12 noon

Can you sew? knit? paint?

make something for our Bazaar?

give something towards our bazaar?

Have you a tin of grocery? jumble?

Help us make this the best bazaar ever held!

Help us raise the money for our daily paper-

THE WORKERS' PRESS

# London, Midlands, Yorkshire and

North-East teachers to strike

# BIG SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL ACTION

TEACHERS in at least five areas have taken firm decisions for strike action in the next two weeks against the Burnham committee's £50-a-year pay offer.

BY **WORKERS PRESS REPORTERS** 

correspondent

DISSATISFACTION is growing in Standard-Triumph's Merseyside plant with the management's proposed 9d. an hour pay offer.

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When this was rejected the offer was increased to 9d. This nected with any productivity

could have won 30s. without striking for 11 weeks.

being dragged in the mud or

At the same time as the

demonstration, in a nearby

was presenting his Commission

on Industrial Relations inquiry

report on the dispute to Mr John Boyd, Scottish executive

member of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers, and Mr. John Ferguson, BSR chairman.

The BSR strikers know that

report from Wilson's

The management's front-line

defence is, of course, police controlled by the Labour

'Amicable' talks

That Blakeman described

they can receive nothing from

government.

government.

47 BSR pickets

charged at

East Kilbride

By our industrial correspondent

THE 47 PICKETS arrested outside the Better Sound

Reproductions factory in East Kilbride on Wednesday

face up to four charges: breach of the peace, obstruc-

tion of a public highway, interference with police and

refusal to give names to police.

The arrested pickets, 11

men and 36 women, were

charged after being detained

at East Kilbride police

Their 13-week-old strike for

union recognition has grown increasingly bitter with repeated clashes between police

Scab labour is brought

and out of the factory in buses driven at high speed

while police force the pickets

Brutality complaints

police brutality on Wednesday.

They said that one girl's

Pickets have complained of

station for five hours.

and pickets.

# Standard men don't like offer

By a Workers Press

HOOVER

1,150 workers returned to their jobs this week on the understanding that they would receive a substantial offer from British-Leyland within an hour of their resumption.

They had been on strike for

The company's first offer is believed to have been 4d. an hour tied to certain produc-

Workers comment that they

## council dissolved THREE more repressive measures were government. THE WORKERS' council

announced on Wednesday by the Czechoslovak

at the giant Skoda motor works in Pilsen has been dissolved because, according to the Prague News Agency, Ceteka, its existence 'objectively weakened the so-necessary leading role of the Communist Party'.

Democratically elected workers' councils were one of the biggest gains won by the working class between the fall of Novotny at the end of 1967 and the Kremlin invasion of August 1968.

THE NEXT blow was struck against the students.

University authorities have announced that all courses in pure philosophy, sociology and history are to be sus-pended throughout Czecho-

FINALLY on the same day it was confirmed that the laws abolishing civil liberties introduced last August on the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion are to stay.

The announcement stated: The constitutional law

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#### A.T.U.A. meetings

**OLLERTON (NOTTS)** 'Lessons of the miners' strike'

Saturday, November 15 l p.m.

Hop Pole Hotel Speakers:
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**NOTTINGHAM** What Next for the Miners?'

Sunday, November 16 7.30 p.m. Co-operative Hall

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GREET

## **WORKERS PRESS**



#### at three public meetings

See the film of the first issue being prepared and printed and the film 'Young Socialists, 1969'

#### LONDON

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SHEILA TORRANCE (National Secretary of the Young Socialists)

#### WEATHER

N.W., fresh to strong. Cold. Maximum 7 C (45F).

East and West Midlands: Sunny periods and showers, (For 24 hours from Thursday

Outlook: Continuing cold in most districts with showers and sunny periods. Frost at night in many places.

London, S.E. and Central England: Sunny periods and showers, heavy at times, but mainly isolated. Wind 2, light to moderate Rather cold to moderate. Rather cold.
Maximum 9C (48F).
Channel Islands: Sunny

periods and showers, heavy at times. Wind W., moderate. Rather cold. Maximum 10C

S.W. England: Sunny periods and showers, heavy at times with hail and thunder. Wind

W., moderate. Rather cold. Maximum 8C (46F). N.W. England, N. Ireland: Sunny periods and showers, frequent and heavy at times with hail and thunder. Snow showers over high ground. Frost at night. Wind W. to

Edinburgh: Sunny periods with isolated showers, heavy at times. Snow showers over high ground. Frost at night. Wind W. to N.W., moderate to fresh. Cold. Maximum 6C (43F). Glasgow Area: Frequent

heavy at times. Frost at night.

Wind W., moderate. Rather cold. Maximum 8C (46F).

Central Northern England:

Sunny periods and showers, heavy at times. Snow showers

over high ground. Frost at night. Wind W. Moderate. Rather cold. Maximum 8C

showers and sunny periods. Showers of rain, sleet and hail showers over high ground. Frost at night. Wind N.W.,

Powellite councillors join THAT Powellism opens the **National Front** 

should be stopped.

A pupils' 'guard of honour' for striking Bedworth, Warwickshire, teachers

things to

THREE HUNDRED workers

walked out of Vauxhall's Ellesmere Port plant on

Wednesday as a result of two

disputes involving the suspen-sion of shop stewards.

Management suspended three rear-axle assembly stewards after Tuesday's dis-

pute in the factory over a

ruling that workers must not

get change from a machine

provided for this except dur-

ing their two ten-minute tea-

in protest. When 100 stacker-truck

drivers struck against the suspension of their steward

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Contacted

Stewards at the company's

Luton plant were immediately

contacted by the Ellesmere Port men with a report of

Workers see the suspensions

as yet another attempt to

the management.

both actions.

Thursday another 100

Two hundred men struck

breaks.

**PRODUCTIVITY** 

**BEHIND AIRPORT** 

BY DAVID MAUDE

MRS BARBARA CASTLE'S

Department of Employment

and Productivity has

stepped into the continuing

dispute over the award of a

ground-handling contract at

London's Heathrow airport

to a Canadian agency,

General Aircraft Services

Officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union

and the DEP will meet to

discuss the contract on

On Tuesday, the airport's

shop stewards passed a vote of no confidence in the man-

agement of the British Air-

ports Authority — which was responsible for awarding the

GAS contract — and decided to maintain their 'black' on

the agency, despite the issuing

of solicitor's letters to three

stewards alleging their action

It is believed that GAS—a wholly-owned subsidiary of

the US Hudson Leasing

Corporation—is already in possession of equipment which would enable them to service

Boeing 747 jumbo jets and that they have concessions of

apron space which would allow them to carry out this

If this is so, it would make

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other cargo-handling agencies

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Stewards point out that this

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Similar situation

this situation and that existing

on the docks in relation to

containerization and the pro-

ductivity requirements of the

The similarities between

(GAS).

Monday.

was illegal.

run out.

port employers under the second phase of Lord Devlin's 'modernization' plan have not

been lost on airport workers.

Prices and Incomes Board

report on airport ground staff,

they face demands for pro-

GENERAL

**STRIKE** 

GRIPS JAPAN

TOKYO Thursday—Japan and its former island of Okinawa,

now American - administered,

strike today as workers pro-

Eisaku Sato's visit to

affect services in cities

throughout the country, is

the culmination of a week-

long campaign against the

visit by left-wing groups who

want Okinawa returned to

called in to break a strike by

Recently the army was

Japanese railway

The strike, expected to

Washington next week.

tested at

were in the grip of a general

prime minister

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Under the recently-published

vative policies'.

They took their seats as the first National Front councillors in the country and will for re-election as

tighten discipline in Vauxarm was badly injured and hall's factories. several others were hurt by

Powell singled out the Wandsworth area in one of his

He claimed coloured people were 'intimidating' local residents, though later investigaon his 'case histories'.

Mrs O'Connell is married to a South African-born doctor. They both support the National Front policies on banning immigration, bringing

Marshal official visit to Cuba, expected to last about a week.

his talks with Boyd as

'amicable' and 'constructive' is a warning that there may soon be an attempt to impose The talks were continuing

yesterday.

This makes very urgent the solidarity action being considered by many workers in the area to push the strike through to success.

GRECHKO IN CUBA

SOVIET Defence Minister Andrei Grechko arrived on Wednesday for an

door to the extreme right was demonstrated very clearly on Wednesday by the news that two Wandsworth Tory councillors had joined the National

The councillors resigned at the start of Wandsworth's council meeting because of disenchantment with Conser-

National Front candidates.
One of the councillors, Mr

P. Mitchell, said he was a supporter of Enoch Powell and believed immigration main speeches on immigration.

tions cast considerable doubt Mr Mitchell is a 'public relations journalist' and lives

back the gallows and opposing entry to the Common Market. Earlier this year, Tory Powellite councillors in nearby Lambeth joined hired scabs and humped dustbins in attempts to break the dustmen's strike.

PRICE 6d.

W hat we think

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● PAGE 4 COL. 7 → ● PAGE 4 COL. 2.—> Young Socialists

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Workers comment that they could have won 30s. without

#### **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

# Workers' council dissolved

THREE more repressive measures were announced on Wednesday by the Czechoslovak government.

THE WORKERS' council at the giant Skoda motor works in Pilsen has been dissolved because, according to the Prague News Agency, Ceteka, its existence 'objectively weakened the so-necessary leading role of the Communist Party'.

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Edinburgh: Sunny periods with isolated showers, heavy at times. Snow showers over high ground. Frost at night. Wind W. to N.W., moderate to fresh. Cold. Maximum 6C

Glasgow Area: Frequent showers and sunny periods. Showers of rain, sleet and hail with some thunder, Snow showers over high ground. Frost at night. Wind N.W.,

### **PRODUCTIVITY BEHIND AIRPORT** DISPUTE port employers under the second phase of Lord Devlin's 'modernization' plan have not been lost on airport workers.

ing voted unanimously to reject the offer of the Burnham MRS BARBARA CASTLE'S Department of Employment and Productivity has But local branches are organizing their own token stepped into the continuing dispute over the award of a ground-handling contract at The meeting was addressed by Jack Jones of the national executive, who said that they London's Heathrow airport to a Canadian agency, were planning strikes lasting General Aircraft Services

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GENERAL

**STRIKE** 

GRIPS JAPAN

TOKYO Thursday—Japan and its former island of Okinawa, now American - administered,

strike today as workers pro-

The strike, expected to

throughout the country, is the culmination of a week-

long campaign against the

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Contacted

Stewards at the company's Luton plant were immediately contacted by the Ellesmere Port men with a report of both actions.

Workers see the suspensions

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# IN CUBA

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SOVIET Defence Minister Andrei Marshal arrived on Wednesday for an official visit to Cuba, expected

#### through to success. GRECHKO

# BOCKREVIEWS

## Chauvinist approach to German working class by the West German monthly "Pardon". At first denied by the government

**'UNREPENTANT AGGRESSORS** An Examination of West German Policies' By D. N. PRITT

Lawrence and Wishart 7s. 6d. Review by Peter Anton

EVERYWHERE, the capitalist class is preparing for a life-and-death struggle against the conquests made by the working class over the last 100 years, and particularly since the Second World War.

The German capitalists face even bigger problems

THE AUTHOR has pro-

duced an extremely well-

written and detailed

account of the birth of

the atomic era, covering

the period from the mid-

1920s to the mid-1950s.

the title of the book refers

were the leading figures in

the Manhattan Project—the

crash programme which led

in 1945 to the explosion of

the first atomic bomb in the

Ernest Orlando Lawrence

won the Nobel Prize in 1939

for inventing the cyclotron, the

basic instrument in modern

nuclear physics for probing

An outstanding experimental

Julius Robert Oppenheimer,

physicist, the was ambitious

and pragmatic—'an operator,

a promoter, a salesman.

a brilliant experimental

physicist, became the best-

known American scientist of

his generation for directing the

**GEARED UP** 

Lawrence, pragmatic and uncultured, and Oppenheimer,

sensitive pacifist—in centring

his book around the lives of

these men Davies reveals how

a whole generation of brilliant

scientists were geared up to

the needs of American im-

perialism, independently of

Most of them shelved their

ideals for the period of the

war in the interests of

'national defence' and 'the

would not be used except as

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ject, any illusion on my part

but that Russia was our

enemy,' he said, 'and the

Project was conducted on that

**DESTRUCTION** 

destruction of the gains made

by the international proletariat

The aim was therefore the

the Soviet

The reality was entirely

The military were in full

'There was never, from

It was argued that the bomb

their private intentions.

fight against fascism'.

realized and accepted.

General Leslie Groves.

basis.' (p. 151.)

embodied in

workers' state.

Alamos, New Mexico.

laboratory at Los

the structure of the atom.

United States.

The two scientists to which

than their rivals because they have lost control over a large part of their former territory.

So they are preparing to fight not only against the West German workers, organized in strong trade unions, but also against the East German work-

The East German workers, though they are deprived of all political rights and oppressed by the Stalinist bureaucracy,

Atom scientists loyal

Many of the scientists work-

ing on the bomb were sym-

pathetic to the Soviet Union.

They were among thousands of

intellectuals who, in the period

of depression and the rise of

fascism, saw socialism as the

alternative to capitalism in its

In Lawrence's Radiation

Laboratory at Berkeley itself

there was a branch of the

Communist Party and Oppenheimer later admitted:

I have probably belonged to

every Communist front organ-

ization on the West Coast.'

Corrupted by Stalinism, the

US Communist Party was com-

pletely unable to break the

intellectuals from idealism and

saw them taken in hand by the

bourgeoisie for the counter-

Manhattan was conducted as

military operation and the

first bomb was successfully

FREE HAND

surrendered and Roosevelt was

Secretary of War, had a free

hand in the first months of

the Truman administration to

they decided to drop the bomb

the most desirable target

would be a vital war plant

employing a large number of

workers and closely sur-

rounded by workers' houses.'

On August 6 Little Boy

killed 70,000 at Hiroshima

and on August 9 Fat Boy

Oppenheimer remained loyal

tools of capital until they

Certainly, Lawrence never

wavered, and in 1946 came up

with the idea of radiological

warfare, that is 'gathering up

the [radioactive] waste pro-

ducts to dump on somebody we didn't like.' (p. 267.)

Oppenheimer, however, felt uncomfortable about the mili-

tary having full control and supported the setting up of

the Atomic Energy Commis-

sion (AEC) in an effort to

This did not prevent him

prevent this.

Yet both Lawrence and

killed 35,000 at Nagasaki.

As a warning to the USSR

'The Secretary agreed that

decide the next steps.

(p. 247.)

died.

By this time Germany had

Grooves and Stimson, the

tested after two years work.

I am not a Communist, but

death agony.

to imperialism

'LAWRENCE AND OPPENHEIMER'

By Nuel Pharr Davies

Jonathan Cape 42s. pp. 384

Review by Martin Zarrop

are proud of the conquests of a planned economy and are ready to defend them tooth

How well aware the capitalists are of the crisis and of the inevitability of the coming struggles can be seen most clearly in the West German emergency laws, demanded by big business and the government since 1958 and made law last year, with the support of the Social Democrats.

(In 1933, the Social-Democrats at least opposed in par-liament Hitler's request for

emergency powers.)
The scope of this legislation as a preparation for all-out class war is demonstrated in Pritt's book:

"internal" occupations are emphasised by revelations recently made

from becoming chairman of the General Advisory Commit-tee of the AEC in which capacity he supervised the

Time was running out for

Oppenheimer and indeed all

those who expressed even the

mildest liberal opposition to

revolutionary Stalinist 'allies'

western Europe for capitalism,

This was the period of the

the 'cold war' was launched.

raised to the point of hysteria

device, the Russian H-bomb,

Activities Committee and, in

during the 1930s, was pro-

claimed a 'security risk', al-

though his lovalty (to

capitalism) was not in doubt

He remained a 'risk' up to his

**BELIEVER** 

He also died a firm believer

'Our lives are fairly good,

fairly peaceful. We seem to go

on almost untouched except

as the arms race gives em-

ployment to many. . . . No one

should say there is no hope.'

useful book that is well worth

The author has written a

The scientific detail con-

cerning the development of the

bomb is abundant and ex-

just the perversion of man's

greatest scientific achievements

Trotskyist movement today

must bring forward many

intellectuals in the struggle for

Oppenheimer was not in-

revolutionary Marxism.

But what is revealed is not

The development of the

The political evolution of

pounded with great clarity.

under capitalism.

Having used their counter-

the plans of the ruling class.

atomic

streamlining

McCarthyite

death in 1967.

in capitalism:

(p. 355.)

reading.

weapons production.

#### tional, that factory managements are arming and training selected workers in squads to "maintain order, in the factories, including the use of weapons, to fight unofficial strikes or other riots" which might arise from wage disputes. . . . Many of the factories are in close touch with the Ministry of the Interior; they are supplied with automatic weapons, and are expressly authorized to use them against strikers. There are already some 60,000 men

and then defended, when

they were soon exposed as

obviously false, by minis-

ters' assertions that the

operation is not unconstitu-

in these squads.' These emergency laws are certainly as perfect and as systematic as the German state bureaucracy can make them. For the German ruling class, rebuilt in 1945 with the aid of Stalinism and Social-Democracy, had the special experience in 1933 of smashing a mighty working class.

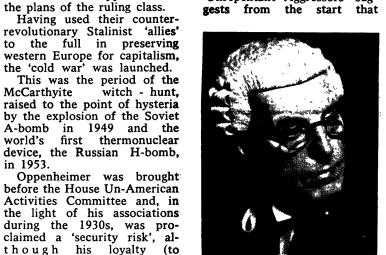
The parallels between the emergency laws and the White Paper in Britain, the antistrike laws in the USA and the moves towards a corporate

state in France are obvious. All these measures spring from the same source: world capitalism in crisis.

all reformists and Stalinists who believe in the transformation of capitalism and the 'peaceful road to socialism'. This latter is, of course, precisely the position of Pritt.

This should be a warning to

a life-long apologist for Stalinism. The title of his book, 'Unrepentant Aggressors' sug-



D. N. Pritt: Life-long apologist for Stalinism.

aggressiveness is not inherent to world capitalism, but is a moral problem peculiar to the German bourgeoisie.

Against the wickedness of the German ruling class, Pritt is prepared to conclude a chauvinistic alliance with his 'own' bourgeoisie: he asks his readers 'to exercise all possible pressure on our government and parliament, at present committed to the support of NATO and thus of West Germany in their costly and dangerous anti - socialist

policies'. (Page 225.) For Pritt there is obviously no working class, neither in Britain nor in Germany, to overthrow this 'costly and dangerous' capitalist system and establish socialism.

And apparently there has never been one. Summing up the history of modern Germany, he states that the First World War 'ended in the complete defeat of Germany, followed by the Treaty of Versailles'. He makes no mention of the

workers' revolution, betrayed and smashed through an alliance between the Social-Democratic government, the big industrialists and the officers of the former imperial

And when, in 1933, the ruling class resorted to fascism, for Pritt, of course, 'this was really inevitable'. However, in 1945 he saw 'at

last a real possibility that the menace of the greedy militarist ruling class of Germany would be lifted from mankind'.

Did this prospect lie in the overthrow of capitalism by the proletarian revolution? Not in the least.

Pritt sees this possibility in counter - revolutionary alliance which Stalin and the Kremlin bureaucracy con-cluded at the end of the Second World War: he sees it in the Potsdam agreement.

This alliance aimed precisely at eliminating any prospect of a German revolution.

It aimed to control the German working class, which was raising its head again after long years of fascist terror, through the division of the country and the establishment of the four-power military dictatorship.

The absence of the working class from this book is no

Stalinism not only denies in theory the independent role of the working class, but it openly supports imperialism whenever the working class comes out in a fight for power.

Through the Potsdam agreement, which confirmed the division of Germany, and by its cruel oppression of the East German workers, Stalinism provided the US important and the perialists with the opportunity to rebuild capitalism in West Germany as a spearhead against the October Revolution and its extension to the East European countries.

The 'stinking corpse' of Social-Democracy was revived and allowed to re-establish its the German control of workers.

Yes, Mr Pritt, West German capitalism is a big threat to the October Revolution and the East European countries.

But you don't explain that the Stalinist bureaucracy was ared to sell out the East German workers—a process which will accelerate with the formation of a 'liberal' Social - Democratic

government in Bonn. Pritt lists in detail the ex-Nazis and Gestapo men still active in West German government, law and the armed forces.

But as the Potsdam agreements showed such 'remarkable wisdom', presumably all this is a mystery to him.

However many Nazis may be working in the 'wicked' German capitalist state - and Pritt's main concern is to detail them—the most important fact is that the German working class and youth are emerging in an open fight against it.

What is decisive now is that the German Trotskyists meet the challenge and provide the working class with the revolutionary leadership it needs to overthrow capitalist state.

In this process, German workers will also take up the defence of the planned economy in East Germany and chase out Stalinism and its hangers-on.

THIS NEW edition of Lenin's 'Selected Works' in one volume published by Lawrence & Wishart. the Communist Party press, has some significant omissions.

It contains very little of Lenin's writings on the Bolshevik Party ('What is to be Done?', 'One Step Forwards, Two Steps Back') and very little of his philosophical writings.

These omissions are not accidental. Stalinism cannot settle accounts with its own theoretical and organizational destruction of the Russian Bolshevik Party and the Comintern.

Lenin's greatest theoretical contribution to the develop-ment of Marxism was his leadership in the construction of the Bolshevik Party that led the Russian workers and peasants to power in October

The conflict with Martov at the 1903 Congress over what was involved in party membership raised the fundamental questions of Marxism.

For Martov, a party member could be a sympathizer who took directions from the party (Menshevism); for Lenin, a party member is 'one who accepts its programme and who supports the party both financially and by personal participation in one of the party organizations'.

#### Conception of a party

Lenin fought for a conception of a party that could not be built on the basis of a merely formal acceptance by the membership of programme and slogans. The leadership given under this formal acceptance can only be propagandist and reformist—a general dis-semination of the idea of the party without fighting through the questions to their con-

On the contrary, the training of Marxist cadres requires the conscious application of dialectical materialism to all spheres of work, the conscious conflict within the revolutionary party led by a democratically elected Central Committee against all routinism and nonrevolutionary forms of activity which in turn reflect nonrevolutionary conceptions.

The split with Martov in 1903 prepared the Bolsheviks to wage war on the wave of opportunism that flooded the social democratic parties at the outbreak of the First World War. This was the conscious preparation for the Russian Revolution, and without this conflict and clarification there would have been no programme or organization through which the workers and peasants could take the

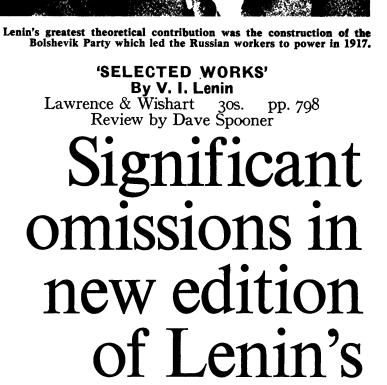
power in 1917. The development of imperialism in the late 19th century exerted enormous ideological pressure upon the traditional working-class parties. Kautsky was the major theoretical spearhead of this revisionist trend, which was based on the labour aristocracy which enjoys a privileged position within imperialism.

The Bolshevik Party developed in conflict with this revisionism which then, as now, revised Lenin's characterization of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism in order to justify its reformism:

'To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for the real or assumed 'advantages of the moment . . .' ('Marxism and

Likewise the political core of Mandel's revisionism and of 'International Socialism's' conceptions is a belief that post-war capitalism has re-

Revisionism').





Martov: Opposed to Lenin's conception of membership.

solved its contradictions. For Mandel, there is neo-capitalism and for the International Socialists there is the statecapitalism of the Soviet Union.

Left-Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder' has long been distorted by Stalinism in order to claim Lenin on their side in the struggle against Trotskyism. The 'left - wing Communism' that Lenin attacks is the 'communism' of Sylvia Pankhurst and William Gallacher who just prior to the formation of the British Communist Party in mid-1920 insisted on isolating the Communists from participating in parliamentary elections.

As Pankhurst expressed it: 'The Communist Party must not compromise . . . Communist Party must keep its doctrine pure, and its independence of reformism inviolate; its mission is to lead the way, without stopping or turning, by the direct road to the communist revolution.'

Put simply—to hell with strategy and tactics! To hell with raising the consciousness of the working class to its historical task, the taking of power!

Instead, Pankhurst, like the middle-class protesters of yesterday, defends the purity of her personal ideals.

Grampian

10.58-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.38-3.00 p.m. Schools. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 Castle Haven. 4.55 Apollo 12. 5.30 Arthur. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. 6.10 Why On Earth? 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Nearest and Dearest. 7.30 The Avengers. 8.30 Ours Is A Nice House. 9.00 It Takes A Thief. 10.00 News. 10.30 Frost. 11.15 Parkin's Patch, Road Report.

Tyne Tees

11.00-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.40-3.00 p.m. Schools. 4.08 North East Newsroom. 4.55 Apollo 12. 5.30 The New Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Ours Is A Nice House. 8.00 The Untouchables. 9.00 Hadleigh. 10.00 News. 10.30 Frost. 11.15 Your World On Friday. 11.45 Late News Extra 12 midnight The

'Left-Wing Communism' sums up the necessary preparations in western Europe — with a long section on England—both within and outside parliament. It is nothing to do with the constitutional struggle that the Stalinists claim it to be; the winning of a majority within parliament.

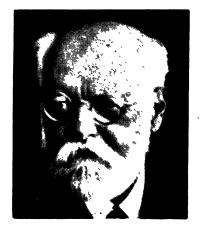
works

The decisive points that Lenin makes are on the building of the mass revolutionary parties in western Europe.

Today these lessons are vital. There is a decisive political polarization in the British working class. Many workers are forcing their way forward to leadership in opposition to the union bureaucracies and the more conservative elements.

The miners' strike, the strikes at Vauxhall's and the Morris Motors, Cowley and the dustmen's strike—all were characterized by sharp pol conflicts. We have now moved out of the period of propaganda activity and into a period where the living struggle for leadership is decisive.

Lenin made these central points on this turn in 1920: 'As long as it was (and inasmuch as it still is) a question of winning the proletariat's vanguard over to the side of communism, priority went and still goes to propaganda work; even propaganda circles, with all their parochial limitations, are useful under these conditions, and produce good results. But when it is a question of practical action by the masses, of the disposition, if one may so put it, of vast armies, of the alignment of all the class forces in a given society for the final and decisive battle, then propagandist methods alone, the mere repetition of the "truths"



Kautsky: Spearhead for revisionist trend.

of pure communism, are of no avail' ('Left-Wing Communism').

#### Historic turn

The Communist Party was never able to make this turn. Developments within the Soviet Union prevented that and reinforced all the weakest points of the English com-munists. The day-to-day intervention of the daily Trotskyist paper, 'Workers Press', in all the struggles of the working class is the means by which the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists can make that historic turn.

It is only from this standpoint—the building of the revolutionary party in Britain
—that Lenin's 'Selected Works' can be truly understood.

#### B.B.C.-1

9.38-11.55 a.m. Schools. 12.50 p.m. Dechrau Canu, Dechrau Canmol. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 11.45-1.53 Weatherman. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 4.20 Play School 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Apollo 12 Moon Mission. 5.50 National News and Weather.

6.00 Entertaining With Kerr. 6.25 Television Brain of

Britain. 6.45 The Virginian. 7.55 Not In Front Of The

Children. 8.25 Golden Silents. 8.50 The Main News, Weather.

9.10 Free For All. 10.00 Come Dancing. 10.30 24 Hours.

11.15 Star Close-Up: Dorothy 12 midnight BBC-1 Colour starts today with a special pro-gramme: An Evening With Petula.

All regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times:
Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather. 12.50 a.m. News Summary, Weather, Weekend prospects for Anglers, Road Works Report for the Midlands and East Anglia.

North of England: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Look North, Weather. 12.50 a.m. Northern News Headlines, Weather. Scotland: 10.25-10.45 a.m. Around Scotland. 11.35-11.55 Modern Studies. 6.00-6.25 p.m. Reporting Scotland. 9.10-9.35 Current Account. 9.35-10.00 Bonn Comhraidh. 9.35-10.00 He and She.

She.
Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Scene
Six Weather. 12.50 a.m. Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Scene Around Six, Weather. 12.50 a.m. Northern Ireland News Headlines. Wales: 1.30-1.45 p.m. Ar Lin Mam. 6.00-6.25 Wales Today. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 7.05-7.55 Bob Yn Dri. 7.30-7.55 Week In Week Out. 11.05-11.40 Siarad Siop.

South and West: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South West, Weather. 12.50 a.m. South and West News Headlines, Weather, Weekend Road Works Report.

**B.B.C.-2** 

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.00 p.m. What Are The Facts: about transplants. 8.00 Wheelbase.

The First Churchills.
Roar Of The Crowd:
Sport in Russia. The French Cinema: 'Jules

Et Jim' starring Oscar Werner and Jeanne Moreau. Westminster At Work. 11.40 News Su 11.45 Line-Up. News Summary, Weather.

I.T.V.

# About You? 4.40 Hatty Town. 4.55 Apollo 12. 5.30 Charlie Chaplin. 5.50 News From ITN.

11.00-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.40-

6.03 Today. Peyton Place. 7.00 London Weekend Television starts.

L.W.T.

7.00 p.m. Wheel Of Fortune. 7.30 Strange Report.
8.30 Ours Is A Nice House.
9.00 Hawaii Five-O. 10.00 News At Ten. Frost On Friday. 11.15 Hadleigh. 12.10 Impact On Africa.

#### Yorkshire

11.00-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.40-3.00 p.m. Schools. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 I've Married A Bachelor. 4.55 Apollo 12. 5.30 Charlie Chaplin Festival. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar. 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.30 Ours Is A Nice House. 9.00 Marcus Welby MD. 10.00 News. 10.30 Yorksport. 11.00 Frost. 11.45 Weather.

#### Westward

11.00-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.40-3.00 p.m. Schools. 4.10 Westward News Headlines. 4.12 Peyton Place. 4.40 Apollo 12. 5.30 Popeye. 5.50 National News. 6.00 Westward Diary. 6.25 Sports Desk. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 A Date With Danton. 7.05 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.00 The Untouchables. 9.00 Ours is A Nice House. 9.30 Parkin's Patch. 10.00 News. 10.30 Frost. 11.15 Faith For Life. 11.21 Weather.

#### **Anglia**

10.58-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.38-3.00 p.m. Schools. 4.25 Newsroom. 4.35 The Romper Room. 4.55 Apollo 12. 5.30 Poppeye. 5.50 News. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 It Takes A Thief. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 Ours is A Nice House. 9.00 Hadleigh. 10.00 News. 10.30 Frost. 11.15 The Horror Film: "Werewolf Of London" starring Henry Hull, Valerie Hobson and Warner Oland. 12.40 a.m. Reflection.

#### Scottish

11.00-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.40-3.00 p.m. Schools. 4.20 Scotland Early. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Apollo 12. 5.30 Charlic Chaplin. 5.50 News. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Mission: Impossible. 8.30 Ours Is A Nice House. 9.00 Hadleigh. 10.00 News. 10.30 Frost. 11.15 In Camera. 11.45 Sez Les. 12.15 am Late Call.



Oppenheimer (left) with General Leslie Groves at the site of the

## A DISCUSSION ARTICLE

THE ECONOMIC pressure of world imperialism on the Soviet Union and the East European countries has measurably increased in recent years.

The whole policy of 'peaceful co-existence' is being exposed as a threat to the conquests of the 1917 October Revolution and its extension into eastern Europe after 1945.

A series of agreements have been made by which leading capitalist firms construct entire plants under contract to the governments of these countries in lagging industries, namely those which depend upon the most advanced technology.

Less is heard now of the extravagant claims made by Khrushchev about overtaking and outstripping capitalism.

Instead there is a deep crisis in the planning system and an anxious search for a way round it which goes under the name of 'economic reforms'.

In short, having decided to co-exist peacefully with capitalism, the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and the eastern European countries has to adopt the economies of these countries to the needs of the capitalist world market.

#### **Barrier**

As Michael Varga has shown in a recent number of 'La Verité' (June, 1969), this can only mean permitting the law of value governed by the capitalist world market to influence the course of economic planning and to undermine the monopoly of foreign trade established precisely as a barrier against such an eventuality.

Economic development in the Soviet Union has been basically determined by the fact that it began from a level which was far behind that of the advanced capitalist coun-

Isolation from the world market and the policy of 'socialism in one country' imposed in the Stalin era interacted with the initial back-

wardness of Russia. The waste and mismanagement engendered by an uncontrollable bureaucracy limited the gains achieved by the establishment of a planned and

nationalized economy. The Stalinist methods of planning, the insistence on the building up of a heavy industry as a matter of priority and the rapid collectivization of agriculture were imposed as necessary aspects of policy in the European countries after

These countries depended much more than pre-revolutionary Russia upon contact with the world market: they were more industrialized, they had been fiefs of foreign capital and they were too small to possess a varied assortment of raw materials.

As a result they became highly dependent upon the Soviet Union for the latter and switched their markets for manufactures to that country.

Since 1956 more has been said about the international division of labour and the Soviet bloc countries have been brought together in the organization known as COMECON (The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance).

However, there has been no real attempt to co-ordinate planning measures and this body has been mainly a clearing house to facilitate acceptance of a common policy on external economic relations suited to Soviet needs. While planned industrializa-

tion made headway in the 1950s, increasingly serious problems arose, especially in the more advanced sectors of the area—those which suffered most from insufficient contact with the world market.

This was particularly so in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and to some extent in East Germany.

For example, although these areas had a standard of living higher than that in the bloc as a whole, it increasingly fell behind the advanced areas of capitalist western Europe.

Conspicuous in this process was a lag in the newer industries and inadequate invest-ment in the older type of consumer goods industries.

By the early 1960s, therefore, much industrial equipment in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was obsolete and certainly uncompetitive by world standards.

Even the rapid growth rates achieved earlier began to fall

Deprivation of outlets in the world markets had serious consequences for some industries. It exposed weaknesses in the quantitative planning methods inherited from Stalin and set going considerable debate about such questions in the more 'liberal' climate of the post-1956 years.

The methods used to deal with the new economic problems were essentially empirical and pragmatic.

This was especially so in agriculture and in a number of countries there was a complete retreat from collectivization or concessions were made

to peasant pressure. The emphasis was laid on higher returns to labour and investment by increasing material incentives, granting wider powers managers and establishing profitability on a plant basis

as a criterion of production. There was greater readiness to make workers redundant

# The economics of peaceful co-existence'



The bureaucracy's policy of 'peaceful co-existence' with capitalism creates, through the maturing economic crisis, the objective conditions for political revolution. Both Berlin in 1953 and Hungary in 1956 were manifestations of this.

and to impose higher work

As some counterpart money wages rose and larger supplies of consumer goods found their way into the shops and

But still the situation of chronic shortage persisted and quality and variety of product continued to suffer.

The economic crisis which bears down to varying extents on the east European countries thus reflects the one-sided development imposed by the

policy of 'socialism in one country'. Not integrated with each

other, one-sidedly related to the needs of the Soviet Union and cut off from the world market, they have all suffered, in one degree or another, from a crisis of under-production and disproportion intensified planning and management which they have been

The various policies of 'economic reform' have

participators in this movement that Marxist ideas first took

attempted to deal with the symptoms.

By their nature, and because they do not tackle causes, they can have no more than a temporary or partial success.

An answer to certain of its problems, not unnaturally, occurs to the bureaucracy in the shape of closer ties with promises a quick

remedy to the more pressing problems. A market can be found for

raw materials or manufactured

goods which are in surplus

Similar deficiencies can be remedied through trade. By deals with the big capitalist enterprises, lagging sectors of industry can be brought up to date or wholly new ones created.

Such 'solutions' are saturated with politics — with the politics of 'peaceful co-exist-

Friendly relations with the capitalist powers have become a necessity, not a matter of choice, if the bureaucracy is to preserve the basis for its

It is not, of course, in this way that 'peaceful co-existence' is presented in the propaganda.

It is said, for example, that 'socialism' will be able to prove its superiority to capitalism through peaceful economic competition.

In this way the bureaucracy

and its supporters in the Communist Parties quietly drop the class struggle and seek for allies in the bourgeoisie. Arguments are also put forward about a socialist world

market to try to defend the policy; as has been suggested above, this is a fallacy.

In fact, the very behaviour

of the bureaucracy in seeking closer relations with capitalist countries demonstrates this. What happens in practice is

that the economic situation in eastern Europe and the USSR comes increasingly to reflect the influence of the capitalist world market as the bureaucracy adapts to it. Their crisis thus becomes linked with that of inter-

national capitalism. This becomes clear in the search for increased trade with capitalist countries.

> In this trade, world prices established as a result of the operation of the law of value

> become the standard to which goods from the Soviet Union

or eastern Europe have to

But as productivity is generally lower in these countries their commodities are either not competitive or have to be sold below cost of production.

Back in these countries the crisis is thus sharpened up; so is dissatisfaction with the old forms of planning and organ-

One aspect of this is the demand for greater decentralization and more power for the individual enterprise. Another is a threat to the monopoly of foreign trade itself. 'Peaceful co-existence' thus

begins to call into question the fundamental conquests of the workers' states.

This policy accepts the world status-quo the bureaucracy implicitly renounces the possibility of a defeat of capitalism by revolutionary

Instead it becomes a support for the continuation of capital-

ist world predominance. Meanwhile the capitalist countries also have a problem: that of realizing surplus value and turning part of it into additional capital.

Businesses which trade with the USSR and eastern Europe do so for this purpose.

Unconsciously their activities take the form of an offensive against the planned economy.

At the same time, at the political level, the bureaucracy seeks an accommodation with the bourgeoisie and its governments and in doing so it misleads and betrays the working class and creates incalculable damage to its interests.

'Peaceful co-existence' is thus designed to preserve the rule of the bureaucracy by enabling it to deal with pressing economic problems arising from the inferiority in terms of aggregate production and productivity of that part of the world which it controls.

#### Compromise

Such a policy works against the interests of the working class not only in the capitalist countries, but also in the countries ruled by the bureau-

Because the bureaucracy is concerned with its own selfpreservation, it is prepared to compromise with and strengthen imperialism.

It leans on world capitalism to maintain its own political

stranglehold. As a consequence it is driven into collision with its

own working class. The political revolution in the workers' states thus becomes an objective necessity and not simply a programmatic

This means that the overrow of actually being prepared by a maturing economic crisis which sharpens the conflict between the bureaucracy and the working class in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe.

demand.

The main components of this crisis have already been discussed.

Its political manifestations are east Berlin, 1953, Hungary and Poland, 1956, Czechoslovakia, 1968, and the growing opposition in the Soviet Union itself which calls for a return to Leninism.

The way in which the crisis arises from the world market is shown also in the rivalries between different national sections of the bureaucracy which develops from a need for increased independent links with world capitalism.

This has shown itself most forcefully in the case of Rumania.

It was also demonstrated in Czechoslovakia.

Controversy over economic policy is also a central issue in disputes within national sections of the bureaucracy of the sort which came to a head in Czechoslovakia after the fall of the Novotny regime in February, 1968.

The question of relations with the USSR appears to be at the centre of all these rifts. If a section of a national bureaucracy wants greater 'independence' it is clearly in order to make its own deals with capitalism.

It is precisely this that the Kremlin bureaucracy is not able to tolerate. It wants to remain the

deciding voice.

When the east European countries were brought into the Soviet sphere of policy, the local CP leaders were expected to gear national policies to Moscow's needs.

BY TOM KEMP

Only Tito refused and was able to go on to make his own deal with capitalism and the Yugoslavs sought their own 'solution' to the problems which were to beset the whole of eastern Europe.

After the death of Stalin in 1953, and still more after 1956. by which time the bureaucracies of eastern Europe had established their own national basis, tensions with Moscow began to become general throughout the area.

The revolutionary movements in Hungary and in Poland brought matters to a

The basic issue was whether the east European bureaucracies were prepared to accept the continued paramountcy of the Kremlin and not 'liberalization' or anything of that

Golmulka was a 'liberal' who gave the right guarantees: was prepared to keep Poland as a dutiful satellite. Nagy of Hungary was not.

The east German leaders were hard-line Stalinists who must have had bitter misgivings about many post-1956 policies of the Soviet bureaucracies—but they were able to give the right guarantees of unswerving obedience.

The Rumanians have tried to go their own way and the Dubcek tendency in Czechoslovakia had similar leanings. The task of the Soviet

bureaucracy is to use COMECON and the economic influence of the USSR to keep the east European bureaucracies in a position of continued subordination. If they will do what is re-

quired by the policy of 'peace-

ful co-existence', as interpreted by the Kremlin in the sphere of external economic policy, some discretion is left to vary home policy according to special conditions. In fact, it is even accepted

that they can, if they wish, make contracts with foreign firms for the construction of new plants as well as for the supply of goods. The attempt to establish

closer relations with the capitalist world market in order to overcome internal economic problems runs into serious difficulties.

Few products of the USSR and eastern Europe are really able to compete on the world market in the face of tariffs and trade discrimination and of the restrictions and deflationary policies made necessary in those countries having

balance of payments difficulties. Only the continued growth made possible the increase in trade between eastern Europe

and the capitalist world. A standstill or contraction in world trade would certainly affect these countries severely.

Significant as these economic factors are, it is their political consequences which expose the full extent of the betrayal concealed behind the phrase 'peaceful co-existence'.

In seeking an accommodation with capitalism, the Soviet bureaucracy jeopardizes the conquests of the 1917 October Revolution.

Meanwhile, in the name of socialism, the working class in the countries which it rules are called upon to increase work norms and to consume less than the workers in the capitalist countries of western

In these countries the Communist Parties pursue a policy of class peace and seek alliances with the so-called progressive or 'peace-loving' sections of the bourgeoisie. In defence of its own inter-

ests, from its fear of its own working class at home and in opposition to revolution anywhere in the world, the bureaucracy becomes a bulwark of world capitalism. The policy of 'peaceful co-

existence' is thus a policy of betrayal, of counter-revolution and defeat. The Marxist answer to it

receives support from the crisis in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union which prepares the objective conditions for the political revolution as well as from the growing crisis of the world capitalist system.



To answer its economic problems the bureaucracy turns to closer ties with the capitalist class, both in the form of trade agreements and even in the construction of new plants within the workers' states. Agreements such as these were made between Kosygin and de Gaulle in 1967.

#### Ex-white guard whitewashes Stalin WHEN dealing with pre-20th century history this book provides a competent and thorough account of the development of Russia. In the section describing the rise of Bolshevism and the Soviet State, histori-

predominate. The author, Michael Florinsky, was both a White Guard opponent of the Bolsheviks and a one-time student at the London School of Economics.

cal inaccuracies and a

trivial method of analysis

It is not surprising, therefore, that he can describe the early history of Russia competently, but seems completely unable to grasp the importance of principles in the development of Bolshevism or the real meaning of the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky.

The growth of the Russian autocratic monarchy and a vast bureaucracy began in the 15th century and Florinsky explains it in social terms. This was the only form of

government through which the kings of Muscovy could unify the vast backward country of Russia under their rule. Tsars such as Ivan the Terrible deprived even the

nobles of political power. The aristocracy accepted their subordinate political role in turn for important economic privileges.

SERFS

For instance it was about this time that the hitherto free peasantry became serfs of the aristocracy. The general social back-

wardness of Russia also

retarded the growth of a

'RUSSIA: A SHORT HISTORY' By M. Florinsky

Review by Karen Blick

capitalist class or intelligentsia. From the 17th century, industry was fostered by the state but was very much restricted by monopolies of

low cultural level obliged the sons of the nobility to be educated abroad. There was no opposition to the monarchy based on political principles. In fact the only political upheavals in the 17th and 18th centuries were peasant revolts and palace

revolutions. Florinsky adequately describes the development of the revolutionary movement in the 19th century.

Stimulated by the democratic ideas of the French Revolution, unrest began in the very highest level of society.

The first challenge to the autocracy came from the nobles involved in the Decembrist plot of 1825. By the last quarter of the

century the Land and Freedom group formed by the politically frustrated intelligentsia was very active. They combined crusading amongst the peasantry with

heroic, futile terrorism. In 1881 they succeeded in assassinating Alexander II. It was amongst disillusioned

> Decembrists. From left to Pavel Pestel (executed

> > **an**a **K.** Ryleyev.

ì826), S. Maravvev-Apostol, regiment, the Chernigov, supported the revolution, P. Kakhovsky

root in Russian soil. When describing the development of the Marxist movement Florinsky descends inaccuracy and facile

explanations. He claims from 1903 that Lenin and the Bolsheviks held the theory that the overthrow of the monarchy would immediately be followed by

the establishment of a workers' government. It was in fact only Trotsky at this period who understood the capitalist revolutions must be carried through to the full attainment of a socialist state.

He expounded this idea in the theory of the permanent revolution. Florinsky completely ignores this. The book's analysis degenerates even further when it

examines the struggle between

Stalin and Trotsky. The author can explain the development of the absolute monarchy before 1917 in social terms. The conflict between Stalin and Trotsky however is dismissed as a

power struggle. 'The struggle for power was a clash of personalities rather than doctrines.

'Many of the policies he [Trotsky] advocated, rapid industrialization and centralized planning, were eventually enforced by Stalin. . . . It was not Trotsky's views, but the eminence, aloofness and intellectual acumen which precipitated his downfall.'

#### WHITEWASH

There is no mention of the vast conservative forces that were pushing Stalin to the fore, or of the exhaustion and isolation of the Russian working class through civil war or of the containment of the revolution within Russia.

The book continues to

explains the Moscow Trials by Khrushchev quoting approval.

and persecution mania in his last years. This is the only

the murder of so many old Bolsheviks.

against Franco. 'The true purpose of Soviet intervention in Spain is not known and can only be

surmised. 'It is understandable that the Kremlin should wish to prevent the establishment of fascism in Spain, but it is also likely that the enticing possibility of a communist regime emerging from the turmoil of the civil war was not over-

not overlooked, but the the Stalinists.

of the democratic capitalist republic, but not in order to establish a socialist

For a real analysis of the questions he evades or distorts the following books are recommended: 'The Permanent Revolution' by Leon Trotsky; The Platform of the Left Opposition' by Leon Trotsky; The Russian Revolution' by

'Stalin was seriously sick,

suffering from suspiciousness

rational explanation of the purges of the 1930s.' Perhaps it is not surprising that a White Guard supporter should exonerate Stalin for

Finally Florinsky tries to uphold the myth beloved of bourgeois and Stalinist historians alike that the Soviet Union was genuinely supporting the Spanish working class

prospect was not enticing to They opposed Franco in the

of the early history of Russia.

# NOT ENTICING This possibility was indeed

Florinsky's book should only be read for its account

Leon Trotsky.

## B.B.C. **DISPUTE COURT OPENS**

THE COURT of inquiry into the pay and conditions dispute between the BBC and the Association of Broadcasting Staffs (ABS) opened in London on Wednesday.

ABS members last month rejected a 4 per cent pay increase offer as inadequate to meet the increased cost

The Association has carried out a series of lightning stoppages affecting some television programmes to press for a better pay offer.

Mr G. T. Rhys, ABS general secretary, said that the inquiry was 'the last opportunity to avoid disaster.'

In recent years, he said, the ABS had found that its rank-and-file members wanted a much bigger voice in the formulating of policy—some-thing the BBC did not seem

#### Little revenue

The deepening financial difficulties of the BBC—completely inadequate revenue for the planned expansion of services—is at the base of the dispute.

The BBC has tried to solve its problems at the expense of its staff by pressing for more and more productivity.

The inquiry can, of course, resolve nothing, but will bring home to broadcasting workers that there is no longer any room for liberal-reformist solutions at the BBC.

## 'No blame' for torpedo firing

THE INQUIRY into the firing of the torpedo which narrowly missed the River Clyde passenger ferry, Countess of Breadalbane, will only look into the reasons for the torpedo's behaviour. A Royal Navy spokesman stated that there was 'no question of blame' regarding the incident which the ferry's captain said might have sunk

### B.R.S. drivers in pay strike

BRITISH Road Services parcels traffic in many areas of the Midlands was halted on Wednesday by a strike of 1,100 drivers and platform workers. Ten BRS depots in Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Notting-

ham, Leicester and Derby came out. The strikers, members of the Transport and General Workers' Union, attended a mass meeting in Birmingham to discuss a 10s.-a-week pay

rise offer made as a result of

management-union talks at national level.

### Jumbo snags 'can be overcome'

THE BOEING 747 jumbo jets are safe despite certain snags, Pan American's vice-president, Mr James Montgomery, told the Association of British Travel Agents at Torquay on Tuesday.

The planes have a revolutionary design of engine struts and flight trials have showed that they cause the huge jet engines to go fractionally oval. Although this amounts to only 0.001 of an inch, it accounts for a loss of 7 per cent of engine thrust and increased fuel consumption by

#### May wait

Mr Montgomery said that Pan Am may take delivery of the planes despite this fault and have it fixed later or they may wait for the 'fairly simple structural change which can cure the problem entirely'.

The proposed cure is to fit an external brace to hold the Pratt and Whitney JT 9D engine more firmly to the

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# Grangemouth refinery -

# ELECTRICIANS STRENGTHEN B.P. PICKETS

THE 500 BOILERMAKERS on strike at the BP construction site at Grangemouth have been joined by 350 electricians who struck work on Monday in support of six men sacked by one of the contractors.



Police mechanile pickets away from a but entering the referen

FROM

**BOB SHAW** 

posed as a particularly nauseating piece of hypo-

Democratic rights, it appears, are all very well for the Communist Party, for the Tory press, for the 'left' Tribune, for the anti-Soviet 'state capitalists' of 'Socialist Worker'. But for Trotskyists, for re-

volutionaries, no democratic rights, no facilities, no credentials, nothing hatred and lies. Stalinism is here exposed with the mask torn off. Listen to William Wainwright,

'Morning Star' assistant We rang this man to ask him his views as a journalist

# Nasser to visit Moscow

PRESIDENT Nasser's three top political advisers are due to go to Moscow next week, it was announced in Cairo on Wednesday.

This news comes after the militant line adopted at the Arab summit meeting, which

The Soviet bureaucracy is at the moment engaged in secret discussions with the British, French and US governments on a Middle-East 'package deal' and Nasser's delegation will doubtless insist in Moscow that no deal be made with US imperialism at the expense of the Arab

#### Libyan pledge

Military support for the Arab struggle against the Israeli Zionists was pledged in Cairo by the Libyan Defence Minister in a prerecorded interview on Egyptian

Colonel Adan Al-Hawaz said that his government was rebuilding its armed forces to play its full part in the struggle

and NUJ member on the Communist Party's action. Wainwright maintained that the refusal was simply a question of space.

There was not enough space in the conference hall to accommodate a Workers Press reporter. He did not think this was a

'ludicrous' excuse. He then went on to claim that the CP had 'invited all the nationals [with one vital exception-Workers Press] and some of the more important weeklies and

The facts about the Workers' Press application for credentials give the lie completely to the Stalinist fabrications about lack of

space.
It should be pointed out in any case that St Pancras Town Hall has an estimated seating of over 1,000. According to Mrs Betty Reid, writing in the November 1 issue of 'Comment', the

Stalinist weekly: When on November 15 our chairman opens our 31st National Congress he will address some five hundred full delegates and a hundred or so consultative dele-

gates . . .'
Hardly enough to fill St
Pancras Town Hall, Mrs

CP chairman Dr Tony Chater told an NUJ official that 'There is not enough space to accomodate all callerswe have had to ration it. 'So we have sent invitations to the national dailies and to weeklies like the Statesman and some of the news agencies. It's a question of

table space and seating arrangements. We have 14 or so places at the press his absurd fabrication is in-

stantly exposed by a little simple arithmetic. here are ten national daily papers apart from the Workers Press. here are the three 'quality'

### **Cement** price rise

THE GOVERNMENT has accepted a Prices and Incomes Board recommendation that the price of a ton of cement be increased by 13s. 6d.

The increase will add at least £7 to the cost of an average house and, added to the recent increased prices of bricks and plasterboard, could raise house costs by £15

Sunday papers, which have also been invited.

It least three weeklies
'Socialist Worker', 'New
Statesman' and 'Tribune'
also have credentials. At least

Together with reporters from 'some of the news agencies', even Chater may have difficulty in cramming them into 14 seats.

believe your lies.

And we do not think anyone else will be taken in by them either. The bourgeois, liberal and

No, gentlemen, we do not

'left' press, who are so welcome at your delibera-tions, will no doubt back you up against the Workers
Press.
ut we know that for

thousands and thousands of workers, including many Communist Party members, your action will be another exposure of your counterrevolutionary politics, to be settlement of accounts with

aspect of the develop-

ing economic and

political crisis is the

growing awareness

amongst scientists of

the implications of the

unplanned use of

tion in the service of

In rapid succession over

the past few months,

cyclamates have been

almost universally banned,

DDT and other insecticides

have come under suspicion,

thousands of wild birds

have died through

suspected chemical poison-

ing, pollution is now known

to be contaminating the

capital.

as from yesterday.

rushed to the site on several mornings and have battled on to the site.

been injured.

One man was crushed by a bus when it drove into the picket line.

tricians confronts the three other unions with the question who is to switch on the power for welding and other operations, now being done by the plumbers.

The unions have instructed

At a meeting of shop stewards and branch secretaries from central Scotland and the Clyde held last weekend a resolution was sent to the

From a member of the

makers' president, is responsible for the agreement reached at Grangemouth, which is a model for construction sites throughout the country.

called for a wage-cut.

This is what happened on

approached by the boilermakers' stewards and an agreement was reached to organize a joint picket line Police squads have been

They were immediately

Fighting with the police has taken place and on more than one occasion pickets have

#### Will they scab?

Will the latter agree to scab on their fellow members?

Boilermakers' Society executive for 'industrial action' in support of the Grangemouth

#### Repudiate deal

The boilermakers' executive has declared the work at Grangemouth 'black', but unless this is linked with a complete repudiation of the productivity agreement which was signed for Grangemouth in August last year and a lead given to fight against all such deals, such declarations are no more than a delaying action to allow for a compromise with the contracting employers.

with the strikers' pickets to get the buses carrying workers from other unions

offer

The walk-out of the elec-

their members to continue to accept the instruction of the site contractors to do

Communist Party came the suggestion of a one-day stop-

It is entirely in line with the role he played in the negotiations with the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders when he

the Clyde with the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders.

## Scientist warns of world crisis From our own correspondent dangers IMPORTANT

arctic ice cap and the arms

race continues to escalate. Further warnings have now been voiced by Professor Dennis Gabor of the Imperial College of Science technological innova- and Technology in London.

Addressing the opening session of a six-day international symposium on 'Life in the Future' held in Munich, velopments of the past few decades in population growth to 'crises or catastrophes' if not controlled.

#### **Population**

The population growth could not be stopped until the world population reached between 10 and 12 billion. Science had the means of feeding this number of people, but not without sacrifices on

developed countries. While arms control was the affair of the politicians, the professor added, 'there are so-called scientists and tech-

'Mediocre' He criticized such scientists 'highly-trained, but ethic-

with ever more terrible

nicians who present

ally mediocre'. It now becomes increasingly

difficult for scientists to proceed with so-called 'pure' research and continue to ignore the results of its unplanned application.

Although Professor Gabor's mments on the crisis touch only on certain symptoms, other scientists will come forward in the future to grasp the revolutionary implications inherent in their dilemma.

## AS CZECH PURGE CONTINUES

# Husak finds new friends

ACCORDING to an unofficial report from Prague on Tuesday, about 25 of the Czech government's ambassadors are to be recalled. This move is thought to be a prelude to a purge of the Husak regime's diplomatic corps.

West German

Minister confirms

talks with Poland

and U.S.S.R.

**Picasso** 

refuses

fascist

By a foreign correspondent

ACCORDING to a re-

liable report from Paris,

Pablo Picasso will not

allow his 'Guernica'

painting to be used by

Franco as the centrepiece

of the new Madrid Museum of Contemporary

The painting depicts the the fascist bombing of the small Basque town of Guer-nica during the Spanish Civil War, and its use by

the Franco regime would have been a tremendous blow against the memory of

all those who gave their lives in the fight against

If the report is correct, then the 88-year-old Picasso

Bonn to

compensate

farmers

IT WAS announced in

Brussels on Wednesday that

the West German govern-

ment has reached an agree-

ment with its Common

Market partners over the

compensation of farmers for

income lost through the

recent revaluation of the

After a seven-hour meeting, which often became very heated, Common Market

Foreign Ministers reached a compromise.

West German farmers will

receive £193 million a year

for the next four years, up to

£75 million being contributed by the Economic Community and the rest by the West

This arrangement will come into operation on January 1

German government.

Deutsche-mark

fascism in Spain.

AT A Bonn press conference

on Tuesday, West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel gave official confirma-tion of his government's plans to open new talks with the

Scheel said that a date for talks with Moscow was on the verge of being fixed, while

plans to exchange views with the Polish government were

under way.
Poland's frontier with East
Germany was no longer a
source of friction between the
two governments, Scheel
added.

Soviet Union and Poland.

It was also announced on the same day that President Ludvik Svoboda and his wife will pay a state visit to Iran from November 24 to 29 at the invitation of the Shah.

Another report from Paris, stated that the French and Czechoslovak governments have agreed to an exchange of ministers concerned with economic

One of the main charges against the Dubcek leader-ship was its alleged eagerness to seek closer economic and political ties capitalist world.

#### CYNICAL

Tuesday's announcements prove how cynical these charges were.

Banker and strike-breaker Pompidou and the Shah of Persia are the new friends of the Husak regime.

By a political correspondent

Devlin MP, who called the force 'the RUC under the guise of the British army',

Hattersley said 'this force

differs in at least seven major and fundamental ways from

the Royal Ulster Constabulary

-not the least of which is that it is under the control of

the defence secretary and

under the practical control of the British Army.'

thugs under the control of Westminster through Sir Ian

That's the formula: the old

On the question of relations with the East German government, Scheel hoped that the past 'rigid' attitude of the Ulbricht regime would be Its enemies remain the Czech workers, students and

# **New Ulster** force-B Specials controlled from Westminster

ULSTER'S new part-time security force—the Ulster Defence Regiment—will be a continuation of the old B Specials in new uniforms.

This was revealed in the Commons on Wednesday by ministrative chief at defence ministry, Roy Hattersley. 'Of necessity the new force vill draw substantially on the

Ulster special constabulary
[B Specials] for its initial
recruitment. . . ', he said.
Pressed about the advisability of recruiting many former B Specials, Hattersley said they must be incor-porated if the force was to become viable early next

#### Nonsense

This makes nonsense of Hattersley's statement that it must be representative of the community as a whole. Recruits must come from all sections'.
The 'strict security-vetting'

to be imposed on potential recruits will in any event rule out any such 'representa-The force is part of the

apparatus of repression against the Ulster working class. The 6,000-strong force will start to form on January 1. In reply to Bernadette

## **Teachers**

● FROM PAGE ONE

The resolution, from one of Willesden's large comprehensive schools, now goes forward to the next meeting of the Brent (London) Teachers' Association. It was worded: 'This meeting demands on the NUT executive: No compromise on the £135 claim. No strings to be attached to the award. No productivity deal. A date to be set for a reply from Burnham. If the call by the NUT executive for half-day and one-day strikes or special school withdrawals fails, then the executive shall call for a total national strike of indefinite duration if our just demands are not met. The setting up of a strike fund levy on all members.' Leicester teachers are to

strike next Thursday for half There will be a NUT meeting and rally in the Town Hall Square and NAS mem-bers are being canvassed for

NAS members themselves

held a lightning strike last Thursday at the Newparks boys' school. A number of resolutions for national strike action have now been pasesd in different parts of the country. This shows that teachers are not going to be fobbed off with a

partial stoppages.



### **Striking** garment workers march in Rome

By a foreign correspondent

AFTER the brief lull which accompanied last week's wage talks, Italy has again been hit by widespread strikes.

Workers at the Euratom re-Vorkers at the Euratom research station at Ispra began a 48-hour strike on Tuesday, while in Rome, 300 seamstresses from Italy's high fashion houses marched through the centre of the conital demanding a of the capital demanding a

new contract.

Public transport workers brought all traffic to a halt in Milan and Rome on Wednesday in yet another one-day stoppage in sup-port of their wage claim. Milan was also the scene of a three-hour strike by bar and restaurant staff.

#### Eight factions

Meanwhile the crisis in the ruling Christian Democratic Party remains unresolved. At the last count, it was split into eight factions, a num-

into eight factions, a number that was increased after the recent rift in the dominant group led by Prime Minister Rumor.

The ultra-reformist Communist Party, the second largest party in the Italian parliament, is pressing its claims for a position in the government harder than ever.

### New German holding for **U.S. General** Electric

GENERAL ELECTRIC, the US firm currently hit by a national strike, has increased its holding in the West

German company Telefunken. In return for selling Tele-funken its German subsidiary Kuba Imperial, General Electric will get 10.2 million Deutschemark nominal of Telefunken stock, worth about five times that amount on the market.

This raises the US firm's

holding of AEG-Telefunken

share capital to 12 per cent.

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