

What we think What lies ahead

THE PROSPECTS for building a mass revolutionary movement under a new leadership in Britain in 1971 are extremely bright.

We say this because the conflict between the worldwide development of the productive forces, the private property relations of capitalism and the national state have reached a point where sudden revolutionary explosions in one capitalist country after another like France in 1968 now become inevitable.

Every attempt by the world capitalists to postpone or attenuate the crisis has failed.

In so far as they did succeed in postponing a major crisis —by currency swaps, short-term loans, devaluation, etc. —they did so only at the expense of accumulating bigger and more convulsive contradictions.

In the end when all fiscal and monetary measures failed, the capitalist class, as in the 1930s, decided that the only way to restore profitability and put value back in its currency was by attacking the wages of the working class and its trade unions.

This is an objective and inexorable trend within capitalism today which disrupts continually and with increasing frequency all the conventional political relationships which existed between the working class and the capitalist class during the post-war boom.

Not only has the tempo of the class struggle been enormously accelerated, but what is more important and decisive, the struggle proceeds not in an organic, quantitative and evolutionary fashion, but in a convulsive, contradictory and revolutionary way.

Not only a quantitative piling up, but qualitative leaps characterize the development of the working class.

In 1968 we saw this clearly in France where ten years of accumulated quantitative changes within the working class suddenly erupted into street-fighting and the occupation of factories—into a qualitative change in the content and form of struggle. Those like the Fabians and Stalinists who deny this dialectical conception of development through leaps not only minimize the extent and depth of the social crisis in capitalism, but also—as the reformists and revisionists did in France—consciously restrain the working class from carrying out its historic mission.

In Britain too the danger exists and is nowhere better illustrated than in the correspondence columns of 'Tribune' where Mr Ken Geering, a well-known Stalinist fellow traveller, distorts the policies of Trotskyism to justify his support of Stalinist reformism.

Attacking the Workers Press he states:

'Yet it is from the real present position of the working class that we must start if we are to win it for socialism.'

This is a completely reformist and empiricist conception of development which in fact isolates the working class from its previous historical development and from the world crisis of imperialism and Stalinism.

Those who start with the 'present situation' are condemned to adopt a one-sided and essentially false notion of the working class and to tail-end it in every decisive struggle.

They are utterly incapable of making the slightest prognosis of the future and therefore orientating the working class politically.

This is confirmed again in Geering's letter.

The real task of the left is to examine real situations to find out what each section of the working class is willing to do. To 'go back' to those positions, 'take one step forward'—not ten and seek to shift workers

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Tory government prepares

Political conspiracy against working class

SPECULATION by union leaders that the Tory government is the guiding hand behind the BEA and BOAC managements' tough stand against their employees' airports work-to-rule is certainly well-founded.

This action comes at a time when the Heath cabinet hopes to inflict a defeat on the power workers through a court of inquiry. And, as union leaders claim, the government's move into the airports can be viewed as 'political window dressing' to reinforce the power workers' capitulation.

As in the power workers'

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

debacle the government—this time through the state airlines—hopes to pressure the weakest sections of the union leadership into calling off the work-to-rule.

The weapon now is not a campaign of press distortion, but direct threats of redundancy and lock-out.

Disruption

In a letter to his staff, BEA's new chief executive Henry Marking warns that a continued work-to-rule

will result in disruptions of services.

Then, he says, there would be no alternative 'but to take steps which may result in certain of BEA's activities being discontinued and the staff engaged on them losing their jobs'.

But the government's airport intervention is only the latest of a series it has made in industrial disputes since being elected in June, June.

Weeks after they came to office the Tories, after failing at 'conciliation', set up the Pearson inquiry into the dock strike.

With the help of the press, a mood of euphoria and complacency was

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After a meeting of the 15-man union side of the industry's joint committee unions reaffirmed their rejection of the BEA-BOAC offer of a 4 1/2 per cent increase.

'It does not even match the projected 7 per cent increase,' Mark Young, secretary of the trade union negotiating side, said after the meeting.

'We are at present making only a token demonstration of the way we feel. The longer it goes on the more dangerous it will become,' he added.

created during the inquiry among the dockers over so-called 'new offers'.

Because of this and the willing help of union leaders, dockers accepted a settlement which was a complete retreat from their claim for a £20 basic wage.

Dockers in Liverpool and London in fact only got 6d from Pearson.

Heath's next major foray into industrial relations came at the time of the council workers' strike.

Here the government came unstuck. Faced with a determined section of workers who fortunately well understood the political implications of their dispute,

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Firemen to discuss next step

FIRE-STATION delegates will meet on January 12 to discuss the authorities' refusal to raise their 5 1/2-per cent pay offer.

Militant firemen are pressing for the present 'emergency' calls only action to be stepped up with an overtime ban and a ban on fighting fires in factories and shops.

If this move is successful,

Union executive, due to meet five days earlier. At Thursday's National Joint Council meeting, union leaders again rejected the employers' 5 1/2 per cent offer and also turned down a suggestion for a joint working party under the Home Secretary's auspices. The FBU is asking for the wages of its 27,000 members to be boosted from the present £27.10s level to the £38 earned by airport firemen, and for a shorter working week.

BY PETER READ



A section of the 5,000-strong Birmingham demonstration.

Massive show of New Year strength

THOUSANDS of workers throughout Britain yesterday began 1971 with a massive demonstration of hostility to the employers and their Tory government.

BY MARTIN ZARROB

While Tory leader Heath busied himself in the Isle of Wight inspecting his new yacht, miners, dockworkers and motormen brought key sections of industry to a standstill by refusing to work on New Year's Day.

In BIRMINGHAM, centre of yesterday's W Midlands strike and demonstration against the government's anti-union Bill, British-Leyland workers dismissed management warnings and immobilized the city's main car plants.

The combine's Longbridge plant, employing 10,000 production workers, was silenced from Thursday evening. The management estimated a production loss of 900 vehicles worth about £300,000.

No day shift

Workers at BLMC's Castle Bromwich car body factory responded magnificently to the action call. Not one of the 5,000 day-shift workers turned up for work.

Only 2,000 of the 5,000 day shift at Rover's Solihull factory reported and work ceased on the company's 2,000 and 3500 models.

Production was affected at the group's component factories at Tyseley, Birmingham, when 900 of the 3,200 workers stayed away.

But one factory producing gear boxes was shut down.

Several firms on MERSEYSIDE, hard-hit last January 1, also put an official seal on the day-off.

These included Ford's Halewood plants and Vauxhall's Ellesmere Port factory. But the biggest blow to the employers was the complete shut-down of the Mersey docks. Only 306 dockers reported for work and 73 ships lay deserted along the waterfront.

This action provoked an attack from the new chairman

when only 37 of the 450 labour force turned up. Birmingham's Lucas factories were also hit with battery production at a standstill and little output of starters and dynamos.

Walked out

Lucas men, who reported for work at the main factory in Great King St, later walked out to join the demonstration. Production at Ford Dunlop was maintained, but nearly 1,500 of the 9,000-strong labour force were absent.

Many of the city's firms were hit as thousands of transport drivers joined the strike. The British Road Services parcel depot was halted, and in SMETHWICK, a Birmid Qualcast foundry employing 300 workers was brought to a standstill.

British-Leyland car factories in OXFORD and SWINDON were also affected.

In Oxford more than 1,000 men were off at two car-body plants and 500 stayed away at the Swindon body factory.

Pits stop

Thousands of miners in S WALES started the New Year with a well-earned extra day off work. National Coal Board spokesmen said that the position was 'worse' than last year and production was severely curtailed.

In several pits, coal-face teams were amalgamated and many faces went unworked. Some S Wales employers, anticipating the stay-away action, had proclaimed yesterday an official day off.

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Birmingham close-down against anti-union laws

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

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Traffic jams built up in the city centre as motorworkers, lorry drivers and thousands of other trade unionists made their way to the Town Hall for a massive anti-Tory rally. An estimated 35,000 workers responded to the Trades Council's action call and stayed away from work.

This was the first time since the war that the Town Hall has been packed by a trade union meeting. A large overflow meeting was held outside.

But the spirit of the demonstration was not matched by the platform speakers.

Chairman Bill Jarvis, president of the Trades Council, began by condemning the TUC's wait-and-see policy and some unions who were already acting as if the Bill was law.

He made an appeal—echoed by the trade unionists in the hall—for speakers to explain what was going to be done about the Bill. But this appeal was largely ignored by both Harry Urwin, T&GWU assistant general secretary, and Labour MP Eric Heffer.

Both speeches concentrated on the viciousness of both the Tories and the laws.

They both agreed that the Tory government was different from anything seen since before parliament while Urwin said law could only be compared with those operating in fascist countries.

Heffer's solution was confined to vague appeals for a combined fight inside and outside parliament because at present called for support for the TUC demonstration on February 21 and the collection of millions of signatures on the TUC petitions.

The sharp contrast between the speakers' reformism and the hostility to the Tories expressed in the demonstration was very clear.

Ford men want inquiry into union official

A LEADING Transport and General Workers' official may face criticism from his union on the eve of a major pay battle as a result of moves by workers at Ford's Dagenham plant.

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

Two T&GWU branches representing Ford workers are calling for an inquiry into the conduct of a recent dispute involving 45 crane-slingers.

Criticism

Particular criticism is made of the union's national secretary, Moss Evans.

Proposed by the union's 1/1107 branch and endorsed by 1/667, the call will probably be considered by the Region 1 T&GWU automotive committee within the next week.

If this committee feels there is a case to answer, the complaint is expected to go forward to the union's national automotive group meeting on January 22.

This would be exactly a week before Ford's scheduled reply to their workers' £35 million claim

for parity of earnings with higher-paid carworkers in the Midlands.

In submitting this claim, Evans warned the company recently that our members' unrest has already made itself felt this year (1970)...

Don't dodge

'But that was nothing compared with what it could be, and' will be, if you continue to dodge the parity issue.'

Rises of up to £15 a week are called for in this claim. The Dagenham branches' complaint against Evans is connected with his actions when the crane-slingers were threatened with dismissal during strike action over a 6d-an-hour grading demand.

Barbarous punishment

S AFRICA is considering legal castration as a penalty for sex crimes.

This barbarous punishment, in the worst traditions of Adolf Hitler, is actually being represented as a liberalizing measure because at present crimes like rape are capital offences and the death penalty is frequently used.

Out of 95 legal and psychiatric bodies consulted by a government commission set up to examine S Africa's 1916 Mental Health Act, 93 said they would favour introduction of castration.

S Africa has the highest rate of executions in the world, and in 1968-1969 there were 166 people condemned to death and 84 executed.

Twenty-year-old 'Keep Left' faces greatest task

'KEEP LEFT' the Young Socialists' official, 16-page, monthly newspaper holds its Annual General Meeting at the East India Hall in London today at the beginning of its 20th year of publication.

1971 not only marks 20 years for 'Keep Left', but it also means the greatest task in the paper's history—to mobilize the thousands of young workers, students, immigrant youth and school leavers into the Young Socialists to lead the fight to force the hated Tory government to resign and replace it with a Labour one pledged to socialist policies.

With a circulation of 21,000 each month and selling at only 6d a copy it is the most widely-read socialist youth paper in the country.

The paper's Annual General Meeting—held at the beginning of every year—is attended

by Young Socialist members, readers and supporters from all over the country.

The paper took a big leap forward at the beginning of 1970 when, on the basis of the annual meeting's unanimous vote in favour, the paper increased its size from 12 to 16 pages.

'Keep Left's' expansion is based, above all else, on a political struggle within the labour movement for Marxist principles against the treacherous reformist and Stalinist leaderships and against all forms of revisionism.

In the last 12 months it has appeared in four-colour printing with articles contributed by the editorial board, readers and YS members.

Its increased attractiveness and political content played a big part in the preparation for the Young Socialists 10th Annual Conference in Scar-

borough. The June issue of the paper called on all youth to vote for a Labour government to keep the Tories out.

An immediate campaign was launched to force the new Tory government to resign as soon as it was elected. A special second edition of the cover for this issue was printed three days after the election containing the YS National Committee statement pledging itself to mobilize the working-class youth and immigrant workers to defeat the Tory government.

The paper will play a leading role in preparation for the Alexandra Palace rally on February 14 which will be a rallying call for the working class to bring down the Tory government and fight for the defence of basic rights through a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

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By an Industrial correspondent

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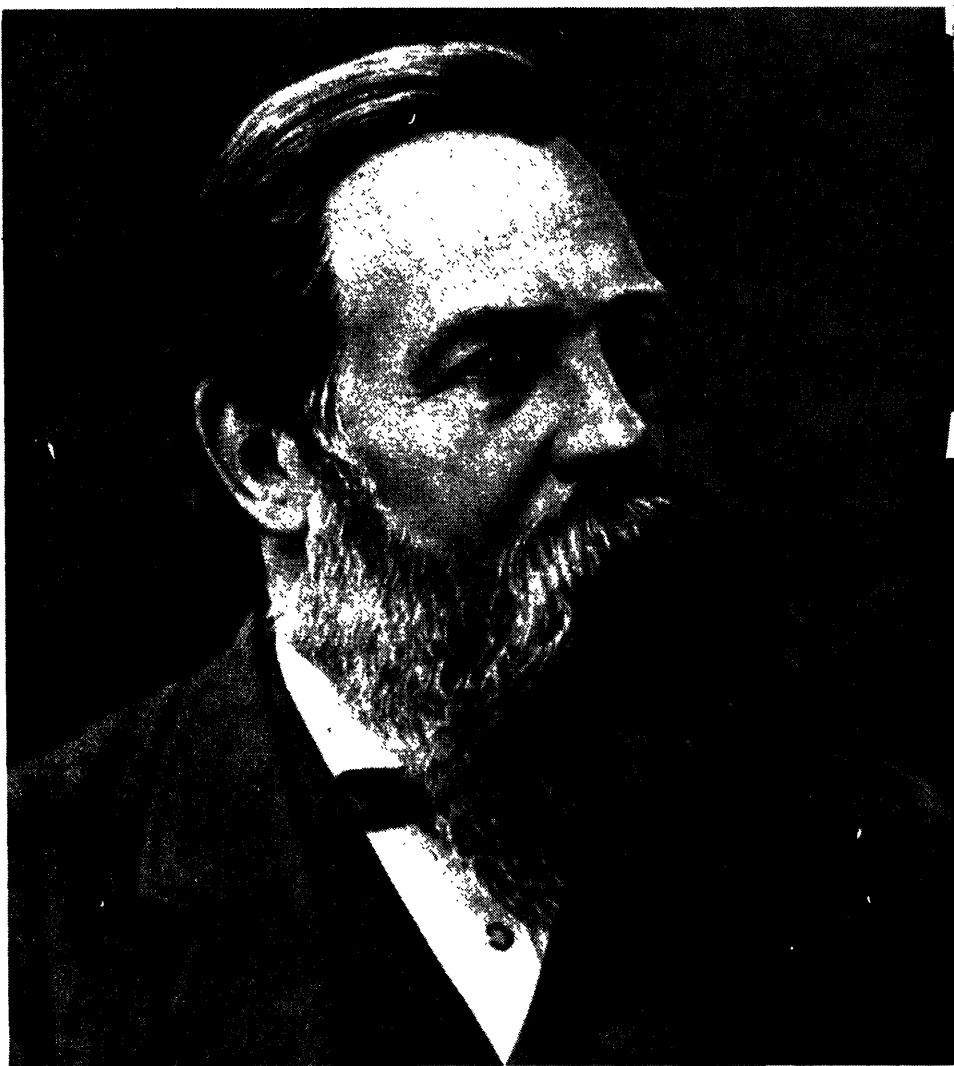
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ENGELS AND 'NEW UNIONISM'

THE THIRD PART OF A SERIES BY PETER JEFFRIES, THE FIRST AND SECOND PARTS OF WHICH APPEARED ON DECEMBER 15 AND 29, 1970

relationship between trade unions and political action and urged those starting to enter the ranks of the unions to turn their energies towards the creation of a Labour Party.

Engel's death in 1895, followed three years later by the tragic suicide of Marx's daughter Eleanor, were grievous blows to the young Marxist forces which allowed Hyndman to tighten his grip on the movement.

But whatever its problems, the period after 1880 was vital for

retical preparation for the great upsurge in the working class that occurred in the 1880s.

For the eight-hour day question was no longer the concern and property of a small group, isolated from the working class; now tens of thousands of new workers entered politics and took up the demand.

Only the tenacious struggle of Marx in the 1860s on the need for a turn to the unions which anticipated the great changes of the 1880s, could have prepared for the significant development of Marxism which this changed objective situation then made possible.

For in the late 1880s Engels, through his closest collaborators, Eleanor and Edward Aveling, was able to assume a position of great importance among the new layers of unskilled workers.

This was true, above all, among the gas-workers of the East End where Eleanor Marx-

favour of a programme of nationalization. Although there were to be reverses for the New Unionism in the 1890s when the employers' counter-offensive allowed the conservative forces in the TUC to regain some of the lost initiative, a decisive turn had been made in the history of the British working class; the ranks of the unions had been expanded to embrace all sections and the basis laid for a Labour Party, actually established in 1906.

But these new developments were made possible only as a result of the sharpest struggle within the old forms of working-class organization. If this was true in the 1880s, it is even truer today.

The revolutionizing of the

of those trade union leaders who favoured a negotiated eight-hour day with the employers rather than its legal enforcement.

At the same time Hyndman was indifferent to the formation of the Independent Labour Party

In particular, although Engels had no illusions about Hardie's brand of 'socialism' or the opportunism and parliamentary mentality of many of the early ILP leaders, he recognized the significance of this new body.

THE GREATEST single threat facing the British working class in 1971 will be Tory plans to shackle the unions and tie them to the state.

Defeating these plans will require the greatest struggle in all sections of the labour movement in particular it will demand a relentless struggle against Stalinism whose role is to provide cover for those 'lefts' inside the movement who will not fight the Tories or their anti-union Bill.

Without this fight for a new revolutionary leadership there

unions while never compromising their attitude to the union leaders.

This can be seen in Marx's attitude to the British trade union leaders at the time of the First International.

While most of the established unions of the 1850s and 1860s were composed of skilled workers, led by men of highly conservative views, Marx nonetheless turned his attention towards them and was able to forge an alliance with their best elements against the anarchists in the International.

This was true of Engels when, in the 1880s, there was a decisive upsurge in trade unionism, particularly among the semi- and unskilled workers. Engels recognized the great significance of these changes and insisted that all his supporters turn to these new layers as the basis for the

greater monopolization and centralization of capital associated with imperialism's development.

The slogan which brought thousands of dockers, gasworkers and transport workers into the ranks of the unions was the demand for the legal eight-hour day.

This had direct political implications for although this was not a period of generally increasing poverty it was one characterized by a tendency for unemployment to rise.

The Marxists were at the centre of this campaign for the eight-hour day. The demand for the legal eight-hour day was one of the slogans adopted by the reconstituted (Second) International at its 1889 meeting.

One of the great issues in the fight with the anarchists in the First International was the adop-



Craft Trade Unionists marching through Manchester in 1874

Aveling became a well-known organizer, propagandist and leader and whose husband, Edward actually drew up the Rules of the gasworkers' union.

The rallying call of London's first May Day (in 1890) was in fact the demand for the eight-hour day. Attended by over 200,000, the gasworkers were at the centre of the demonstration; as a result of this action a body called the Legal Eight-Hour Day and International Labour Day was established (with Aveling as Secretary) to lay the basis for an independent Labour Party.

But there were other important theoretical lessons to be derived from the fight for the legal eight-hour day.

For although the New Unionism brought completely new layers into the political struggle their entry was accompanied by the most bitter fight inside the existing labour movement.

In the TUC an all-out fight was waged between the representatives of the unskilled workers, such as Keir Hardie, Tom Mann and Will Thorne and the 'Old Gang' of leaders such as Broadhurst, Burnett and Shipton, all from the skilled unions and

unions, which the present crisis demands, will be possible only on the basis of the sharpest struggle against today's 'Old Gang' (infinitely more politically corrupt and compromised with capitalism than the Broadhursts of 80 years ago) to establish a new revolutionary leadership, based on forces being drawn for the first time into politics by the crisis.

But the relationship which Engels, the Avelings and their followers were able to establish with the new struggles of the working class in this period was possible only with the sharpest struggle within the Marxist movement itself.

This was true of Engels' constant fight with H. M. Hyndman and the leaders of the Social-Democratic Federation, the biggest of the groups formally adhering to Marxism at that time.

Here Engels' fight was against sectarianism and clique politics. Although drawing some support from the ranks of the New Unionism, the SDF leaders never really tried to understand the new phenomenon; at best they were indifferent to the problems

Trade Union Card of the Cordwainers

in 1893, a development which directly prepared for the creation of the Labour Representation Committee of 1900 out of which the Labour Party was formed.

This development had been anticipated by Engels in his persistent advocacy of such a party in his famous series of articles in the 'Labour Standard' in the 1880s.

Here he had explained the re-

Its main support came from the textile areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire, areas where trade unionism was making great headway. Here was the chance to break out of the 'clique politics' which London represented and in which the sectarianism of the SDF thrived.

Not that these advances were made without set-backs and difficulties. The problem of sec-

the development of Marxism in Britain.

It was then that the Marxists were able to intervene in the class struggle in a way which was to strengthen them politically and theoretically.

The period was crucial in laying the basis for the formation of the CP from a fusion of Marxist groups established in the last 20 years of the century.



Joseph Arch speaking to the rural labourers in 1872

can be no effective struggle against the Tories.

This point is vital. The sectarians and the opportunists will tend to unite against the Marxists to prevent this new leadership from being built.

While the opportunist will demand 'leave the fight to the union bureaucracy' the sectarian will cry 'the unions are finished, now is the time for rank-and-file activities'. Both, of course, allow the Scanlons and Joneses to get completely off the hook.

Marx and Engels never determined their attitude to the unions by the politics of their leaders. They always saw in them organizations which had been established by the working class in struggle to defend themselves from the employers.

They always sought to turn the Marxists, no matter how small their numbers, closer to the

creation of a new independent labour party.

There are many vital theoretical lessons to be derived from this period of New Unionism of the 1880s and 1890s which have a bearing on the present struggle against the Tories.

Like all great periods of change, the entry of the unskilled workers into the unions and into politics in the last 20 years of the 19th century was connected with profound economic changes taking place in British capitalism.

This was the period in which Britain began to lose her industrial world monopoly, a decline which was accompanied by increasing technical changes which tended to undermine the privileged position of sections of skilled workers, particularly in engineering.

Alongside these technical changes went a tendency towards

tion, as part of the International's programme, of the slogan of the legal eight-hour day.

The anarchists, always contemptuous of the unions, bitterly opposed this plank in the programme on the grounds that it only encouraged political activity amongst the working class to which Bakunin and his supporters were completely opposed.

Marx was able to win the support and confidence of the British trade union elements on the General Council for this demand although they saw it as a purely trade union question, as indeed they tended to see the International itself as merely an extension of trade union principles onto an international scale.

These same trade union leaders took no part in the theoretical struggles involved in the adoption of this slogan—about the relationship of economic and political struggles, the tasks of the working class in relation to the state etc.

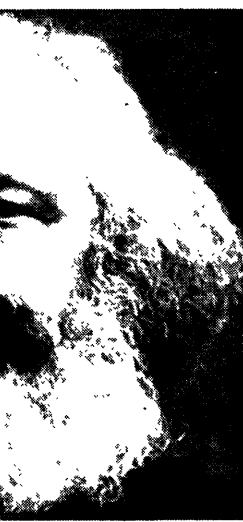
Yet this theoretical fight inside the First International was an indispensable political and theo-

reflecting attitudes developed during the relative class peace of the mid-Victorian boom after 1850.

Broadhurst and company bitterly opposed the campaign for the eight-hour day. Still tied to the Liberal Party, they rightly saw this as the start of a process which would involve the creation of a new party aiming to represent the working class.

At the 1889 Dundee TUC Hardie and his supporters were viciously attacked as 'disrupters' and 'outsiders' and Broadhurst and the established leadership carried the day on all the important questions.

But the following year at the Liverpool Congress things were entirely different: the call for the legal eight-hour day was carried by 219 to 61 votes and Broadhurst resigned as TUC secretary in disgust. Within a few years the TUC was to go on a record in



MARX

of the unskilled workers, at worst hostile.

Their role was largely confined to propaganda whereas Engels insisted that the movement had to be treated as a living and contradictory one.

Hyndman's experience is also valuable in that it shows how opportunism and sectarianism can come together in a period of intensified class struggle.

Not only did Hyndman accept money directly from the Tories to finance his election activities, but he was always willing to collaborate with the most conservative layers in the unions against Engels and the representatives of the New Unionism.

This was seen in the great 1890 May Day demonstration, already referred to. Hyndman and the SDF leaders chose to support and join a rival demonstration to the one in which the gasworkers participated. Theirs was composed

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ADVANCE NOTICE

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1971. 11 a.m.

ALEXANDRA PALACE
Wood Green London, N22

Young Socialists and All Trades Unions Alliance
GREAT NATIONAL RALLY AGAINST TORYISM

BOOK THIS DATE NOW!

SATURDAY TV

BBC 1

12 noon Weather. 12.05 p.m. Banana splits. 12.45 Grandstand. 12.50 FA cup final. 1.15 Ski jumping. 1.35, 2.05, 3.05 Racing from Haydock. 1.55 Cricket. Third test, Australia v England. 2.25, 3.25 Moto-cross. 3.45 Rugby League. Hull KR v Wakefield. 4.40 Results service. 5.15 Dr Who. 5.40 News. weather. 5.50 Here's Lucy. 6.15 **IT'S CLIFF RICHARD.** Clodagh Rodgers sings the first of six possible songs for Europe. 6.50 **DIXON OF DOCK GREEN.** 'Thin Thread'. 7.35 **THE ROLF HARRIS SHOW.** 8.25 **SATURDAY THRILLER.** 'The Smugglers'. With Shirley Booth, Carol Lynley, Donnelly Rhodes and Charles Drake. Old lady on European holiday involved with smugglers. 10.00 **NEWS** and weather. 10.15 **MATCH OF THE DAY.** FA Cup. 11.15 **BRADEN'S WEEK.** 11.50 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as above except: Scotland: 5.00-5.15 and 10.15-10.45 Sports reel. 10.45-11.15 Show of the north. 11.52 News, weather. Midlands, E Anglia, North, NW, NE, Cumberland and Westmorland, SW, South, West: 11.52 Weather. Wales: 11.40-12 noon. Gwent has. 5.50-6.15 Disc a dawn. 11.52 Weather. N Ireland: 5.05-5.15 Sports results and news. 12.10-12.15 Sports final, news, weather.

BBC 2

3.00-4.35 p.m. Film: 'The French Line'. With Jane Russell. A beautiful heiress takes a luxury cruise to find a husband. 7.30 **NEWS, SPORT** and weather. 7.40 **RUGBY SPECIAL.** 1871-1971 RFU Centenary Year series. West of Scotland v Edinburgh Wanderers. 8.25 **CHRONICLE.** 'The Ocean Striding Sea-Bison' and 'Viking Ships'. 9.15 **CHAMPAGNE ON ICE.** 10.00 **THE ROADS TO FREEDOM.** 10.35 **DISCO 2.** 11.15 **NEWS ON 2** and weather. 11.20 **FEST CRICKET.** Australia v England. 11.50 **TLM:** 'Act of Love'. With Kirk Douglas, and Dany Robin. Love story set in Paris at the end of the war.

ITV

11.05 a.m. RAC road report. 11.10 Music room. 11.35 Toolbox. 12 noon Wind in the willows: 12.15 p.m. Stingray. 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 Racing from Ayr. 1.45, 2.15, 2.50 Racing from Sandown. 3.10 International sports special. English table tennis championships. 3.55 Results, scores, news. 4.00 Wrestling. 4.55 Results. 5.10 Forest rangers. 5.40 Ev. 6.10 **NEWS FROM ITN.** 6.15 **CARTOON TIME.** 6.30 **BEVERLY HILLBILLIES.** 'Cimarron Drip'. 7.00 **GOLDDIGGERS** IN LONDON. 7.30 **IT'S TARBUCK.** 8.00 **HAWAII FIVE-O.** 'Late John Louisiana'. 9.00 **BUCKETSD AND SPADES** AND **HAND GRENADES.** 'Games That Children Play'. Belinda Lee. 9.50 **POLICE 5 SPECIAL.** 10.00 **NEWS AT TEN.** 10.10 **THE FLIP WILSON SHOW.** With guests Arte Johnson, Jonathan Winters and Andy Williams. 11.10 **THE BOSWELL AND JOHNSON SHOW.** 12.10 a.m. ON REFLECTION. Jack Dash reflects on Karl Marx. 12.35 **STATE OF THE NATION.** Archbishop of Canterbury.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 12.45 London. 5.15 Shane. 6.10 London. 6.15 Goldiggers. 6.45 Tarbuck. 7.15 Film: 'The Feminine Touch'. George Baker. Belinda Lee. 9.00 Gideon's way. 10.00 London. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 Beethoven. 12.40 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 12.17 Weather. 12.20 Mr Piper. 12.45 **NEWS.** 12.50 London. 2.15 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'Venetian Bird'. Richard Todd, John Gregson and Eva Bartok. 8.00 Tarbuck. 8.30 Bold ones. 9.30 Goldiggers. 10.00 London. 10.10 News. 10.20 Name of the game. 11.45 Out of town. 12.05 Weather. Action 70.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.15 p.m. Mr Piper. 12.40 a.m. Faith for life. 12.45 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.25 On Reflection. 11.50 Toolbox. 12.15 Fireball. XL5. 12.45 London. 5.15 Lost in Space. 6.10 London. 6.15 Goldiggers. 6.45 New people. 7.30 London. 8.00 FBI. 8.25 Champions. 9.50 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 11.10 Film.

ULSTER: 12.30 Wind in the willows. 12.45 London. 5.10 Beverly Hillbillies. 5.40 Sportscast. 6.10 London. 6.15 Goldiggers. 6.45 Film: 'Five Wives in a Balloon'. Red Buttons, Barbara Eden and Peter Lorre. 8.30 Tarbuck. 9.00 Marcus Welby. 10.00 London. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 UNICEF Gala.

YORKSHIRE: 11.30 Casting around. 11.55 Toolbox. 12.20 Skippy. 12.45 News. 12.50 London. 5.15 Gunsmoke. 6.10 London. 6.15 Goldiggers. 6.45 Tarbuck. 7.15 Film: 'The Greatest Show on Earth'. 10.00 London. 10.10 Film: 'The Facts of Life'. Bob Hope. Lucille Ball. 12.10 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.25 On Reflection. 11.50 Toolbox. 12.15 Fireball. XL5. 12.45 London. 5.15 Lost in Space. 6.10 London. 6.15 Goldiggers. 6.45 New people. 7.30 London. 8.00 FBI. 8.25 Champions. 9.50 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 11.10 Film.

TYNE TEES: 12.15 Joe 90. 12.45 London. 5.15 Gunsmoke. 6.15 Goldiggers. 6.45 Tarbuck. 7.15 Film: 'The Greatest Show on Earth'. James Stewart and Marilyn Heston. Life in the circus. 10.00 London. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 Engelbert Humperdinck. 12.10 Epilogue.

BORDER: 11.50 All Our Yesterdays. 12.20 Phoenix. 12.45 London. 5.10 Cowboy in Africa. 6.05 Sports results. 6.10 London. 6.15 Goldiggers. 6.45 Tarbuck. 7.15 Film: 'The Music Man'. 10.00 London. 10.10 Sense of Wonder. 11.10 London.

SCOTTISH: 12.20 Survival. 12.45 London. 5.15 Mael movies. 5.40 Wheel of fortune. 6.10 London. 6.15 Goldiggers. 6.45 Tarbuck. 7.15 Film: 'The Greatest Show on Earth'. 10.00 London. 10.10 Boswell and Johnson. 11.10 March report. 11.25 Late call. 11.30 Film: 'Kiss of Evil'.

GRAMPIAN: 12.30 Tuktuk. 12.45 London. 5.15 Gunsmoke. 6.10 London. 6.15 Goldiggers. 6.45 Tarbuck. 7.15 Film: 'The Greatest Show on Earth'. Charlton Heston, James Stewart, Betty Hutton. 10.00 News. 10.10 Journey to the unknown. 11.05 Soccer. 11.25 Unouchables.

ONE OF the sourest fruits of Stalinism in the Soviet Union has been the growth of an entirely new profession of 'literary' experts, whose main job is to prevent others from writing the plays, novels, poems and essays that they would wish.

Ignorance

Armed with a blue pencil, a 'knuckle-duster' vocabulary, infinite ignorance of the arts and ample space in the columns of 'Pravda' to display it, these men (most of whom wisely choose to remain anonymous) are now having to work overtime in the battle against 'anti-Soviet' art.

Traditionally, the 'performing' as opposed to the 'creative' arts have been considered safe.



SHOSTAKOVICH

Even under Stalin, one could play a Mozart piano concerto or dance a Tchaikovsky ballet and, however bad the performance technically, be certain that the 'critics' would not challenge the political credentials of the artists concerned.

For instance, the leading Soviet composer Dimitri Shostakovich was taken to task for his pre-war opera 'Lady Macbeth of Minsk' on account of 'modernism', which was designated as a 'leftist' musical deviation. But performers were largely ignored.

Protest

All this has now changed however. Last month, the world famous Soviet violinist David Oistrakh appears to have acted on his own initiative in cancelling his projected tour of Spain as a protest against the trial of the Burgos 16.



ROSTROPOVICH

And Rostropovich, the 'cellist', wrote an open letter in defence of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, oppositionist and novelist who was recently awarded the Nobel prize for literature.

This was followed by the mysterious cancellation (due to illness) and rapid restoration ('due to recovery') of two concerts by David Oistrakh, Rostropovich and the pianist Richter last week at the Moscow conservatory, a few days after death sentences were declared in the Leningrad trial of Jews.

Writers who are free to choose their words have always been suspect.

Solzhenitsyn's novels are about the victims of the bureaucracy—in jail, labour camps or 'lunatic asylums'.

If they have 'heroes' they are men who resist the jailers and struggle to maintain a communist outlook on the hell which surrounds them. From the worst depth they hit back at their oppressors with humour which is bitter and deep.

FOUL STAMP

NEWS that the Soviet government is to issue a ten Kopeck stamp commemorating the former British Stalinist leader Harry Pollitt will be welcomed by all stamp collectors.

one thing at least—his craven support for every crime carried out by the Kremlin clique against the international working class.

And in the last war, it was also Pollitt who sent letters to Churchill, advising him on how to deal with unrest in India, and promising that the British CP would not contest seats held by the Tories should they fall vacant while the war lasted.

European REVIEW

MILKING

THE BUREAUCRACY

Statement

SUNDAY

BBC 1
 9.00-9.30 a.m. Nai zindagi—naya jeevan. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and believing. 1.25-1.50 p.m. Farming. 1.55 Education programme. 2.20 Made in Britain. 2.29 News. 2.30 Sight and sounds of Britain. 'The River Tamar'. 3.00 Ken Dodd and The Diddymen. 3.10 Film: 'Lancelot and Guinevere'. With Cornel Wilde and Jean Wallace. 5.05 'Jack and the Beanstalk On Ice'. Ice spectacular.
 6.05 NEWS and weather.
 6.15 MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE asks the Question Why.
 6.50 SONGS OF PRAISE FOR NEW YEAR.
 7.25 DR. FINLAY'S CASEBOOK. 'The Burgess Ticket'.
 8.15 PLAY: 'ACT OF BETRAYAL'. Zena Walker and Mary Wimbush. A suburban family's life is disturbed by a man who claims to be working with the police.
 9.40 NEWS and weather.
 9.55 OMNIBUS. 'The Mysterious Mr Elliot'. Life and work of T. S. Eliot.
 10.55 AD LIB.
 11.22 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC
 Midlands, E Anglia, North, NW, NE, Cumberland and Westmorland, SW, South, West. 11.27 Weather.
 Wales: 1.25-1.50 Farming in Wales. 2.30 Sight and sounds of Britain. 3.00 Rugby union. 3.45 Swyn y llec. 4.10 Personal choice. 4.40-5.50 Here's Lucy. 6.50-7.25 Welsh hymns.
 Scotland: 10.30-11.30 Service. 1.25-1.50 Farm from town. 2.30 Holiday 71. 2.55-3.00 Gustavus. 6.15-6.50 Having soldiers under me. 11.27 News, weather.
 N Ireland: 1.25-1.48 Farming, weather. 2.30-3.00 Sunday gallery. 11.27 News, weather.

BBC 2
 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Open University. 5.15-6.15 p.m. Monkeys without tails. Lecture.
 7.00 NEWS REVIEW and weather.
 7.25 ROWAN AND MARTIN'S LAUGH-IN.
 8.15 THE WORLD ABOUT US. 'An Expedition Into the Stone Age—New Guinea'.
 9.05 MUSIC ON 2. Radu Lupu plays Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin.
 9.55 THE EXPERT. 'A Way to Die'.
 10.45 NEWS ON 2 and weather.
 10.50 FILM NIGHT.

ITV
 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Church, service. 1.25 p.m. Granny gets the point. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Great Day. Every day in the calendar is memorable to someone for something. 2.45 Big match. 3.45 Bonanza. 'Different Pines, Same Wind'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Huckleberry Finn.
 6.05 NEWS FROM ITN.
 6.15 HOT SEAT. A draft dodger.
 6.35 TURN OF THE YEAR.
 7.00 STARS ON SUNDAY.
 7.25 FILM: 'GREAT EXPECTATIONS'. With John Mills, Valerie Hobson, Bernard Miles, Alec Guinness and Martita Hunt. Charles Dickens' story about a young blacksmith's apprentice who unexpectedly comes into a fortune.
 9.30 THE SWINGLES SING!
 10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
 10.15 'THE DEAD'.
 11.15 THIS IS... TOM JONES.
 12.15 a.m. STATE OF THE NATION. Archbishop of Canterbury.

REGIONAL ITV
 CHANNEL: 11.00-12.10 London. 2.03 Weather. 2.05 Farming. 2.15 Man from Uncle. 3.10 Big match. 4.05 Cartoon. 4.35 Date with Danton. 4.45 London. 4.55 Robin Hood. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'The Nani's Story'. Audrey Hepburn, Peter Finch. 10.00 London. 10.15 Tom Jones. 11.15 Court martial. 12 midnight Epilogue, weather.
 WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.30 All our yesterdays. 2.00 Farm news. 12.10 Weather.
 SOUTHERN: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.27 Weather. 1.30 Sara and Hoppy. 1.45 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 London. 3.45 Seaway. 4.35 News. 4.45 Charlie Brown's Christmas. 5.15 Ugly Duckling. 5.35 Magic boomerang. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'Lore'. Peter O'Toole, James Mason, Curt Jurgens. 10.00 London. 11.15 Court martial. 12.10 Weather. Action '70'.
 HARLEIGH: 11.00 London. 1.45 Swinville's Sing. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Film: 'True as a Turtle'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Woodbinda. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'The Egyptian'. 10.00 London. 12.15 Weather.
 HTV (Wales) colour channel 41. HTV (Cyprus/Wales) black and white service as above except: 12.10 Dan Sylw. 1.00-1.30 C Utyrn seion.
 ANGLIA: 11.00-1.55 London. 1.55 Weather. 2.00 Farming. 2.30 Great day. 3.00 Randall and Hopkirk. 3.55 March. 4.40 London. 5.35 Arthur. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'Ship of Fools'. Vivien Leigh, Simone Signoret, Lee Remick. 10.00 London. 12.10 Epilogue.
 ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-12.10 London. 1.00 Granny gets the point. 1.30 Mr Piper. 1.45 London. 2.15 Soccer. 3.15 Film: 'Johnnie Dark'. 4.41 Horoscope. 4.45 London. 5.35 Forest rangers. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'Ship of Fools'. 10.00 London. 10.15 Tom Jones. 11.15 Saint, weather.
 ULSTER: 2.15 London. 3.45 Airline pilot. 4.45 London. 7.25 Forest rangers. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'Pepé'. Cantinflas. 10.00 London. 11.15 UNICEF Gala (Part 2).
 YORKSHIRE: 11.00-12.10 London. 1.00 Cartoon. 2.30 Soccer. 3.15 Film: 'The Horse's Mouth'. Alec Guinness, Kay Walsh, Renee Houston. 4.45 London. 5.35 Flipper. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'The Wind Cannot Read'. Dirk Bogarde, Yoko Tani. 9.30 London. 12.15 Weather.
 GRANADA: 11.00-12.10 London. 1.25 All our Yesterdays. 1.55 Interpol. 2.20 Cartoon. 2.30 Soccer. 3.25 Invisible Woman. 4.40 Golden Shot. 5.35 Secret Service. 6.05 London. 7.20 Film: 'The Three Musketeers'. 9.40 Comedy time. 10.00 London.
 BORDER: 11.00-12.10 London. 1.45 Farming. 2.00 Diary. 2.25 Soccer. 3.20 Saint. 4.15 Ev. 4.45 London. 5.35 Woodbinda. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'Ship of Fools'. 10.00 London.
 TYNE TEES: 11.00-12.15 London. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Farming. 2.25 Shoot. 3.20 Champions. 4.15 London. 5.45 and the professor. 4.45 London. 5.35 Forest rangers. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'The Yellow Rolls Royce'. Rex Harrison, Ingrid Bergman. Experiences of a beautiful car. 9.30 Life with Cooper. 10.00 London. 10.15 Tom Jones. 11.15 Challenge. 12 midnight Epilogue.
 SCOTTISH: 2.15 All our yesterdays. 2.45 Film: 'A Night to Remember'. Kenneth More. 4.45 London. 5.35 Charlie Brown. 6.05 London. 6.35 No easy answer. 7.00 London. 7.25 Film: 'On the Beach'. 10.00 London. 12.15 Late Call.
 GRAMPIAN: 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.40 Climbing. 3.05 Film: 'Jason and the Argonauts'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Charlie Brown. 7.25 Film: 'Alexander the Great'. Richard Burton, Frederic March and Claire Bloom. 10.00 London.

'THE ECONOMIST' last week carried a statement by the Governor of the Greek Public Power Corporation (GPPC) which reveals the extent to which the Soviet bureaucracy is giving economic and technical assistance to the anti-communist colonels' regime.

economic survey'.
 The statement then refers to another Soviet-backed project in Piræus, where 'the installation of an additional 200,000 kW unit of Soviet construction is nearing completion at the St Georges' steam-electric power station...'

The statement notes that 'as a first step towards developing an extensive peat-bed approaching 4,000 million cubic metres which has been discovered recently... PPC has commissioned Energomachexport, a Soviet organization, to carry out a complete technical and

ization of the country and in particular to provide further incentives to foreign undertakings and financial organizations to make constructive investments in Greece. PPC has further reduced the price of electricity.'

Looking for a loan

Statement
 The Kremlin's aid programme benefits overseas, mainly US, big business investors in Greece, more than it does the junta, which is, anyway, a CIA puppet.
 This is recognized quite openly in the statement:
 '... in order to reinforce the trend towards the industrial-

THE SOVIET government, together with its partners in Comecon (the Soviet-bloc economic organization) is launching a new scheme to raise capital from imperialist countries for investment purposes inside the Soviet Union and E Europe.

Western support for the venture will only be forthcoming if solid guarantees can be given to its would-be subscribers.
 The big banks and monopolies still remember the assets taken over and nationalized by the Bolsheviks after the 1917 Revolution.
 French firms, such as Schneider-Creusot and the British and US oil firms which exploited the reserves around the Black Sea, were especially hard hit by the downfall of the Tsar and his short-lived successor Kerensky.
 Despite military, and later, economic sanctions, against the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks refused to give compensation for what was rightfully the workers' property.
 Is this policy now to be reversed?
 Without significant concessions to western capital, the Comecon Investment Bank has little prospect of attracting the funds it so badly needs.
 Such an about turn would be entirely consistent with the Kremlin's class-collaboration line in Europe ('collective security' and its recent tacit support for the Common Market) and throughout the world.

Through the International Investment Bank, which it set up last July, Comecon plans to raise loans on the world money market in competition with capitalist governments and private concerns.

Collaboration
 Collaboration with capitalist banks 'has been undertaken already in the recent joint financing of a loan to the Brazilian military dictatorship for the purchase of Soviet equipment.'
 Seventy per cent of the new bank's funds will consist of convertible roubles, with the remainder made up of freely convertible currencies.

Christmas sacking

THE CHRISTMAS season is the time for sackings as far as the management of the Ferodo (brake and clutch linings) factory at Condé-sur-Neiveu in the Calvados region of France are concerned.
 For years the employers have resisted union activity, under the disciplinary code which reads in part that it is forbidden to make, allow to be made, or encourage any act liable to disturb harmony among the personnel' (which includes management).

Suspension
 The foreman reported the matter, recommending a three-day suspension, but management decided to sack him outright.
 The result was a stoppage, on December 18, by hundreds of angry workers who held four managers captive in their offices.

An article last week exhorted authors to 'paint portraits' [sic] of the 'true heroes of our time'—the scientists and engineers responsible for technical progress in the Soviet economy.

At one time the 'genius' of Stalin elevated this standpoint to the status of a whole theory of culture. Love, human relationships, the manners of men's minds—together with all forms of abstraction in literature, music and art—were denounced as 'bourgeois decadence'.

'Beauty'

The attics of Leningrad's Hermitage Art Museum were stuffed with paintings by Picasso and the impressionists, while pride of place on the gallery was reserved for the 'functional beauty' of... a tractor.

The new attacks on Soviet artists and intellectuals have far broader implications than is generally recognized.

For instance, a recent session of the Soviet Composers' Union saw its top bureaucrat, Tikhon Khrennikov, denouncing so-called 'nationally indifferent music'.

Defending a 'sort of musical Esperanto', he insisted that 'ours is quite a different position'.

Soviet music, said Tikhon had to reject 'cosmopolitanism'.



OISTRAKH

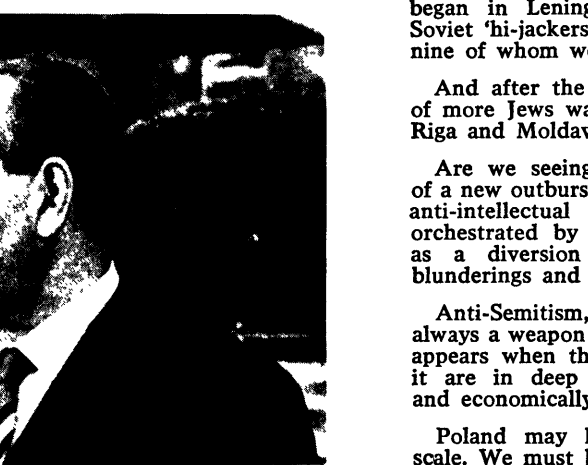


SOLZHENITSYN

Now this is very significant, if only because Soviet writers, musicians and artists (and also historians) were bitterly attacked after the last war for the sin of 'cosmopolitanism', which more and more came to mean anything connected with Jews.

Vanished

Stalin's 'cultural' specialist Zhadanov (until he died in 1949) was the prime exponent of the so-called 'socialist realist' offensive against 'cosmopolites without kith or kin'.



OISTRAKH

Untold numbers of Jewish intellectuals vanished in this period, a pogrom climaxed by the so-called 'Jewish doctors' plot' and the framed-up Slansky trial in Prague. The anti-Semitic campaign only came to end when Stalin died in March 1953.

Blundering

For barely a month after the composers' meeting, the trial began in Leningrad of the 11 Soviet 'hi-jackers', no fewer than nine of whom were Jewish.
 And after the trial, the arrest of more Jews was reported from Riga and Moldova.
 Are we seeing the beginnings of a new outburst of anti-Semitic, anti-intellectual frenzy, carefully orchestrated by the bureaucracy as a diversion from its own blunderings and repressions?
 Anti-Semitism, everywhere and always a weapon of reaction, only appears when those who employ it are in deep crisis politically and economically.
 Poland may have tipped the scale. We must be on our guard.

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Devey

FROM PAGE ONE

of the CP, very prominent in organizing the one-day stoppages against anti-union laws on December 8. He has now accepted a settlement in line with these same laws.

Third, the AEF negotiator was George Caborn, another leading Party member.

Fourth, the District committee of the AEF has a majority of members of the Party and their supporters.

Fifth, the CP leaders, including Howard Hill, were aware of every step in the dispute. They either did not or were unable to influence Caborn or the district committee to reject a pay-off settlement.

Until December 22, the CP was prepared to see Devey in the Party and preferred to hush the whole thing up.

Leading Party members know this and are still defending this suppression of the truth.

Howard Hill's denunciations leave the following questions unanswered.

Is not the CP responsible for Devey? Is it not responsible for Caborn? Why did not the Party instruct its members, including Caborn, to defeat the settlement?

We ask one thing of Howard Hill: Go on TV again, explain the conduct of George Caborn and how that conduct benefits a member of your Party.

Explain why your members did not defeat the sell-out proposals. Why is the CP in Sheffield in this shameful position, covering up for political opportunism and endangering factory organization?

This reformist 'peaceful road to socialism' now encourages the Tories and the employers on the eve of the anti-union laws.

With Stalinist class-collaboration policies and Stalinist methods, you cannot fight the anti-union laws. This is what comes out of the 'Devey affair', which should be called the 'Ramelson, Gollan, Caborn, Howard Hill affair', because it is the direct result of Stalinism.

Members of the Communist Party, there is no escape from this conclusion. History is catching up with Stalinism.

Is it not time, a last chance, to break decisively?

Stop defending shameful, opportunist practices on the pretext of closing the ranks. The 'Devey affair' must not be swept under the carpet!

Not only in Sheffield but nationally, trade union organization and the future of the Marxist movement are at stake.

There must be open and full discussion of the Devey settlement and its meaning at every union branch and every factory.

This is the way to alert the whole working-class movement against the anti-union laws. It will mean exposing and clearing out Stalinism, and building a leadership that can defeat the right wing and the employers instead of collaborating with them.

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BRIEFLY

ROLLS-ROYCE blade polishers at Derby voted unanimously yesterday to continue their seven-week strike over a new pay structure.

They will send a coachload of strikers to lobby Monday's Trades Union Congress inquiry into the dispute, which they are hoping will back their stand.

Welders from Rolls' Derby factories may strike if no settlement is reached in union-employer talks at York next Friday.

IN yesterday's Workers Press, we incorrectly reported that a fund to collect money for the Derby blade polishers had been set up at Rolls' Ansty plant in Coventry.

This fund has in fact been set up to prepare for possible action over management's bid to force through Measured-Day Work at the Ansty plant itself.

New regime steps up attack on workers

Work harder drive in Poland

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

'BETTER, more efficient, more productive work' was Party leader Edward Gierek's New Year message to the Polish working class.

'Telegraph' boosts Stalinists

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

THE HIGH Tory 'Daily Telegraph' yesterday boosted the British Communist Party's hypocritical protests over the Leningrad 'hi-jack' death sentences.

No cash for SST

SUPPORTERS of the United States supersonic transport aircraft (SST) failed to get an \$80m funding appropriation through the Senate on New Year's Eve.

But the Nixon Administration's \$2,534m foreign aid military and economic spending in Vietnam, Cambodia, Israel and other countries was finally agreed by the Senate.

Debate on the SST will resume today. Senate opposition to the project reflects the views of a section of US employers who feel the time has passed for giving big handouts to the aero industry for doubtful projects.

Its Communist Affairs correspondent wrote that the pressure of world opinion had forced the Kremlin to renege the two Jews sentenced to death at the secret hearing and that 'No less important were the reactions of leaders of the major western Communist Parties in France, Italy and Britain.'

These people, the 'Telegraph' claims, 'were forced to register their concern, not only at the anti-Semitic elements in the Leningrad affair, but also at the way the trial was conducted, which excluded and no convincing evidence produced.'

Stretch
To describe the miserable rump of British Stalinism as a 'major W European Communist Party' requires enough stretching of the imagination, without the downright lie which follows.

The British Stalinists, contrary to the 'Telegraph's' claims, did not 'register' the slightest concern at the trial's anti-Semitic character. On the contrary, their statement published in the 'Morning Star' of December 28 specifically repudiated 'those in Britain and elsewhere who imply this trial was inspired by anti-Semitism.'

The British Stalinists' criticism of the trial was the purely liberal grounds that it should have been held in public and the death sentences should be commuted.

Also false
The 'Telegraph's' claims for the French and Italian parties are no less false.

The Italian Stalinist paper 'L'Unita' is quoted in the same issue of the 'Morning Star' to the effect that 'it would be wrong to think that the Jewish race or religion of any of the defendants had any bearing on the course or outcome of the trial.'

The French CP's 'L'Humanite' wrote that the defendants' 'Jewish origins' had helped feed a Zionist campaign in denunciation of anti-Semitism.

'Nothing permits us to adhere to this interpretation,' the paper stated.

The 'Telegraph's' false claims for the W European Stalinists are mirrored by their comments on the 'Devey affair' in Sheffield.

Approved
Devey's acceptance of a £3,000 pay-off for his con-vener's job at Batchelor's Food factory won the 'Telegraph's' approval, though it considers the incident 'bizarre'.

And it asks whether Devey's sudden resignation from the Communist Party is because 'having become in a small way a capitalist himself', Devey 'found unsuspected virtues in the capitalist system.'

Gierek called for extra efforts for the workers to surpass the targets set for 1971.

Big production increases will certainly be needed to cover the new government aid programme for Poland's lowest-paid families, details of which were released yesterday.

The subsidies were first announced by the regime at the height of the Baltic coast strikes, triggered off by massive increases in food and fuel prices.

Allowances

The bureaucracy has allocated just over £128m in increased wages, family allowances and pensions to spread between 5.2 million families with incomes below £34 a month.

In other words, each family will receive on average about £25 a year to supplement its meagre budget.

Even with the promised price freeze operating for the next two years, this measure will do very little to alleviate the poverty of millions of working-class and peasant families.

The rest of Poland's workers are to get nothing at all—except harder work.

It is now clear that the Gierek regime has the approval of the Polish Catholic hierarchy.

Response

Cardinal Wyszynski's New Year message has already been interpreted as a 'positive response' to recent conciliatory gestures by the new Party leadership.

In his speech to the Polish parliament (Sejm) last week, new Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz said his government would work for 'a full normalization' of relations between the Church and state.

The Cardinal's message, which ended by addressing itself 'with a feeling of fraternal pity for the poor in all that he did so he would be forced to admit that the CP has either been far over to the right of the working class, as in the days of the Popular Front and the war-time collaboration with Churchill, or so far over to the left, as in the days of 'social fascism', that it opened the doors to Hitler in Germany in 1933. The history of Stalinism is the history of treachery to the working class!

What lies ahead
Geiering nor the 'Star' raise the prospect of a Labour government with socialist policies being returned in 1971.

All his talk of 'one step at a time' is a shameless and unprincipled evasion of what kind of advance is required by the present political situation and of the necessity to prepare for a revolutionary leap in the coming year.

As Trotsky remarked of Geiering's political and theoretical ancestor MacDonald: 'MacDonald is against revolution, but in favour of organic evolution; he applies to society a badly digested biological conception. For him, evolution, as the sum of accumulated political changes, is comparable to living organisms, the transition of a chrysalis into a butterfly, and so on, while in this last process he ignores exactly the decisive critical moments, when the new being bursts from the old chrysalis in revolutionary wise' ('Where is Britain Going' p. 51).

The 'trite evolutionism' of Geiering and the CP reflected in this reformist and conservative conception of development leads them to confine the 'chrysalis' in a 'protest' corset and prevent it from taking a real political step forward.

They bind the working class firmly to the bureaucracy instead of freeing it from this agency of capital.

This is the only meaning of their accusation of 'sectarianism' levelled against the Socialist Labour League and

Furthermore neither does

Tito admits pay freeze opposition

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

PRESIDENT TITO'S New Year message was unable to ignore the growing crisis in the Yugoslavian economy.

In an obvious reference to the controversy aroused by the recently approved Bill limiting wage increases (the trade union leaders have all condemned it) Tito said:

'Exaggerated and unconstructive criticism is as harmful as silence with regard to the successes which our working people are achieving.'

'I think,' he went on, 'this irresponsible criticism is heard mostly from those who are not responsible for anything and who often do not want to take responsibility or do anything.'

Right now, Tito would settle for silence on his regime's achievements.

VOICE FEELINGS

For the leaders of the Yugoslav trade unions (even though all loyal supporters of Tito in the past) are now being forced to voice the feelings of their rank and file.

A Belgrade radio broadcast earlier this week reported the session of the Trade Union Council which discussed the new wage-restraint law.

'All those taking part in the discussion,' said the report, 'rejected the proposed Bill on incomes restrictions which was adopted by the Federal Executive Council (the ruling body in Yugoslavia) without consulting the trade unions.'

Reports of the parliamentary debate on the Bill spoke of it as being 'lively and rather controversial' and 'very acrimonious', the 'longest and most dynamic', etc., etc.

RESISTANCE

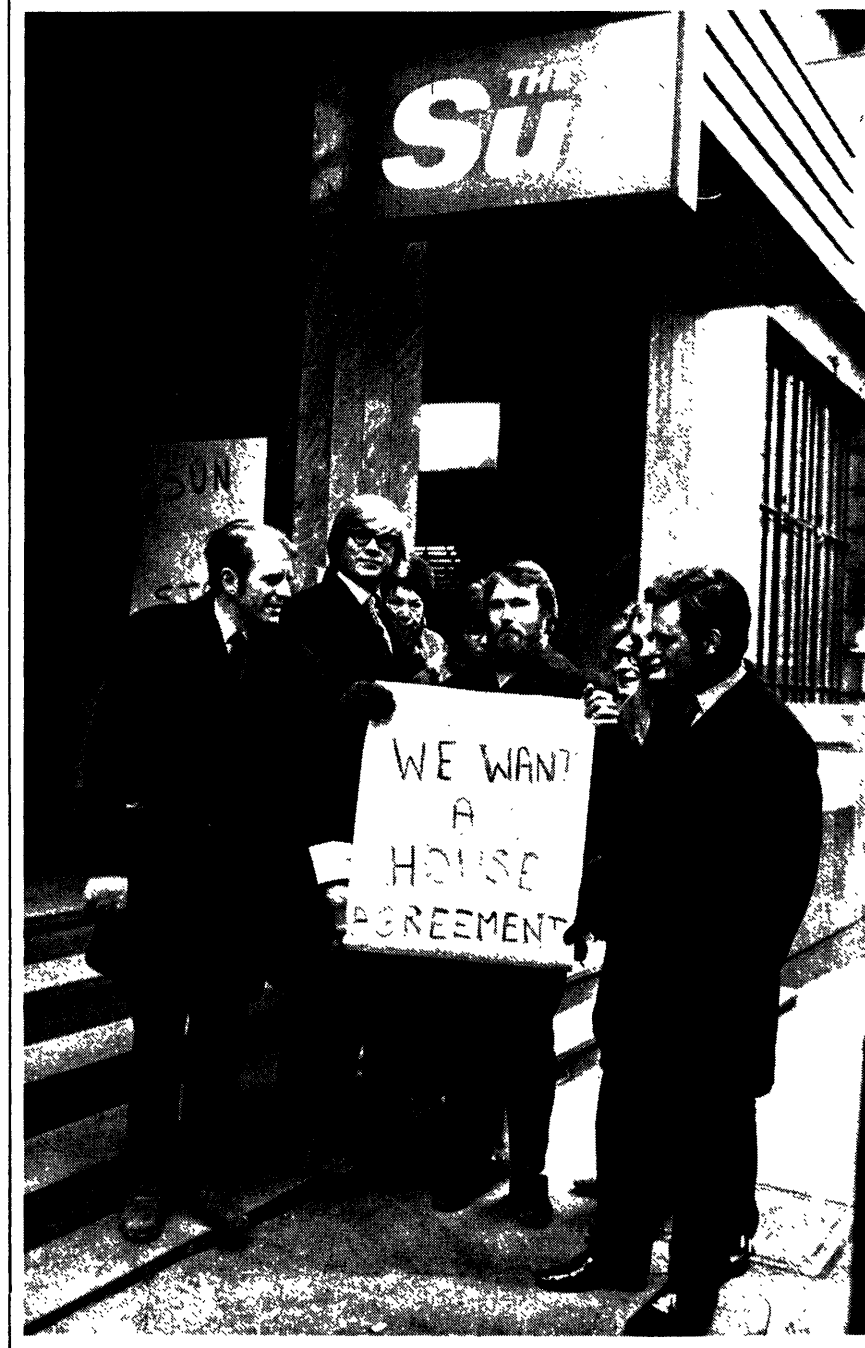
The fact that Tito's radio and press agencies should admit the scope of opposition to the Bill, even from the ruling bodies of the regime, indicates the depth of resistance inside the working class.

The Tito leadership has proved itself very adept at bending to oppositional movements in the working class, students and intellectuals.

Only rarely has it been forced to take direct repressive actions, and even then on a very limited scale.

But this most 'liberal' of all Stalinist regimes is now coming to the end of its tether.

Big struggles are clearly on the way in Yugoslavia.



FLEET STREET journalists on the 'Daily Mirror' and 'The Sun' ignored union calls to return to work yesterday and attempted to extend their strike.

Did exiled 'La Pasionaria' probe Rumanian-Spanish trade?



'La Pasionaria'

A question of principles

THE DEPARTURE from Rumania of the exiled Spanish Communist Party veteran Dolores Ibaruri on December 29 raises very important questions of principle.

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

Did she, at any time in her talks with Rumanian Communist Party leaders, take up the diplomatic and trade relations existing between Rumania and Franco Spain?

First
(Rumania was the first Stalinist regime to open up diplomatic relations with Franco.)

According to Madrid Radio, trade talks to extend the 1968 agreement between the two countries began in Spain on December 9.

This, despite the fact that the trial of the 16 Basque revolutionaries was due to begin in Burgos only a few days later!

Then there is the case of Rumania's relations with the anti-communist colonels' junta in Greece.

The Rumanian news agency 'Agerpres' reports:

'Agreements on long-term commercial exchanges, payments and economic, industrial and technical co-operation for 1971-1975 were signed in Athens on December 15.

'Goods exchanges will be some 28 per cent greater in 1971 than in 1970... There will be co-operation between the two countries' economic bodies and enterprises.'

Collaborates
This is the degree to which the Stalinist regime in Rumania collaborates with the jailers and torturers of trade unionists and communists!

The visit of Spanish Stalinists to Bucharest only helps to cover up these crimes, with warnings of 'self-destruction' and hypocritical phrases about 'international solidarity'.

New Year strength

FROM PAGE ONE

sharp contrast to the satisfaction expressed by the Port of London Authority.

LONDON port employers said that absenteeism in the London docks was 'basically nil' and attributed this to the 'no overtime' system now in operation as part of the Devlin speed-up measures.

This means that a day's pay cannot be made up by extra work later in the week.

In ULSTER, it was reported that absenteeism among the 10,000 employees at Harland and Wolff shipyards was above the usual.

work at MANCHESTER docks and four of the six ships there were not touched. Over 1,600 dockers stayed away.

Workers have started the New Year with a massive show of strength. In the major industries they have refused to be browbeaten by warnings of 'self-destruction' and calls for 'more productivity'.

The W Midlands workers point the way.

Muscles have been flexed in preparation for a show-down with the Tories and their capitalist masters.

US move mustard gas

A DEFENCE department spokesman said yesterday that the first shipment of lethal mustard gas stored at the US base on the Japanese island of Okinawa would be moved from the island next month.

He said the initial shipment of 150 tons of 'mustard-filled munitions' would leave Okinawa for Johnston Island, in the mid-Pacific, on January 12.

Recently big demonstrations demanding the immediate withdrawal of US troops, who have occupied Okinawa since the war, culminated in widespread rioting across the island. The US is not due to leave until 1972.

Protests in the United States ended plans to ship the gas weapons back to America and they are now to be stored temporarily in mid-Pacific.

No doubt the Pentagon hopes it will be able to sink them quietly at sea once the protests die down.

Presumably it hopes the inhabitants of Johnston Island will make less fuss than the Okinawans.

Left and right clash in Calcutta

INDIAN police opened fire in Calcutta on New Year's Eve to break up what they described as a 'bomb battle' between supporters of West Bengal's Marxist-Communist Party and the rival right-wing Forward Bloc. One man was injured by bomb splinters, but no-one was hurt in the shooting, the police claimed.

However, people were killed in Calcutta by knife attacks the same day, including Professor Gopel Sen, vice-chancellor of Jadavpur University.

He is the first high-ranking university official to die in the current wave of violence in Bengal, sparked off by police attempts to suppress the Maoist Naxalite movement.

More than 300 political killings, most of them in police ambushes, have been reported from Bengal since August.

Political conspiracy

FROM PAGE ONE

the Scamp inquiry awarded a substantial wage increase.

In this case the political intervention of the government encouraged a group of workers to stand firm and keep a close check on their own leadership. The result was a defeat for the government.

Health did not make any of the same mistakes in the power workers' dispute.

Here, the key role of right-wing union leaders like Frank Chapple, leader of the electricians' union, was quickly estimated.

All the scurrilous propaganda, all the phoney scares and the state of emergency were aimed at smashing any resistance the union leaders had.

The rout was complete. On the day of the national emergency the go-slow was called off almost without condition.

These are three major examples of what is a general Tory policy, that of trying to defeat every section of workers to create widespread demoralization as a basis for the 'ump card'—the anti-union laws.

It cannot be stressed often enough, that at this time all strikes are political because they involve the security of the Tory government and its plans to smash the unions through the Industrial Relations Bill.

What is new is the more refined and devious methods this government employs to carry its strategy to a successful conclusion.

'Independent' courts of inquiry, backstairs pressure, crude threats of unemployment and, of course, that subtle liaison with the union bureaucracy.

Withdraw

To counter these activities all trade unionists must withdraw from government committees, particularly inquiries into wage claims—this means that Jim Mortimer, former DITA official, can make a start by removing himself from the power workers' inquiry.

In the longer term there can be only one way to prevent the working class suffering a major defeat.

This is mass strike action to force the Tories to resign and replace them with a Labour administration pledged first to restore the damage done by the Tories and then institute a full socialist programme.