

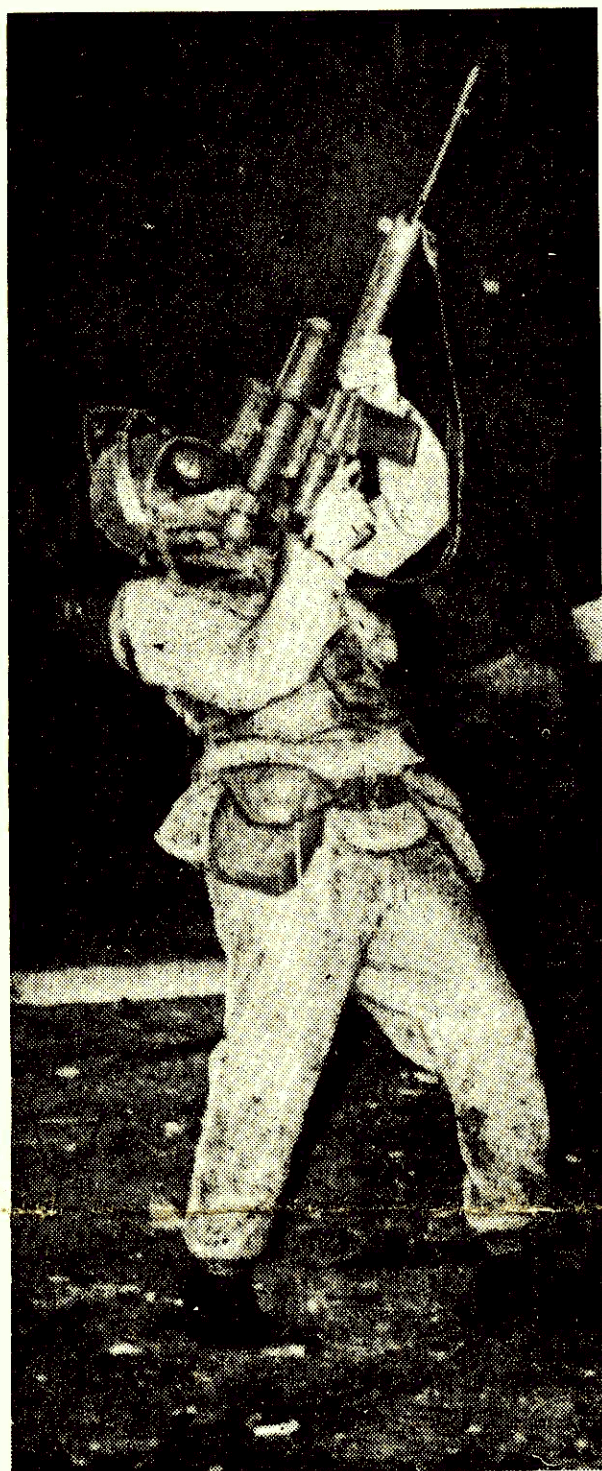
Workers Press

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

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • PUBLISHED FROM TUESDAY TO SATURDAY • NUMBER 225 • THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1970

PRICE 6d.

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This is just one of the latest innovations in military equipment. Others appear more medieval — such as the two-man catapult mounted on a Land Rover for aiming CS-gas canisters.

Continuous clashes in Ulster as courageous youth and women face troops

Army terror stepped up

AFTER ALMOST a year of military occupation and six consecutive nights of vicious fighting between British troops and Irish workers in Belfast, Ulster is being rapidly turned into an imperialist charnel house.

It is also evident that the reaction to the British army's policy of shooting, looting and booting, which has already claimed five dead, dozens injured and hundreds under arrest, would be much greater in Britain if it wasn't for the conspiracy of silence and distortion pursued by the mass media in this country.

The TV and press lost no opportunity in embarrassing the Labour government by giving close-up and first-hand accounts of the struggles and the viewpoints of the Catholic minority in particular.

Free hand

Since the Tories came to power, Ulster has been relegated to the inside pages and vital information suppressed, whilst the Army, equipped with a new and diabolical technology of repression, is given a free hand.

The extreme gravity of the situation, which is being exacerbated daily by the presence of British troops and RUC, has been admitted by both Catholic and Protestant MPs.

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Mr Paddy Devlin, Labour MP for Falls, who previously welcomed troops, yesterday categorically attacked the army's role in the most surprising terms:

"The Army are deliberately provoking trouble in certain selected areas where Catholics live to justify saturation of those areas by troops. [800 troops were deployed in New Lodge Rd alone—ed.] The British Army are now behaving like a conquering Army of medieval times. With the restraining hand (!) of Mr James Callaghan gone from the Home Office, General Freeland is reverting to the type of General that Irish people read about in their history books."

Mr Devlin is learning the hard way what the Workers Press pointed out a year ago: that the use of British troops by a Labour government would ultimately bring down the Labour government and lead to an even more intense repression by the Tories.

Inquiry

Even more significant is the statement of the reactionary Unionist MP for E Belfast, Stanley McMaster, who has called for an inquiry into 19-year-old Danny O'Hagan's death, a call which Mr Porter, Minister of Home Affairs, has firmly rejected.

Despite the grave doubts surrounding O'Hagan's death and the mounting criticisms of the 'Black and Tans in battle dress', which even McMaster was forced to echo, General Freeland and the Stormont puppet regime have decided to go ahead with the forensic farce of an army inquiry.

We can predict that the findings will be so impartial that not a single soldier will be found guilty.

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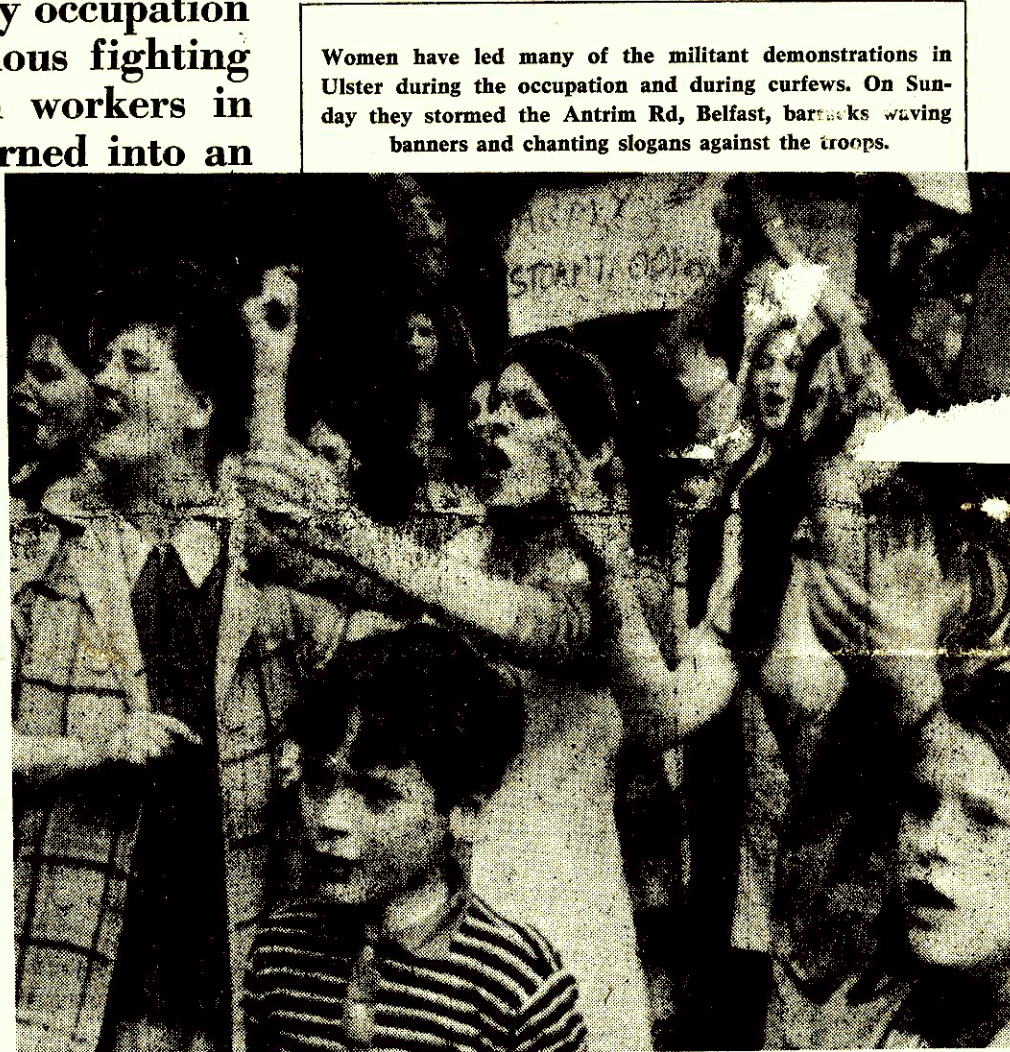
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The cranimen want an interim award because the port's Devlin Phase Two modernization deal was delayed from implementation



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Washington had first assured them the US would strengthen Israel's defences.

And there would be no withdrawal from the ceasefire lines until a binding peace treaty had been agreed.

But most important was her declaration that there was no question of a withdrawal to the pre-1967 borders.

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Begin and his followers are proud of the fact that this attack — killing 254 men, women and children, set off the flight of large sections of the Palestinian population.

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The union's S Wales, Scottish, Derbyshire, Cumberland and Midlands areas all had resolutions reflecting this militancy before the conference.

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Strike action if the claim is not granted was the main plank of the successful S Wales conference resolution.

But a real fight for the official claim inevitably poses a major clash with both the NCB and the Tory government.

And — to pitch it at its very lowest — most miners will have grave doubts about the NUM's leadership's preparedness or intention to seriously campaign for this claim.

Writing in the July issue of his union's journal, 'left', talking NUM general secretary Lawrence Daly set the tone with a statement that the implementation of resolutions adopted by the conference would depend on 'the outcome of negotiations not only with the NCB but with the new Tory government'.

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1970: Thirty years since Trotsky's assassination

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Memorial Meeting

ACTON TOWN HALL High St, Acton

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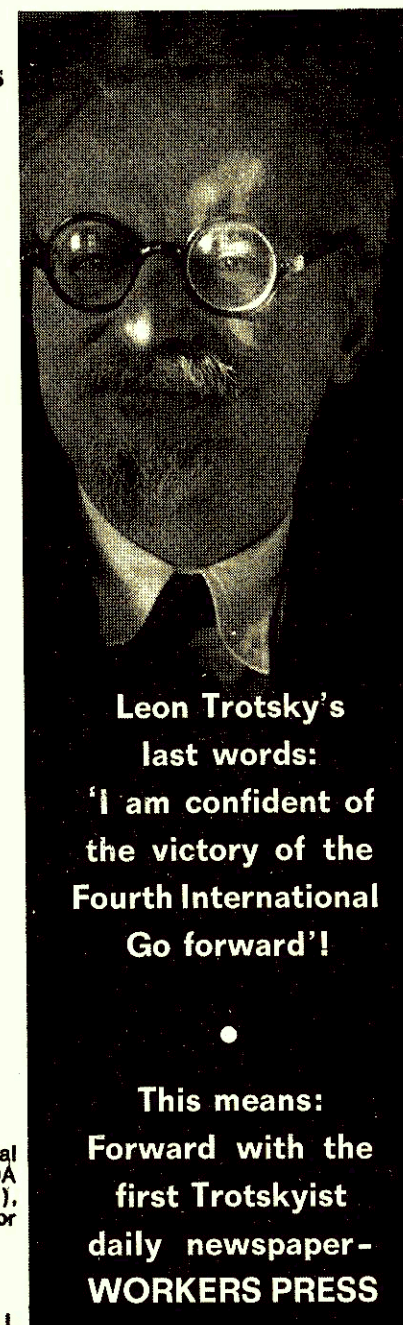
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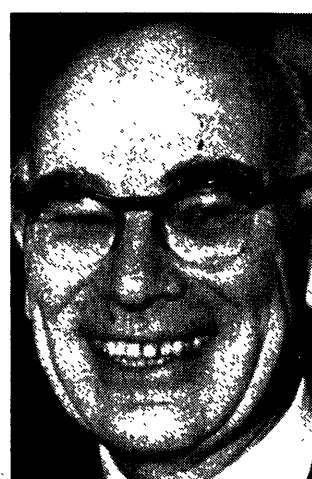
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1970: Thirty years since Trotsky's assassination

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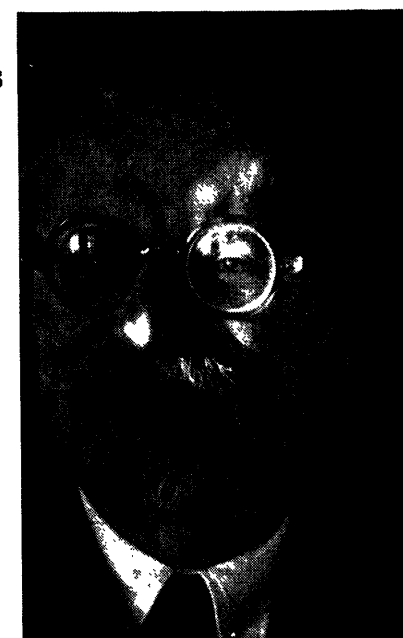
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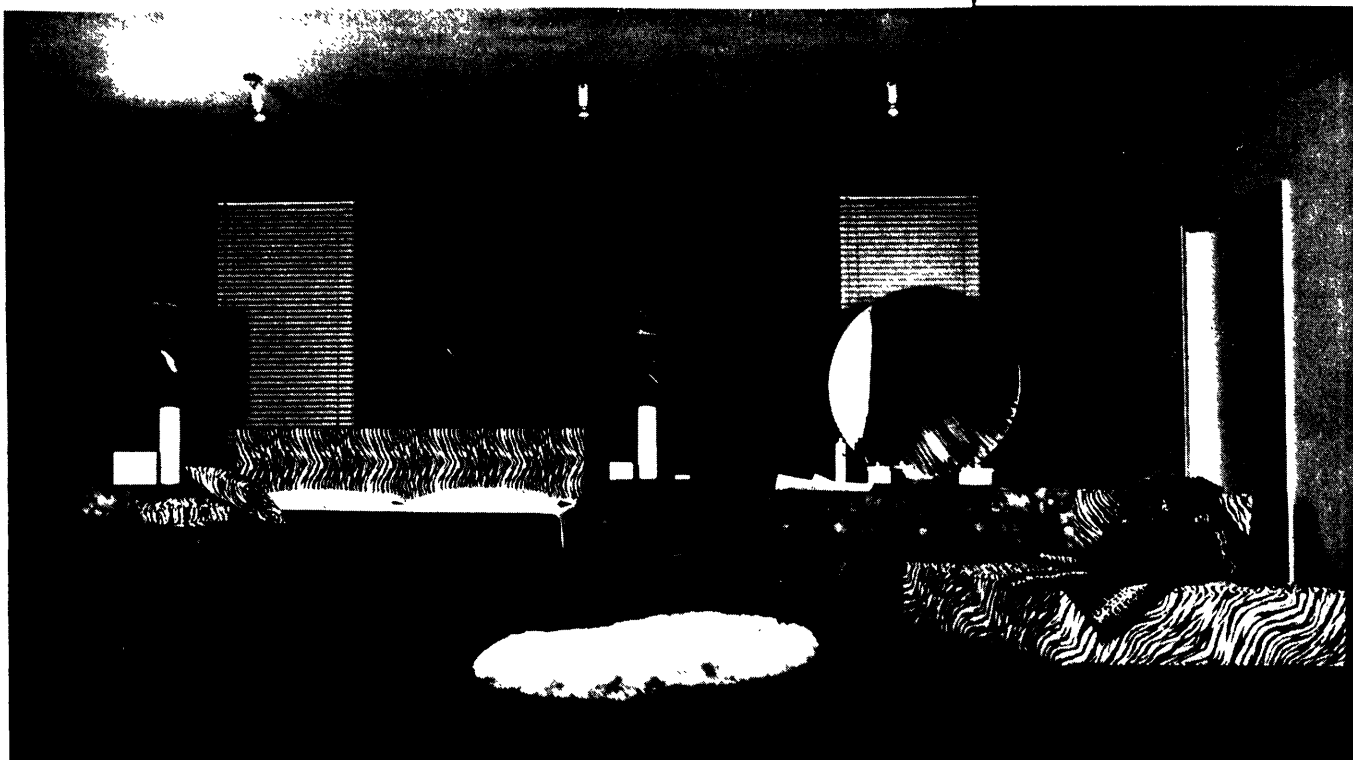
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CISSY LODGE VISITS THE CLAES OLDENBURG EXHIBITION AT THE TATE GALLERY—SHOWING UNTIL AUG. 14.



Bedroom Ensemble (the original installation at the Sidney Janis Gallery, January 1964).

ART

US 'READY-TO-EAT' ART

SOFT DIET

OLDENBURG'S first works were a kind of trash-can art, recording his impressions of New York's lower East Side.

He lived in New York in the late 1950s, the centre of artistic development at that time, when Abstract Expressionism was at its height.

Although New York had become the centre of painting by this time, having taken over Paris, the artists themselves were dominated by a feeling of depression and despair.

Abstract expressionism was the most important tendency in American painting during the 1950s.

It developed one side of surrealism that had been brought to America by André Breton.

The abstract expressionist artists tried to express the forces of the subconscious by subordinating the rational to an automatic process, whereby the artist created spontaneous works through improvisation.

Through this method Pollock and Gorky made paintings that had no recognizable forms, but which expressed abstract rhythms, that related above all to moods stemming from their individual lives.

In this sense their painting was subjective and introspective.

Oldenburg's early works are created through the 'automatic' method — he allows forms to discover themselves in scrawls and in fragments of newspaper and wood.

But already his art is related to an immediate environment rather than general feelings. It is a lumpen art of the street.

There is a sharp break from ethereal limbo of painters like Rothko and Pollock. The real world of material objects enters abruptly in the form of a burlap garbage bag.

But the materials are not used to represent themselves; they are placed into a context in which they represent something else. A piece of wood and a shoe heel are turned into the American flag.

Price Art, Yellow ripe art, Extra Fancy art, Ready-to-eat art, Best-for-less art, Ready-to-cook art, Fully cleaned art, Spend-less art, Eat better art, Ham art, pork art, chicken art, tomato art, banana art, apple art, turkey art, cake art, cookie art.

Oldenburg thus appears to celebrate the achievements and culture of capitalist society.

But the past of the abstract expressionists, their anxiety and doubt has not just been overcome. The development of Pop Art shows how art develops through the conflict of opposites: abstract expressionism is the opposite of Pop Art.

But these seemingly bland and innocent hamburgers, typewriters and pies that Oldenburg places before our eyes constantly undermine their own reality.

They are created with techniques derived from the painters of the 1950s.

The 'Typewriter' negates all our ideas about typewriters—it's a ghost, softly inflatable object.

Oldenburg's 'bedroom' exaggerates the qualities of bourgeois taste — imitation furs, imitation marble.

As he says: 'Nothing real or human. All styles on the side of death'. The distorted perspective, the greys, blacks and whites excite a feeling of horror.

In making these works Oldenburg draws on American commercial art.

He says that 'American commercial art... while presenting eminently hot matter... "object pornography"... is in a way a model of the "objective expressionism" I practice'.

His works express the unrest in a society that is capable of producing commodities to satisfy itself many times over, but in which those commodities and enormous wealth is completely alienated from those who produce it.

All Oldenburg's objects are impossible to use.

So far Oldenburg has made some interesting statements.

He regards the bourgeois world with a mingled horror and fascination. He is trying to reach out and create an art that will 'take its form from life itself'.

But the more he reaches out to objects, the more they recede into an unreal world, and a feeling of frustration, boredom and despair arises.

Trotsky's criticism of the Formalist school applies equally to Oldenburg:

'An apparent objectivism based on secondary, accidental, and inadequate characteristics leads inevitably to the worst subjectivism.'

The world does not consist, as Oldenburg would have us believe, of a mere collection of sensations impinging on our brains.

Reality cannot be grasped through contemplation but through man's struggle to change it.

All the objects Oldenburg creates are seen separately, in no relation to man.

To show us the spectacular in American life is not to show us America.

Unrest

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TV

BBC 1

- 12.35 p.m. Y'Steddfod. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.30-3.00 Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales 1970. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Adventure weekly 5.15 Wild world. 5.44 Abbott and Costello. 5.50 News and weather. 6.00 LONDON, NATIONWIDE. 6.45 THE DOCTORS. 7.10 TOM AND JERRY. 7.15 TOP OF THE POPS. 8.00 THE EXPERT. 'The Witness'. Part two. 8.50 NEWS and weather. 9.10 SCOTTISH MINSTREL. Sir Harry Lauder—commemorative programme. 10.00 WENDY CRAIG'S CINEMA. 10.30 24 HOURS. 11.05 WORLD CYCLING CHAMPIONSHIPS FROM LEICESTER. 11.25 Weather. 11.27 THE EXPANDING CLASSROOM. 'Elizabethan Villages'.

REGIONAL BBC

- All regions as BBC 1 except: Midlands, North, South and West and E Anglia: 6.00-6.45 Your region tonight. 11.57 News, weather. Wales: 2.30-3.30 Eisteddfod genedlaethol frenhinol cymru rhydaman. 6.00-6.15 Wales today. 6.15-6.20 Newyddion. 6.20-6.45 Nationwide. 6.45-7.10 Debbie Reynolds show. 10.00-10.30 Y'Steddfod. Scotland: 6.00-6.45 Reporting Scotland. Nationwide. 11.57 News, weather. N. Ireland: 3.00-4.20 Gallaher Ulster open golf championship. 6.00-6.45 Scene around six, weather. Nationwide. 11.57 News, weather. Road works report.

BBC 2

- 11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL. 7.30 p.m. NEWS and weather. 8.00 NOT A WORD. 8.30 THE MONEY PROGRAMME. 9.10 'EDWARD II'. By Christopher Marlowe. With Ian McKellen as King Edward. 11.15 NEWS and weather. 11.20 LINE-UP.

ITV

- 2.55 p.m. Journey of a lifetime. 3.10 Ideas in print. 3.50 F troop. 4.17 Origami. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Flipper. 5.20 How. 5.50 News. 6.02 APPLAUSE! APPLAUSE! 6.30 PEYTON PLACE. 7.00 NEVER MIND THE QUALITY, FEEL THE WIDTH. 7.30 FILM: 'They Rode West'. With Robert Francis and Donna Reed. Western about a doctor unpopular for his support for an Indian tribe. 9.00 THE WORKER. 'A change is as good as a rest'. 9.30 THIS WEEK. 10.00 NEWS. 10.30 CINEMA. A look at the career of Jane Fonda. 11.00 THRILLER: 'Return of a Stranger'. With John Ireland and Susan Stephen. A mysterious man terrorizes a young wife, driving her to the brink of insanity. 12.10 a.m. PROTEST! Glen Gibson asks Tessa Gill and Laura Conroy what the aims of the Woman's Liberation Workshop are.

REGIONAL ITV

- CHANNEL: 4.30 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 Captain Scarlet. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Cheaters. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Paid in Full'. With Robert Cummings. 9.00 London. 11.00 Hadleigh. 11.50 Weather. SOUTHERN: 3.30 Sailing from Cowes. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 London. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.35 Never say die. 7.05 film: 'The Huggers Abroad'. With Jack Warner, Kathleen Harrison and Jimmy Hanley. A Cockney family decides to emigrate to S. Africa. 8.30 Engelbert Humperdinck. 9.30 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Untouchables. 12.05 Diary. 11.55 Faith for life. Midnight weather. WESTWARD: As Channel except: 4.25 News. 4.27 Gus Honeybus. 6.00 Diary. 11.55 Faith for life. Midnight weather.

LETTERS

MARXISM AND THE 'UNDERGROUND'

MARXISM sees that the real world exists independently of the individual human mind, taking things as they really are, not as they are imagined to be.

Therefore the article on page 2 of Workers Press of July 15, headed 'Like I Say Man, it's the Revolution', does Marxism a disservice.

The analysis of the so-called 'underground' is, of course, correct. It is a middle-class lifestyle, except that it can be taken further and stated as an historical fact that the 'underground' consists of those sections of the younger middle class who are alienated from capitalism and unable to find a place in 'straight' bourgeois society.

Their more privileged position has liberated certain sections of their consciousness and put them into conflict with what they are part of. At the same time, they are unable to break decisively from capitalism and base themselves on the working class, the only force capable of destroying this society.

Where the article does Marxism a disservice is by taking up a common slur of the capitalist media by saying the 'undergrounds' 'wash themselves less often'.

This is a complete negation of Marxism. This view, stated as a fact, is the expression of something in some comrade's mind with no actual basis in the material world.

Where does the information come from that leads you to conclude that your reaction to this letter, if any, will be hostility to me, but I trust subjective reactions will not predominate over Marxist understanding. It's a small point I've taken up, but there have been a lot of small points, such as your outrageously uninformed views on cannabis. All these small points add up to serious discrepancies.

A good communist can admit when he is wrong, to examine I must point out that their report does not say the people at the conference were unwashed.

Your correspondent's approach is entirely unscientific. Generally speaking, Workers Press is an excellent newspaper. I read it daily, and agree whole-

heartedly with the political programme of the Socialist Labour League. The working class is the only force that can destroy capital and Marxism, as developed and practised by the League, is the only method that will enable the workers to do so.

Don't undermine Marxism by the adoption of Fleet St slurs. Don't waste time putting people down because of their appearance. The length of one's hair is irrelevant.

Short hair became fashionable under capitalism; the ruling class, and many of the working class too, accept short hair as the norm.

The gentlemen in blue, those uniformed defenders of the capitalist state, when not breaking strikes, spend much of their time harrasing long-haired kids—with no distinction drawn as to whether they are young workers or middle-class 'undergrounders'.

The most repressive right-wing police states arrest people with long hair and cut it. To survive—which it won't—capitalism has to destroy all opposition. Naturally, it finds the middle class easier meat than the workers, but the 'underground' can at least be used by the bourgeoisie to sharpen its fangs on before it turns its attention even more repressively on the workers.

This is underlined by the report on page 4 of the same issue, that police are dressing up as hippies to catch drug-takers, just as they are mingling in demonstrations.

In conclusion, I would say that your reaction to this letter, if any, will be hostility to me, but I trust subjective reactions will not predominate over Marxist understanding. It's a small point I've taken up, but there have been a lot of small points, such as your outrageously uninformed views on cannabis. All these small points add up to serious discrepancies.

A good communist can admit when he is wrong, to examine I must point out that their report does not say the people at the conference were unwashed.

That would not be possible for those in constant conflict with bourgeois society. Michael Piggott Manchester

A REPLY

OUR remarks about the 'underground's' bias against soap and water seem to have provoked reader Piggott to try and marry Marxism and bohemianism. He is wasting his time. No such reconciliation is possible.

Far from being 'alienated from capitalism', the underground is symptomatic of the degeneration of middle-class layers under the impact of the crisis of capitalism.

It is the height of idealism to claim that their privileged position has 'liberated certain sections of their consciousness'. Which sections? And how exactly can consciousness be 'liberated'?

On the contrary, the 'underground' are prisoners of the most crude and vulgar forms of bourgeois ideology. Idealism is idealism, whether it finds expression in Canterbury Cathedral or in the pages of the 'Occult Gazette'. It is the polar opposite of Marxism.

The respectability of the middle class is simply a symptom of its dependence on the capitalists. To seek a personal liberation through dress, diet or social habits is to be just as subservient to the ruling class.

Capitalist society can only be overthrown by the working class under revolutionary leadership. Individuals who 'drop out' of society—as the underground does—do nothing to challenge the rule of capitalism. On the contrary, they welcome it.

Individualism is the basic philosophy of capitalism, which exalts the right of the individual employer to exploit his body of workers. Caught between the employing class and the working class, the middle class is incapable of independent politics and is just as incapable of developing its own independent world-outlook.

The 'free thought' of the hippy simply consists in picking

over the ideological left-overs of the bourgeoisie. There is nothing new or revolutionary in the 'underground'. The social crisis in Germany before the advent of Hitler, for example, gave rise to a large Bohemian 'underground', just as sterile and degenerate as its modern counterpart.

Their independence from the class struggle proved just as illusory.

The 'underground' press, as the 'Black Dwarf' article showed, is 'helped along by the attitude of the straight commercial world'. As the 'Dwarf' says:

'First the record companies and now the film companies have understood that a new product can be given an up-dated an avant-garde [sic] image if pushed through the underground press.'

That ought to be clear enough: the hippies have not escaped the 'commercial world' they profess to abhor.

Relying on the patronage of bourgeois advertisers, and dressing up in the tawdry remnants of bourgeois thought, these middle-class undergrounders have complete philosophical solidarity with the semi-detached pin-stripe brigade, however much or little they wash.

The physical hygiene of the underground is really a secondary issue. Their real crime is that they peddle dirty philosophical wares.

All the heavily soiled varieties of idealism are freely available underground: drugs, bizarre religions, anarchism, self-supporting communes and just plain dropping out. Marxists, basing themselves on the class struggle, fight for real freedom by subordinating their subjective requirements to the needs of the working class in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and take the power. That is where we differ from and why we fight all the drop-out merchants of the self-styled 'underground'.



Extreme top: Banana Sundae 1962. Left: The Artist With Soft Typewriter—'Ghost version' 1970. Below: Floor-Burger (Glant Hamburger) 1962.

I would like information about THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE. Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186A CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON, SW4. Name: Address:

*Drawn from Oldenburg's impressions of New York's Lower East Side Streets.



AJS grows through fight against unemployment, conscription and repressive laws

fight for the right of the Ligue Communiste and the Lutte Proletarienne to exist in a struggle against the 'anti-smashers law'.

In relation to their own position under this law, the AJS member said that because the organization has roots established in the workers' movement and because the bourgeoisie has seen the mobilization of thousands of youth, it is nervous at the moment about openly attacking them.

ON FEBRUARY 1, 1970, 10,000 young people from universities, factories and schools all over France converged on Le Bourget airport, Paris, to make the biggest rally of revolutionary youth since the Second World War.

ness amongst youth in France since the historic May-June days of 1968.

With the betrayal of the working class by the Stalinist leadership at that time, and the ever-increasing bankruptcy of these Kremlin henchmen, in the face of French capitalism's rapidly increasing crisis, youth are turning more and more to the only movement fighting to build a revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Organized by the Young Socialists' sister organization in France the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS), this great step forward for the world Trotskyist movement reflected very sharply the growth in militancy and political aware-

Interview

In a recent interview an AJS member explained about the conditions which are today producing militancy amongst many different sections of youth and how the French government desperately tries to curb what it sees as a dangerously developing threat

to its own bourgeois rule, in spite of the Stalinist leaders' collaboration.

'Unemployment is extremely high and increasing all the time,' she said. 'Already one person in four is unemployed and most of them are youth who have recently left school.'

'Only one in five of those who are unemployed is on the dole. In the Universities, four out of five students are being kicked out.'

Redundant

On top of all this 800,000 workers are being declared redundant.

Young people in the French schools are very much aware of the fact that when they leave there are no jobs waiting for them.

For those lucky enough to have jobs, or so-called 'apprenticeships' in a factory, the struggle here is sharpened by the policies of the French government.

'Apprentices don't get any wages at all until they are 18,' said the AJS member.

'Recent government reforms have completely eliminated the meaning of an apprenticeship as we know it.'

'Young people will no longer be able to get an all-round training. Instead they will be specialized and work on one machine only.'

Firms that employ apprentices get paid by the state in the form of tax reduction.

In one factory, near Clermont-Ferrand apprentices staged a strike against their conditions. 'We are not dogs!' they said.

Stalinists

The Stalinist trade union leaders, instead of supporting the youth in their fight, went to see the parents with a view of exerting pressure to get a return to work, the AJS member explained.

Until recently, military service has lasted for 16 months. Now it has been reduced to 12 months, but not from any benevolence on the part of the French government.

Compulsory

Now it is compulsory to enter at 18. For students this means interrupted studies. (Before it was possible to postpone military service.)

Girls are being encouraged to join the army with the promise of special attention in relation to their jobs once they have completed the 12 months period.

In the course of working for their February 1 rally and in building the AJS, our French comrades learned many valuable lessons.

'We had to study the local and particular problems in

each area we were working in,' said the AJS member.

'One very successful method of work was to encourage a group of youth who had signed up for the rally to organize their own meeting in their own factory or place of work.'

'In this way we were able to draw in whole new layers of youth.'

The Pompidou government views these developments with undisguised alarm.

It tries desperately to cripple the growing militancy, particularly amongst the youth.

Prohibited

Both the Ligue Communiste (Pabloite revisionists), and the Lutte Proletarienne (Maoist) have been prohibited by the government.

'Since the fall of de Gaulle and the election of the Pompidou government, the French bourgeoisie has become increasingly conscious of the necessity to smash the strength of the working class.'

'But they are extremely hesitant on how to do it. Minister of Justice Plevan has introduced a new law which is designed to put an end to all political activity outside parliament.'

Potentially any rank-and-file or trade union activity is illegal and criminal. Special permission has to be asked from the government for any demonstrations.

Prevented

The AJS was prevented from commemorating the 99th anniversary of the Paris Commune in the cemetery where the Communardes were shot down.

(The Stalinists, however, applied for similar permission and it was granted.)

The AJS has pledged to

Foundation

'They know we are a serious movement with big support amongst the youth.'

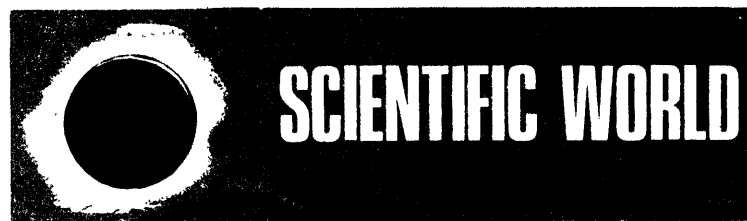
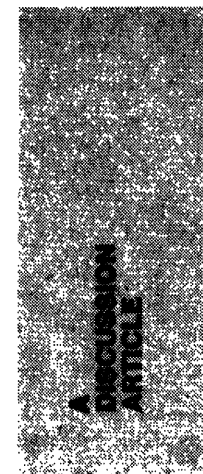
Since its foundation following the May-June days in 1968, the AJS has gone from strength to strength, recruiting to its ranks young people who have come fresh into political action on the basis of the enormous development in the French working class, which was thrown into sharp relief by the general strike two years ago.

Bankruptcy

The Stalinist leadership founders in bankruptcy, heavily criticized by the rank-and-file Party members on a whole number of issues, including Czechoslovakia.

Big political responsibilities of leadership are posed both in France and in the whole of Europe for revolutionary youth. Their role must be to lead the working class forward to establish a Socialist United States of Europe.

CONTINUED FROM LAST THURSDAY



SOVIET TECHNOLOGY (2)

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

SOVIET INDUSTRY is not organized to make the best use of new technical developments.

It is production rather than development orientated. Managers receive bonuses according to the size of their payroll and their ability to meet the planned quota. They are therefore not likely to make major technical changes on their own initiative.

Mandel quotes one technician as saying: 'After the introduction of technical innovation, the screw of the plan will be tightened still more, and thereby the chance of fulfilling the plan and getting bonuses will be lessened.'

According to the OECD report the national planning system for R&D has also met many problems and does not really work. It is extremely complicated and time consuming.

Its criteria for success are arbitrary, e.g., the number of subjects or measures planned or fulfilled, comparisons between planned and real costs.

The overall research-production cycle is badly planned and organized and barriers often exist between the various phases. They note that research institutes of academic organizations are not only separate from industrial R&D, but also have priority over industry.

Despite the stupendous Soviet military R&D effort there is hardly any 'spin-off' to civilian industry. Industrial R&D is also divided up amongst many different ministries and cross-communication is poor. Even within single industries and research institutes such barriers are found.

Cause

Of course the Soviet Communist Party and its advisers do not need the OECD to tell them this. They know it only too well, being the direct cause of it.

They continually thrash around for some organizational formula to escape from the impasse. The OECD study describes the latest 'reforms' including new organizations—the 'factory centre', 'research complex', and 'research corporation'.

The 'factory centre' integrates research institutes, design bureaus and particular production units into a single administration unit. The 'research complex' is an association of research institutes and industries in several related fields. The 'research corporations' are organizations that possess research and pilot plant facilities which will do work for industry on a contract basis.

Similar organizations are to be found in Britain and the US. Besides developing these organizations there are a new series of 'economic incentives'.

These include the financing of research and design centres by contracts instead of budget grants, deliberate encouragement of competition between R&D organizations, larger cash bonuses

and prizes for inventors and managers.

The OECD report naturally finds these changes very satisfying, noting with some relish that R&D in the USSR relies even more than capitalist countries on economic incentives. It believes that the struggle of communist and capitalist countries to achieve 'both satisfactory organizational forms for R&D and satisfactory economic incentives to innovation . . . should be of considerable mutual interest.'

Importance

These struggles are of extreme importance to the working class also, though for quite opposite reasons.

Because of the crisis in their production methods the Soviet

In 1963 Khrushchev announced the seven-year plan, which was to be the major step in catching up with and overtaking the United States. This was to be the economic basis of 'peaceful co-existence' and the 'peaceful road to socialism'.

Just how abjectly the plan for the chemical industry failed can be seen from the table:

	Mineral Fertilizers	Plastics and Synthetic Resins	Chemical Fibres
Average annual rate of increase production 1966-69	10.1%	15.9%	9.4%
Rate increase 1969	5.7%	12.5%	5.3%
1969 Production (thousand metric tons)	46,000	1,450	583
1963 target for 1970	80,000	4,000	1,300
Scaled-down, current target for 1970	57,500	1,670	694

sion. It was led by rich imperialist Pierre S. du Pont IV of the giant American monopoly chemical firm EI du Pont de Nemours.

It also included other leading representatives of the American chemical industry. Edwin Golin, president of Gauge Corp. (public relations), Kenneth Wattman—

the USSR develop the ideas of her scientists, to put theory into practice!

As the journal 'Chemical Engineering' puts it: 'The Soviets have progressed further than the US in many basic research areas. But the US has developed better skills to translate research findings into useful technology.'

The Stalinist bureaucracy is unable to harness the genius of the Soviet scientific workers and pleads for help from US imperialism.

Furthermore, Kalichits offered to allow Soviet universities and research institutes to do contract work for American industry. What is more they (the Stalinists) would observe all scientific and technical secrets.

In other words, they would observe the norms of capitalist repression of knowledge.

Recent discussions between the Soviet and Japanese petrochemical representatives are also very revealing. Very large finds of natural gas have been made in central Siberia, Vilyuysk and Yakutsk, and also in the island of Sakhalin.

These finds could revolutionize Siberian industrial development, unfortunately to exploit the fields very long and expensive pipelines are needed.

For example to develop the Vilyuysk field would cost \$300 million.

Persuade

The Soviet government is trying hard to persuade the Japanese petro-chemical monopolies to develop Siberian natural gas for them.

The Japanese are, of course, playing hard to get. The reason why the Soviet government cannot do the job itself is that the Soviet steel industry is unable to make steel pipes in sufficient quantities for such long pipe lines.

The bureaucracy is in a hurry to export natural gas because it will provide hard currency (dollars, marks, sterling etc.) to pay for those advanced goods which its own industries have failed to produce.

In 1968 such Soviet imports from imperialist countries totalled in value \$2.1 billion (\$2,100,000,000).

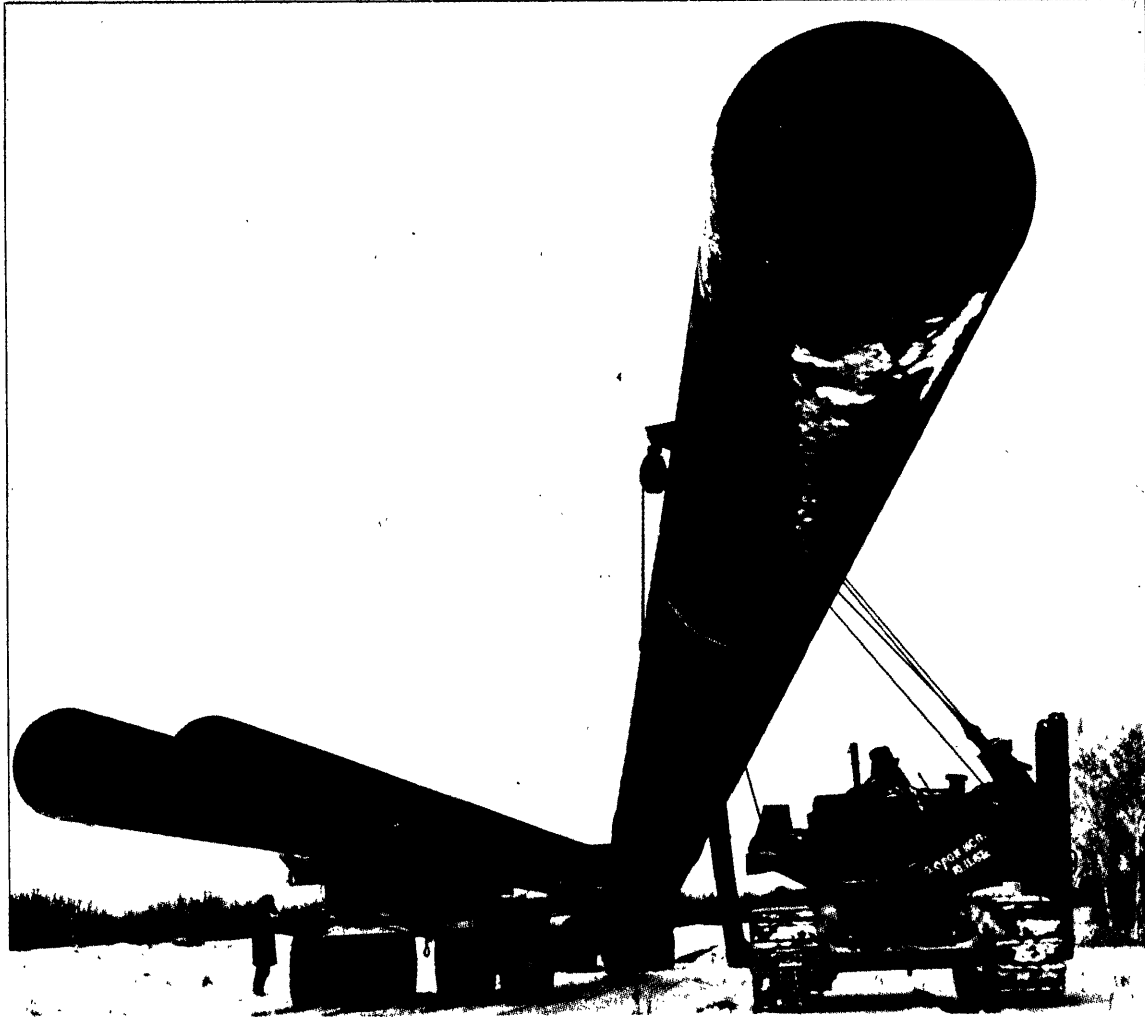
'Chemical Engineering' (March 23, 1970) states: 'The Soviets desire to lure Japan—at apparently any cost—into developing the Yakutsk fields. By proposing Magadan (a port in NE Siberia) at one end of the pipeline, the Russians give up hope of supplying their far eastern industrial centres (Khabarovsk, Vladivostok and Komsofnoldk) with natural gas from Yakutsk.' (My emphasis.)

These developments expose the bankruptcy of the bureaucracy's attempts to develop efficiently and in a socialist fashion the human (e.g. scientists) and material resources of the USSR showing again the utter futility of the Stalinist thesis of socialism in one country. H.B.

Atlas Chemical Industries Inc, Paul Mayo of Chemico and Curtis M. Hinsley of Hercules Chemicals Co.

They dealt directly with leading officials of the Soviet chemical industry, Igor Kalichits, director of the chemical section of the USSR State Commission for Science and Technology, was quite clear about the nature of the help they required.

US aid was needed to help

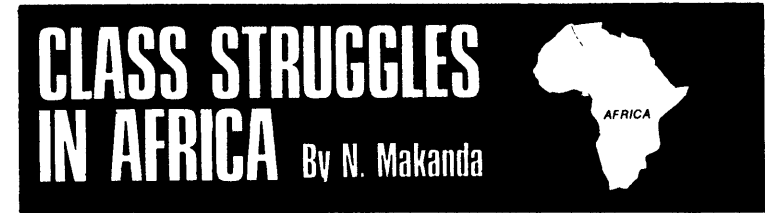


Laying pipes for natural gas.

bureaucracy is turning even more readily towards imperialism for both material and technical aid.

Recently the Soviet government has attempted to collaborate with US and Japanese imperialism in the chemical field. The chemical industry forms the basis for much modern technology.

Without a modern efficient chemical industry many other industries such as textiles will lag behind.



ARMS BAN A FRAUD

UNDER the so-called S African arms embargo, Hawker Siddeley was permitted to continue the supply of spare parts for the Buccaneer aircraft delivered in August 1966 under the Wilson government.

The question of Buccaneers is high on the list of present issues.

The Hawker Siddeley Nimrod has also been advertised in 'Commando', the S African Defence Forces journal. And Hawker Siddeley was also allowed by the Wilson government to sell the HS-125 2-jet business aircraft. These were reportedly bought by the S African Defence Forces. They are easily adaptable for use in anti-guerrilla activity, as are some planes supplied by Italy.

ARMS BAN

The arms ban by Britain has thus been a fraud: not only because it came after sufficient supplies had already been given; not only because Buccaneer sales contracted were allowed by Wilson's government to proceed, but also because the sale of military planes continued after the ban itself.

The legalization of arms supplies from Britain to protect British imperialism's immense stake in apartheid S Africa merely removes the fraudulent nature of the arms ban.

AIRPORT

As a result of the recent meeting between Vorster and Banda of Malawi, the S African regime is hopeful of using Lilongwe airport as a military base.

The Government Minister de Wet Nel declared earlier in 1970 that Lilongwe could become the most forward departure point.

'It is very strategically situated. It is generally known that S Africa has military ties with Malawi.'

It was significant that Hilgard Muller, top military man in Vorster's government, was with Vorster at the talks with Banda.

Thus through the Commonwealth, quite apart from Britain, the S African regime is able to circumvent the fraudulent arms embargo.

Apartheid is defended not only by its British master, but also by its African servants, like Bantustan chief, Hastings Banda, leading African Nationalist.

CAPITAL

The military connection between Malawi and S African apartheid is a by-product of the economic subjugation of Malawi migrant cheap labour by the great British companies operating in S Africa.

This economic fact, in general, is the basis of all the arms deals with S Africa. The armament companies supplying S Africa with arms are

among the big British capitalist concerns with investments in S Africa.

The extent of this investment may be gauged from the fact that it is estimated British capital alone in S Africa totals some \$10 billion i.e. some £4 billion and that 80 per cent of the 100 biggest capitalist companies in Britain have interests in S Africa's apartheid economy.

UNCLE TOMS

The basic facts show that British imperialism is the basis of S African apartheid.

From this it follows that the struggle against apartheid cannot be separated from the struggle against British imperialism.

This implies that there can be no collaboration between the anti-apartheid movement and the agents of British imperialism.

It is this fundamental principle which the so-called Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) has consistently violated. In place of a struggle against British imperialism, this movement puts appeals to the imperialist United Nations and collaboration with the British Liberals, Anglican Church and Labour-imperialists.

From the outset the AAM (then the Anti-Apartheid Committee) had Barbara Castle as an honorary speaker and she blessed their journal.

From the outset the leaders of the apartheid Anglican Church

have appeared on AAM platforms and deputations.

And in the anti-Springbok Rugby and Cricket Tour protests the AAM worked with a wing of the imperialist Liberal Party—a wing which had its connections with the S African Liberal Party which no anti-apartheid movement in S Africa would touch with the longest broomstick.

In place of a struggle, the AAM conducts 'Uncle Tom' politics.

The latest in this sort of 'action' was a petition handed in at 10 Downing St on Sunday, July 19 by Anglican-Liberals.

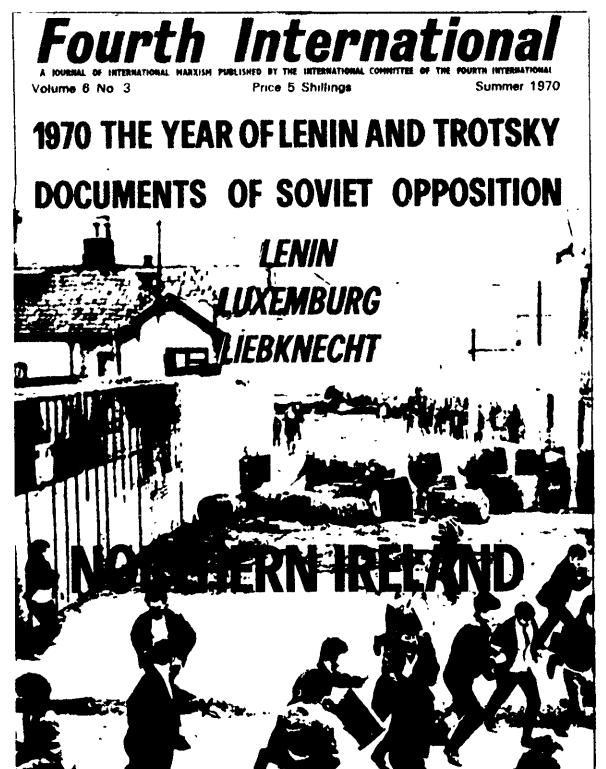
This petition came shortly after a 'passionate appeal' to the UN and the AAM in June.

This collaboration with the open enemies of the non-European oppressed of S Africa is backed by the Communist Party of S Africa (CPSA), long-known as 'neo-Liberals' to real anti-apartheid fighters.

This type of opportunism goes together with adventurism, as is always the case in politics.

The adventurism in this case takes the form of suicidal demonstrative guerrilla raids from Zambia into Rhodesia in which well-trained guerrillas are mowed down by waiting Rhodesian, British and S African forces. By such 'guerrilla action' the AAM makes a 'show of force' in the eyes of the Organization for African Unity (OAU) and United Nations.

IMPORTANT READING



NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS

Tory leaders prepare to fight miners

● FROM PAGE ONE

Lawrence Daly has already constructed part of the bridge towards this position with his hope, again expressed in the July issue of the NUM journal, that the Prices and Incomes Board's forthcoming inquiry into the NCB's planning, pricing and manpower policies 'will be of some value' in compelling the government to adopt suitable policies.

But there are two big and germ-laden flies in this opportunist ointment. The Tories, as the dock strike showed, are determined to resist all wage claims not linked to productivity shackles on trade unionists—especially in the public sector.

And the government's coal-production target is already firmly pegged down to 120 million tons a year. Thus the Robens plan could only mean a further acceleration on the process which has already—inside ten years—halved the labour force, shut 400 out of 700 pits while pushing up output per man-shift by more than a third.

As a result, more industries would turn to oil or natural gas, more pits would close... That, he said, was not 'the clever or intelligent way to run the union or the coal industry'.

Suggestion

So, showing why he has reportedly already had several lucrative offers for his services from private industry when his term as NCB chairman ends, this former full-time NUM official suggested another way.

'At the moment,' he said, 'our mechanized faces are producing roughly 290 tons of saleable coal per shift. The rest of the time is taken up with delays of one kind or another, some unavoidable but the majority—with good management and co-operation—absolutely avoidable...'

'If we increased the cutting time of the machines by, say, 15 minutes per shift, that would increase the average shift output by, say, 35 tons. That would itself be sufficient to meet the cost of a £72 million wage increase without raising prices...'

As a result, more industries would turn to oil or natural gas, more pits would close... That, he said, was not 'the clever or intelligent way to run the union or the coal industry'.

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Silent protest appeal for invasion anniversary

AS THE second anniversary of the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia on August 20-21 approaches, its supporters and opponents are both making their political preparations.

A typewritten leaflet is being circulated from hand to hand in Prague calling for passive resistance on August 21.

After last year's mass demonstrations, which were brutally put down by the police using heavy armour, the organizers of this year's protest advise other methods:

- 1. Let us not buy in the shops.
- 2. Let us boycott cinemas and public places.
- 3. Let us not buy or read newspapers.
- 4. From 7 p.m. let us clear the streets.
- 5. Let us turn off our lights at home or blackout the windows.

No submission

The leaflet warns against turning passive resistance into a show of submission to the occupation and the Husak regime which it protests:

'Apathy, interest in mere personal worries, withdrawal from public affairs could only prolong our subjection, perhaps even for many years.'

Instead, it calls for a silent affirmation of socialist principles, through the measures suggested:

'The empty streets of the towns and villages will be proof of our resistance. Let us demonstrate our will for freedom, sovereignty and democracy in a Socialist Democracy.'

Afraid that August 21 will see many such manifestations of hostility to the Soviet occupation, the Husak regime has launched a Radio and press campaign against those workers who took strike action against the invasion of two years ago.

In doing so, it is forced to reveal the scope and depth of the movement against the Stalinist invaders, something it has always tried to minimize up till now.

Committee appeal

Prague Home Service on August 1 reported the activities of a committee set up to lead the strike against the Soviet invasion in the Vitkov uranium mines.

After two years of occupation, the Czech people are still able to mount a demonstration of hostility to the present regime, even if it is forced to take the form of a silent protest.

They have the courage to fight on—while the leaders of the British Communist Party remain silent.

25 years after Hiroshima—Socialism or barbarism remains the prospect

TWENTY-FIVE years ago today, an atomic weapon was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, killing over 71,000 people immediately, condemning thousands more to slow, painful death through radiation poisoning and reducing nearly five square miles of the city to scorched rubble.

It represented, as the culmination of six years of global imperialist slaughter, a warning to the international proletariat. The continued domination of the workers' movement by the Labour and Stalinist bureaucracies and the failure to carry through the socialist revolution in the advanced centres of imperialism, now faced mankind with the prospect of a nuclear holocaust and a return to barbarism.

Yesterday, the Stalinist 'Morning Star' noted that 'there will be a number of quiet ceremonies throughout Britain in memory of those who died.'

In London, Ald Mrs Millie Miller, leader of the Labour opposition on Camden Borough Council, who planted a Hiroshima cherry-tree in Tavistock Square four years ago when she was mayor, will again lay flowers there.

Intended to abstract the event from its historical context and to cover the collaboration of International Stalinism in the imperialist slaughter of the Second World War.

While the United States ruling class prepared to obliterate Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Stalin cynically sat down with his imperialist allies at Potsdam (see Workers Press, August 1) and agreed to the reconstruction of capitalism in W Europe, the dlamembering of the German working class and the crushing of revolution both inside and outside his 'sphere of influence'.

In particular, the British Communist Party wholeheartedly supported the dropping of the bomb as part of this filthy deal.

Ex-President Truman remarked: 'On July 24 I casually mentioned to Stalin that we had a new weapon of unusual destructive force. The Russian Premier showed no special interest. All he said was that he was glad to hear it and hoped we would make "good use of it against the Japanese".'

So much for the crocodile tears that the 'Star' sheds today! 'Peaceful coexistence', 'collective security' and all the Stalinist jargon of class collaboration has produced in practice a state of affairs where, after two imperialist wars which have claimed the lives of millions of workers and 53 years after the Russian Revolution, the destruction of the entire human race remains on capitalism's agenda.

The yearly ritual of wreathe-laying, prayers, vigils, fasts and other conscience-salving, pacifist rubbish is applauded by Labour leaders and Stalinists alike in order to prevent the historical

lessons from being learned and reducing the events of August, 1945, to the level of 'horrific' incidents outside the class struggle and to drag the working class blindfold behind its 'own' bourgeoisie.

The Kremlin's support for Heath's election and the sell-out of the Stalinists in the dockers' struggle continues the tradition that led to Potsdam and the nuclear destruction of thousands of Japanese workers and their families.

'Socialism or barbarism'—this is the lesson of August 6 and today, as the working class takes the offensive throughout the world, the Fourth International is preparing to head the struggle for power and the socialist future.

Italian coalition crisis temporarily eased

Strikers shot as Cabinet talks end

AS POLICE opened fire on striking engineers in the streets of Venice, it was reported from Rome yesterday that the Italian Cabinet crisis has been temporarily eased.

Conditions agreed by the four partners to the coalition contain a clause on the Socialist Party policy of entering regional governments jointly with the Communist Party—a line

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

that up till now has been violently denounced by the Social Democrats. Terms of the agreement have not yet been officially released, so it is not known what form of compromise has been adopted on this thorny problem.

The survival prospects of Colombo's new cabinet are grim. Each time the socialists—who rest upon a big working-class base in the main industrial towns—enter a 'centre-left' coalition with the capitalist parties and the extreme right-wing Social Democrats, splits rend the party in two from top to bottom.

Split

The centrist PSIUP, which has a considerable following in some northern areas, emerged out of the left wing of the Socialist Party after one such split in 1964, when Nenni first tried to take the socialists into a permanent working relationship with the Christian Democrats and the reformists.

The Venice shootings climaxed two days of fighting, and according to police reports, ten workers were injured, two by bullets. It is not only in fascist Spain that police shoot down strikers.

Italy, despite the game of Cabinet ins and outs being played out at the top, is very close to open dictatorship.

GLASGOW RATES UP

DOMESTIC rates in Glasgow were yesterday fixed at 29s 11d, an increase of 2s 8d, compared with a 3d decrease last year. Commercial rates were increased by 3s 4d to 32s 6d. Both domestic and commercial rates include water rates.

well be the last attempt to work the 'centre-left' formula which excludes both the fascists and their allies on the extreme right and the Stalinists on the left.

No solution

There is, in fact, no long-term reformist or 'centre-left' solution to the Italian crisis. Either the revolutionary alternative to the Stalinists and the reformists is built, or the whole of Italy will be turned into one huge Venice or Granada.



Colombo

Stalinism deportation kept secret

AN ENTIRE nation of 200,000 people was deported from the Caucasus to Central Asia in 1944, and details of its fate kept secret until this year, according to Robert Conquest, writing in yesterday's 'Times'.

Conquest, author of a book 'The Nation Killers', published in 1964, is an extreme anti-communist writer, but his factual material is usually very accurate.

He describes the history of the Meskhetians, a group living in E Caucasus. A

Moslem nation, these people spoke a Turkic language. In November 1944, without any charge against them, they were sent to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Placed under the brutal 'Special Settlement' control of the NKVD security police, 50,000 of them died. The whole affair was kept so secret that maps and reference books continued to show Meskhetia as a Turkic area. This was different from the other nationalities who suffered under Stalin's rule.

Transported

A million and a quarter Volga Germans, Karachai, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingushi, Balkars and Crimean Tartars were transported across the Soviet Union between 1941 and 1944.

This was supposed to be because of their pro-German sympathies. These actions were announced in decrees and in the dissolution of Soviet Republics.

But in the case of the Meskhetians, no charge was made and nothing was published. In 1956 the Meskhetians were released from security control, but all appeals for permission to return to their homes were refused by Khrushchev and his successors.

The first public statement on the question was the announcement of the 'rehabilitation' of the Meskhetians—though they had never been charged with any crime. Conquest tries to show that this monstrous treatment of the oppressed minorities of the Tsarist Empire was inherent in Soviet rule.

In fact, of course, the October Revolution meant the liberation of these people. Only with the degeneration of the USSR under Stalin was this policy reversed.

Westway rehousing

AN immediate start is to be made on re-housing families from homes near the Westway elevated motorway in W London, the Greater London Council said yesterday.

The council has already said it would buy the homes involved, in Acklam and Walmer roads.

This follows a storm over the encroachment of the road through a residential area and complaints of noise and vibration nuisance.

The council said it is pressing on speedily with acquisition of the houses in these roads, which it recently decided to compulsory purchase on amenity grounds.

Leyland

● FROM PAGE ONE aging director George Turnbull.

Turnbull called on the company's workers to buckle down to more production—and promptly went on holiday.

His sudden departure just as the factory resumed full production drew sarcastic comments from workers at the Longbridge, Birmingham factory, where 270 paint-shop workers and 120 tool setters are on strike.

The tool setters are demanding that the company fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of a setter. The paint shop strike is over a manning dispute.

The two strikes yesterday brought the 1800 assembly line to a standstill and caused lay-offs among engine assemblers.

WEATHER

BRIGHT and sunny with scattered thunderstorms in most areas. Mainly dry in Edinburgh and Glasgow areas. Winds north-easterly light or moderate. Temperatures ranging from 23C (73F) in the SW, 25C (77F) in Scotland and the north, to 27C (81F) in the Midlands, London and SE England. Outlook for Friday and Saturday: Little change.

STILL AVAILABLE

Working-class unity needed to defeat the Tory government

By Barry Cavanagh
Liberty doctored

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● FROM PAGE ONE

nearly a week trying to keep him there.

While the Israelis prepare their bargaining position for the negotiations, the Arab leaders try to cover up the retreat of Nasser in agreeing to the US plan.

TRIPOLI TALKS

Representatives of Jordan, Egypt, Libya and the Sudan, which have accepted the Rogers plan, and of Syria which has—in words—rejected it, assembled in Tripoli yesterday.

Their talks, due to start on Monday, had been held up while the Libyan leader, Colonel Gaddafi, went to Baghdad to try to persuade the Iraqis to attend.

His mission, however, was unsuccessful. Neither the Iraqis nor the Algerians will be represented at the Tripoli 'summit'.

Both have denounced the Rogers plan as a betrayal of the Palestinians and condemned Nasser's acceptance. But the semi-official Cairo paper 'Al Ahran' has stated that at the previous Tripoli meeting in June Nasser made it clear to his colleagues that Egypt would keep a free hand in her international affairs.

In other words, all the Arab leaders, as well as the guerrilla chief Arafat, could have predicted Nasser's reaction to the 'peace' moves which began three months back.

The Syrian government, backed by the Stalinists, has already retreated from its verbal rejection of the US plan by attending the Tripoli meeting.

The Iraqi opposition may not be much longer-lived. An article in the Baghdad paper 'Ath Thawrah' correctly assesses the Rogers plan as follows:

PLOT

'It reveals an imperialist-Israeli plot to isolate the UAR (Egypt) from the question of Arab destiny... to demilitarize Sinai, to set up permanent security measures in Sharm ash-Sheikh and the Gulf of Aqabah, and to achieve a permanent and final peace between the UAR and Israel in return for withdrawal from only Sinai and for the continuation of the Arab tragedy and the Arab East as it is now.'

But at this moment, an Iraqi delegation is in Moscow, discussing an increase in supplies of arms to Iraq.

There are already signs that Baghdad's anti-Nasser campaign is being toned down under Stalinist pressure.

The Arab Stalinists are also busy in defence of Nasser's participation in the US plan. Three organizations in Amman under Stalinist control—the Jordan Popular Front, the Gaza Strip United Front and the Partisans' Organization—have issued a joint statement calling on Palestinians to dissociate themselves from the 'senseless campaign against President Nasser' and approving the Rogers proposals.

Meanwhile, the Al-Fatah leader Yasser Arafat has still not commented on Nasser's acceptance of the negotiations or their backing by the Soviet leaders. Al-Fatah has sent delegates to the Tripoli talks and will be unable to hide its position much longer.

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LATE NEWS

WORK-VOUCHER PLEA TO TORIES

The Committee on United Kingdom Citizenship is pressing the Home Secretary to issue unused Commonwealth work-vouchers to East African Asians who want to come to Britain.

Committee secretary, Praful Patel, said in London today that there are 9,000 families in the queue for entry to Britain—a total of 25,000 individuals—but of the 8,500 Commonwealth vouchers available annually only 4,000 were issued in 1969.

'Since 1962 each voucher has covered an average family of three,' he said.

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