

1970: Thirty years  
since Trotsky's  
assassination

**SOCIALIST  
LABOUR  
LEAGUE**

**Memorial  
Meeting**

ACTON  
TOWN HALL  
High St, Acton

**August 23  
Sunday**

Starts 3 p.m.  
Admission 2s

Speakers:  
G. HEALY (SLL national  
secretary), C. SLAUGHTER  
(SLL Central Com-  
mittee), A. JENNINGS  
(Editor, Keep Left)

Chairman:  
M. BANDA (Editor,  
Workers Press)

ALSO: The first public showing of the latest  
Young Socialists' film—'Youth in Action in  
the Year of Lenin and Trotsky'.

**What  
we  
think**

## Leon Trotsky (1879-1940)

THIRTY YEARS ago on the  
evening of August 20,  
1940, Stalin's agent, Ramon  
Mercader (alias Jackson),  
struck Leon Trotsky with an  
ice-axe.

The next evening as he lay  
dying Trotsky dictated his  
famous and moving valedic-  
tory to his friends and  
comrades: 'please say to our  
friends... I am sure... of  
the victory... of Fourth  
International.'

This last message was more  
than a verbal encouragement  
to the movement he repre-  
sented and founded.

It summed up the whole  
essence of his life and  
labour, his great strategic  
aim for the complete  
material and spiritual libera-  
tion of all the oppressed  
and exploited on this  
planet.

Trotsky's optimism about the  
victory of his movement  
against Stalinist reaction  
and fascist barbarism,  
which at the time seemed  
enormously powerful, was  
not a passing mood but the  
product of a profound  
Marxist analysis of the  
nature of the epoch and  
the revolutionary role of  
the working class.

Despite the catastrophic de-  
feats of the working class,  
the monstrous ideological  
reaction expressed by Stalin-  
ism and the scepticism of  
the revisionists within the  
Fourth International Tro-  
tsky never lost confidence  
in the prospects for the  
International.

He was absolutely convinced,  
both by the practical  
example of the Russian  
Revolution and the theo-  
retical and philosophical  
struggles which preceded,  
accompanied and followed  
it, that a new revolutionary  
leadership could, and would,  
be created out of the chaos  
and carnage of the Second  
World War.

Trotsky's optimism, after the  
passage of three decades  
and the virtual decimation  
of the original cadres of  
Trotskyism within and with-  
out the USSR, is today  
powerfully justified by the  
Phoenix-like resurgence of  
Trotskyism in the most ad-  
vanced imperialist nations:  
Britain, France and the  
United States of America.

There is nothing fortuitous in  
this development.

Tempered in the furnace of  
Stalinist slander and imper-  
ialist repression the  
Fourth International, despite  
the loss of individual  
leaders, grew and strength-  
ened itself.

This is the paradox which

Leon Trotsky's  
last words:  
'I am confident of  
the victory of the  
Fourth International  
Go forward!'

This means:  
Forward with the  
first Trotskyist  
daily newspaper—  
**WORKERS PRESS**

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haunts the Stalinist and  
Social-Democratic bureau-  
cracy and from which in the  
end there will be no escape.  
The Trotskyist movement, it  
must be stated, might have  
remained small but it never  
died.

It never went under, and  
never conceded its banner  
to an alien hand, or its pro-  
gramme to a hostile group.  
It survived and developed into  
the force it is today only  
because its leaders studied,  
assimilated, concretized and  
enriched the dialectical  
method and the materialist  
outlook of all the great  
Marxists of the capitalist  
era.

That is the secret of our sur-  
vival and success.

The Socialist Labour League  
is extremely proud of its  
struggle to fulfill the testa-  
ment of Trotsky which was  
the creation of viable revolu-  
tionary parties equipped  
with a daily press.

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## Announcement

IN APRIL of this year,  
Comrade G. Healy, national  
secretary of the Socialist  
Labour League, made ap-  
proaches to Pierre Frank,  
a member of the 'United  
Secretariat of the Fourth  
International' in Paris, and  
suggested that a way should  
be found to begin discus-  
sions between the Inter-  
national Committee of the  
Fourth International and  
the United Secretariat, in  
which the possibility of uni-  
fication could be raised.

We are pleased to note  
that on July 5, the United  
Secretariat announced that  
it was prepared to accept  
this proposal for discussion.

At the same time, the  
representatives of the United  
Secretariat in Britain (the  
'International Marxist  
Group') and other sup-  
porters of the Pabloites,  
have, since July 5, pub-  
lished political attacks on  
the SLL.

The latest of these is the  
pamphlet entitled 'The  
Credibility Gap—the poli-  
tics of the SLL' by Tony  
Whelan.

We assume from that  
the United Secretariat and  
its British members wish  
the polemic to be fought  
publicly while the internal  
discussion proceeds, and  
we are therefore preparing  
a political reply to Whelan's  
pamphlet to appear in the  
Workers Press in the very  
near future.

## Dangers ahead for air and dock workers

# TU leaders woo Tories

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

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

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

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

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

This is not a reflection on those dockers who wanted to fight the deal, but on the wretchedly inadequate and politically-bankrupt leadership which stands over them.

### 'Good progress'

The same process of retreat in the face of the Tories' plans is already being prepared in another extremely important industrial sector.

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

The Tories have no such inhibitions. Now that the nationalized corporations are making money — BOAC yesterday announced a record £31 million operating profit — the Tories are determined that it will go to line City pockets.

### Magnates

The merged company is expected to employ about 4,500 workers and operate a fleet of aircraft worth £72 million.

In order to make the operation worth the while of the financial magnates behind BUA and Caledonian, the nationalized corporations, BOAC and BEA, are to be stripped of their profitable routes to the tune of £6 million revenue a year. And that is only a start.

It is only too likely that, as the Trade Union Congress pointed out in a press statement earlier this week, the government will continue to slice the juiciest cuts off BOAC and BEA should the 'second force' run into difficulties.

BOAC finance director Derek Glover was absolutely right when he described the second-force proposal as 'a form of denationalization'. The £6 million revenue is merely the sharp point of the Tory wedge.

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

### Union-bashing

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

Once the profitable routes have been hived off the nationalized corporations, the

BY A WORKERS PRESS  
CORRESPONDENT

drive will be on in earnest to force up productivity and cut the labour force.

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

Why, then, are the trade union leaders backing down from a fight against the 'second-force' airline? They have contented themselves with purely platonic protests to the Board of Trade, which the Tories contemptuously ignore.

TUC general secretary Victor Feather complacently avers that:

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

### 'Change minds'

Transport Union leader Jack Jones, many of whose members will be directly hit by the Tory air plans, recently told the union's tripartite conference that he believed that 'provided trade unionists strengthen their ranks, we can change the politicians' minds'.

The Tory government, he said, should be recognized as a fact of life, and we are prepared to negotiate with them even though we shall not change our political viewpoint.

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

Significantly enough, the advent of the Tories was the signal for the complete dropping of the demand for nationalization of the docks—

● PAGE FOUR COL. 9 →

## £1,000 August Appeal Fund stands at £447 0s 3d

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

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

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

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

## All Trades Unions Alliance Conference MINERS

Sunday, September 6  
Danum Hotel  
High St  
DONCASTER

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

## Burmah march

200 MERSEYSIDE shop stewards and trade unionists met on Thursday night and decided to support the demonstration called for Monday against the arrest of 45 pickets on the Burmah Oil site.

All major building and construction sites on Merseyside will be stopping work for the day in protest and to participate in Monday's demonstration, called by the Trades Council.

## Nixon makes £41m. 'aid' offer to Nasser

King Hussein of Jordan and President Nasser of Egypt conclude their three-day session of talks in Alexandria today. They were drawing up final plans for the projected negotiations with Israel along the lines of the Rogers plan accepted last month.

Our foreign editor writes:  
A £41 MILLION 'aid' offer to Egypt is the latest play of the Nixon Administration in its campaign to win Nasser for collaboration with the Zionists.

Nixon's offer has already been received favourably by Nasser.

The resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries—severed after the June war of 1967—is also expected soon.

Egypt owes the US \$52 million, and a large amount of the Nixon 'aid' may well be used to pay off Nasser's debts!

Not able  
Nixon has also promised Nasser he will help to



Nasser

'compensate' Arab refugees, who, as a result of the Nasser-Rogers deal, will not be able to return to their Palestine homeland; from which they were expelled by the Zionist wars of 1948 and 1967.

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



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

This was the demand of 30 London Transport tube maintenance engineers picketing yesterday's pay talks between a joint union committee and the Transport Board.

The lobby including London depot maintenance engineers picketing yesterday's pay talks between a joint union committee and the Transport Board.

London Transport made a recent offer of 25s — 15s of which would be made up by savings. As one picket described it: '6d on the rate and your mate out the gate'.

Already, workers leaving the industry are not being replaced by the LTB.

## SOVIET UNION

# Oppositionist jailed as 'insane'

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

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

Olga Yoffe, a 20-year-old student of economics, was arrested in December of last year for having in her possession leaflets warning against the return of Stalinism.

She was held in Moscow's Lefortovo prison, which is becoming the usual destination for the victims of the bureaucracy, and brought to trial before the Moscow tribunal on Thursday.

She was not present when judgement was given.

The judges declared her 'schizophrenic' and ordered her to be held indefinitely in a 'psychiatric hospital'.

## Cynical

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

At the same time it is a mark of the political crisis of the bureaucracy, and the growing opposition to their rule, that they recoil from bringing her and her comrades to open trial.

The action against Olga Yoffe follows the incarceration of General Piotr Grigorenko

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## FERODO

# Craftsmen strike for £10 no 'strings'

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

MOTOR-INDUSTRY struggles are hotting up on every front.

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

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

Engineering union officials met yesterday to consider the latest formula for ending the 18-day-old strike, and considerable pressure is now likely for a return to work.

Ferodo is the main producer of brake linings in both Europe and S Africa.

Management's answer to the workers' demand for £10-a-week 'no strings' increase has been refusal to cede more than £2, unless the following strings are agreed:

- Ending 100 minutes-a-week of brake linings in both Europe and S Africa.
- No more craftsmen's mates.

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

Instant dismissal for anyone breaking the agreement would also be a condition.

## BLESSING

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

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

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

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

Prague workers, youth and housewives gave widespread support to the boycott called for the second anniversary of the Soviet invasion on August 20-21, 1968.

Many shops were empty and virtually no one was reading newspapers.

Leaflets calling for the protest action had asked that all Czechs boycott the Stalinist press on August 21 and stay indoors after 7 p.m.

One Prague woman described the silence of the capital as 'the calm before a storm'.

Smallest sign  
Police patrols were on the look-out for the smallest sign of organized demonstrations against the Husak regime.

The success of the boycott is certain to provoke new crises within the bureaucracy. Its isolation from the mass of the Czech people, and especially the working class, has rarely been so blatantly demonstrated.

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

Additional bonus and flexibility money make up the wage of £24 12s for 40 hours.

If it took four days for the employers to come up with an offer of 1s-an-hour increase in the basic coupled with a deduction of 6d from the bonus. They made it clear that this was the final offer unless productivity strings were attached.

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

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

However on August 4, a management document out-medienned the security chief.

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## Trotsky Memorial Lectures

Monday, 14 September

'Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism'

Monday, 21 September

'Trotsky's fight against revisionism'

BEAVER HALL

GARLICK HILL

Near Mansion House tube

Starts 8 p.m.

Admission 2s

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



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The next evening as he lay dying, Trotsky dictated his famous and moving valedictory to his friends and comrades: 'please say to our friends... I am sure... of the victory... of Fourth International.'

This last message was more than a verbal encouragement to the movement he represented and founded.

It summed up the whole essence of his life and labour, his great strategic aim for the complete material and spiritual liberation of all the oppressed and exploited on this planet.

Trotsky's optimism about the victory of his movement against Stalinist reaction and fascist barbarism, which at the time seemed enormously powerful, was not a passing mood but the product of a profound Marxist analysis of the nature of the epoch and the revolutionary role of the working class.

Despite the catastrophic defeats of the working class, the monstrous ideological reaction expressed by Stalinism and the scepticism of the revisionists within the Fourth International, Trotsky never lost confidence in the prospects for the International.

He was absolutely convinced, both by the practical example of the Russian Revolution and the theoretical and philosophical struggles which preceded, accompanied and followed that a new revolutionary leadership could, and would, be created out of the chaos and carnage of the Second World War.

haunts the Stalinist and Social-Democratic bureaucracy and from which in the end there will be no escape. The Trotskyist movement, it must be stated, might have remained small but it never died.

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That is the secret of our survival and success. The Socialist Labour League is extremely proud of its struggle to fulfill the testament of Trotsky which was the creation of viable revolutionary parties equipped with a daily press.

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In order to make the operation worth the while of the financial magnates behind BUA and Caledonian, the nationalized corporations, BOAC and BEA, are to be stripped of their profitable routes to the tune of £6 million revenue a year. And that is only a start.

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BY A WORKERS PRESS  
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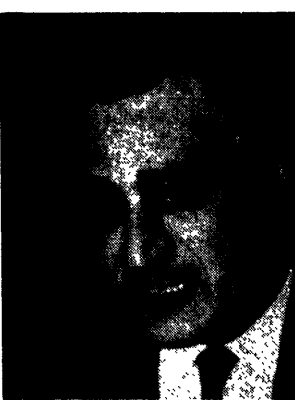
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Ferodo is the main producer of brake linings in both Europe and S Africa.

Management's answer to the workers' demand for £10-a-week 'no strings' increase has been refusal to cede more than £2, unless the following strings are agreed:

● Ending 100 minutes-a-week of tea breaks for an extra 18s.

● No more craftsmen's mates.

● Payments for 'conscientious workmanship and diligence', with steward-management disciplinary collaboration.

Instant dismissal for anyone breaking any of these would also be a condition.

### BLESSING

The company, which is controlled by international asbestos giant Turner Newkitt has for some time been forging ahead with a modernization programme at both Chapel-en-le-Frith and Caernarvon.

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

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

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

### STRAIGHT RISE

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

Additional bonus and flexibility money make up the wage of £24 12s for 40 hours.

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

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

### 198-2 VOTE

In the event, the management was given a further seven days to make an acceptable offer.

However, on August 4, a management document outlined the security chief.

● PAGE FOUR COL. 7 →

## Trotsky Memorial Lectures Monday, 14 September

'Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism'

Monday, 21 September

'Trotsky's fight against revisionism'

BEAVER HALL  
GARLICK HILL  
Near Mansion House tube

Starts 8 p.m. Admission 2s

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





# An introduction to Marxist philosophy

by Cliff Slaughter

## (iii) Class and Revolution

The 'sociology of revolution', the relationship between party and class, the theory of the state and revolution, the nature of the transition to socialism—all of these are involved in understanding Marx's answer to the questions we outlined previously on the preconditions and nature of the 1848 events in France. This complexity is characteristic of Marx's approach to all such questions, and it is this which explains the importance in the history of Marxism of the disputes over 'revisionism' on all questions, philosophical, historical, economic, and political. We do not deal in these articles with the later developments of these questions by Marxists, in which Lenin and Trotsky, in their writings on the international developments during and after the First World War, particularly relating to the Russian Revolution, provided brilliant examples of the method elaborated by Marx. (cf. especially Trotsky, 'History of the Russian Revolution', 3 vols., and Lenin, 'Collected Works'.)

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

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

## Classic work

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

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

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

The key to this process is in its first stage, the manifestation of the principal contradiction contained in the February victory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On May 15, a workers' demonstration invaded the Assembly, attempting to call it to order, to the February order, but the only real result of this action was the arrest of Barbés, Blanqui and the other leaders.

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

rule of capital, the slavery of labour.'

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

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

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

## (iv) Classes and their political ideologists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Conscious

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

Knowledge always represents only an approximation to reality, and in this case only through the specifically political relationships which the parties take to be their life-substance; this in addition to the fact that ideological, non-scientific thinking always takes as its material the historically given and does not penetrate to the preconditions and processes which produced that 'given' and prepare its dissolution.

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

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

What was this republican section of the bourgeoisie?

## PART FOURTEEN

# CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE: POLITICS AND REVOLUTION

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

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

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

## Individuals

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

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

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

Experience at the same time gave the proletariat a sense of its own 'free historical self-movement', and

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

(<sup>13</sup>Ibid. p. 326.)

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

(<sup>15</sup>Ibid.)

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



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

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

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

## Powerlessness

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(<sup>16</sup>Marx, 'The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', 'Selected Works', Vol. II, p. 344.)

(<sup>17</sup>Ibid. p. 347.)

(<sup>18</sup>Ibid. pp. 327-328.)

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SATURDAY TV

BBC 1

12.40 Weather. 12.45 Grandstand. 12.55 Football preview. 1.10 Ladies show jumping. 1.35, 2.05, 2.35, 3.05 Racing from Haydock Park. 1.45 Old Boston Apprentices Handicap Stakes, 2.15 Wood Pit Selling Stakes, 2.45 Matthew Peacock Handicap Stakes, 3.15 Wigan Sprint Handicap Stakes. 1.50, 2.20, 2.50, 4.30 Motor Racing. 3.20 Rugby League: Bradford v St Helens. 4.50 Results service. 5.15 Best of Basil Brush. 5.40 Debbie Reynolds Show. 6.05 NEWS and weather. 6.15 ICE SHOW. 6.55 HIGH ADVENTURE. 'Tomahawk'. With Van Heflin, Yvonne DeCarlo. An Indian scout tries to avert a head-on collision between the US cavalry and the Sioux. 8.15 IT'S A LULU. Guest star Bruce Forsyth. 9.00 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. 'A bullet for Mark'. 9.50 NEWS and weather. 10.05 MATCH OF THE DAY. 11.30 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except: Midlands and East Anglia, South and West: 11.32 News and weather. North of England: 11.32 Cricket. 10.05-11.05 Match of the Day. 11.32 Weather. Northern Ireland: 5.05-5.15 Sports results and News. 10.45-11.10 Patter-son people in Ardglash. 11.10-11.30 Sports final. Weather. Wales: 11.00-11.20 Cadi Ha. 11.25-12.40 Cricket. 10.05-11.05 Match of the Day. 11.32 Weather.

BBC 2

3.00-4.30 CINEMA: 'The Lemon drop kid'. With Bob Hope. A third-rate tipster has to find 10,000 dollars before Christmas or face the wrath of a New York gang leader. 7.30 NEWS, sport and weather. 7.45 GREAT ZOO OF THE WORLD: Antwerp, Belgium. 8.15 THE PHILPOTT FILE: The Guerrilla fighters of the M4. 9.05 SUMMER REVIEW: 'How to stage fights' and 'The original Peter'. 9.55 GARDENERS WORLD. 10.05 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE: 'These men are dangerous'. Part 1: Mussolini. A trilogy dealing with an incident in the lives of three young men—Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin. 10.35 VAL DOONIGAN show. 11.20 News and weather. 11.25 MIDNIGHT MOVIE: 'Body and soul'. With John Garfield, Lilli Palmer. A boxer trapped by an unscrupulous promoter tries to weigh the importance of fame and fortune against his principles of fair play.

ITV

11.30 a.m. RAC road report. 11.35 Stay alive. 12.00 Wind in the Willows. 12.15 Captain Scarlet. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of Sport. 12.55 On the ball. 1.20 They're off! 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Lingfield racing. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Newmarket racing. 3.05 Boxing from Los Angeles. 4.00 Wrestling from Ossett. 4.55 Results service. 5.15 Stew-pot. 5.45 News. 5.50 Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. 6.15 BEVERLY HILLBILLIES. 6.45 OURS IS A NICE HOUSE. 7.15 MAGGIE'S PLACE. With guest stars Shari Lewis, Billy Dainty, Ian Paterson, Louisa Jane White and The Settlers. 8.00 'SERGEANT ROUTLEDGE'. With Jeffrey Hunter, Constance Towers. A negro cavalryman with a brilliant and heroic military record faces court martial for murder and rape. 10.00 NEWS. 10.10 THE GOLD ROBBERS. 'Account rendered'. 11.10 GARRISON'S GORILLAS. 12.05 IT HAPPENED TO ME.

REGIONAL ITV

CRAMPIAN: 12.00 Wind in the Willows. 12.15 Skippy. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of Sport. 1.20 London. 5.50 Laredo. 6.45 Movie: 'Mr Roberts'. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 News and weather. 10.10 Movie: 'The Stripper'. YORKSHIRE: 1.30 Better driving. 1.55 Underwater swimming. 12.20 Wood-birds. 12.45 London. 5.15 Big valley. 6.10 News. 6.15 Sky's the limit. 6.45 Film: 'The war lover'. With Steve McQueen, Shirley Anne Field, Robert Wagner. An action-packed war-time love story. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 News and weather. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 The party's moving on. SOUTHERN: 12.22 Weather. 12.25 Mr Piper. 12.50 News. 12.55 London. 5.15 Joe. 5.45 News. 5.50 Cowboy in Africa. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: 'The Houseboat'. 8.45 London. 8.00 Film: 'Houseboat'. With Cary Grant, Sophia Loren. When Tom Winston's wife dies, his three

SUNDAY TV

BBC 1

9.00-9.25 Nai Zindagi-Naya Jeevan. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and Believing. 1.25-1.50 Farming. 2.05 Heritage. 2.29 News headlines. 2.30 International show jumping. 3.00 Film for the family: 'The son of Monte Carlo'. With Louis Hayward, Joan Bennett, George Sanders. 4.35 Undersea world of Jacques Cousteau. 5.25 Show jumping. 6.05 NEWS and weather. 6.15 LEADERS OF MEN: Moses. 6.45 EDINBURGH INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL: Inaugural service. 7.25 FROM CHARLIE CHAPLIN TO LUCILLE BALL. Highlights from comedy films. 8.40 IN TIME OF WAR: 'Albert RN'. With Anthony Steel, Jack Warner, Robert Beatty. Escape from a POW camp. 10.05 NEWS and weather. 10.15 OMNIBUS AT THE PROMS, Bach and the Soft Machine. 11.15 MY WORLD AND WELCOME TO IT. 11.40 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except: Midlands and East Anglia, North, South and West: 11.42 Weather. Wales: 3.00-3.30 John Player League. Glamorgan v Northamptonshire. 3.30-3.50, 4.10-4.35 Doctors. 5.40-6.05 Show jumping. 11.42 Weather. Scotland: 11.42 News and weather. Northern Ireland: 11.15-11.40 Gaelic football. The all-Ireland semi-final. Derry v Kerry. 11.42 News and weather.

BBC 2

1.00-3.30 CRICKET. The John Player League. Warwickshire v Hampshire. 7.00 NEWS and weather. 7.25 THE WORLD ABOUT US: The Grizzly bear. 8.10 CAROL BURNETT SHOW. With guest stars Michele Lee, Flip Wilson. 8.50 MUSIC ON 2: Beethoven at work. 9.50 WHERE WAS SPRING? 10.15 SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION: Part 3: 'The Philanderer'. 11.00 NEWS, cricket scorecard, weather. 11.10 FILM NIGHT.

ITV

11.00 Church service. 12.00-12.05 Appeal. 12.10 Casting around. 12.40 Families talking. 1.05 Decimalization. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 University challenge. 2.45 The Big Match. 3.45 Never a cross word. 4.15 Joe. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.30 Forest rangers. 6.00 CARTOON. 6.15 SHOWFORTH. 6.35 INCLUDE ME OUT. 7.00 STARS ON SUNDAY. 7.25 PLEASE SIRI. 7.55 HAWAII FIVE-O. 8.50 WORLD OF MAYNARD FERGUSON. 9.50 POLICE FIVE. 10.00 NEWS. 10.15 'HODDINOTT VEILING'. Amanda meets her fiancée's family for the first time—and steps straight into the middle of a long-standing feud.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 11.00-12.05 London. 2.13 Westward. 2.15 Star soccer. 3.15 Golf. 3.20 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 4.10 London. 5.30 Skippy. 6.00 London. 7.55 Film: 'Nine hours to Rama'. With Horst Buchholz, Jose Ferrer. 10.00 London. 10.15 World of Maynard Ferguson. 11.15 Avengers. 12.00 Enigmas. Weather. WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.10 Muck problem. 1.45-2.15 All our yesterdays. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather. BORDER: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.45 Border diary. 1.50 Farm. 2.15 Football. 3.20 Saint. 4.15 Hogan's heroes. 4.40 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's War. 6.00 London. 7.55 Love, American style. 8.50 London. 9.35 Cartoon. 10.15 London. 11.15 Wayne and Shuster take an affectionate look at... Jack Benny. 12.05 Epilogue. TYNE TEES: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.50 Farming out-look. 2.20 Shoot. 3.20 Matinee: 'Reluctant Heroes'. With Ronald Shiner, Derek Farr. When Michael Tone arrives at Salerno Barracks for his National Defence call-up, he finds his girlfriend already installed as an officer in the WRAC. 4.45 London. 7.25 Film: 'Billy the Kid'. With Robert Taylor, Brian Donlevy. Billy meets Dan Hickey, boss of the country-side, who is organizing its cattle ranches into a 'combine' and who hires Billy as one of his 'persuaders'. 9.05 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased). 10.00 News. 10.15 Maynard Ferguson. 11.15 Wayne and Shuster take an affectionate look at... The Monst-ers. 12.10 Step into Joy. GRAMPIAN: 1.40 News. 1.45 London. 2.15 Maynard Ferguson. 3.40 Telephone game. 4.10 London.

EAST & WEST European REVIEW



RAKOSI

HUNGARIAN Stalinists, more than most, are feeling the pressure of the working class. It transpires from a book recently published by Erwin Weit, until recently personal interpreter to Polish leader Gomulka, that at the Warsaw Pact meeting which preceded the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 Kadar was eager to avoid 'drastic measures'—an attitude which brought from Ulbricht the rebuke that he was not being 'helpful to socialism'.

And last week also came the news that Rakosi, Stalin's dictator in Hungary before 1956, is not, after all, to be allowed to return from his exile in Alma Ata (Soviet Kazakhstan)—at least until the autumn. Julia Raik, widow of Laszlo Raik—executed for 'Trotskyism' and 'Titoism' in 1949—and an author, Ferenó Santa, brought charges of judicial murder against Rakosi.

LAST OF THE OLD SECTARIANS

THE DEATH was recently reported in Italy of Amedeo Bordiga, one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party and for a brief period a supporter of the Trotskyist International Left Opposition. He was also the last of the old sectarian school condemned by Lenin in his 'Left-Wing Communism' written in 1920, along with Gallagher of the British CP and the ultra-lefts in Germany and Holland. Reacting in an impressionistic way to the parliamentary opportunism of his party's leadership during and after the First World War, Bordiga adopted the ultra-left line of rejecting parliamentary work altogether. Founding the journal 'Il Soviet', he rallied to Lenin and Trotsky's call for a new, Communist International and— together with the 'Ordine Nuovo' group of Gramsci— began to build a Communist nucleus inside the old Italian Socialist Party.

FACTIONS

Though formally adhering to the Third International, the Italian Socialist Party was torn by the growing social crisis in Italy into three main factions: Communists, under the leadership of Bordiga and Gramsci, centrists—with Serrati as their main spokesman—and the reformist right wing led by Turati and Lazzari. The great test of the centrist leadership, which controlled both the trade unions and the majority of the party machine, came in the factory occupations of September 1920: when, for two weeks, the workers of North Italy not only seized but operated the great engineering plants of Milan and Turin. Faced with the stark choice

'ITALIAN ROAD' FOR BRITISH CP?

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

A recent issue of the 'Morning Star' (August 17) carried an article by Tamara Phillips entitled 'Italians and the Common Market'. It summarized an interview with Silvio Lionardi, an Italian Communist Party parliamentary deputy and one of the chief spokesmen on Common Market matters—also a Party representative in the European Parliament. It is from this vantage point that he delivers various 'criticisms' that Italy, with low employment levels and income head, still 'exports' both labour and capital funds, that the Common Market is 'dominated by private monopolies and is run by autocratic institutions' which depend on the 'Council of Ministers, whose decisions are not subject to any democratic control and are not discussed by Parliaments of any countries belonging to the Community'.

There is, he points out, a 'continuous flow of material resources from... the Common Market into America', which in turn causes Europe's 'dependence on America' and makes its own economic development more difficult. Lionardi's views, which appear in the 'Morning Star' without comment, are fully in line with the Italian Stalinist tradition of collaborating in the 'accomplished facts' of European capitalist integration—in many cases before the facts had been accomplished.

CONFERENCE

At the October 1957 conference of the WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions), held in Leipzig six months after the Treaty of Rome was signed, and three months before the Common Market formally came into being, the Italian Stalinists took an apparently independent line on the matter.

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

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

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ALLIANCE

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

Already, in March 1957, the Party said (speaking of the Treaty of Rome): 'The tendency... to new forms of international collaboration in the economic field is therefore understandable and also correct. The workers and the labouring classes cannot be hostile in principle to this tendency...'

Even in 1962, when the Soviet Union (fearing British entry) put big pressure on the W European Communist Parties to oppose the Market, the Italians stood their ground. And now Lionardi's positions take up thread. 'We believe that a really independent European Community would be in a position to approach the countries of the Third World, as well as the Socialist countries, on the basis of a real policy of peace and mutual interests and not of power blocs...'

EXPELLED

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

His short association with the Trotskyist movement, dates from this period, during which he attempted a critique of the Stalinist course being followed by Togliatti from his Moscow exile. But Bordiga never learned from Lenin's criticism of sectarianism and the mistakes of the early 1920s.

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

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

ing class, and not, as Trotsky insisted, a parasitic layer or caste, similar in many ways to the privileged labour bureaucracies within the reformist parties of the capitalist world. In the case of Bordiga (and later Schachtman and Burnham in the American Socialist Workers' Party) the theory involved the recognition of a totally new exploiting society—'bureaucratic collectivism'. In the case of the 'International Socialism' group in Britain, it simply 'solved' the theoretical problems presented by the complexities of Soviet development by labelling the USSR 'state capitalist'.

TREATMENT

It is no accident that the line of the Italian Communist Party now receives such preferential treatment in the pages of the 'Morning Star'. Already highly vocal before June 18, an ultra-right wing tendency within the Communist Party has seized on the Stalinist election fiasco to advocate even closer collaboration with the Labour, and especially 'Tri-bune'-ite, 'lefts'.

The 'theoretician' of this openly Fabian grouping, Monty Johnstone, has long been a partisan of the 'Italian Road' in the British Party, and has since 1968 become its main spokesman for Dubcek's so-called 'socialism with a human face'.

And with the concluding of the West German-Soviet 'non-aggression pact' in Moscow last week, there are indications that the old Kremlin line on the Common Market will be revised, for, after 1974, all member countries will have to cease individual dealings with Soviet bloc states, and have their trade relations handled by the EEC.

Which leaves us all wondering why the British Party is still opposed to entry. Perhaps the clue is to be found in the authorship of the 'Morning Star' interview? Tamara Phillips is the wife of Wogan Phillips, otherwise Lord Milford and (when he dons his ermine) the sole current CP representative in Parliament.

Since the House of Lords is likely to be one of the casualties of British entry, it must be obvious to all clear-thinking and progressive persons that joining the Common Market—which would reduce the Communist Party's parliamentary representation by 100 per cent—is, though only by an accident of history, altogether inconsistent with the British Road to Socialism.



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

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struggle within the workers' movement and—despite his sectarianism—played a key part in the fight to build a section of the Communist International in Italy.

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

He remained faithful to his 'anti-parliamentarism' to the very end. Such stubbornness is worthy of a better cause. Sectarianism is a disease that will always afflict the workers' movement until its source—the betrayals of the reformists—are overcome and a mass revolutionary leadership built in every capitalist country.



# Moscow conference hails pact with W. Germany

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

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

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

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

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

The bureaucracy have evidently formed a tame panel of 'medical experts' to certify their political enemies insane. Reports indicate that two other students, comrades of Olga Yoffe, will face similar charges before the Moscow tribunal in September.

They are Irina Kaplun, a 20-year-old language student and Vacheslav Bakhtine, a student of physics.

BY ROBERT BLACK

done this position, much to the delight of the Brandt Cabinet.

So the Moscow conference also had the task of ensuring Ulbricht's collaboration in all future dealings with West Germany and the entire NATO bloc.

Two years ago, over half a million Warsaw Pact troops were sent into Czechoslovakia on the pretext that the country was in danger of being incorporated into the imperialist world by West Germany.

In reality—and as the Moscow conference once again proves—the target of the Kremlin was not a Bonn invasion of Czechoslovakia, but the politically-roused Czech working class.

Shoring up

The temporary checking of the struggle against Stalinism in Czechoslovakia, and the shoring up of the isolated Husak regime by Warsaw Pact forces, has been a pre-condition for the deal with Brandt and preparations for a 'security conference'.

Documents published recently on the invasion prove the US Central Intelligence Agency had several months advance warning that an intervention was being planned in Moscow.

CIA men even knew the existence and whereabouts of the 'West German arms cache' planted by Kremlin agents before the invasion and triumphantly unearthed after it as proof that Bonn had been collaborating with Czech 'counter-revolutionaries' to restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia.

Yet President Johnson maintained a total ban on all such information.

Go ahead

The Kremlin was given the green light to go ahead and smash the emerging political revolution against the bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia.

Together with the Stalinist betrayal of the French general strike in May-June the same year, the Kremlin occupation of Czechoslovakia became a major stepping-stone for the Brandt-Kosygin deal.

Soviet collaboration with Nixon over the Middle East therefore has its counterpart in Europe.

In both cases, it represents a tremendous threat to the struggles of the working class and the colonial peoples.

Calcutta police kill three

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

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

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

CLASHES SPREAD

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

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

BIRMINGHAM: Tuesday, August 25, 8 p.m. The Wellington, Bristol St Bromovise St. 'Lessons of the dock strike'. COVENTRY: Thursday, August 27, 7.30 p.m. The City Arms, Smithford Way, Coventry. The Tory attack on the trade unions.

## Triplex Safety Glass Co. Ltd.

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YOUR REF. OUR REF.  
August, 1970

St. Helens, Lincs.

Dear Sir,

Further to your application for re-employment with this company, we regret that we are unable to do so at the moment. We will be over-keep your application on file for future reference.

Yours faithfully,  
For the Director of HR Dept. O. J.,  
B.W.H.

Asst. Personnel/Training Officer.

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

## Support grows for glass workers

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

Workers at the Christian Shans building site at Runcorn and at the Crossfield, Warrington, site of Matthew Hall have pledged their support in backing Pilkington glass, as have Silcock and Collins transport workers operating at Ford's Halewood plant.

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

Glassworkers' leaders have denounced this as 'a tissue of lies' and Pilkington's 'themselves' have written letters rejecting applications for re-employment from some members of the breakaway General and Glassworkers' Union.

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

This is no longer a question of 'confusion'. The dockworkers have shown that they are ready and willing to support the glassworkers' fight, but section of the stewards are refusing to give a lead.

Dockers should demand dock-gate meetings immediately to clarify the true position and recommence backing.

This would be the most powerful answer to the Pilkington management's manoeuvres to break the sacked men's just fight.

After hearing speakers from Pilkington's rank-and-file committee, a meeting of Liverpool Trades Council on Thursday night carried over-whelmingly a resolution calling for the reinstatement of all sacked workers and demanding that all trade unionists black Pilkington products.

BY MARTIN ZARROP

## Release the Cambridge students!

THE TORY offensive against political demonstrators continues to escalate.

The capitalist press could hardly suppress their glee at the Appeal Court's decision to uphold all but one of the stiff prison and Borstal sentences imposed on Cambridge students who demonstrated against the Greek junta in February.

The 'Financial Times' made it clear that more is involved than fitting a particular punishment to a particular crime.

Under the editorial heading 'Students: the point has been made' (1), it goes on to say: 'Are these particular sentences longer than they have to be to meet the demands of public opinion (sic) and the need to deter future outbreaks among students? They are longer than Miss Bernadette Devlin got, in the far more explosive situation in N Ireland, for throwing a petrol bomb.' (Our emphasis.)

What has changed is that the Tories are back in power and the big stick is being wielded with a vengeance.

Of course, the 'Financial Times' hurriedly assures its readers, 'none of this excuses them or alters the fact that it was right to send them to prison.'

The rest of the Tory Fleet St hounds were unashamedly in full cry. 'The answer to mob rule,' proclaimed the 'Mail', 'Politics — in this case against the Greek regime — are irrelevant. The courts will safeguard the right of citizens to assemble and express their views.'

But only sharp sentences from the courts will make it clear just how strongly the law and the public are opposed to the rule of the mob. The 'Telegraph's' message can be paraphrased as: 'deportation for trouble-makers. Obviously this paper believes the judges were a little too soft: 'More complex is the decision to set aside the recommendation for deportation made against the Brazilian student. It is hard to see why Britain should continue to offer hospitality to those who openly flout it.'

The fate of the S African and Brazilian students, had they been deported, is not difficult to predict. Lord Justice Sachs' comment that 'it is the degree of mob violence that matters and the extent to which the public

## Guinea fighters down aircraft

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

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

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

## Remands in Commons gas case

BY A CORRESPONDENT

BOTH MEN facing charges in connection with the CS gas incident in the House of Commons were remanded until next Friday at Bow St court in London yesterday.

Bail was continued for London publisher Bowes Egan. Shadow Minister of Power Michael Foot remained as one of Egan's sureties despite the controversy over this in connection with Parliamentary privilege.

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

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

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

GKN stay out

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

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

# Midlands busmen angry at pay deal

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

## Trotsky

FROM PAGE ONE

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

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

Let us dip our unshuffled banner in memory of the Old Man who gave our movement its programme, its strength—and inspiration to 'go forward' and overthrow imperialism and Stalinism.

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

France

## Centrists propose pact with CP

THE FRENCH Unified Socialist Party (PSU) has proposed an electoral and political agreement with the French Communist Party for the municipal elections, due to be held in March of next year.

The PSU's raison d'être is to be the 'left conscience' of Stalinism. It provides a convenient watering-hole for all manner of revisionists and protest politicians.

In a long and wordy statement the PSU Political Bureau calls for 'the establishment of popular municipalities, that is to say municipalities based on forms of permanent collective action, organized to help the workers in the plants and to support the struggle against the regime'.

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

The statement is in line with the policies decided at the recent PSU national council which have already been strongly criticized by the Stalinist Duclos.

BROKER

The statement as a whole contains no political analysis or even characterization of Stalinism and can contribute only to furthering the PSU's treacherous role as 'honest broker' between Stalinism and revisionism.

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

Meanwhile the police, with the approval of the Stalinist leaders, continue their persecution of left-wingers.

Seventeen Maoist students are being held incommunicado by the police in Paris while 'inquiries are concluded'.

Under French law the police can hold people, without visitors or lawyers, for up to six days on charges concerned with 'state security'.

## Tories sell off council houses

LONDON council tenants are up in arms over the Tories' plans to sell off their houses.

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

BY A CORRESPONDENT

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile, the Tories are mobilizing their forces to sort out the tenants.

They are hell-bent on slashing expenditure on housing and destroying the council-house system, built up to provide low-rent accommodation for working-class families.

## WEATHER

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

## USSR

FROM PAGE ONE

and the poetess Natalia Gorbanevskaya in 'psychiatric hospitals'.

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They are Irina Kaplun, a 20-year-old language student and Vacheslav Bakhtine, a student of physics.

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## LATE NEWS

TUBE MEN'S CLAIM

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

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