

What
we
think

The press and the Italian strike

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Bourgeois minister Donat was not exaggerating when he said a 'pre-revolutionary' situation was developing in Italy.

After months of fierce strike struggles which have drawn in almost every section of the class, the Italian workers came out on Wednesday in unity on a question that vitally affects every worker—the housing question.

The strike led to street clashes in which one policeman was killed and many others injured, giving an indication of the extreme tension building up in Italy, as the employers try to hit back at the working class.

The movement of the Italian workers frightens the entire capitalist class and all the bureaucratic leaderships.

Their fear is that the European working class will learn from the Italian workers' experiences and be inspired to build revolutionary parties as alternative leaderships to the Stalinist and Social-Democratic parties.

In Britain, press treatment of Wednesday's strike brought this home very clearly. The only paper which attempted to bring out the full implications of this strike and link them to the tasks facing the British working class was the Workers Press.

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Contrast this treatment with the extensive coverage given to student demonstrations during the May-June events in France in 1968.

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BY DAVID MAUDE

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The vast majority of London's 15,000 teachers—members of the National Union of Teachers, National Association of Schoolmasters and non-unionists—were on strike to back up this warning.

The Albert Hall rally, packed to overflowing, gave a standing ovation to NUT president Mr Ben Johnson, who said:

'We say now is the time for all the fine words uttered over the years to be translated into deeds. We are no longer going to be satisfied with having our noses rubbed into the dirt until the "economic millennium" occurs.

'The country can afford to pay teachers better—it cannot afford not to do it.

'If words fail to produce results national and sustained action must follow.'

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These would come, he said 'after Christmas, if at all'.

The big question for teachers is 'what now?'

Their march, which expressed all their problems of low pay, over-sized classes and staff shortages, knocked into a cocked hat all those who said it was impossible to get teachers to fight. They can and will.

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ITALY

Class tension mounts

BY ROBERT BLACK

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Eye-witness accounts confirm that fighting was provoked by the police, who drove their vehicles into a rally of strikers.

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The general strike, called in support of cheaper and more plentiful housing for workers and peasants, was Italy's fourth since the end of the war.

It was certainly the largest and most powerful, embracing not only the entire industrial working class, but decisive sections of the middle class and professional workers.

The strike also received big support from university students, who in many northern towns have been attacked by fascist gangs for backing the workers' fight for higher wages and better living conditions.

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By our Industrial reporter

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'The ballot shows most of the men never changed their minds about Phase Two, despite the campaign in "The Port" and elsewhere, a dockerman from the militant Royal group told the Workers Press.

'But the fight is not over yet—they've got to try and force it through somehow.' Unlike its members, the Transport and General Workers' Union is believed to be none too happy with the result of the ballot.

Rushed meeting

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At information meetings—addressed by lay and full-time officials of the T&GWU—up and down the docks last week dockers were asking three main questions:

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GREET WORKERS PRESS



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make something for our Bazaar?
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Johnson's statement makes clear that the NUT executive is by no means prepared to go all the way.

While they must respond to the enormous wave of frustration amongst teachers, they will not lead.

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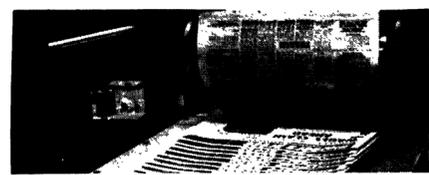
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THE WORKERS' PRESS

An introduction to a series of letters and articles by

PIOTR GRIGORENKO

MAJOR GENERAL
Piotr Grigorenko is one of the most outspoken and principled leaders of the anti-Stalinist opposition in the Soviet Union.

Now more than 60, Grigorenko joined the Bolshevik Party at the age of 20 and was from the beginning an opponent of the bureaucracy.

During the war, he witnessed the terrible blunders of the Soviet High Command as it blindly followed Stalin's suicidal military strategy.

After the war, he lectured at the top Soviet military school, the Frunze Academy, specializing in the application of cybernetics to military strategy and techniques.

But under Stalin, the development of cybernetics was banned, while the 'agronomist' Lysenko, now long-exposed as a crank, wrecked Soviet biology and agronomy for a full decade.

Soviet military strength was gravely undermined by Stalin's persecution of the nation's most gifted scientists, and it was only after his death in 1953 that cybernetics, essential to the development of space flight, became a legitimate subject in Soviet academies.

These bitter first-hand experiences of the bureaucracy at work were an essential part of Grigorenko's education in the counter-revolutionary role and nature of Stalinism, which, through its purging of the most gifted military and scientific personnel, proved itself incapable of organizing the defence of the Soviet Union.

Hounded

Stalin wanted only yes-men, careerists and political slaves.

Grigorenko saw that all those with least independence of thought and devotion to Leninist principles, were doomed to be hounded out of their posts as potential opponents of Stalinism, and eventually to be physically destroyed.

After Stalin's death Grikorenko shared with countless millions of other Soviet citizens the illusion that the bureaucracy would now reform itself.

Indeed under the first years of Khrushchev's rule there were indications that the worst and most oppressive features of Stalin's era were being eradicated.

But Grigorenko was one of the first to break through these reformist illusions.

While Isaac Deutscher and his revisionist co-thinkers within the Fourth International were speculating on the possibility of a gradual 'self-reform' of the Stalinist bureaucracy under Khrushchev, Grigorenko was engaged in a bitter struggle against it.

Remnants of the Crimean Tartars and other deported minorities are now scattered over the eastern regions of the Soviet Union.

Many will die without ever seeing their homeland again. Yet one of the main demands in the programme of the Bolshevik Party in the 1917 Revolution was self-determination for all the peoples of the old Russian empire.

In 1964, Grigorenko's oppositional activities were interrupted by a six-month term of detention in a 'mental institution', but he returned to

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Black

the battle with renewed determination.

When the persecution of Soviet intellectuals began in 1965, followed the next year by the trial of the writers Daniel and Sinyavsky, Grigorenko was in the thick of the fight to rally support for them.

At each 'trial' he was to be found outside the court house demanding admission for the relatives of the accused, fearlessly and publicly denouncing the Stalinist legal system as a travesty of Soviet justice.

In the last few years Grigorenko

defence of the Crimean Tartars and the other oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union, Grigorenko has proved himself a thoroughgoing internationalist.

More than that; by insisting that the Tartar leaders fight for a Soviet Crimean Tartar Republic, he takes a firm class position on the self-determination question, separating himself politically from liberal elements who seek the middle-class Utopia of a 'neutral' Crimea and Ukraine mid-way between the Soviet Union and imperialism.

Precisely because of his Leninist stand on self-determination, the Stalinist bureaucracy acted against Grigorenko.

It tolerates movements of religious dissent inasmuch as they do not become a vehicle for protest against national oppression; it fosters the anti-Marxist dialogue with the Vatican and undertakes all

Grigorenko's refusal to compromise with the bureaucracy is proof of that.

Today they gain new political strength and inspiration from the struggle of the international working class against both imperialism and Stalinism, and above all by the continued resistance of the Czech working class, students and intellectuals to the Kremlin's occupation of their country.

The struggle of Piotr Grigorenko is living proof that Stalinism has not been able to destroy the political heritage of Lenin, despite the purge of nearly all the Bolsheviks who led the October Revolution.

We salute him and all his comrades and demand that the international workers' movement raise its voice against the persecution of all those in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe struggling to return to the road of Lenin.



Major-General Piotr Grigorenko talking to newsmen outside the courthouse in Moscow where Pavel Litvinov, Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel and three other Soviet citizens went on trial on October 9, 1968, for demonstrating against the Soviet bureaucracy's invasion of Czechoslovakia. Afterwards Grigorenko began collecting signatures on a petition protesting the barring of the public from the trial.

enko became an outspoken champion of the rights of all the oppressed Soviet national minorities, particularly the Crimean Tartars, who were deported en masse during the war because Stalin feared that his brutal persecution of the national minorities would drive them into the arms of the Nazi invaders.

But when a group of deported Tartars celebrates the birthday of Lenin:

'Suddenly, the park becomes surrounded' by troops and police. . . Streams of some sort of poisonous liquid are aimed at the merry-makers from pressure hoses which have been brought by the police. . . People are also directly assaulted by police who twist their arms, beat them up and brutally shove them into police vans which drive them off somewhere.' (From the speech 'For Alexis Kosternin's 72nd Birthday').

That is how the Stalinist bureaucracy, and its servants all over the world, treats those who honour the memory of Lenin by fighting for his principles.

That is why Grigorenko, after his arrest on May 7 of this year, has again been interned in a Moscow 'mental institution'.

In the Soviet Union today, the Leninists are declared insane, while the chauvinists, the Jew-baiters, the informers and the police thugs are praised for their 'Soviet patriotism'.

Grigorenko does not fight alone.

His courage and confidence come from a nation-wide movement of whole layers of Soviet society, from the highest sections of the intelligentsia, through the students and the working class to the youth.

The older generation has not been completely broken and corrupted by Stalinism—

manner of secret diplomatic exchanges with imperialism.

But one thing it cannot tolerate is the emergence of an opposition struggling to return to the principles and programme of 1917.

The Kremlin agent Victor Louis can hob-nob with that life-long enemy of the Chinese and Soviet people, Chiang Kai-shek, and Svetlana Stalin is permitted to defect to United States imperialism (for which she now writes books equating Stalinism with Leninism).

The selection is presented in chronological order:

- In Saturday's Workers Press:
 1. Why I will not vote for Kosygin. June 3, 1966.
 2. Letter to 'Historical Questions of the CPSU', June, 1967.
 3. Zinaida Grigorenko's Declaration, January 23, 1968.
- In Tuesday's Workers Press:
 4. For Alexis Kosternin's 72nd Birthday, March 17, 1968.
 5. Letter to Comrade A. R. Rudenko, Procurator General of the USSR. December 4, 1968.
 6. Long Live the Heroic Czechoslovak People! Appeal to the Citizens of the Soviet Union. February 28, 1969.

In honour of Piotr Grigorenko we are reproducing in the Workers Press of Saturday and Tuesday a selection of his writings and speeches, together with a declaration signed by his wife to Leonid Brezhnev, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union.

The selection is presented in chronological order:

- In Saturday's Workers Press:
 1. Why I will not vote for Kosygin. June 3, 1966.
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GERASSI, a liberal American journalist, presents to the ruling class of the United States a book in which he shows the degradation and poverty in Latin America.

Held in the grip of United States big business, he asks that some real help be given to the poor workers and peasants, who in the future could take over American assets, valued at thousands of millions of dollars and throw the American capitalists out.

Like Robert Owen presenting his schemes to help the working class to Queen Victoria, he will receive very little sympathy or help from the bankers of the USA.

For well over 100 years, American capitalists have enjoyed a virtual monopoly in many of these countries, only allowing the British and French into the hemisphere on sufferance.

Under the Monroe Doctrine the United States permits no interference by other powers in Latin America.

She has used her marines to bolster up corrupt regimes who would have been driven out by their own people.

Vast tracts of South America have been divided up between United States companies.

They have used fabulous profits to buy off many of the local state officials and to export their profits back to the United States, paying very little taxes to local governments, with the result that even if the governments wish to help their people with welfare schemes, they could not.

In South America, a man can expect to live only two-thirds as long as a man in the United States or Canada; 44 and 66 years respectively.

For the poor life is much shorter. In north-west Brazil a labourer can expect to live to the ripe old age of 28 before he dies of old age and hard work.

This is no isolated instance. The number of deaths per 1,000 one-year-olds is 20 times as high in Latin America as the United States.

The average length of schooling for Latin Americans who attend any school at all, is 1.9 years, as compared with nine years in the USA.

DISEASES INCREASE

This leaves them with too few teachers, technicians or doctors to staff their hospitals. Disease is left unchecked, even uncounted.

The incidence of diseases such as typhoid in Brazil has risen seven times.

Leprosy is on the increase in Brazil and the Dominican Republic, and in Paraguay one in every 2,000 is infected with the disease.

Plague is rising in the black lands of Peru. The greatest cause of this is that 128 million people can drink only infected water.

Recognition of the backwardness and problems has made the United States government institute a scheme for development in Latin America.

The Alliance For Progress, although a great propaganda success, has had little effect on developing the economies it was aimed at or putting food into the stomachs of the ordinary people.

Like many other areas of the world, its primary exports like wheat, coffee, bananas and even oil, tin and meat have been dropping in price.

Meanwhile manufactured goods from the USA have been increasing in price, leaving the people of Latin America worse off.

United States companies like the United Fruit Company, with 90 per cent of the import market for bananas into the USA, are only too ready to manipulate local taxes and ship home their profits leaving the local governments without dollars to buy essential imports to develop their economies.

Gerassi gives a short synopsis of the history and development



The US drive for profit in Latin America has resulted in widespread unemployment and poverty.

Liberal plea for Latin American masses



Living conditions like those in Peru, where millions die of plague from drinking infected water, are typical of Latin America.

'THE GREAT FEAR IN LATIN AMERICA'
by John Gerassi
reviewed by Jim Duffy

of the most important countries in Latin America and details of some of the smaller countries to emphasize United States' policy in the area.

One example is that of a transcontinental conference when the United States was blackmailed into giving more aid to Haiti so that they would vote to impose sanctions on Cuba.

Haiti is supported by American aid, with her soldiers trained by the USA.

It is ruled by President Duvalier and his secret police—known locally as bogeymen; they torture and kill at whim.

The average life expectancy is only 29 years, if they manage to avoid the bogeymen.

In Argentina in 1945 a bourgeois nationalist leader Peron was elected to power. He relied on elements in the working class for support and gave them concessions, such as better housing and pensions.

He also made threatening

speeches about taking over foreign companies.

This brought about his downfall. The military, with the support of the United States State Department, had him exiled.

Brazil, the richest country in Latin America, is continually changing her leaders, most of whom are military men who seize power.

Like most of the military in this part of the world they have never faced an armed enemy and their armies are only suitable for keeping down the peasants and workers.

Half of the 70 million population are underfed, barefoot and sickly. In six of Brazil's states, one out of six children dies before reaching one year of age.

50 per cent of the land is owned by 2 per cent of the population. The rest of the land is arid and inaccessible, and difficult to work.

Mexico with her peasant revolution of 1911 is an interesting place.

Her revolution gave her some very democratic laws, such as the abolition of the death penalty and the limiting of land holdings to a hundred hectares, which is neatly circumvented by the rich by giving a hundred hectares to even the most distant relatives.

SUPPRESSED

The poor, land-hungry peasants' outbursts are brutally suppressed.

The Communist Party is honoured as a stabilizing force which doesn't want revolution in Latin America.

Panama, originally a state—Colombia was carved out for the United States which uses it to protect the canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific.

The canal is guarded by American soldiers and is leased to the United States forever.

Discrimination against Panamanians takes the form of signs at counters in shops which read Gold or Silver instead of Black and White as in South Africa.

South America labours under grinding toil.

Those who say that the working people revolt spontaneously under these conditions should read Gerassi's book to see that without a party and a Marxist leadership their spontaneous revolt is doomed to fail.

The masses live under slavery and peonage—a cross between slavery and serfdom with a few modern refinements thrown in.

Children over five contribute six hours work at the hacienda, the farm of the master.

This is imperialism with its fangs bared.

Exploiting the workers and peasants, bribing the powerful, cheating the countries of their natural resources, supporting fascist police states.

Hopkirk (Deceased), 8.30 Marcus Welby MD, 9.30 Curry and Chips, 11.00 Frost On Friday, 11.45 Late Weather.

GRANADA: 4.05 p.m. News Headlines, Hatty Town, 4.20 All Our Yesterdays, 7.00 Parkin's Patch, 7.30 Curry and Chips, 8.00 The Friday Film: 'Two Rode Together' starring James Stewart, Richard Widmark, Shirley Jones.

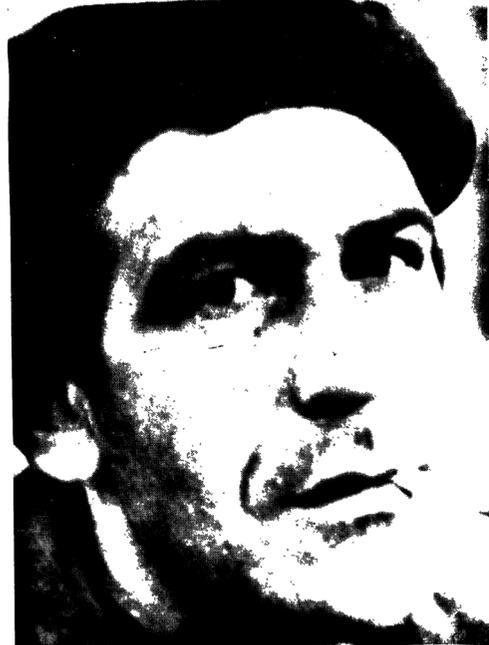
TYNE TEES: 4.03 p.m. North East Newsroom, 4.05 How About You, 4.35 Hatty Town, 4.48 North East Newsroom, 4.50 Land Of The Giants, 5.45 News, 5.55 Preview—Weekend Programmes, 6.00 Today At Six, 6.30 Parkin's Patch, 6.30 Curry and Chips, 7.00 The Untouchables, 9.00 Hadleigh, 11.15 Your World On Friday, 11.45 News Extra, 12 midnight The Les Of The Game.

SCOTTISH: 4.20 p.m. Scotland Early, 4.30 Crossroads, 4.55 Arthur, 5.20 Skipper, 5.50 National News, 6.00 Scotland Now, 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune, 7.00 Parkin's Patch, 7.30 Pepton Place, 8.30 I've Married A Bachelor, 9.00 Hadleigh, 11.15 In Camera, 11.45 See Us, 12.15 a.m. Late Call.

GRAMPIAN: 4.10 p.m. News Headlines, 4.12 Hatty Town, 4.25 Castle Haven, 4.50 Thunderbirds, 5.45 News, 6.00 Grampian News, 6.10 Why On Earth? 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 The Davy King Show, 7.30 The Avengers, 8.30 Curry and Chips, 9.00 It Takes A Thief, 11.15 Survival, followed by Road Report.

ATV MIDLANDS: 4.00 p.m. News Headlines, 4.02 Catch Phrase, 4.05 Pepton Place, 4.35 Paulus, 7.30 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased), 11.15 Midland Member, Tom Bradley (Labour MP for Leicester NE), 11.35 Interpol Calling, 12.02 a.m. Pulse, Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 3.55 p.m. Houseparty, 4.10 News Headlines, 4.12 Hatty Town, 4.25 I've Married A Bachelor, 7.00 Parkin's Patch, 7.30 Randall and



Daniel: Soviet writer defended by Grigorenko.

B.B.C.-1

- 9.38-11.55 a.m. Schools, 12.55 Maes A Mor, 1.30 Watch With Mother, 1.45-1.53 News and Weather, 2.05-2.25 Schools, 2.50 Racing, 4.20 Play School, 4.40 Children's Space Questions, 4.55 Crackerjack, 5.40 Junior Points Of View, 5.50 National News and Weather, 6.00 Entertaining With Kerr, 6.25 Television Brain of Britain, 6.45 The Virginian, 7.55 News In Front Of The Children, 8.25 Golden Silents, 8.50 The Main News and Weather, 9.10 The Survivors, 10.30 Dance Date, 10.30 24 Hours, 11.05 International Tennis, 12 midnight Weatherman.

All regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times:
Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather, 12.02 a.m. News Summary, 10.30 Weekend Prospects for Anglers, Road Works Report.
North of England: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Look North, Weather, 12.02 a.m. Northern News Headlines, Weather.

TODAY'S TV

- Scotland: 10.25-10.45 a.m. Around Scotland, 11.35-11.55 Modern Studies, 6.00-6.25 p.m. Reporting Scotland, 9.10-10.00 Current Account, 12.02 a.m. Scottish News Headlines, Weather.
- Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Scene Around Six, Weather, 10.00-10.30 Festival, 11.12 a.m. Northern Ireland News Headlines, Weather.
- Wales: 1.30-1.45 p.m. Ar Lin Mam, 10.00-10.30 Wales Today, Weather, 6.45-7.05 Heddiw, 7.05-7.30 Bob Yn Dri, 7.30-7.55 Week In Week Out, 11.05-11.30 Hwyr New Hwyrach.
- South and West: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South, West, Weather, 12.02 a.m. South and West News Headlines, Weather, Road Works Report.

B.B.C.-2

- 11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School, 7.00 p.m. What Are The Facts—about Antibiotics? 7.30 Newsroom and Weather.

- 8.00 Wheelbase, 8.25 The First Churchills, 9.10 The French Cinema: 'Trois Chambres a Manhattan', 10.55 Westminster At Work, 11.15 News Summary and Weather, 11.20 Line Up.

I.T.V.

- 11.00-11.55 a.m. Schools, 1.40-3.00 p.m. Schools, 4.05 How About You? 4.35 Hatty Town, 4.50 The Royal Family, 5.45 News, 5.55 Royal Family, 7.00 London Weekend Television starts, 7.00 p.m. Wheel Of Fortune, 8.30 Strange Report: 'Who Weeps For The Doctor?', 7.30 Curry and Chips, 9.00 Hawaii Five-O, 10.00 News From ITN, 10.30 Frost On Friday, 11.15 Hadleigh, 12.10 a.m. Music From Malinee Paris.

All independent channels as ITV London except at following times:
CHANNEL: 4.45 p.m. Puffin's Birthday GREETINGS, 4.50 Thunderbirds, 5.55

Eye-witness account nails some lies about Czechoslovakia

THIS eye-witness account of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia should not be judged by its foreword.

In this Henry Schwartz, 'New York Times' specialist on Communist Affairs, claims: 'The Czechoslovak Spring of 1968 was above all the work of the country's intellectuals.'

But this is wishful thinking on the part of Mr. Schwartz. It is certainly not the impression gained from reading the book.

Its author, Ladislav Mnacko, is a Czech journalist who, though he is confused on many issues, remains committed to communism.

He sees the moving force behind the Dubcek reforms of 1968 as:

'The discontented working class that forced the revolutionary changes in the system of the management of industry and also in the staffing of high positions in the state and in the Party... the intellectuals only formulated and documented these facts.'

Mnacko's account of the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, and the history of that country since 1938, has its strong points and its limitations.

As a one-time leading journalist of 'Rude Pravo' and defender of the purges of the 1950s, he has much inside information to reveal about the degeneration of the Czech Communist Party.

But he cannot explain the growth of bureaucracy in social terms.

The hopes he expresses for a communist system purged of Stalinism may be typical of many Czech intellectuals and workers. But he has no political programme for the defeat of Stalinism.

SERVICE RENDERED

One important service rendered by the book is to nail the lie spread by capitalism and Stalinism alike that Czechoslovakia was in danger of returning to capitalism.

Mnacko points out that Czechoslovakia of all the eastern European workers' states was most ready for socialism in 1945.

He emphasizes that if the Communist Party had made a call for action in 1938 after the Munich Agreement the Czech people would have taken up arms against Hitler.

The Nazis had never been able to foster a native Czech fascist movement. The Red Army had been welcomed with open arms in 1945.

The book stresses that since the Dubcek reforms young people were joining the Czech Communist Party in greater numbers than in any other Soviet country.

In fact, the 'fascist arms dumps' allegedly discovered by the Red Army were either weapons handed in by the workers' militia or American automatics left over from the Second World War.

Mnacko sheds much light on the personal degeneration and fate of leading members of the Czech Communist Party.

CONTINUALLY ABUSED

He correctly points out that the Soviet Union has continually abused the idea of internationalism and the loyalty of the world working class to the first Soviet state.

He cites the connection between the refusal of the Czech Communist Party to make a stand against Hitler in 1938 and the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

The subject of Munich is in fact taboo to Czech writers. He also connects the reluctance of the Communist Party to assume full power in Czechoslovakia in 1945 with Stalin's agreement at Yalta that Czechoslovakia would remain neutral.

Mnacko describes the regime of terror of the 1950s in some detail. He cites the confession



'THE SEVENTH NIGHT'
By Ladislav Mnacko
Dent, 1969 36s.
Reviewed by Karen Blick

of Slansky to the murder of a resistance fighter by giving him boots two sizes too small during his retreat into the Slovak mountains.

He describes how he saw, trembling before their communist judges, men such as Prime Minister Siroky of whom the Gestapo said:

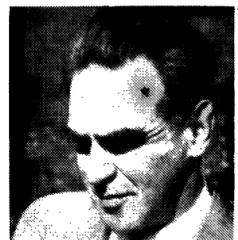
'He cannot be expected to break down.'

When he tries to explain the degeneration of these 'granite fighters' his only answer is that they were corrupted by power which they did not know how to use.

There is no understanding that the undoubted heroism of these communists was not used in the service of the working class, but of the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union.

OPPORTUNIST POLICIES

Long before the Czech Communist Party leaders came to power, they were trained and corrupted in the opportunist politics of the Stalinist Third International.



Slansky: Forced to confess to the murder of a resistance fighter.

It was in defence of this bureaucracy that Stalin instituted the purges of the 1950s.

He did this because he feared Tito's challenge to his leadership of the world communist movement might infect other parties.

It was to preserve the domination of the Soviet bureaucracy personified in Stalin that heads had to roll. Behind the emergence of this bureaucracy lay the deeper question of the isolation of socialism within the Soviet Union and the doctrine of socialism in one country.

It is because Mnacko does not understand the social reasons for the development of the bureaucracy and the regime of terror associated with it that he cannot understand either Dubcek's role as the more liberal representative responding to pressure from the working class.

He optimistically declares

that the Russians will find no quislings among the Czechs. After this book was written the leaders of the reform movement themselves, Dubcek and Svoboda and the rest, were to accept the forces and the re-establishment of the censorship of the press.

Mnacko's explanation would be what else could they do.

POLITICAL MOBILIZATION

The answer to the Czech problem lies in the political mobilization of that very force which he rightly claims brought about the reforms, the Czech working class.

The liberal wing of the bureaucracy could not possibly afford to do this without destroying itself.

The author makes some interesting comments about various international events.

Speaking sympathetically of the Hungarian Revolution he says:

'In Budapest the most progressive force in history, the working class, fought with arms in their hands against Rakosi and then against the Soviet Army.'

He refers with disgust to the poor military equipment supplied by the Soviet government to Vietnam and to its collaboration with the United States.

'After what I saw in Vietnam I could not get rid of the feeling that the Soviet Union was not playing a straight game in foreign affairs and that there was something going on between her and the US, something that small nations would have to suffer for.'

Mnacko is correct in pointing to the collaboration of the Soviet Union and the United States on a world scale, but he does not clearly distinguish between them in a class way.

He presents them both as aggressors threatening the rights of small nations.

The United States' war in Vietnam is aimed at returning its markets in the East and if possible reclaiming China for imperialism.

The Red Army invaded Czechoslovakia to maintain the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy and to stave off the political revolution in Eastern Europe.

Mnacko's tentative proposal that small countries should band together to prevent the aggression of the great nations, will not do.

Only the unity of the world working class against both imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy can solve the problems of Vietnam and Czechoslovakia.

IT IS PERHAPS difficult to realize that Engels was only 24 years old when he wrote 'The Condition of the Working Class'. The book was actually completed in the summer of 1845, Engels having left his Rhineland home in the autumn of 1842 for Manchester.

The book was first published in Leipzig in 1845. It was not until 1887 that it appeared in English (an American edition) and not until 1892 was it published in England.

It was thus nearly 50 years after it was written that this brilliant analysis and description of industrial England was to appear in the country which was its subject.

Since this time it has established itself as a classical study of the Industrial Revolution and has become the subject of heated controversy amongst historians.

For Marxists it remains a classic in a different sense.

It represents the first large-scale attempt to apply the method of historical materialism to the study of a concrete situation.

But as Engels was himself later to point out, it did not represent mature Marxism, but rather 'one of the phases of its embryonic development'.

The fully worked-out analysis of the capitalist system is to be found in 'Das Kapital', published in 1867.

The book opens with an outline of the Industrial Revolution.

It is clear that Engels was among the very first to recognize the historical significance of the changes that were taking place in English society.

In a little over 100 years the face of English society was transformed and a new class—the proletariat—had been brought into being.

Engels highlights this as the main and decisive feature of the great technical changes taking place in industry.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH

At one end of society there was a great concentration of wealth in the hands of a new industrial bourgeoisie, while at the other a majority of the population became completely divorced from the ownership of the means of production and reduced to the level of wage slaves.

Meanwhile large layers of previously independent, small-scale producers were eliminated by the force of competition.

Engels shows that the result of this transformation was to produce a working class of growing consciousness of its position in society—a labour movement emerged.

He sees the working class, in other words, able to fight consciously as a revolutionary force against the oppression of capitalism.

As Lenin insisted, 'He was among the first to say that the proletariat is not only a class that suffers; that it is precisely its shameful economic situation which inevitably drives it forward and obliges it to struggle for its final emancipation'.

It was this conception of the working class that was to separate Marx and Engels from all other liberals and petty-bourgeois socialists.

The latter were able to see only the exploitation of the working class in the horrific conditions of the Industrial Revolution. The genius of Marx and Engels was that they saw the logic of the class struggle as ending in the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class over the rest of society.

The core of the book is a description of the effect of the Industrial Revolution on the newly emerging working class. He shows how a new proletariat, often composed of immigrants, was thrown into the horrors of the new towns where they were underpaid, ground down and starved.

GROWING AWARENESS

But the other side of the picture which Engels points to was the growing awareness amongst the most conscious sections of their real position in society.

The development of the unions and Chartism were important steps along the road in the development of an organized labour movement to



It was openly admitted by coal-owners that they employed women because their labour power was cheaper than men and they tended to be more docile.

location by the French Wars—the Industrial Revolution has on the whole proved beneficial to women.

'GREATER LEISURE'

'It has resulted in greater leisure for women in the home and has relieved them from the drudgery and monotony that characterized much of the hard labour previously performed in connection with industrial work under the domestic system.'

This is, in fact, in contradiction to the facts which she herself presents.

The revolution, especially in its early stages, meant an increased demand for women and children in the most arduous jobs.

It was openly admitted by coal-owners that they employed women because their labour power was cheaper than that of men and they tended to be more docile.

For the same reasons women and children were in demand in the cotton and wool trades.

Working long hours at monotonous work in filthy conditions for low wages, they were the source of vast profits for the rising industrialists.

The argument of Pinchbeck and others that working and living conditions were often more terrible and degrading in pre-Industrial Revolution society misses the essential point Engels was making.

Engels' concern was to examine how the vast changes in the development of industry had transformed the nature of the labour force, creating an industrial proletariat such as had not existed before.

This working class was now subject to a more systematic and intensive exploitation than workers had known in the traditional domestic and agricultural labour.

NOT EMOTIONAL

'Exploitation' is not a subjective, emotional term.

Middle-class outbursts against 'exploitation' are simply the expressions of conscience-ridden participants in the capitalist system.

For Marxists, the degree of exploitation is measured by the amount of surplus value extracted.

This is a scientific approach to the question. The worker in a large modern factory is possibly more exploited than the hand-loom weaver or small peasant-farmer.

It was this that determined the changes in the conditions of the working class in the early 19th century.

Such exploitation was demanded by the growth of new methods of production, the introduction of steam power and the growth of large factories.

In these conditions, men and women were more thoroughly alienated from the products they produced.

They were forced to submit to the tyranny of the working-time demanded by their employers.

Families were broken up as every member, young and old, had to go out to work.

The Industrial Revolution thus changed the whole quality of the workers' lives.

To miss this essential feature of the Industrial Revolution is to fail to understand the significance of the appearance of the modern industrial proletariat.

Pinchbeck and other bourgeois academics substitute for this a series of impressions of poverty, 'bad conditions', etc., which omits what was qualitatively new in the situation.

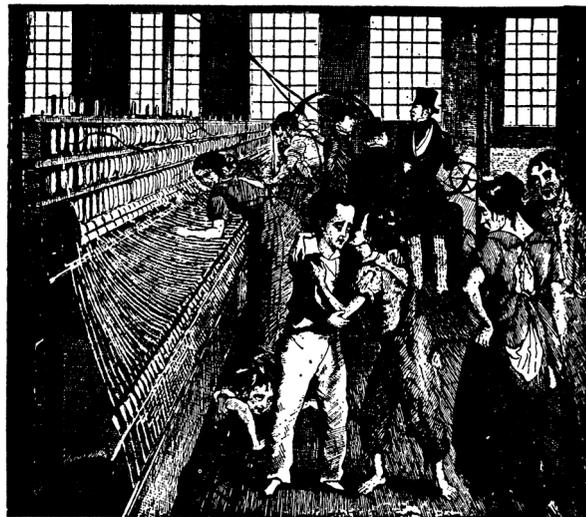
To admit that would require facing up to the challenge posed by the emergence of the industrial working class as a class, increasingly conscious of its power and its capacity to struggle against capitalism.

Better living and working conditions for women workers had not arisen as a result of automatic economic changes, but as a result of their struggle as part of the organized labour movement against capitalism.

Modern 'labour historians', now more aware than Pinchbeck of the need to meet the challenge of Marxism, have to admit the revolutionary significance of the emergence of the modern working class. But they proceed to contemplate its existence and examine its anatomy as matters of 'interest'.

Marxists must grasp the meaning of the appearance of this new force as providing the lever which, given conscious revolutionary leadership, will overthrow the system that produced it and develop the economic power unleashed in the Industrial Revolution for the benefit of everyone.

English working class: Engels analysis remains unshaken



The industrial revolution, especially in its early stages, meant an increased demand for women and children working long hours in filthy conditions for low wages.

'THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND'
By Frederick Engels with an introduction by Eric Hobsbawm
Panther 8s.

'WOMEN WORKERS IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, 1750-1850'
By Ivy Pinchbeck
Frank Cass 75s.

conditions such a view is not worthy of consideration.

Others, more sophisticated, have tried to show that Engels, by painting too rosy a picture of pre-capitalist society, overstressed the horrors of the Industrial Revolution.

Such a position is found in Ivy Pinchbeck's 'Women in the Industrial Revolution'.

This book, first published in 1930 and now reissued, is written along these lines.

Whilst never referring to her work as an attack upon Engels, she was undoubtedly aware that she was contributing to the efforts to refute his analysis.

In his introduction Engels did perhaps tend to idealize conditions prior to the Industrial Revolution.

Social historians have rightly argued, with more information at their disposal, that conditions were a good deal worse than he realized.

But what they here go on to argue is that the Industrial Revolution in no way worsened the conditions.

Many of the social evils of the early 19th century, they say, were lessons of the continuation of earlier conditions rather than the effects of the industrial changes.

Thus Pinchbeck goes on to say:

'In spite of much distress which accompanied the transition—due in part to reorganization, in part to dis-

allow for its bias and distortion.

resist the power of capital. All this is backed up with detailed and meticulous investigations which Engels conducted for over a year.

Much of his work is based upon first-hand observation and other available sources.

It is clear that Engels knew industrial Lancashire intimately and especially Manchester, where he was based.

He also visited all the main industrial areas—Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield and London. Throughout the book he demonstrates his intimate knowledge of the working class and its various layers.

Engels also relied on many other informants—he knew and worked with many of the early communists and socialists—and sifted through a considerable mass of printed material, always taking care to

FALSE ARGUMENT

There have been consistent attempts by bourgeois historians to detract from Engels' work.

Some, motivated by shallow ideological prejudice, have falsely argued that Engels was biased and deliberately distorted what he saw.

For those who know the

David Brown's Engineers must back locked-out draughtsmen

Newcastle Bus attacks a cover for speed-up

By a Workers Press correspondent

THE VICIOUS drive of British capitalism towards speed-up accompanied as it is with a cynical contempt for the health, safety and welfare of the working class, is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the drive to rationalize transport.

The introduction of 'one-man' buses, which demands that drivers collect fares, count and check money, fill in route reports, as well as concentrate on manoeuvring the giant 80 and 90-seater Atlanteans through crowded city streets, has inevitably increased the danger to passengers and pedestrians, as well as stepped up the pressure on drivers to an intolerable level.

A letter to the Newcastle 'Evening Chronicle' last May clearly stated the problem.

A passenger claimed that a driver on one service had, because of shortage of time in the rush hour, counted money whilst steering with his elbows.

Yet, the Corporation's reply to this situation which has according to many bus workers at the Byker and Handyside depots, led to several nervous breakdowns amongst elder drivers, is to step up the pressure.

Two-way radio
Newcastle Corporation has stepped in, amidst wild applause from the capitalist press, to 'protect the drivers' welfare'.

An aid to drivers is a two-way radio link for use against 'hoologanism'.

But under the cover of this benevolence lies a fresh attack on bus-workers' conditions.

The new radio link is not only to guard against 'hoologanism'—which has increased as a result of the frustration caused by cuts in services and increases in fares—but is also to be used for keeping tabs on drivers.

After each run drivers have to report in, and similarly if they experience any traffic delays.

Escalate pressure
Through this system the authority can escalate the pressure on busworkers to keep to schedules, despite the massive increases in loads carried each journey as a result of service cuts, and continue the drive for increased productivity.

Like factory workers, busmen are being increasingly brought under the law of the stop-watch in the interests of increased productivity and profitability.

The fight against such deals can only be waged by workers under a leadership which starts from an analysis of the entire capitalist system.

That is the role of the All Trades Unions Alliance and the Socialist Labour League.

FACED WITH a national £3 demand for draughtsmen this week, the David Brown group is still refusing a parity claim by 37 men at its Sunderland reduction gears plant.

The men, Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association members, have been locked out for seven weeks following a work-to-rule.

No special components have been produced since the lock-out began and production is limited.

Despite this, the management has refused to accept the men's terms for wages in line with shop-floor workers.

Commented one picket: 'They don't want to pay us in case it leads to a flood of claims from the shop floor.'

The company is due to reply to the £3 national claim and faces a demand for parity with other sections of the tractor industry.

Already these claims have led to a strike at the firm's Meltham works and to the suspension of 140 draughtsmen at David Brown Industries' Huddersfield Park works, Yorkshire.

Although the Sunderland draughtsmen have official DATA support, the crucial question is the backing of 630 shop-floor workers—members of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers.

'Blacked'
So far the engineers have 'blacked' all draughtsmen's work, but as yet there is no ban on special components produced by outside firms.

The attack on the 37 locked-out men is clearly only a prelude to other attempts to hold down wages and conditions of all workers.

The draughtsmen and engineers must link up for a united fight back against these attacks.

What we think
FROM PAGE ONE

The situation in Italy, where the working class is decisively on the move, is not, however, new to the bourgeois papers.

The Workers Press, on the other hand, specializes in publishing news of the actions and movements of the working class not only in Britain, but internationally.

The massive strike of the Italian working class was therefore for us front-page news.

N.U.P.E. journal discusses the dustmen's settlement
"DO WE THINK you are all daft?" asks a headline in December's 'Public Employees', National Union of Public Employees' journal.

Provoked by a letter from Swindon and Highworth member Mr T. D. Waldron, this question is posed—it is said editorially—to open 'a debate' on the settlement agreed by the union for its dustmen members at Edinburgh.

What kind of 'debate'?

The November issue's 'Front-Page Comment' claimed that 'the union negotiators at Edinburgh did a bloody fine job for the members', that their 'tough talking with the employers... proved that it's possible to shake local authorities out of their out-

dated attitudes' and that the agreement made there was 'a bonanza package deal'.

On strike
The first point that must be made here is that few dustmen themselves agreed with this point of view.

Many of them, in fact, were still on strike more than a week after the agreement was reached.

Mr Waldron makes several other points:

'First, why did our negotiators start by asking for a mere 15s?'

'Second, why was the strike not made official?'

'Third, why did the negotiators agree that some people should get only 15s. or 17s. while others got 40s. or 50s?'

'Fourth, why did the national executive not call us out for at least a one-day demonstration?'

'These were the facts', Waldron emphasises, 'that rocked the employers and made them agree to big increases—as no amount of talking alone would have done. You know that, we know it, so why not say it?'

But other questions are also raised.

Come across
November's 'Front-Page Comment' also claimed that the union must now build on its success by urging every

Basque workers tortured by Franco regime

SIGNED statements by Spanish workers (published on Wednesday by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) vividly described the barbaric methods used by the Franco regime to hold down the workers.

The document is based on accounts of torture inflicted on legal trade union opponents of Franco's regime.

Jesus Fullahondo (draughtsman):

◄ I was reviled and tortured in the following manner; held down on a table with half my body hanging over the edge, I was beaten on the stomach, lower stomach and head. I was forced to walk with my hands handcuffed and in the process was beaten on the back and thighs. I was kicked, etc, and struck with clubs and pieces of chairs.

Josés Puertas (fitter):

◄ I was verbally abused and maltreated in the following manner: beaten all over with a metal bar, chairlegs, truncheons and files of documents on the buttocks, chest, back, neck, stomach, in the course of which one truncheon and three chairlegs were broken.

Puertas was also subjected to what Franco's police call the 'bicycle torture':

◄ My hands handcuffed behind my back, I was made to walk, being beaten and kicked all the while on my manacled hands and all over my body. Held down on a table with half my body hanging in space, I was beaten on the stomach, neck, throat and testicles.

These tortures were all carried out in the police prison at Basauri in the Basque province of Vizcaya.

Over recent months workers have been to the fore in demonstrations and strikes demanding greater autonomy for the Basque region, which has its own separate language, culture and traditions.

The Basque is also an im-

portant industrial area of Spain, second only to Catalonia, and Franco has never succeeded in completely destroying the militancy of its working class.

These shocking revelations on the horrors of Franco's torture chambers prove that Spanish fascism is not 'liberalizing' itself, as the Stalinist and capitalist press would have us believe.

Under Franco, or his Bourbon successor, the Spanish working class will have to take the revolutionary road to power.

Docks
FROM PAGE ONE

the virtual end of trade union organization on the docks? It emerged that they could be disciplined for not keeping up a certain pace of work; that no extra pay for more difficult cargoes would be forthcoming and—as the Royal group's full-time official Mr Bill Munday, put it—whether the union was finished would be 'up to the men'.

Few dockers were satisfied with these answers.

Their two main fears are of redundancies and a virtual 'freeze' on their wages once the deal is signed.

For many, the employers' £33 10s. 'final' offer would have meant a wage-cut and, it is said, the Dock Labour Board is already 'having difficulty' placing 500 dockers.

The threatened closure of the Surrey Commercial dock late next year or early in 1971 could greatly aggravate this problem.

'We should fight for the £33 10s. as a guaranteed minimum, the maintenance of piece-work, no shifts, no "strings" and no co-operation with new methods of working until the docks are fully nationalized under our control.'

AFTER completing their second session yesterday the Helsinki arms limitation talks (SALT) between the USA and the Soviet Union are due to resume on Monday.

Neither side as yet made any comment on the progress of the talks, which are intended to prepare the way for a full scale conference on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons.

S.A.L.T. Talks resume Monday

local council in the country to come across with more cash in the shape of productivity deals.

'In this way the aim of £20-a-week minimum earnings for all local government workers will be translated from slogan to reality.'

Writing in the journal's December issue, Bernard Dix claims that 'rich pickings... have been made—and are still to be made through local productivity deals', urging that 'the full weight of membership strength be thrown behind this policy.'

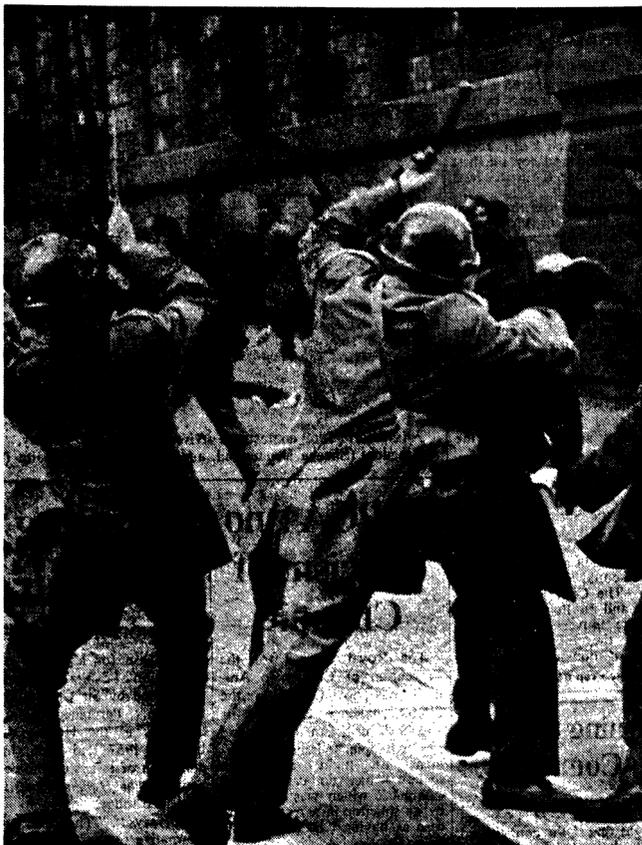
Six hundred construction workers building a new parliament house in Stockholm sent money and a telegram pledging their total support in opposition to paragraph 32.

Of course, the union stood firm with the employers against the workers.

Although all Swedish permanent dockworkers must belong to the union, the management and union negotiations state that unorganized labour may be used at the company's discretion.

The workers in Göteborg immediately formed a strike committee of five to protect their interests.

WORKER-POLICE BATTLES AS 20 MILLION STRIKE



Police baton one of the thousands of strikers in Milan on Wednesday.

ITALY

FROM PAGE ONE

both in its breadth and duration.

Even at its peak, the French occupation movement of May 1968 involved only half the number of workers on strike in Italy.

The British ruling class, already pressed by large-scale strikes ranging from dustmen and miners to tube guards and teachers, fears the impact that Italy's strike wave will have on the rising militancy of the British working class.

This explains why the recent strikes in Italy have been played down by nearly all the newspapers.

IN FRANCE too, police clashed with power workers occupying the plants during a 24-hour strike in Paris.

The strike wave is not and cannot be confined to a single country.

The Italian workers are blazing the revolutionary trail for the whole of Europe.

Overtime
The dockworkers' union agreement states that on any given day a worker is obliged to work at least two hours overtime and in an emergency as much as five hours overtime if it is deemed necessary by the shipping company.

When men are to work overtime the foreman must tell them before 2 p.m.

On this occasion the foreman announced overtime after 2 p.m. and the men told him to keep his 13s. 4d. boat and go to hell!

They were sacked under a ruling which has long been fought by the dockworkers, but on which the union and management agree.

The notorious paragraph 32 of the agreement states that the shipping company can 'divide, employ and sack workers as they see fit'.

Telegrams
When the two workers were sacked on this ruling, every Göteborg dockworker went out on strike.

Within hours, telegrams of support and money started coming in from all over Sweden.

Dockworkers in Stockholm and other cities agreed not to unload ships which the companies might re-route to their ports.

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Swedish dockers fight dismissals

MISERABLE conditions in the Göteborg docks, Sweden, have been the cause recently of a wildcat strike.

Two weeks ago, on Monday, November 10, 1,000 dockworkers in Göteborg harbour walked out.

The strike was sparked off when two workers were sacked for insubordination. This action was backed up by the union and the shipping companies.

Swedish dockworkers are paid by agreement on the weight of cargo to be unloaded or loaded.

Sometimes a dockworker makes as much as 33s. 4d. but at other times they make only 13s. 4d. an hour.

On the particular boat where the two men were sacked the pay was only 13s. 4d.

Conditions
In a press conference the strike committee spelled out the conditions on the docks:

● Long working hours with over 200 hours a year overtime to make a decent wage.

● An inhuman pace under hard-driving foremen.

● Constant stress, physical strain and danger caused by a lack of safety equipment.

● Absolutely no voice for the workers in organizing the harbour, or even the placing of the workers' locker rooms.

In response to the workers' press conference a company spokesman tried to discredit the strike.

He claimed that the chance for Göteborg's harbour to be updated into Skandiahavn, the largest and most modern port in northern Europe, was now sabotaged by the workers' strike. Copenhagen would be selected as the site.

The company tried to break the strike by using scabs.

One day a group of right-wing students, who were being given a tour of the harbour, were told by the tour leader that they could help Sweden by working on the docks that night.

Groups of workers came that night and blocked all work.

The next night transport companies instructed their truckdrivers to unload ships, but the workers prevented them by locking up the truck-drivers in their cars all night.

Police
The shipping company announced that the English ship, 'Atlantic Saga', would be unloaded by company employees and that the police would be used if need be.

The ship's cargo consisted of two large containers.

However, workers successfully blocked the unloading and the 'Atlantic Saga' had to leave port with her cargo.

On Monday, November 17, the dockworkers were planning to go back to work because the company had agreed to reinstate the two suspended workers.

However, the dockworkers'

G.I.s tell of massacred Vietnam village

MEMBERS of the US forces have now given details of the March 1968 massacre in the South Vietnamese village of Son My.

Army Sergeant Michael Bernhardt, now stationed at Fort Dix, New Jersey, stated yesterday that he saw his army colleagues shoot down about 100 villagers:

'We just moved in and in a short while the men started shooting.'

According to Sergeant Bernhardt, 'All the people shot down were women, old men and children. I don't recall seeing any young men in the village at all.'

Bernhardt said that he and about five other soldiers refused to take part in the massacre.

PUNISHED?
He declined to say whether they had been punished afterwards.

The company commander had told the men that all the residents of Son My were Vietcong and therefore they all had to be killed.

This is only one of countless massacres carried out by US imperialism in Vietnam.

With opposition to the war now taking an organized form inside the army, US soldiers are finding the courage to speak out against these atrocities.

Wide-spread action
FROM PAGE ONE

action of the LEA representatives on the Burnham panel by rejecting the teachers' organizations requests for an £135 interim pay award.

Banners on the march read 'Get rich. Don't teach' and 'Can you keep your family on £137?'

AT A MEETING of 3,000 Liverpool teachers, chairman of the meeting M. A. McGarvey was interrupted during his concluding remarks by a militant teacher insisting that the Burnham Committee representatives present should give a pledge to fight for the full £135.

'The £135 is a reasonable claim and should be met by a reasonable offer', said Burnham Committee representative A. J. Smyth.

After uproar, he declared: 'I have no hesitation in saying I would not accept a penny less than £135.'

Previously Mr Smyth had stated that teachers should learn from industrial experience and 'get some restrictive practices... to sell in productivity deals'.

SEVERAL thousand teachers attended a rally in Birmingham Rag Market.

A large demonstration of student teachers, on strike in sympathy, marched in from the College of Education.

An ATUA statement was handed out calling for a political fight against the Labour government and warning against the Tory plans for education, as seen in the 'Black Papers'.

It demanded preparation for a national stoppage.

A resolution was passed unanimously at the end rejecting the £50 offer.

LONDON RALLY

FROM PAGE ONE

ing banners demanding 'national strike action now' on the march.

No such fight was put up by any other tendency.

Neither the Communist Party nor the 'rank-and-file' teachers of the 'International Socialism' group will do this.

But it is clear that only prolonged national action can now ensure success.

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