

£1,000 fund

We still need
£364-9s.-11d.

AS WE go to press our Fund stands at £635 10s. 1d. We still need £364 9s. 11d. by first post on Monday morning.

There is absolutely no time to lose if we are to complete the target.

We appeal to all our readers. Here is something you can do immediately for the Workers Press.

Mail a donation at once. No matter how large or small it will be greatly appreciated. Post it to Monthly Fund, Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

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SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETING

Czechoslovakia, persecution of Soviet intellectuals and the Communist Party Congress

Monday Dec. 15, 8p.m.

HOLBORN ASSEMBLY HALL

John's Mews off Northington Street (nearest tube Chancery Lane)

Speaker: G. Healy (national secretary, Socialist Labour League)

Chairman: M. Banda (Editor, Workers Press)

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No one, we reply, can ever forgive the shameful sell-out of 'Tribune' and the 'left' MPs when the question was posed of concrete action against Wilson and solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution.

With one eye on the Geneva Agreement and another on the Party Whip, the 'Tribune' men now find themselves reduced to a state of flabbily mumbling incoherence.

Wilson tramples all over them and they 'fight' back—with rhetoric!

'Says 'Tribune' in concluding its editorial: "Does Britain support this hardening of American policy?" Can these people be serious? Do they really believe that Wilson is opposed to Nixon's war? Or is it sheer bloody humbug?

Unable to come up with a principled programme of action and in conformity with its policy of confusion, muddle, confusion, and always confusion, 'Tribune' gives us the benefit of Bertrand Russell's advice (exclusively, of course).

'N o b o d y hearing him [Brown]' says Lord Russell, 'would guess he is a prominent spokesman for a political party with a long anti-imperialist tradition.'

Indeed! What tradition is the noble Lord referring to: Amritsar? Korea? Malaya? or Rhodesia and Biafra?

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So Lord Russell can only end up by asking: 'How in an election year can socialism be made the relevant issue when the most powerful figures in the Labour Party and the government are determined to repudiate and ridicule it?'

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A relentless and uncompromising struggle against US and British imperialism means first of all a repudiation of the lying pacifist propaganda of 'Tribune' that, for example, welcomed uncritically the diplomatic manoeuvres of Johnson and now applauds the cynical gestures of Nixon in relation to biological weapons as a 'solid victory for the forces of sanity in the world'.

It also means a rejection of such ecclesiastical hypocrites as Lord Soper who argues that 'if you are going to war then stop crying over the split milk of human kindness'.

More than this, it means the courage and resolution to stand up to the traitors in Wilson's government and mobilize the working class in a mighty movement to stop his trip to Washington! That's how.

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'... they could have ended the dispute long ago by making a pay offer acceptable to all the London dockers.'

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A.T.U.A. meetings

'Workers Press and the trade unions'

Tuesday, December 2 7.30 p.m.

Palmer Hall West Street

OLLERTON

(Notts.)

'Workers Press'

Saturday, November 29, 12 noon

Plough Inn

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'Workers Press'

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Ship Inn

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• PAGE 4 COL. 3 •



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The employers have been given a free hand for attempts at enormous speed-up and attacks on rank-and-file organization on the sites.

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● 'Interavailability of labour'—Men to work not only at their own trade, but to carry out other trades' work when required by the employers; bricklayers to do joiners' work and both to do their own scaffolding and labouring for example.

The great intensification of working that this involves has been realized by building workers for many years as a result of the employers' past attempts to implement such a clause.

● A revised bonus system—Bonus negotiations are to be handled over by shop stewards and site committees to national officials, which will obviously mean a drop in bonus earnings.

● Training schemes—One of the employers' aims here will be to train men for part of a trade and then pay less than the craftsmen's rate, sweeping away the whole status of craftsmen.

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The way in which wages are to be paid is itself part of the tightening up of discipline.

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But on top of this the employers are offering the 'MEL' allowance, which only applies when the worker is not working overtime or receiving bonus.

In order to qualify for the MEL payment, you must not be late or absent during the week, nor must work be interrupted by the weather, holidays or any actions by those working on the site.

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Fifteen of the 24 men now under investigation have returned to civilian life since the March 1968 massacre, and therefore under present military law cannot be court-martialed.

Government lawyers are now considering the formation of a Military Convention.

They claim that Nixon, as Commander-in-Chief of the US armed forces, has the authority to create such a body to try former soldiers accused of 'war crimes'.

Allies

Deeply worried by the growing strength of the anti-Stalinist opposition in the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy is now casting about for new allies.

Who better to rally to the fight than the collective farm aristocracy represented at the Moscow congress?

Stalinism leaned on the most conservative elements in the countryside in its fight against the Trotskyist Left Opposition in the years after Lenin's death, and it will do so again today.

But the balance of class forces has changed dramatically in the intervening 40 years.

STOP WILSON'S WASHINGTON VISIT!

FOR THE DEFEAT OF US IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM!

DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY JAN. 11

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The decision was taken at a meeting of the Federal government presided over by Prime Minister Cernik.

Ceteka is the last sector of the mass media to be hit by the current purge of Dubcek supporters.

TODAY

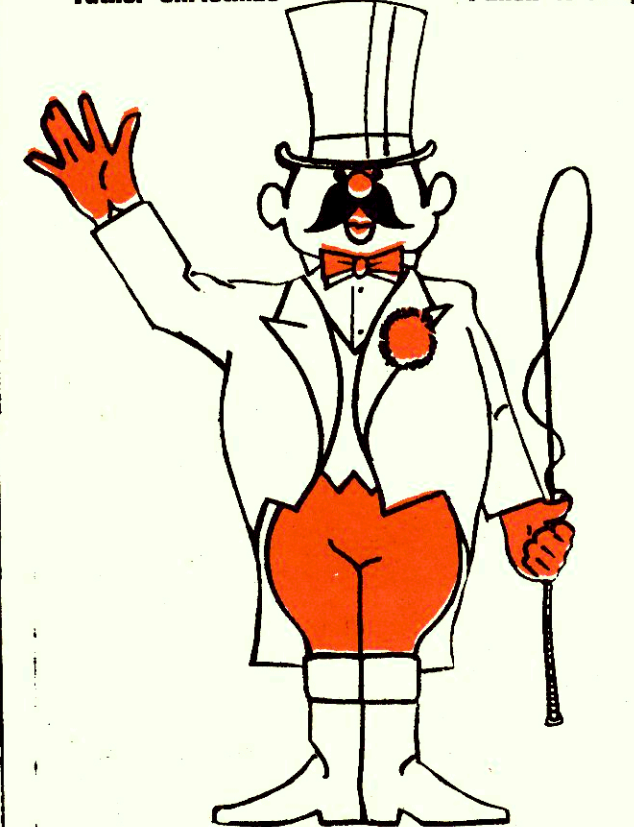
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Sacrifice

We must be on our guard against such manoeuvres. The US ruling class will sacrifice anyone, even its President, to evade responsibility for its Vietnam war.

The arrest and conviction of a handful of ex-convicts trained and brutalized for the very job they are now belatedly charged with, will change nothing.

It will not liberate the Vietnamese people from imperialist domination and it will solve none of the problems that face the American working class.

Once again, we repeat: No scapegoats!

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4,500 teachers to strike

Criticisms of leaders grow

BY DAVID MAUDE

TEACHERS in several areas are becoming increasingly critical of the way their union leaderships are conducting their fight for a

£135-a-year pay increase.

How, many of them are asking, did the executive of the National Union of Teachers select the 300 or so schools that are to strike for two weeks on Monday?

Why is it not involving more than 4,000 of its members?

By 4 p.m. yesterday, almost 100,000 teachers had been involved in some form of action—local half-day or one-day strikes—in support of their claim.

The response to the call for two-week strikes was enormous. A total of some 5,000 schools applied to be called out.

DECISIVE

What is decisive now, in the face of continued government intransigence towards the demands of the teachers, is to step up the action.

Such a break from 'protest' action is by no means on the cards as far as the union executives are concerned.

In fact, both they and their loyal Stalinist and revisionist 'opposition' are violently opposed to such a break.

A number of London associations have already complained about the way in which schools for the two-week strikes were selected and the means by which they were informed of the executive's decisions.

The London schools were selected without consultation with the associations concerned.

Strong rumours are also circulating that the executive raced through the recommended lists for the whole country in a mere half-hour.

TIGER

Criticisms are also being voiced of the NUT-National Association of Schoolmasters' agreement that where members of one union are out on strike the members of the other will continue working.

The union leaderships are riding a tiger.

A mobilization of teachers on such a wide scale as has already been done must have a profound effect.

The demand for all-out national strike action, fought for consistently only by the Workers Press, must be stepped up over the next two weeks.

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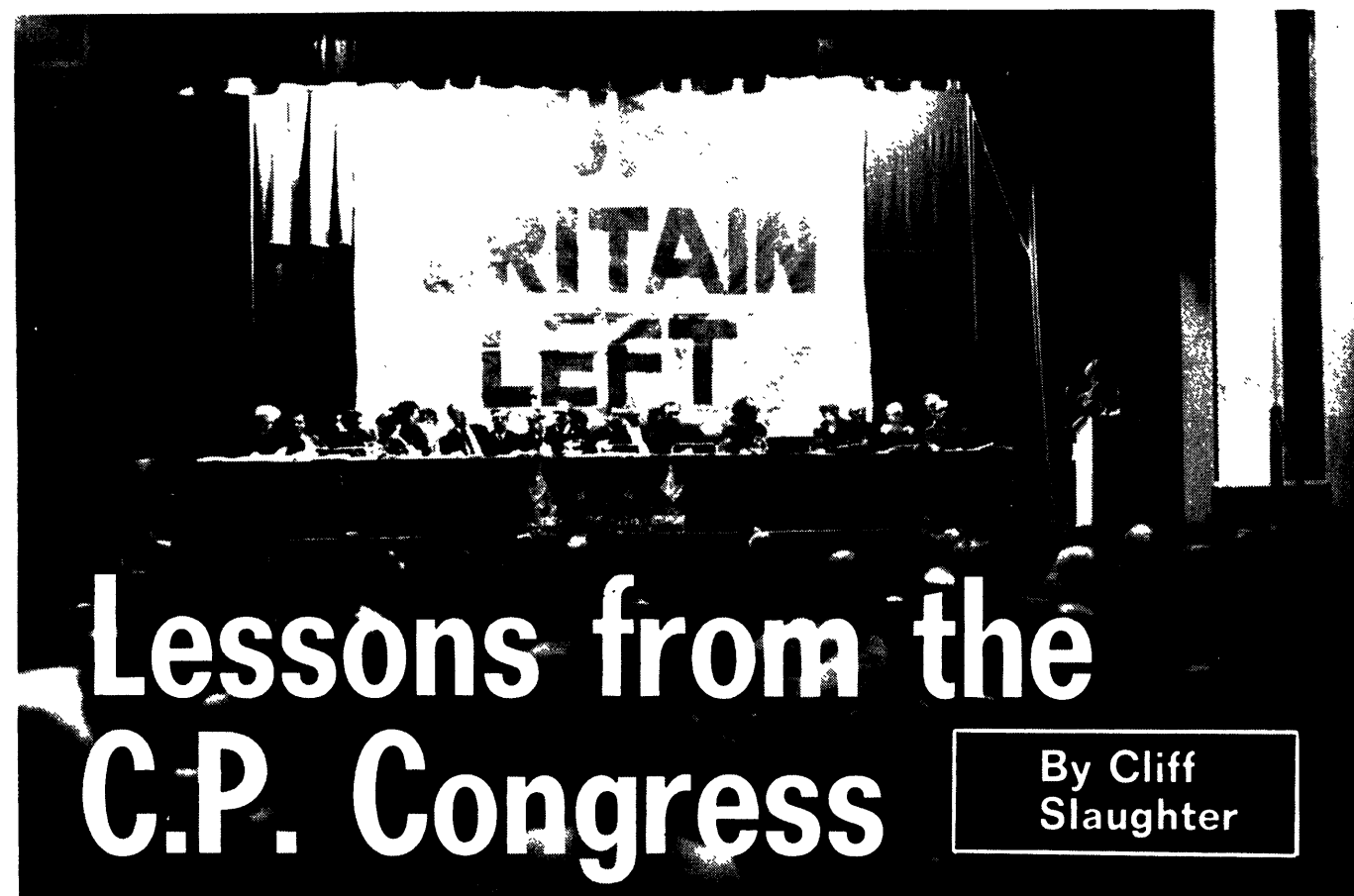
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**CANNING TOWN PUBLIC HALL
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'THE argument between serious Communists is over! This was the verdict, after the recent British Communist Party's Congress, of a worker who had spent some 30 years in the Party, and has now decided for Trotskyism.

He was not referring to the discussion at the Party Congress, but to the role of the Workers Press in politically preparing for the Congress, bringing out the historical issues behind it, and fighting for the right to send reporters into it.

For many workers, including Communist Party members, the great attention paid by 'The Newsletter' and then the Workers Press to exposing Stalinism had previously seemed out of proportion. The main argument used by the Communist Party against Trotskyism has been 'you're always concentrating your attack on the Communist Party'.

Yet now it becomes crystal-clear why the exposure of Stalinism is the most necessary political preparation for victory over the enemy class.

Advanced workers all over Britain and throughout Europe 'suddenly' discover that they must break out of the Stalinist ideology if the working class is to answer the problems posed by the capitalist crisis.

In this situation the Workers Press plays a unique role. Only a Trotskyist party, based on the whole historical struggle for Marxism, can answer the questions which now come up for those workers who have followed the Stalinist parties.

If we look at the proceedings of the Communist Party Congress it becomes clear that Stalinism has entered just as deep a crisis as imperialism itself.

This is of course because Stalinism represents the politics of a bureaucracy in the USSR which leans on imperialism to deal with the working class.

In order to be able to do that, Stalinism had to physically wipe out the Bolshevik leadership, including Trotsky, and also to wipe out the real history of Bolshevism.

Crisis point

Those Communist Party workers who now find themselves at a crisis point will find the road forward only by restoring the connection with that past, with those forces which Stalin tried to destroy. That is why the Workers Press, organ of the Central Committee of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League, had such an impact on the Communist Party Congress.

The biggest and most publicized division at the Congress was over the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia. Over one quarter of the delegates voted against the Executive Committee's resolution. The Executive had opposed the intervention.

As the Workers Press has pointed out, much of the support for the Soviet intervention arises from opposition to the ultra-reformist line of Gollan and Ramelson and the EC majority.

Party militants, frustrated by the right-wing policies of this leadership, and as yet not understanding the Stalinist source of these policies, turn to what they see as the 'hard line' of Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

These workers cannot long remain in such a position. In the first place, Palme Dutt, Party chairman, who came out in favour of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, went out of his way to make clear that he

supported Gollan and the leadership on their reformist policies in Britain.

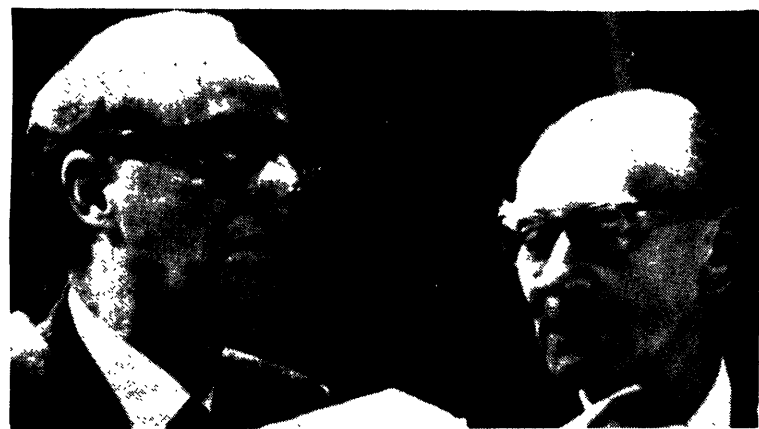
He is in favour of their 'Parliamentary Road to Socialism'. Of their crawling subservience to the 'left' trade union leaders like Daly, Scanlon and Jones, he says:

'... I believe that our EC and the Editorial Board of the "Morning Star" are doing an outstanding job over so many issues, especially in promoting left unity'. ('Comment', October 11, 1969.)

This is certainly not the opinion of many of the Party members who voted with Dutt as a way of opposing Gollan.

More important is that Dutt is even more adamant than Gollan and Ramelson in opposing any historical settling of accounts.

In effect he has always considered that Khrushchev showed unpardonable weakness in making his 'revelations' about Stalin, and that it would



Woddis (seen right, with Gollan): Avoided the main question of WHY the invasion of Czechoslovakia took place.

have been better to leave everything as it was.

It is precisely this history, the history of Stalinism, which Communists need to understand before they can grasp the reason for the reformist degeneration of the British Communist Party and every other Stalinist Party.

It is because Dutt cannot provide this analysis that he will not retain the allegiance of the left elements among CP workers who voted for him at the Congress.

It is for this reason that the Workers Press articles on Stalinism before and during the Congress made such an impact.

But if we look at it from the other side, the historical aspect comes out in even sharper outline. Let us take the speech of Jack Woddis, who represented the views of Gollan and the EC on Czechoslovakia.

He says: 'What is the essence of the question which Congress is called on to debate and vote on? It is whether five Warsaw Pact countries were justified in intervening in Czechoslovakia.' He then devotes his speech to arguing that there was no justification for the invasion. But surely in that case 'the essence of the question' is—why did the invasion take place?!

Woddis says, quite rightly, that the changes coming up in Czechoslovakia in 1968, before the intervention, arose out of a situation where previously, under Novotny, 'There had been gross violations of socialist legality, and false accusations and repressions against Communist Party members and others, involving thousands of victims, some of whom had been wrongfully executed'.

Now, Messrs Gollan, Ramelson and Woddis!

If 600,000 troops were sent in to prevent the Czech working class from making the changes they wanted, and you consider the intervention 'unjustified', how can you avoid the conclusion that the Soviet leadership rejected any change from the Novotny regime of 'repression' and 'wrongful' executions?!

How else do you explain the intervention? That is more important than denouncing it.

It is only a sign of bankruptcy to say, as Woddis does, 'That is why interference from outside, even if dictated by the best of intentions, is harmful to the building of social-

ism... (Emphasis in original.)

Where do 'good intentions' come into it?!

The Stalinist bureaucracy repeated in Czechoslovakia in 1968 its line against the Polish and Hungarian workers in 1956. The task of Marxists is to analyse this line and its social and political basis, not to pass moral judgement on the 'justification' of actions and the 'intentions' behind them.

This theoretical bankruptcy is, in fact, identical with that of Dutt.

It is the history and analysis of Stalinism which is necessary in order to explain the behaviour of the Kremlin bureaucracy and to point the way forward for the working class: political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy in the USSR and Eastern Europe, and social revolution against imperialism.

The supporters of Dutt

to put down 'counter-revolution'.

'They [the troops] did not occupy the premises of the K231 Club and KAN organization [said to be the seats of a counter-revolutionary plot] but they occupied premises of the government, the Central Committee, and "Rude Pravo". They did not produce or arrest a single counter-revolutionary or CIA agent—but they arrested the leaders of the Communist Party and the Socialist State, including the First Secretary of the Communist Party, the Prime Minister, the Chairman of the National Assembly, the Chairman of the National Front, and the Secretary of the Prague City Committee.'

Why cannot Woddis conclude, therefore, that the Soviet bureaucracy intervened in its own interests, which are opposed to those being demanded by the working class in Czechoslovakia? Instead he returns to his generalizations: 'We can never accept the right of any Party or Socialist State to intervene in the affairs of another in this way.'

To be sure. But does Woddis mean 'never'? What about Hungary, 1956?

Brutal repression

Armed intervention and brutal repression smashed the revolution of workers' councils, murdered Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter and many others. The British Communist Party supported this counter-revolutionary intervention.

Stalinism is not just the record of Stalin's crimes. At this Congress there could be no easy talk about the 'cult of the individual' as the 'explanation' of Stalinist history.

This time the historical questions are decisive for any move forward from the crisis reached by Communist Party members.

Ignored by the Party leaders, because politically those questions mean their political death, nonetheless these questions dominated the Congress.

They did not dominate it only symbolically, as could be said at previous Congresses, but they were brought before the eyes of every delegate in the pages of every Workers Press, with a devastating exposure of the Stalinist record of the leadership.

What did the Workers Press represent at that Congress?

It represented not simply the fact that the past history exists and must be reckoned with; but it brought right into the Congress the force, the movement, that has been built on this history, built on the struggle against Stalinism, and that now poses the question of alternative revolutionary leadership for every communist.

Part two will appear in Tuesday's Workers Press.

Faction rights

When the Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia, one of their purposes was to prevent the Czech Communist Party Congress due one month later.

Most of all, as the official Soviet Communist Party statement made clear, the Congress had to be stopped because it was intended that it would give freedom to factions and opposition platforms.

In other words, within the Communist Party there would appear a political reflection of the changes going on in the Czech working class and intelligentsia; the possibility was imminent of an organized and public expression of the movement towards political revolution against the bureaucracy.

This would have been a terrific blow to the Stalinist bureaucracy internationally. Hence the irony: at the 31st Congress of the British Communist Party, a minority were warned that their activity was 'factional', and yet they were 'factionalizing' in support of a military action... to stop the right of factions in the Party!

The contradiction is not just a logical trick or something that can be ironed out, but a real and insoluble contradiction exemplifying the crisis of Stalinism.

In Woddis's speech no conclusions were drawn about the political and historical meaning of the intervention, and in so far as Woddis attempts any, they blow up in his face.

For example, he points out the absurdity of the Soviet claim that the intervention was



Wainwright: Gave delegates two choices, for or against the EC's Czech position.



Matthews: Pretends to repudiate the Party's Stalinist past.



Johnstone: King Street's pre-arranged 'opposition'.



Gollan: Needs Johnstone to fight Trotskyism.



Reid: 'Sibyl' of anti-Trotskyism.

Behind the scenes at the Congress

Dear Comrade,

As a Communist Party member I feel I must write to congratulate you on succeeding in obtaining your press credentials for the Party Congress and on your reports of it.

I am sure it would have done the hearts good of your comrades who so selflessly produce and sell your newspaper to have seen how each copy bought inside the Congress hall was passed along the rows to be read by the many delegates who themselves felt embarrassment at being seen buying it.

This interest was greatly helped by the way your application for admission was handled.

I did not speak to a single delegate who did not feel that the whole thing was dealt with in an absolutely ham-handed and incompetent manner.

What has however still to be grasped by most is that this 'boob' was not politically fortuitous. It showed that you do not have to scratch very deep below the surface of even such a King Street New-Look Technological-Age White-Hope as Dr Tony Chater to find an Old-Style Unreformed Stalinist consumed with hatred of Trotskyism and instinctively resorting to any lie, however laughable, to prevent first-hand Trotskyist coverage of the Congress.

What is however new and extremely significant is that with the growth of Trotskyist influence reflected in your production of the daily Workers Press the CP leaders were forced to beat a humiliating retreat and for the first time in the Party's history to admit an officially accredited representative of a Trotskyist paper.

☆

This same new situation was reflected in George Matthews's reply to discussion in the Czechoslovak debate to the salient points of which you gave prominence.

Here a division of labour had been carefully worked out by the King Street hierarchy. Realizing the dangers for them reflected in the many resolutions demanding a fundamental analysis of the causes of the invasion and the distortions in the 'socialist' states that it revealed, they were determined to prevent these being put to the Congress, which, they insisted, should only be allowed to vote for or against their resolutions of August 1968.

It was agreed that Monty Johnstone should jump up at the beginning of the Congress ahead of anyone else to oppose this.

As prearranged, Bill Wainwright, heading the Resolutions Committee, would then counterpose a 'reasonable' proposal, sure of adoption, that a decision should be deferred till the next day when delegates concerned had had a chance to discuss the matter with his committee.

Johnstone then led a group of delegates into the committee and, after a sham fight, persuaded most of them to agree to Wainwright's proposals in the interests of 'unity' against the faction supporting the invasion.

Things nearly went wrong however when Jack Dunman

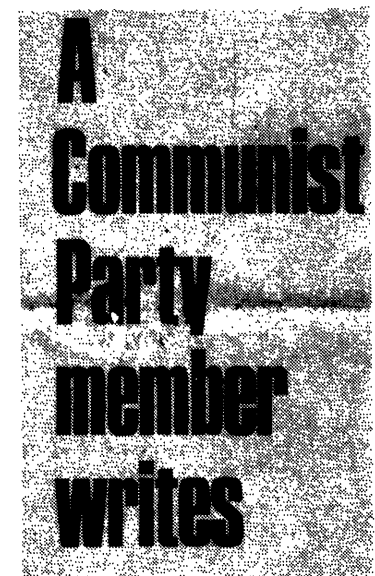
(the Party's agricultural expert for two decades who had fallen foul of the Party leadership when, for entirely non-political reasons, he was sacked from his full-time job at King Street a few years ago) the next day insisted on pressing the issue to a division.

Wainwright assured the Congress that delegates wishing to go farther than the EC should be able to do so in the debates, a useful safety valve which could commit them to nothing.

When it became clear from the applause of delegates at attacks on the Husak regime and Soviet policies in the speech of Essex secretary Peter Sampson, followed by Johnstone's kite-flying demagogic speech, that many delegates wanted a stand on these lines, Matthews made his clever reply pretending to repudiate the Party's past kowtowing to Stalinist repressions.

This led the unwary to think that the leadership was accepting their points. The extent of Matthews's sincerity can be judged, however, by the fact that he prevented those passages from his speech appearing the next day in the 'Morning Star', which he edits.

Another example of King Street's double game, and the collusion of the 'liberals', is shown by the decision that Monty Johnstone should not go on the new EC.



This plausible-sounding demagogue is far more useful to King Street if he continues to be able to fly his liberal kites and syphon off discontent without committing the EC as he would do if he were on it.

However, finding that many branches and districts who have illusions in him nominated him to the EC, he could not withdraw without giving the game away.

So he reached an agreement with his old friend Reuben Falber, Gollan's assistant general secretary and in charge of the Election Preparations Committee, on the reply to be given to those who could not be prevented from seeing that committee to support his nomination.

They were told that, although Johnstone was 'a good comrade', he did not qualify for the EC because he had not in recent years played any part in his branch or district leadership—a fact which, if used as a criterion generally, would of course exclude also Gollan, Falber, and almost everyone at King Street.

What Falber did not reveal was that Johnstone was carrying out a King Street decision to devote himself to bolstering up and giving a new look to the Party's crumbling 'ideological' work, and utilizing his friends like Miliband and Anderson on the 'New Left', who offer him valuable space in their journals, and his 'Tribune' and Labour 'left' friends like Michael Foot.

He is clearly far more used to John Gollan concentrating on 'research', writing and speaking around the country against Trotskyism and for New-Look Stalinism than he would be working in his branch, which he can always get to support him and elect him to Congresses.

Nonetheless, Johnstone asked his supporters to accept the 'validity' of Falber's points and dissuaded them from raising the matter from the floor at the closed session before the vote. Despite this, and the fact that he was not on the recommended list, his vote topped the 100 mark.

Although there is friendly co-operation between Gollan and extremely dangerous fake anti-Stalinists like Johnstone, King Street's relations with Sid French and his supporters are extremely strained.

When the 'affable' Monty walks into No. 16 there are smiles all round, but on the rare occasions that the 'disloyal' Sid is there for district secretaries' meetings, faces are grim and tense.

Obliquely and through a distorted Stalinist prism French and company reflect a deep-seated and genuine dissatisfaction with the opportunist and electoralist cretinism of the Gollan leadership felt by many of the Party's industrial militants.

☆

French, who is supported by four districts (Surrey, South Midlands, Hants and Dorset and, to a lesser extent, North-East) and received nearly 90 votes for the EC, has no intention of dissolving his anti-leadership faction.

Of particular interest will be to see if the ageing and sick Palme Dutt consents to use his 'Labour Monthly' directly or indirectly as their factional organ.

All these factions and leaders represent blind alleys for the many sincere Communists in the CP who are looking for revolutionary answers to their problems.

It is probable that in the future period Matthews within the leadership and particularly Johnstone outside, but in cahoots with it, will make increasingly loud and frequent 'anti-Stalinist' noises and 'analyses' in order to canalize the growing critical spirit among particularly Communist youth and students.

French in his turn will try to win support for his faction by exploiting the revision felt by increasing numbers of Communist workers with their Party's class collaborationist policies.

Though formally still professing allegiance to the reformist 'British Road to Socialism', he is liable to be forced sooner or later to oppose its whole perspective, conveniently forgetting, of course, that it was initiated by his mentor, Joseph Stalin.

British Stalinism is weak and splitting.

In this situation the Workers Press can play an inestimable role in helping to develop a genuine revolutionary consciousness in the Party's ranks.

Its daily publication is indeed a superb achievement and those of us carrying on this fight inside the CP look to you.

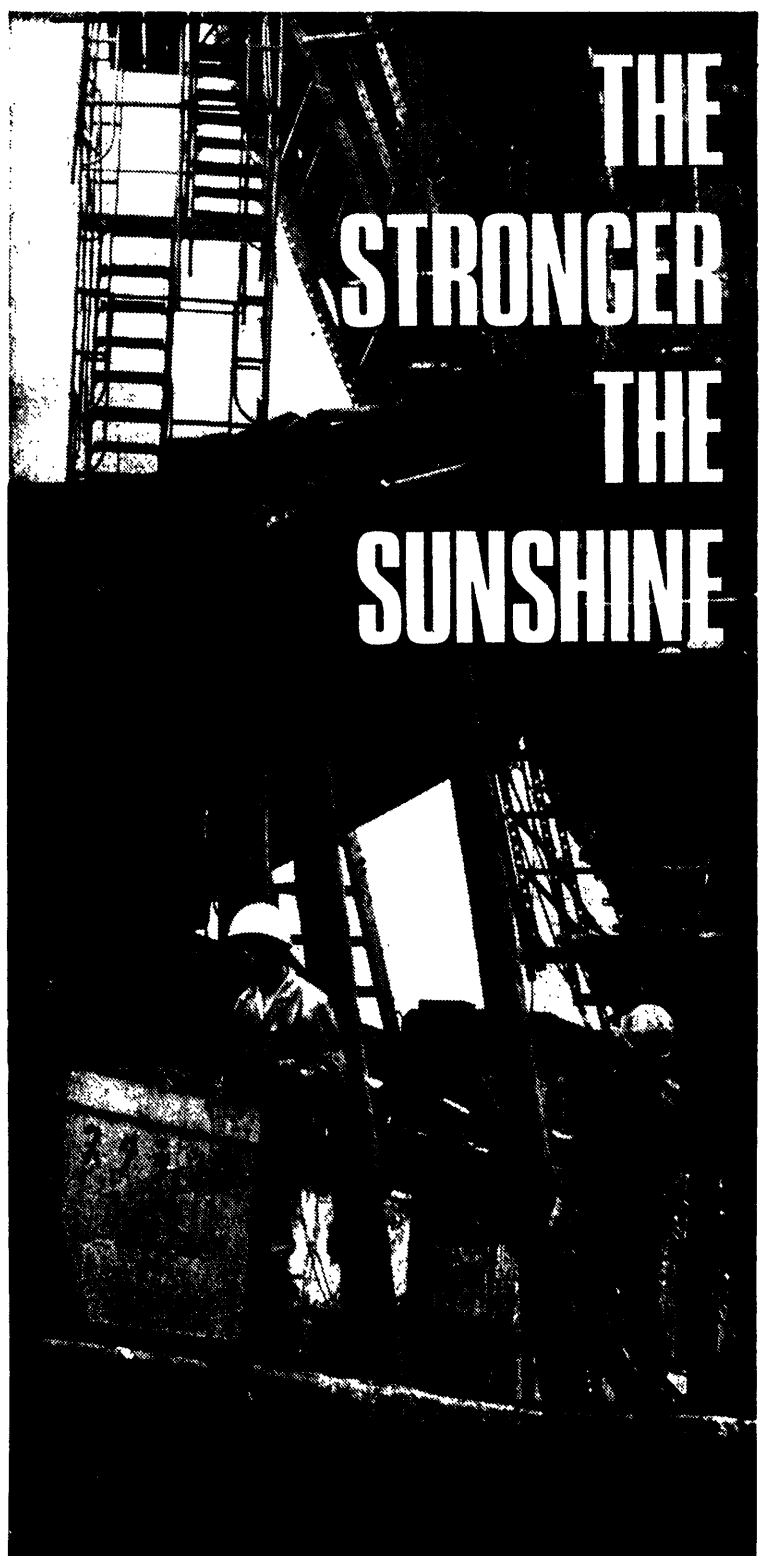
We thank you for your help, above all in the form of your theoretical articles and your exposure of the dishonest manoeuvres of King Street and its collaborators.

The recent articles by Robert Black were particularly excellent in the exposure of that Sibyl of anti-Trotskyism, Mrs Betty Reid-Lewis. We look forward to others of similar theoretical depth and polemical transience.

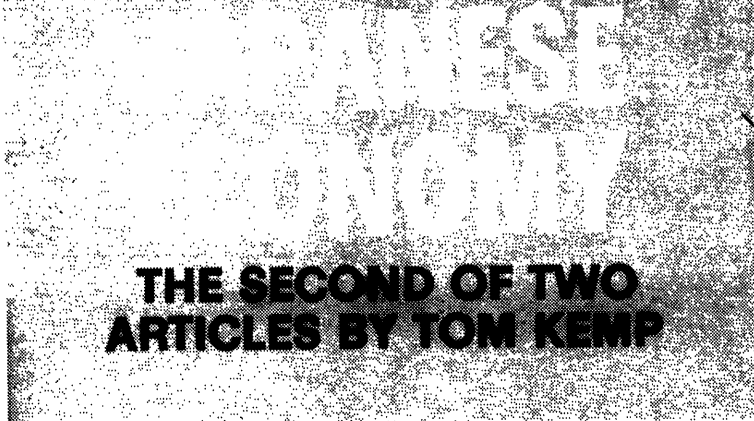
With fraternal greetings,
A Marxist in the CP



The biggest division at the Congress took place over the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia—over one quarter voting against the Executive Committee.



Workers construct Japan's first nuclear-powered ship in Tokyo.



THE MORE DANGER FROM SUN-STROKE

THE RISING SUN is certainly shining brilliantly for the moment—but can it all last, and if so for how long? No-one knows the answer to these questions, least of all Japanese businessmen and economists.

The former, at least, are out to make hay while they can and are ready to take enormous risks as long as the present wave of optimism continues. But, as one of the economists wrote, 'the stronger the sunshine, the more danger from sunstroke'.

Japanese capitalism's continuous expansion depends above all upon the continued growth in the demand for Japanese exports, in other words the expansion of the world market.

During the 1960s Japan has benefited from the uneven development of the capitalist world system and has taken advantage of the lack of flexibility in economies like those of Britain and France.

Since the market revaluation in particular an increasingly bitter struggle with Germany for the world market can be expected.

If world trade grows more slowly than it has been doing, and still more if it contracts, or if Japanese industry should see its share in world trade reduced, there would certainly be difficulty in maintaining the expansion rate.

Like any other capitalist boom, that in Japan feeds on itself.

Growth of market's encour-

ages business to invest more heavily in new plant and machinery. Japanese capitalists, in particular, have been daring in undertaking huge investments without any certainty of profits.

The boom has enabled these to pay off so far.

A heavy investment rate is favourable all round: 'it pulls the rest of the economy forward and enables real wages to rise, although profits rise much faster.'

It eases the way for government finance by bringing in more revenue without increased taxes.

It encourages banks to make bigger loans and extends further credit to business savings and deposits continue to grow.

It stimulates development of new technologies and—a field in which Japanese technicians have particularly shone—the turning of a brilliant discovery perhaps made elsewhere into the basis of a new mass-produced commodity to sell throughout the world.

Technology

Moreover, as in any process of rapid investment, the proportion of new, up-to-date and technologically advanced plant remains high (and may even rise).

This has been of particular importance to Japanese industry in the past decade because older-established rivals such as Britain were using a higher proportion of old style, sometimes technologically obsolete, plant and found difficulty in switching production to lines to meet world demand.

Everything depends upon whether the market at home and abroad continues to expand, and whether the rate of

investment—which represents demand for capital goods—can itself be maintained.

The great nightmare of capitalists operating in a boom situation is that of surplus capacity. This could arise from a setback to the growth of demand—such as a slump in world trade or increased trade competition—or a misdirection of investment so that equipment was installed to build something for which demand had fallen off.

Foreigners have often predicted that Japanese industry was heading for trouble precisely for such reasons and there has been anxiety in Japan itself.

Because a general problem of over-capacity has not arisen so far does not mean that it never will.

In fact, since it depends to a large extent upon world conditions outside of Japanese control, such a situation could arise in an important sector of the economy without much warning.

Given the composition of Japanese exports, and the dependence upon imports—and thus sensitivity to balance of payments deficits—there is no possibility that the home market could expand the equal speed to take up the slack.

Although excess capacity has not yet appeared as a general problem—though it has, of course, in the declining industries—it remains endemic as a possibility.

Failure to grow continuously would inevitably expose the fragile financial basis of the boom: the heavy indebtedness of many industrial firms, rash investment by banks and financial houses and excessive investment in some fields.

Some economists place much

faith in the home market's capacity to continue expanding.

Certainly, despite Japan's phenomenal growth rates, consumption has taken a back seat, housing has been neglected, food intake is well below that in western countries, working-class living standards remain frugal and house room is very limited.

Certainly consumption has been growing—as a result of the high demand for labour power and, indeed, the appearance of actual shortages during the last few years.

The unions' bargaining power has increased and wage increases have been won. Japanese wages have thus moved closer to those in the advanced capitalist countries.

Increasing working-class militancy—though most evident so far in industries threatened by technological advance—threatens one of the bases of Japanese capitalism's success.

Contradiction

It is all very well to speak about the expansion of the home market, but so far as it must be based upon higher wages and salaries, it can only mean higher labour costs for the export and capital goods industries.

There is, therefore, a contradiction between industries tuned to the home market—such as food and consumer goods—and those which find their main or essential markets abroad.

There is a contradiction, too, between the demands of the working class—super-exploited, despite rising real wage levels—and the needs of big business to keep down costs in order to ward off the tendency for the rate of profit to fall.

The argument that to pay workers and salary-earners more can keep the economy moving on a continuously ascending plane is a fallacy bred out of reformism and Keynesian economics.

The home market cannot take over from the world

market as the motive force in Japan's expansion.

Intensified struggle to maintain and increase the share of world trade will remain as it always has been, an imperative for Japanese capital.

This means, as it does in every capitalist country, a struggle against its own working class to hold down wages and take back concessions won.

Through various forms of paternalism, Japanese capitalists have achieved a certain success in tying workers to their firms (e.g. by life-long security of employment, welfare schemes, etc.) and trade unions have accepted this position.

Such characteristics of 'traditional' Japan are bound to be increasingly undermined, if not actually to disappear, and the way will be open for a revolutionary Marxist party to take the lead in the class struggle.

Consciousness

The boom itself has tended to exacerbate class relations in Japan, to strengthen the working class numerically and prepare the way for more effective political intervention as well as wages struggles.

So far the lag in working-class consciousness has enabled Japanese capitalism to increase its competitive edge over rivals. Such advantages are, by their nature, impermanent.

There are other problems which are worth mentioning. First of these concerns relations with other capitalist countries.

The Japanese government has so far obsequiously followed the American lead on external political questions while resisting penetration of foreign capital into Japan.

The home market has been highly protected but, under American pressure, some liberalization is now taking place.

Foreign capitalists eye with interest the large internal market and hope to cash in on it more in the future than they have been able to do in the past.

More intensive competition in their own preserves does not please many industrialists as high-priced home sales enable them to keep down export prices.

Another trend is for foreign, especially American, capital to demand a bigger share of the surplus value extracted from the Japanese working class.

Although there is some foreign investment in Japanese industry, government policy has been to prevent it getting larger.

Some proposed investments have been prevented. Now, however, there are also signs

that, responding to US pressure, the Japanese government will permit American firms to establish or extend connections with industry.

Secondly the continued growth of the Japanese economy reduces the 'catching up' factor in the successes of the past decade or so.

The pressure to find new outlets for capital will increase: it must thus find new products and new technologies if a barrier is not soon to be reached to the continued increase in investment which has fed the boom.

the government has periodically had to slow the expansion rate and create 'recessions'.

In these periods growth has been slowed by a few per cent, not halted, but the warning lights have flashed.

There is no guarantee that one of these slowdowns, imposed by world market conditions, could not spark off a more serious and curtailing credit.

Still more dangerous from the Japanese point of view would be an attack on inflation and the balance of pay-

Japanese events having an effect on the capitalist world market, the reverse is the case.

The collapse of the boom in Japan is most unlikely as an isolated national phenomenon; only temporary recessions of the kind which have periodically occurred in the past 20 years without having wide repercussions outside Japan are likely.

On the other hand, a contraction of world trade, or even a failure to expand, a recession in the United States or in Europe—or even a marked improvement in the competitiveness of other countries (say through competitive devaluation following a monetary crisis)—could have serious and uncontrollable repercussions in Japan.

Japanese capitalism is highly dependent upon outside forces.

It is deeply involved with the world market and liberalization of import trade and capital investment will only make it more so.

Its new-found strength, which causes so much wonder, has roots which are not too difficult to explain.

Its maintenance depends upon many forces which are not under the control of government or business in Japan.

Antagonisms

The economy will have to run faster merely to stay in the same place.

The boom has enabled many problems to be stored away or postponed; but during its course there is no doubt that it has created many which are coming up for resolution.

As this happens the old traditional structures and restraints which have helped to keep social antagonisms in check will be undermined.

No one would be wise to predict a smooth untroubled future for Japan on the basis of past economic achievements and the present prosperity.

On the contrary, as the struggle in the universities and against subordination to American policy shows, Japanese society reflects deep currents of disturbance which show themselves first and most strongly in the most sensitive sections: students and youth.

The working class, restrained by leaders no less corrupt, limited and ready to betray and compromise than their European counterparts, is now one of the largest and highly organized in the world.

Much of it is new to industry and is still absorbing the improvements in living standards which the boom has made possible.

There can, however, be no doubt about its capacity for combat given the leadership and the consciousness.



Several thousand housewives demonstrated recently against the increased cost of rice. The average rise of prices over the last five years is 6 per cent, which is the highest in the world.

Conditions for growth on this score alone are likely to become more difficult.

Thirdly, like all capitalist booms, that in Japan has been accompanied by inflation. With the inherent weaknesses of the financial structure and dependence upon remaining price competitive in the world market, inflation is a major focus of anxiety about future prospects.

It is closely linked, of course, with the prospect of raising wage costs already referred to.

To counter balance of payments deficits and maintain the external value of the yen,

ments problem in the United States.

About one-third of Japan's exports find their way to the United States. An unknown proportion of the remainder depends upon US spending and investment in other countries.

In other words, Japan's boom has been closely linked in the past decade with the uninterrupted growth of the US economy and would be exposed to anything which brought this to an end.

On the whole, despite the growth and the size of the Japanese economy today, the conclusion of this analysis would be that rather than

WEEKEND TELEVISION

B.B.C.-1

10.00 a.m. Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.30-11.00 Wie Bitte? Noon Weatherman. 12.05 p.m. Casey Jones. 12.25 The Floorwalker. 12.45-5.15 Grandstand. 5.15 Star Track. 6.05 News and Weatherman. 6.15 Simon Dee. 6.45 Dixon of Dock Green. 7.30 The Harry Secombe Show. 8.15 High Adventure. 9.50 News and Weather. 10.05 Match of the Day. 11.05 Malcom Muggeridge asks The Questions Why. 11.45 Weatherman.

Regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times: Midlands and East Anglia: 11.47 p.m. Weather. North of England: 11.47 p.m. News Summary. Scotland: 5.00-5.15 p.m. Sportsreel. 7.30-8.15 Follow Your Suit. 10.05-10.50 Sportsreel. 10.50-11.35 One Over the Eight. Weather.

B.B.C.-2

3.00-4.25 p.m. Saturday Cinema: 'Three for the Show'. 7.00 News and Sport, Weather. 7.15 Gardeners' World. 7.30 Rugby Special. 8.15 The Philpott File. 9.15 The Ice Show. 9.50 The First Churchills. 10.35 Review. 11.15 Line Up. 11.40 News Summary. 11.45 Midnight Movie: 'Johnny O'Clock'.

I.T.V.

11.10 a.m. RAC Road Report. 11.15 Saturday Session. 11.40 The English Sickness—Fact or Fiction? 12.05 p.m. Thunderbirds. 12.55 News From ITN. 1.00 World of Sport. 1.05 On The Ball. 1.20 They're Off! 3.10 International Sports Special. 4.00 Wrestling. 5.00 Results Service. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.10 News From ITN. 6.10 News From ITN. 6.15 Parkin's Patch. 6.45 The Saturday Crowd. 7.30 Please Sir! 8.05 'They Came To Cordura' with Gary Cooper, Rita Hayworth and Van Heflin. 10.00 News From ITN. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre: 'The Comic'. 11.10 Frost On Saturday. 12 midnight All Our Yesterdays. 12.25 a.m. Father D'Arcy Remembers.

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SUNDAY

B.B.C.-1

9.00 a.m. Nai Zindagi - Naga Jeevan. 9.30 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.00 Wie Bitte? 10.30 Morning Service. 11.30 Know How. 12.30 p.m.-1.00 p.m. Representing the Union. 1.25-1.50 Farming. Weather for Farmers. 2.00 The Education Programme. 2.29 News Headlines. 2.30 Day Time. 3.05 Film Matinee. 4.30 Here's Lucy. 5.00 The Undersea World of Jacques Costeau. 5.50 Clangers. 6.00 Children in Need of Help. News. Weather. 6.15 Malcom Muggeridge asks The Questions Why. 6.50 Songs of Praise. 7.25 Paul Temple. 8.15 The Sunday Musical. 10.15 News. Weather. 10.15 Omnibus. 11.15 Monty Python's Flying Circus. 11.45 Weather.

B.B.C.-2

7.00 p.m. News Review. Weather. 7.25 Bird's-Eye View: The rise industry from early beginnings. Workshop. 9.20 A Year in the Life. 10.05 Thirty-Minute Theatre. 10.35 News and Martin's Laugh-in. 11.25 News Summary. 11.30 Line-up.

I.T.V.

11.00 a.m. Church Service. 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session: Families Talking. 12.40-1.05 Your Living Body. 1.25 'The English Sickness' fact or fiction? 1.55 Face The Press. 3.15 The Big Match. 4.15 The Flaxton Boys. 4.45 The Golden Shot. 5.30 Hark At The Barker. 6.00 News From ITN. 6.15 All Creatures Great and Small. 6.35 Tomorrow's Child. Stars On Sunday. 7.25 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.20 'On The Town' with Gene Kelly and Frank Sinatra. 10.10 News From ITN. 10.25 This Is... Tom Jones. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. Father D'Arcy Remembers.

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Working-class militancy, particularly in the most technologically advanced industries such as the railways, threatens Japanese capitalism's boom. Above: Victory for railway strikers—October 1968.

Power workers to continue pay fight

RANK AND FILE power station workers—incensed by their officials' recent acceptance of a 10 per cent wage offer from the Electricity Council—meet in London tomorrow.

According to a leaflet circulated to shop stewards and works' committee representatives in the industry, the purpose of the conference 'is to consider the position and the many problems confronting workers in electricity supply.

To co-ordinate and strengthen the efforts of all stations and depots in the continuing struggle to improve wages and working conditions of the 130,000 manual workers in the industry.'

Jails full to bursting

THERE are now three times more people in prison in England and Wales than before the war, according to the Home Office.

By the early 1970s, 40,000 are expected to be in prison, whilst already about 9,000 prisoners are sleeping two and three to a cell.

A Home Office White Paper says that over half those sentenced to more than 18 months' imprisonment for an indictable offence are reconvicted within two years of release.

Shipowners to be liable for oil pollution

AN international agreement to impose heavier penalties on shipowners for oil pollution is likely to be signed today.

A conference of the International Maritime Consultative Organization has almost completed drawing up two international conventions which will double the present fines.

The conference has laid strict liability for pollution on the shipowners, except in cases of war and grave natural disaster.

YEMEN OIL TAKE-OVER

SOUTH YEMEN yesterday nationalized 36 foreign firms including the oil marketing organizations of BP, Shell, Mobil, Esso and Caltex; but the British and US refineries were not affected.

The eight foreign banks in the country, four of them British, are to be merged into 'the National Bank of South Yemen'.

London and Birmingham Tories attack tenants

Fight rent rises with factory action

JUST TEN days after their court-room 'victory' over the four Poplar rent strikers, the Tory Greater London Council has announced another swingeing all-round increase in rents for their 100,000 tenants.

The average rise, according to Tory housing committee chairman Horace Cutler, will be 7s. 6d. and the maximum increase 10s.

Similar increases were made 13 months ago. Cutler's apparent joviality about the benefits of the GLC's rent rebate scheme will fool nobody, particularly when he goes on to state that the council intends to take an extra £12 million out of tenants' pockets in 1970-1971. 'We decided in all fairness that it was a matter of great urgency to stop the housing revenue account going into the red,' he announced.

Profits reaped

Not for nothing is the Tory rent scheme called a 'fair rents policy'. It certainly works fairly and squarely in the interests of the GLC's big business pals—the bankers and financiers who reap millions in interest charges from tenants every year. Of course the Tories weep crocodile tears about this increase being due to Labour government policy. But this only underlines the extent to which the Wilson leadership has opened the door for Tory reaction to hit out at the working class.

Controls farce

The Labour government's 'rent controls' are nothing more than a farce. At present, housing minister Anthony Greenwood is piloting a Bill through the

Builders

● FROM PAGE ONE

to fight back against such a deal. But the central question is the building of a new leadership. The existing union leaders have shown by their acceptance of the penny cut in builders' wages a year ago, their attempt to set the tea break for 6d. an hour and now their craven capitulation over the new deal that they have to be removed. To do this will mean a fight against the Stalinist-dominated London Building Workers' Joint Sites Committee. The Committee put out a leaflet at the lobby of the NFBTO meeting on Thursday which called for 'widespread militant action' to back their policy of: 'Our leadership will never convince the employers until we convince them that we intend to fight.' The rejection of the deal and the £20 basic wage cannot be won under the leadership of the present executives, but only by a ruthless fight to replace them and all those who cover up for them.

Commons to limit rent increases . . . to 7s. 6d. in any year!

Following the court decision to issue eviction notices to East London tenants fighting the previous round of GLC rises, the new increases face the tenants' movement with a crisis situation. Rebates or no rebates, many thousands of GLC tenants could not afford the previous increases, let alone the new ones. But the GLC clearly hopes that the threat of eviction will dampen tenants' militancy and prevent an all-out fight against the rises.

Wage cut

The tenants must not be left to fight alone. The new rises are an integral part of the employers' plans to cut workers' wages. A rent rise is a wage cut! Rent strikes, however well organized, are no substitute for strike action in the factories and on the docks. The tenants must turn for support to all workers in the London area against these Draconian attacks.

Birmingham rise 'above the norm'

BIRMINGHAM City Council is to apply to the Minister of Housing for permission to increase rents of the City Council tenants above the 7s. 6d. 'norm' proposed by the government.

Announcing the proposed rises on Wednesday of this week, Alderman Dark, the Tory Housing Committee chairman, predicted that at present rents, the council would show a housing deficit of £3,000,000 next year. This would be almost entirely due to sharp increases in interest rates. The only tenants not affected at present will be those in slum houses, or in houses built after 1967, for which an 'economic rent' is already being charged.

OPPOSITION This further drastic increase in the cost of living of Birmingham workers is already meeting with opposition from tenants. But they should have no confidence in the Labour Party minority of the council members of which are proposing that the rent subsidy should be paid wholly out of rates, and not in part by municipal tenants.

- No increase in rents or rates!
- Immediate suspension of all interest payments!
- Remove Wilson and company from the Labour Cabinet!
- Nationalize the building societies, construction firms, banks and insurance companies under workers' and tenants' control!

C.P. blames teachers for education crisis

AS TEACHERS move into action against the government and employers they are not only vilified by government spokesmen, but come under sniper fire from the Communist Party.

A leading article in the current issue of the Communist Party's 'Education Today and Tomorrow' entitled 'Aims and ideals' places much of the blame for the present crisis in education on individual teachers.

The author, M. Allan, says that education is ineffective because teachers are not clear about what they are doing. 'In conclusion we can say that at present, many teachers would have great difficulty in clarifying what they were doing, why they were doing it and the best method of doing it and in stating compatible aims and ideals. The ideal is often too detached from practice and the practice ritualized and systemized instead of reflecting the needs of the community, so education is ineffective and motivation poor.' (Our emphasis.)

Teachers, in case Mr Allan does not know, find it difficult to have any 'motivation' at all on £13 a week; and the same

goes for children in understaffed, over-crowded schools. Contrary to his assertion, this critical state of affairs does exactly reflect the need of the capitalist 'community'. No wonder Mr Allan can claim his proposals for education could be 'universally acceptable'.

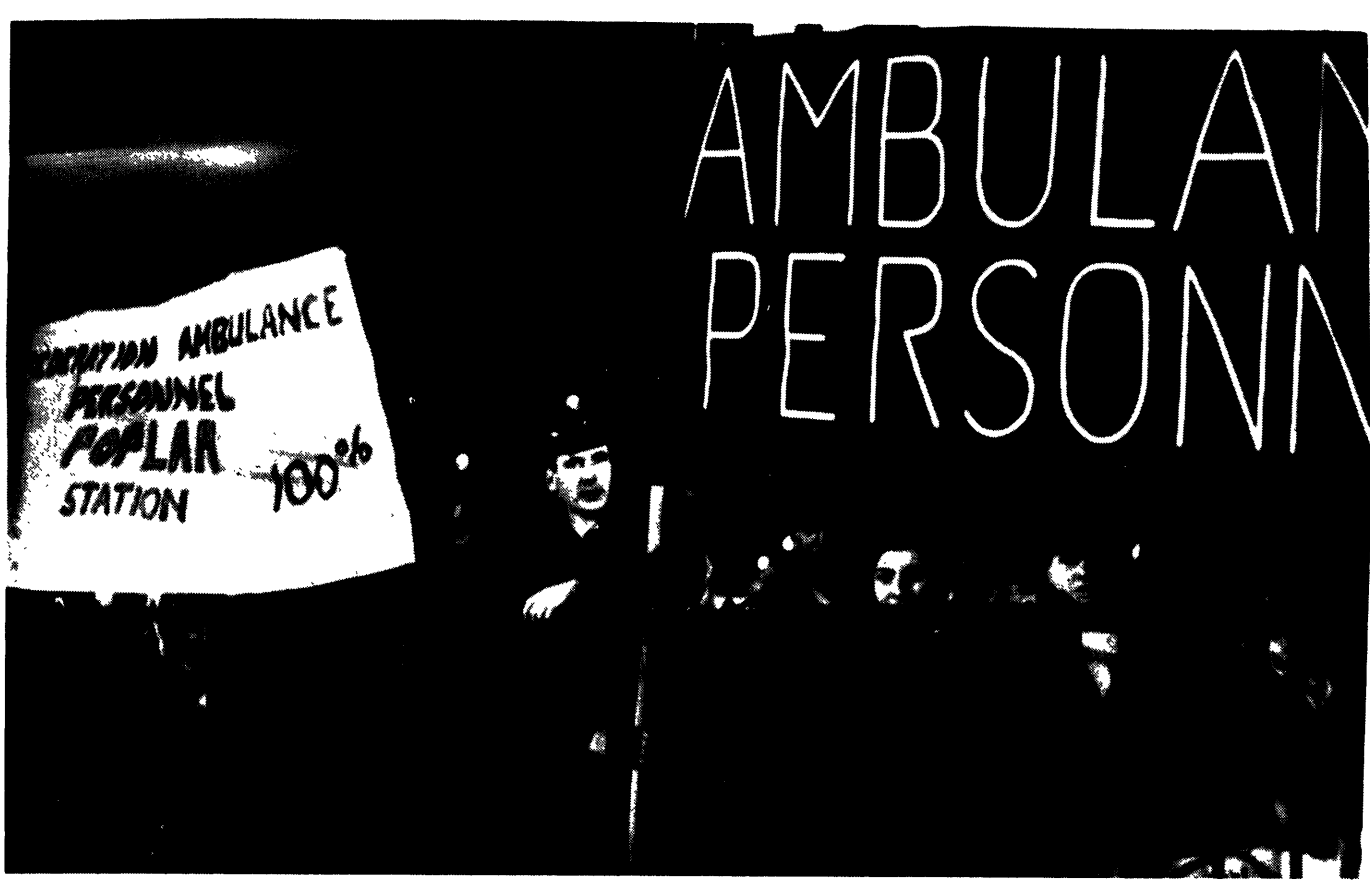
The Wilson government would certainly agree that: 'Countries which inherit our [!] educational system risk inheriting our [!] problems of shallow aims and ideals and the [wait for it] wastage associated with production and consumption of non-essentials.' In Britain, says Mr Allan, the main aim of education is to 'increase the earning power of the country [!] and increase the living standards of the community'.

Nevertheless many people are allowed to study 'economically unsound or unproductive lines of study such as dead languages, religion, non-commercial art, etc.'

The eagerness of the author to make his analysis and proposals 'universally acceptable' reflects the movement of the Stalinist bureaucracy closer to the Labour leaders in capitalism's hour of crisis.

Wilson too is bent on eliminating 'economically un-

By a Workers Press Reporting Team



Ambulancemen determined to win £2 claim

AMBULANCEMEN'S pay and conditions were discussed in London yesterday after a week in which their determination grew to accept nothing less than a £2-a-week pay rise.

On Thursday night, some 1,000 London and Home Counties ambulancemen demonstrated through London (above) before lobbying MPs at Westminster.

Others took part in a motorcade through crowded Oxford Street. These actions were designed 'to bring pressure on the National Joint Council responsible for ambulance service conditions', said a spokesman for the Federation of Ambulance Personnel.

Demonstrators told the Workers Press that they had been offered a rise of only 35s. a week, 15s. of which they were already receiving in any case.

Most ambulancemen get a mere £16-£17 a week before stoppages.

'We would get more on National Assistance!' pointed out a leaflet distributed to passers-by. At Westminster, ambulancemen demanded a complete overhaul of the ambulance service, their conditions of service and their rate of pay.

Most of the lobbyists came from Hertfordshire, Watford, Deptford, Kent, Surrey and London.

On Wednesday, Stoke-on-Trent ambulancemen claim, their 24-hour 'emergency calls only' strike won 100 per cent support.

PROFIT RATES on cars may be the worst ever, say government economists on the Motor Industry National Economic Development Council.

The figure could well fall below that for 1967, itself a record bad year.

In 1967 the rate of return on capital employed was a mere 1.7 per cent. Following devaluation, with the consequent rise in exports, the figure reached a high point of 10.4 per cent.

The report warns that the falling rate of return could have a marked adverse effect on long-term investment and calls for easing of hire purchase restrictions to boost home sales.

Productivity drive

Another glaringly obvious conclusion, not voiced in the report, is that the car employers will be spurred on to intensify their drive for productivity and against wages.

A more general warning on the same theme came on Wednesday night from Viscount Caldecote, a leading engineering magnate.

Caldecote told the Institute of Production Engineers that British industry found it difficult to invest adequately in new plant because it did not provide an adequate rate of return.

'We have the ridiculous state of affairs in which industry is provided with grants

Another Saigon 'spy trial'

SOUTH VIETNAM'S latest, and biggest, 'spy trial' began in Saigon yesterday.

43 people face charges ranging from high treason to acts 'harmful to national security'.

The main defendant is a former special assistant

to the US puppet dictator, 'President' Thieu.

Huynh Van Trong was arrested last July for alleged contacts with the Vietcong. Others include 13 women, two journalists and several former high-ranking officials in the so-called 'open arms ministry', which deals with defectors from the liberation forces.

WEAKNESS

This latest Saigon purge reflects the growing internal weakness of the regime. It is quite possible that even high-ranking government officials are making contact with the NLF now they can see their own regime is doomed. The day cannot be far off when Thieu and his clique of murderers will be on trial in Saigon, charged with acting as the accomplices of US imperialism in massacring thousands of Vietnamese workers and peasants. There will be no shortage of witnesses for such a trial.

Motor-cycle plant to close

SAVINGS of more than £250,000 in the first full year may be made by the closure of BSA's Redditch plant in Worcestershire, the company hopes.

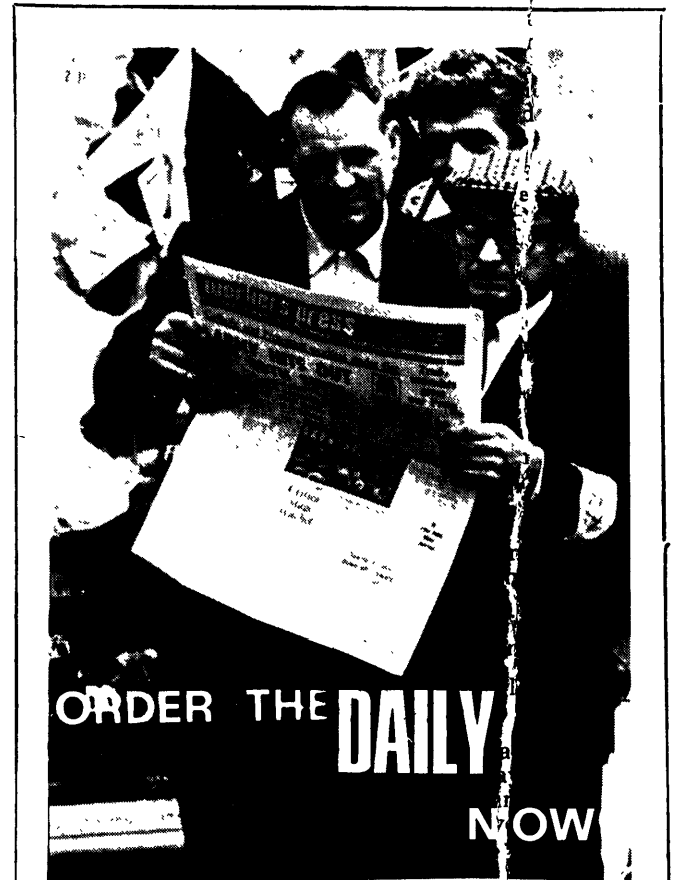
The plant is to be shut down and work transferred to the motor-cycle group's main factory at Small Heath, Birmingham.

Mr Lionel Jofeh, BSA director, claimed on Thursday night that jobs would be available at Small Heath for all those of Redditch's 450 workers prepared to work there.

Redditch is more than 12 miles from the centre of Birmingham.

Car profits drop May be worst ever

and other incentives to invest in new equipment, the purpose of which is to reduce costs and earn greater profits for their shareholders. 'Yet at the same time the Chancellor declares that if profits or dividends rise too fast he will syphon them off by taxation.' The great merit of this statement is that it makes no bones about the purpose of the government's intervention in industry. It is to provide the shareholders with greater profits. This is the reason for the drive throughout industry to step up the rate of exploitation of workers and overcome the crisis facing the employers. The falling rate of return on investment in the car industry should be a sharp warning to all workers that big attacks from the employers are now in prospect.



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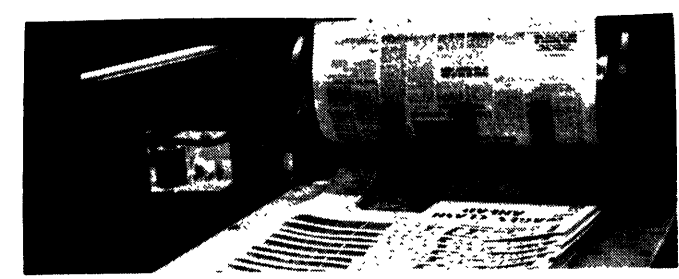
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Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office, published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180B Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

GREET WORKERS PRESS



at public meetings

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

NEWCASTLE

Sunday, November 30, 7.30 p.m.
County Hotel, Neville Street

LEEDS

Wednesday, December 3, 8 p.m.
The 'Old Bar'
Students' Union, Leeds University

CLIFF SLAUGHTER (Central Committee member, Socialist Labour League)
JOHN NOLAN (Young Socialists)

CANTERBURY

Monday, December 8, 8 p.m.
The Cornwallis Building
University of Canterbury

LIVERPOOL

Sunday, December 14, 7.30 p.m.
Shaftesbury Hotel, Mount Pleasant

Speakers at Newcastle, Liverpool and Canterbury will be:
MIKE BANDA (Editor of Workers' Press)
SHEILA TORRANCE (National Secretary of the Young Socialists)