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What think

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Bertrand Russell repudiating Ralph Schoenman leaves many important political questions unanswered.

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Who is Ralph Schoenman? The Socialist Labour League, and indeed the entire labour movement, have good cause to look closer into the man's political history.

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Decimated

Similar fears are expressed by a resolution which will go before next Tuesday's meeting

'We have no intention,' it reads, 'of allowing not only our earnings to be cut and our livelihood taken away PAGE 4 COL. 6

BY DAVID MAUDE

Labour leaders want the unions to accept a 2½-4½ per cent ceiling.
Mrs Castle's White Paper will argue for wage restraint on the basis that smaller, 'noninflationary' wage increases are in fact more valuable than larger ones . . . if prices can be kept stable.

No one will be fooled by such bare-faced deception. In fact, according to figures published by the Board of Trade itself earlier this week, the price of most retail goods has risen by at least 5 per cent over the last year alone.

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Their opposition, how-ever, is fundamentally weak. The White Paper attempts to strengthen the arm of right-wing trade union leaders by arguing that there is no magic fund out of which lower-paid workers' wages can

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Increases above $2\frac{1}{2}$ - $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent just might be possible for the lower-paid, it is suggested, so long as there is restraint by the better-paid. This is dangerous and lying nonsense!

The Socialist Labour League states unequivocally that opposition to the government's White Paper is a question of basic political principle.

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Soviet-**Egyptian** talks open in Moscow

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The main topic under discussion will be the proposed Middle-East 'package tentatively negotiated Soviet and US officials.

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Report highlights Indian

Elements of disparity are

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Developed

This process is most de-

veloped, the report states, in West Bengal and Kerala,

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At least 346 major and

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in what was officially described as a 'gun battle'—one received a piece of glass in his hand and the other a shotgun pellet in his leg!
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at public meetings

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

LIVERPOOL

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

SHEFFIELD

Sunday December 21, 7.30 p.m. **Industries Exhibition Centre** Carver Street (behind City Hall)

MIKE BANDA (Editor of Workers' Press) SHEILA TORRANCE (National Secretary of the

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

LIVERPOOL

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

SHEFFIELD

Sunday December 21, 7.30 p.m. **Industries Exhibition Centre** Carver Street (behind City Hall)

MIKE BANDA (Editor of Workers' Press) SHEILA TORRANCE (National Secretary of the

Young Socialists)

Report highlights Indian peasant struggle

A RECENT Indian government report on rural unrest ing of the struggle between India's landless and the most prosperous farmers and land-

While increased mechanization of agriculture on the bigger farms has led to a growth of food-grain production since independence from 50 million tons to 100 million tons, the report admits that this has not eased but wor-sened the conflict in the countryside:

"... viewed in the light of a social transformation, the picture that emerges is quite different and disturbing. Elements of disparity are becoming conspicuous. The report centres on the rapid break-up of the traditional Indian rural community by the growth of large-scale farms employing labour driven off the millions of smallhold-ings scattered throughout

Developed veloped, the report states, in West Bengal and Kerala.

where peasant and rural labourers' struggles have been the most violent.
At least 346 major and minor movements for the forcible occupation of land

Coalition rural capitalists that hold the purse strings of Gandhi's

Congress Party.

the Stalinists and the Soviet bureaucracy is brought out by this report in its clearest class

It is a coalition against the millions of India's land-hungry and starving peasantry, and on behalf of the urban and

Stalinism, by allying itself with such a regime and concealing its class aims with left-wing phrases, acts as a direct counter-revolutionary force in the struggles of India's workers and poor peasants.

pregnant women, were arrested. were reported this year alone down ruthlessly by the government of Mrs Gandhi.

pellet in his leg!
A day before this murderous raid, this time in San Francisco, the Panthers' national chief of staff, David Hilliard, was arrested on a charge of threatening the president.

rally.

He actually said that the Panthers would 'kill Nixon or

vity deals and Measured-Day The AEC joint shop stewards' committee has still not been called together by the

what was officially described as a 'gun battle'—one received a piece of glass in his hand and the other a shotgun

Bail was fixed at 30,000 dollars, though the only basis

● PAGE 4 COL. 3 →

THE BETRAYAL of the non - European workers in industry by the South African Communist Party's operation of the Industrial Conciliation Act began during the period when the Stalinist bureaucracy suddenly reversed its foreign policy of 'anti-imperialism' to 'social-fascism' and adventurism, and turned over onto its stomach with a 'right turn'.

Democracy had to be saved, fascism destroyed, Popular Fronts built up in place of the 'revolutionary struggle against imperialism', old enemies made friends, old friends made enemies, expellers expelled, the old expelled reinstated as the new expellers, the 'black republic' dropped and replaced by 'democratic' slogans.

The Simons make little analysis of the relation between Stalinism and the CPSA in this period.

Nor do they explain the social reasons why the Popular Front carried the white leadership of the CP, as it was, so readily along with the new policy, which was really a return to the old days when Andrews. Sachs and Bunting flourished.

The fact is that the new policy appealed strongly to the privileged 'radical' white pettybourgeoisie, which made its way rapidly into the Left Book Club, the Anti-Fascist League and other Popular Front setups, and into the CP and its leadership.

The book of the Simons does, however, contain much useful material on CPSA activities in this period. Thus they show that the CPSA repeated its 1923-1924 policy of moving close to the Afrikaner worker and radical, by issuing an Afrikaans monthly, 'Die Arbeider en Arme Boer' January 1935 (p. 471). Afrikaners began to move into the CPSA.

The Anti-Fascist League, formed in March 1934, and the Friends of the Soviet Union, a patronizing, liberal, reformist organization dominated by proto - Zionists and other radicals', drew sections of the urban white middle class closer

to the CP. Labour Party members helped to form the Anti-Fascist League (p. 471), which had no compunction in admitting profascists (pro-colour bar) members into an 'anti-fascist' front.

While the All-African Convention (AAC) against the 1935 Hertzog land and franchise bills was being formed, the CP initiated a League Against Fascism and War.

Into the latter poured the liberals, who, at the same time, disorientated the AAC and led it into collaborationist channels (Native Representation). The 'black republic' slogan

came under attack. Bach and company came under fire. All who doubted the 'importance of the African middle class', like Tefu and

Coka, were suspended or expelled (July 1935). Supporters of Kotane (for a long time to come the secretary-general of the party) and a fifth of the Johannesburg branch were suspended for criticising the new line

('Umsebenzi', 1935). Kotane opposed the expulsions and was dropped from the political bureau by the white bosses of the party (for 'white man boss' really ruled the CPSA through his social

European members, like Kotane and Gomas, together with Roux, asked the Comintern to intervene, they were opposed by Richter, a Latvian who had 'emigrated' to the Free State (a Boer stronghold). Richter and Bach went to Moscow to state the Party

view against Kotane and

Gomas.

position). When the militant nonfor Africans' (p. 478). supremacy racialism.



The late Albert Luthuli: Once President of the now banned ANC.

Both had, however, backed the 'Third Period' line.

Simons reports (p. 477) that both, plus the brother of Richter, were expelled by the Comintern from the Party 'for having shielded a follower of Leon Trotsky' (p. 477).

'The three men', write the Simons, 'were put on trial, sentenced to death and executed' (p. 477. 'South African Worker', June 19, in its paper given to Bantu languages (p. 479).

The leadership swung from the executed white, Bach, into the hands of men like Issy Wolfson, a Jewish, local-born white who, with Kalk, led the Party on the Rand after joining it only in 1934.

He spoke in 1936 on a platform together with 'a bishop, a rabbi, Mrs Ballinger' (p. 479) and Labour Party and St John Ambulance represent-

BY N. MAKANDA PART THREE

A REVIEW OF 'CLASS AND **COLOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA** IN THREE PARTS

1937. 'Sunday Express', July 18, 1937).

Thus former leading members of the CPSA were executed in Moscow by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Simons have absolutely no comment on this!

Small wonder, for both were, at the time, deeply involved in supporting the Moscow Trials, and have no critical comment to make on this counter-revolutionary annihilation of the Bolshevik vanguard in the 1930s.

The Comintern was represented in South Africa for most of 1936 by George Hardy from the British Communist Party.

The CPSA was thus under the influence of a combination of chauvinistic British social democracy (via the British CP). of Stalinism and of white liberalism patronizing an ineffectual and weak non-European petty-bourgeoisie.

A worse combination could scarcely be imagined.

In this period, leading CP members like Sachs, leader of a segregationist Afrikaner Garment Workers' Union, could dare to propose an all-white front, for he 'wanted to free the hundreds of thousands of poor whites from imperialism and fascist influences' (p. 478. 'South African Worker', January 1, 1939, February 5, 1938).

Hardy, in opposing Sachs, proposed, instead, what amounted to a white-controlled 'common front' with the AAC as a member to 'assist in maintaining the higher standards of the white workers, while obtaining better wages

The British Comintern representative thus counselled the CPSA on the basis of white

In giving up temporarily the struggle against imperialism and fighting, instead, 'to ward

off fascism and war' (p. 478),

the CPSA reduced the space

atives 'sat on the platform'. The CP proposed to support the segregationist Labour Party in provincial council elections. 'It was a pity that they stood for complete segregation' (p. 480), 'This apart, Labour was sincere . . . ' (p. 480).

Sach's policy of an all-white front was enforced by Hardy. 'The Party joined in forming

an all-white People's Front at a conference called in October' Bill Andrews warned: 'Let

us not discuss details and reforms [ie segregation] in face of the great danger' (Forward', October 9, 1936). The objections of Kotane

were swept aside. The CP leaders were in no mood to hear his cry that 'anti-fascists were defending the existing state of affairs, which was rotten in the eyes of Africans and Coloureds' (p.481. Minutes of CPSA meeting, Johannesburg, December 29, 1938).

Violating the policy of noncollaboration put forward within the All-African Convention by its real left wing, the CPSA 'put up its own candidates in elections held at that time under the Representation of Natives Act' (p.482).

A white advocate, Basner, later a leading liberal 'Native Representative' Senator, stood for the all-white Senate.

Harry Snitcher - later to leave the CP and author of the statement that 'under the Afrikaner nationalist lay a socialist'-stood for election to the all-white parliament.

The secretary-general of the party, Mofutsanyana, summed up the CP's role at the time: 'We have to admit a complete betrayal of the African

people' (p.484). His disillusionment led him to suggest a separate 'African section' of the Party, because the African members 'felt that the Party was not their own' but 'leaned heavily on' (was dominated by) 'the whites' (p.484).



The South African Communist Party physically attacked Trotskyists who condemned them for glorifying the Nazi-Soviet Pact—Molotov is seen above with Hitler in Berlin in 1940.

The issue led to the removal of the Party headquarters to Cape Town from Johannes-

In Cape Town the new political bureau of six contained four Europeans, including Andrews and both Ray Alexander and H. J. Simons, authors of the book under review.

The new headquarters, set up at the end of 1938, made no change in policy. This, in turn, intervened more sharply on important anti-segregation organizations of which Cape Town had become the centre.

The Liberation League

IN DECEMBER 1935 La Guma (of 'black republic' fame) and Cissie Gool, a recruit to the CP, led the newly-formed National Liberation League, an individual-membership organization against apartheid.

The aims included full political equality. When the League opposed 'organization on racial and sectarian lines', R. Bridgeman, international secretary of the League Against Imperialism, tried in vain to get the acceptance of racially segregated organizations.

The League became more principled and militant when the late Dr G. H. Gool became the new president and issued a call for a national convention of 'Bantu, Coloured, Indian, Malay' in September, 1937.

Dr Gool, the Simons do not tell us, was one of a new generation who were to be persecuted as Trotskyists by the

This generated the Left Opposition and, later, the Workers' Party and Fourth International Organization. In Cape Town, Johannesburg and elsewhere they were the CPSA's most formidable opponents among the non-Europeans. Dr Gool declared:

'Our only hope lies in unifying all those forces that feel the weight of oppression as we do, into a cohesive and determined whole in opposition to imperialism' (p.489. 'Liberator'. vol. 1, No. 5, 1937).

The Simons gloss over the work of Gool and others of similar views by means of a bit of racialism: they are virtually dismissed as 'Coloured intellectuals'.

The Africans in the Trotskyist movement are conveniently omitted.

This, despite the verbal and physical attacks on the 'non-European Trotskyists', as the CP chose to label them, in the National Liberation League and the AAC where they steadily fought for a policy of non-collaboration as the basic method of struggle against apartheid.

At best, the Simons refer to this group as 'a small left-wing group, who foresaw the futility of working the Native Representation Act, as the CP was doing, with the liberals. vet made no headway against the missionary-trained reformist leaders, lured by the meagre stipend or the prestige of sitting in a mock parliament' (p.495).

The Left Opposition in the Convention lost in the attempt to get the AAC to accept the boycott of separate racial elec-

George Hardy, British CP agent of the Comintern, said: 'Trotskyists and other opportunists were playing into the government's hands by proposing a boycott' (p.496).

The Simons comment feebly: 'A foundation member of the British CP, Hardy (1884-1965) suspected a Trotskyist in every left-wing critic of communist policy' (p.496).

Against the Trotskyist policy of boycott as a weapon of the policy of non-collaboration. Hardy and the other white CP leaders proposed a policy of working the apartheid 1936 Native Representation Act (p.496 CPSA, 'Organize a People's Front in South Africa', 1936).

Thus the Popular Front meant no more and no less than collaboration with the system of apartheid.

Nor could it be otherwise, for its essential basis was class-collaboration between the oppressed and their ('liberal', 'democratic') oppressors.

'Anti-fascism meant only the acceptance of the fascist system of totalitarian colour discrimination in South Africa.

The CP, assisted by the 'missionary-trained reformist leaders', defeated the Trotskyists of the All African Convention, at the moment when African workers at Vereeniging (September, 1937) and elsewhere were being killed, wounded and jailed by the police of the system which the CP was defending against the boycott.

The CPSA carried its policy into the League where, as the Simons again do not tell us, they split the organization in the struggle against the so-called Trotskyists.

This, the other side of the Popular Front (with the white liberals), was intensified in the Non-European United Front (NEUF), born out of the NLL in Cape Town in March 1938.

The NEUF called for a 'non-European United Front of Africans, Coloured and Indians against all colour bars, and hoped that white labour would support their efforts to secure equality' (p.501).

A year later, on March 27, 1939, the NEUF organized a giant demonstration in Cape Town against the colour bar.

The government, for the moment, 'dropped its own [additional] segregation proposals. For once the militants could claim that they had blocked the way to racial totalitarianism' (p.502).

The CP waged a bitter war on the Trotskyists in the NEUF and NLL. They expelled La Guma, Dr Gool and others.

The Simons say nothing about the real content of the struggle, but run away from the history of the time in a series of strange mis-statements.

They say (p.503) that Gool was backed by 'a group of white Trotskyists calling themselves the Workers' Party' (p.503). Unlike the CP of the time, the Workers' Party was **not** led or composed mainly of whites.

They say that the Workers' Party and its organ, 'Spark', 'gave rise to the notion that the League or the Coloured intellectuals who composed it[!] were followers of Trotsky

In what sets out to be a history of the liberation movement, the Simons make not the least attempt to describe the origins, rise, influence, activities and policies of the Workers' Party and 'Spark', irrespective of how significant and weighty these were in the anti-apartheid movement of the late 1930s and afterwards.

They make only empty, evasive reportage, such as that 'Communists, Trotskyists and members of every racial group sat together at a non-European United Front Conference in Cape Town on April 8, 1939; the Fourth International was represented and also the New Era Fellowship, a students' society allegedly under Trotskyist influence' (p.504).

Nor do they deal at all with the contribution of the New Era Fellowship, which played a role not unlike that of the early Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs in the days of the early French Revolution, in bringing liberatory consciousness to the oppressed.

Nor yet do they describe the real cause for the collapse of the NLL and NEUF, namely that they were killed by the (TLC) which discriminated against Africans.

'The Communist Party', say the Simons, 'influenced by Hardy's reformist ideas and the argument that displacements might outweigh the benefits of equality, proposed "as an immediate practical measure", a differential minimum rate of 10s. [a day] for whites and 5s. for Africans' (p.514. 'Umseben-zi', July 11, 1936).

racial discrimination at home'. 'The fight against fascism must start in our own country' (p.529).

of South Africa

The history of the

Despite his own statement of the fact that the CP reversed this line after the invasion of Russia by Hitler, Simons says 'That was the keynote of communist policies throughout the

The NLL and NEUF said that 'the first duty was to



The South African Communist Party in 1943 influenced the ANC to adopt a 'Charter of Rights' modelled on the Atlantic Charter of Churchill and Roosevelt.

CPSA for the sake of the 'war against fascism'.

They say only that 'Dadoo [a CP leader-to-be] . . . called off the campaign [a passive resistance struggle] . . . The impact of external events had once again turned the national liberation movement away from the path of mass struggle' (p.507).

The facts, as the Simons fail to relate, are that the CPSA liquidated the NLL and the NEUF at conferences called after the Nazi invasion of the USSR.

Before this destruction of the most advanced anti-imperialist organizations formed up to that time, the CP was to go through a period of virtual collaboration with the Afrikaner Nationalists who now govern South Africa.

Not only on the political but also on the industrial front the CP worked segregation—quite apart from its working of the Industrial Concilliation Act.

During the Popular Front period, in 1937, Kalk of the CP, on the basis of a policy initiated by Hardy, of the British CP, proposed a scale of wages to the white-dominated Trades and Labour Council

Kalk's motion to the TLC, backed by Andrews and Wolfson, was based on Hardy's colour bar.

The white CP wage segregationists were opposed by a Coloured dockers leader. October, who said that many of his members were, in fact, earning 8s. a day, or more than the wage proposed by the CP.

October was outvoted and the TLC backed Kalk's colourbar policy (p.515. TLC, Report of 7th Annual Conference, 1937).

The 'anti-war'

WHEN THE WAR broke out in August 1939, the CPSA declared it to be 'an imperialist war for raw materials, markets, capitalist domination and the power to exploit colonial peoples in Africa and Asia' (p.528).

It declared that there could be no war for democracy when there was 'a vicious system of on the home front' (p.531. 'Guardian', December 22, 1939), but La Guma and some others followed the Popular Frontist line out logically and enlisted in a segregated Indian-Malay corps.

struggle for democratic fights

Simons has nothing to say about these whom the CP continued to call 'Trotskyists' and who, unlike the CP, maintained an anti-war, anti-imperialist line throughout the whole of the war.

Nor has he anything to say of their leading role in the NEUF until its liquidation by the CP in 1941.

Dadoo, following the antiwar policy of Nehru, who, however, did not reverse his attitude in 1941, was jailed for being anti-war.

He declared in 1940 and in 1941, just before the CP reversed its line, 'that the war would be just only if full democratic rights, freedom and independence were extended to the oppressed peoples of South Africa, India and the colonies' (p.533. 'Guardian', August 29, 1940, June 2, 1941).

The CP expediently 'forgot' about Dadoo's and also Kotane's definition of a 'just war' when they followed the Party in supporting the war of Smuts in 1941, despite the fact that full democratic rights, freedom and independence were not extended to the oppressed peoples of South Africa, India and the colonies.

Unlike the anti-colour-bar policy of the anti-war Trotskyists, the CP continued to work apartheid during its 'anti-war'

Sachs, for example, submitted a clause to Madeley, Minister of Labour in the warcabinet, which 'would allow a factory inspector to prevent "objectionable contact" between white women and employees of any other class'

'In 1940 his Garment Workers' Union in Johannesburg established a separate branch for its Coloured members' (p.535. 'Guardian', September

26, 1940). The Simons say: 'Once introduced, segregation gradually spread, until it included separate entrances, lifts and offices for Coloured and African garment workers.

'They resented segregation, and Sachs maintained that it was the only way by which he could appease the "violent prejudices" of his white members' (p.535. TLC, Report of Annual Conference, 1942).

The Simons evade the 'flirtation' of the CPSA with the Nationalist Party from 1939 to June 1941. During this time the CP

published a special paper, Ware Republikein' in order to attract Afrikaner members. It held joint meetings with Nationalist Party speakers, even while 'condemning' the

Nationalists as Nazis. In Johannesburg the CP organized special meetings from which non-Europeans were explicitly debarred in order to 'educate' Afrikaners to socialism and 'overcome' their

colour prejudices. At the same time as 'coquetting' with the Nationalists, CP members physically attacked Trotskyists who condemned them for glorifying

the Nazi-Soviet Pact. The book says nothing of all this, nor of the work of the Workers' Party, the Fourth International Club and the organ, 'Workers' Voice' in the war.

'War for democracy

IN JUNE 1941, when Hitler's troops invaded the USSR, the CPSA adopted a pro-war policy, covering up their reversal of policy by demanding that Churchill, Roosevelt and Smuts 'grant democracy' to the non-Europeans and arm them to fight for the democracy that did not exist in South Africa.

The dependence of the CP

THE REAL reason why

the Wilson government

does not stop the Spring-

bok Rugby tour and

arrests anti-tour demon-

strators in large numbers,

is because it represents

a capitalist class which

has deep and extensive

very foundation, the econ-

omic basis, of all the apartheid

laws and the whole police

The Wilson government rep-

Whatever it says against

apartheid, it does nothing

about it for the simple reason

that apartheid was largely a

British capitalist creation and

is supported by British capital,

in whose interests it functions

Without British and other

Since the Wilson government

imperialist capital in South

Africa there would not be

is fundamentally an imperialist

government, it is natural for

it to uphold apartheid in prac-

For apartheid is the cement

of British capitalism in South

This capital has its main

Many books can and indeed

weight in Africa concentrated

overwelmingly in South Africa.

should be written about this.

Apart from a few countries,

some of the heaviest British

resents the real power behind

apartheid, no less than any

in South Africa.

Fory government.

all the time.

apartheid.

state.

on a white middle-class base was reflected by the sudden rise in circulation of the 'Guardian' from 12,000 in 1940 to 42,000 a week in 1943, and by a rise in membership of the Party from 400 in April 1941 to 1500 by December 1943.

While the CP launched a 'Defend South Africa' campaign in 1942 (p.538), it sent Mofutsanyan, Maliba and Lekgotha into elections under the anti-African Native Representation Act, which perpetuated the disfranchisement of the Africans and set up a system of Bantustan 'councils' for Africans and a system of 'Native Representation' by Europeans in parliament and Senate and provincial councils.

White communists entered the field in the parliamentary (all-white) elections of 1943 (p.538).

The CP influenced the ANC to adopt a 'Charter of Rights' modelled on the Atlantic Charter drawn up by Churchill and Roosevelt in August 1941.

Colin Steyn, Minister of Justice in the Smuts government, became a patron of the Friends of the Soviet Union, which thus received official backing from the most racialistic regime in the world.

The CP built up the Springbok Legion which attracted 40,000 members and was a recruiting body for Smuts' war.

Busy with recruiting for and backing the war, the CP became isolated from the antiapartheid struggle. During the war, which the

CP supported, the government introduced many new colourbar laws and institutions, against the Africans, against the Indians (Pegging Act, etc), against the Coloureds (the Coloured Affairs Department 1943, etc).

It was the New Era Fellowship in Cape Town, even on the admission of the Simons, which took the initiative and the lead in the struggle against the CAD, which formed the anti-CAD movement in February 1943, which, in turn, combined with the AAC to form the anti-imperialist, anti-Non-European Unity Movement with a programme of 'nothing less than full democratic rights' and the method

of non-collaboration (p.543). The first anti-CAD conference represented '109 societies and groups' (p.541).

In spite of this, the Simons' book contains no real history of this important movement, nor of the NEUM, nor of the Teachers' League of South Africa or the Cape African Teachers' Association, or the many struggles of the NEUM. On the contrary, the Simons, true to the anti-Marx-

ist policy of collaboration of the CPSA, condemned the boycott of the Native Representative Council and elections as 'a strategy of with-drawal'. (Like a strike?)

They defend the CP against the charge of Kies, an anti-CAD spokesman, that among the Quislings and collaborators were 'dozens and dozens of so-called radicals and socialists and communists who paid lip-service to the emancipation of the non-European, while they rode into the council or parliament on his back, or grew rich at his expense by organizing trade unions' (p.

545. NEUM, 3rd Conference, January 1945), After saying that the anti-CAD 'initially followed the Marxist line', the Simons accuse it, the AAC and NEUM of anti-whiteism, a false

these organizations reveal. They say, in true Stalinist fashion, that 'the main achievement of the anti-CAD was to immobilize a generation of Coloured intellectuals, immunize them against Marxist

charge, as all statements of

theory' (p.546). They denounce non-collaboration, as put forward by Gool, Kies and Tabata, as a synonym for inactivity' (p. 546), while upholding the collaborationist activity of being 'elected', in defiance of the NEUM boycott, as 'Native Representatives' to the Nazi parliament.

To cover up their essential collaborationism, the CP took up anti-pass and other struggles, but in isolation from the demand for full democratic rights.



Hertzog: Enacted the racial segregation laws in 1936.

It took up the struggle of Orlando squatters whose leader, Mpanza, with his cry 'Sofazonka' (we die together) aroused Colin Legum of the Labour Party to chair a committee and draft a manifesto which 'urged the government to deport Mpanza and expel squatters from Orlando township' (p.549).

But the Legums were only the erstwhile allies of the CP and the Party's criticism of them was not based on the abolition of the whole system of locations like Orlando and of Location Advisory Boards which the CPSA helped form.

The systematic failure of the book to deal with the full history of the Non-European Unity Movement and the patent hostility of the authors to this movement, which boycotted the election of Sam Kahn, Bunting (junior), Carneson and Ray Alexander (coauthor of the book) as European 'Native Representatives', make the remainder of the account of the CPSA

almost worthless. For the dominant political force, especially in the Cape Province, including the Transkei, was more and more the NEUM in this war-time and post-war period.

FOLLOWING THE AAC, the ANC in October 1946, at a conference of 500 delegates. voted for a motion by Kotane.

secretary-general of the CPSA, which 'urged Africans to struggle for full citizen rights and to boycott elections to the NRC and to parliament' (p. 579. M. Kotane, 'The Boycott of Elections', 'Freedom', Vol. 6, No. 5, September-October,

This time the Simons do not talk of the boycott, which Kotane took over from the NEUM and the so-called Trotskyists, as a 'synonym for inactivity'.

At the ANC annual conference in December 'the people called for a boycott' (p. 580).

The Simons concede the enormous achievement of the NEUM in this single statement. The CP, on the other hand, though supporting the boycott in January 1947, did so hand. with an 'implied reservation' (p. 580).

The 'reservation' was simply that the CP would break the boycott when it chose. And it did so, against the decision of the African people, even according to the Simons.

The authors concede that in June 1947 the liberal Buchanan was 'elected in the teeth of a strong boycott movement' (p. 581), but make no mention of the fact that this boycott, as well as that against Molteno and those against the CPSA quislings who broke the boycott, was waged by the Non-European Unity Movement.

The authors regard it as a sign of what they call 'loyalty' that the CP 'refrained from contesting the election' in which Buchanan stood (p. 581).

Such is their opinion of the 'loyalty' of the CP to the African people!

They justify the CP breaking the boycott of what they themselves call 'a vicious piece of racial discrimination' (p.

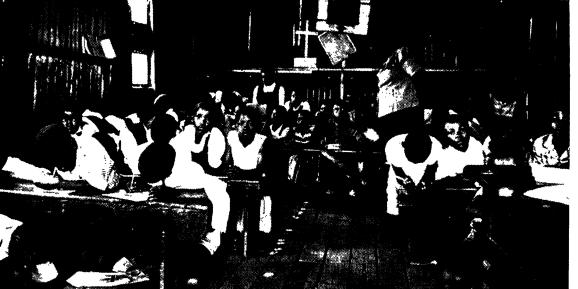
They uphold the decision of the CPSA at its annual conference in January 1948 to work the Native Representation Act—this 'vicious piece of racial discrimination'-by taking part in the fraudulent elections under the Act. ('Guardian', January 8, 1948.)

In November 1948 the CP candidate Sam Kahn was elected, 'in the teeth of the boycott', as the first Communist Party Native Representative.

Kotane himself apologized for this betrayal, for it was none other than the same Moses Kotane who had declared 'anyone who stands for election as a Native Representative is a traitor to Africa' (NEUM sources, not quoted by the Simons).

was followed, in Kahn October 1953 by CP Native Representative Brian Bunting and in April 1954 by CP Native Representative Ray Alexander (Mrs H. J. Simons, co-author of 'Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950').

The only possible conclusion to draw from the book as a history of the Communist Party of South Africa is, indeed, that from its inception in 1920, to its banning in 1950, it was, and remains, in the words of its secretarygeneral, Moses Kotane, 'a traitor to Africa'.



The Simons ignored the important teachers' struggles organized by the Teachers' League of South Africa and the Cape African Teachers' Association.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN AFRICA By N. Makanda

stakes in the rest of Africa investments and interests are extensions of the British economic empire in South These interests form the Africa.

On the other hand, inside and beyond South Africa, lie investments of giant British and international capitalist 'monopolies' which operate all over the capitalist world.

Some clear examples of this have appeared lately in public. One of these is the November 'nationalization' law of the 'new' Libyan government. The other is the legalization, as from January 1, 1970, of what Kaunda, President of Zambia, calls the 'nationalization' of

the copper mines. One of the concerns affected by the Libyan law is Barclays

'DCO' stands for The 'Dominion, Colonial and Overseas'—a topical reminder of the fact that the real British Empire is not yet dead. Barclays has no fewer than 1,670 branches in 41 countries, including South Africa and 'independent' African many states.

There it helps to finance the 'development' of Africa, particularly in mining and agriculture. This emphasis is one of the main reasons for the 'under development' of Africa by imperialism.

Another firm affected in Libya is British Petroleum, which was reported to have £250 million invested in Libya alone, in a pipeline, oil-wells and a terminal at Tobruk.

The latter was one of the many Libyan towns 'defended' by the 'Desert Rats' of Montgomery, to prevent North Africa from being transferred from Anglo-French to German imperialism in the Second World War.

Neither of these big British financial and investment institutions were over-concerned by the 'nationalization' law.

Nor were Roan Selection Trust Mining Group or the Oppenheimer - led Anglo-American Corporation, where 'independent' Zambian government 'nationalized' them. In fact, both Roan Selection Trust and Anglo American declared on November 14, 1969, that they agreed to the terms of the 'take-over'.

This was not difficult to understand. For there has been no 'take-over'. Nor has there been any 'nationalization', not even in name.

In the Libyan and Zambian examples, 'nationalization' is not ownership and control by the state.

On the contrary, the state is to have only 51 per cent 'ownership'. In other words, the millions of inhabitants are to 'own' half (plus one per

cent), while a handful of multimillionaire finance capitalists are to own an equal share (less one per cent).

Nor will the state control Barclays, BP, Anglo-American or Roan Selection Trust.

They will 'share' the control. And since these states are subservient to the dominant imperial masters abroad, real policy will continue, as before, to be made abroad, or on the spot by personnel selected at headquarters and not in Tripoli or Lusaka.

The 51 per cent fraud of 'nationalization' will not only leave the crux of ownership and control in the hands of the foreign companies.

It will also, by the very device of 'sharing', give economic imperialism more immediate and direct entry into and control over the state.

It is not the state which will own and control.

It is imperialism which will own and control—at least until it is ousted. That is, until it is expropriated by the workers and peasants of the 'independent' states.

The fact is that, for example, the Zambian toilers, who earn wages one-tenth of those of British workers in Britain, will have to pay, through intensified super-exploitation and more direct and indirect taxes, for the 'nationalization'.

It is not enough

imperialism has drained and continues to drain Zambia or Libya dry, but, in addition, the oppressed people are to be made to pay for the past.

The technique is: compensation, in Zambia's case, to the tune of £120 million.

This compensation, for a 'half-share', is to be paid in US dollars and must, inevitably, become an increasingly heavier burden as time passes. For, as India, Ghana and Kenya have already shown, British 'aid' has practically

bankrupted the countries which have to repay the capital and the interest in such a way that the interest steadily becomes a bigger debt than the capital and systematically impoverishes the people who pay it to their old and newly 'nationalized' masters.

How much more 'aid' (compensation) to Britain by Africa?

The compensation to be paid gives the 'nationalized' concerns an additional financial interest in the 'independent' semi-colonial state.

The state becomes more closely the agency of monopoly-finance imperialist capital.

This closer 'merging' of finance-capital with the semicolonial state is made more compact in the case of Zambia's 'nationalization' by the fact that the economy of Zambia is dominated groups of companies which also dominate the economy of totalitarian, apartheid South Africa.

The economic masters of Zambia are in the highest positions in the British-formed and constituted capitalist class which rules over South Africa.

SCIENTIFIC WORLD

The origins of life

THE PROBLEM of the origin of life is apparently very easily stated; at one time there existed nothing more complex than an ordinary inorganic chemical, heated to possibly several thousand degrees centigrade: at the end there is the whole panorama of the multiplicity of living organisms covering the world and possibly spreading to other planets.

The resolution of this problem is not to be found in abstract philosophizing, but in the detailed analysis of objective processes.

It is precisely the big astronomy, advances geology, chemistry, physics and biology that have made it possible for scientists to ask the correct questions in this field and to begin to fill in the details.

For, after all, what is involved is the self-movement of matter over a period of some 4,000 million years, which must be comprehended and disentangled from any taint of mysticism and the supernatural.

Two hundred years ago, any book on natural history would begin with the cataloguing of the living creatures most familiar to mankind, such as the beasts, birds, fishes, and passing on to the less familiar, such as the reptiles, insects, plants, etc. The general scheme was

based on degrees of perfection, starting with man as nearest the angels and going on to less perfect models of the divine blueprint.
The success of Darwin's

theory of evolution changed all

It was felt more appropriate to begin with the simplest forms of life and then to procede to the higher and more evolved species in the

However, the question of where to begin still remained. With Darwin's discoveries, the possibility of spontaneous generation was ruled out. All

was ordered by inheritance. If one primitive germ could somehow be postulated, then all life would follow by the action of natural selection.

Pasteur's researches dealt further blows at spontaneous generation by revealing that fermentation and putrefaction were due to germs in the air and that decay could be prevented by the use of sealed vessels and disinfectants.

Any real advance had to await the time when the essential chemical knowledge was available.

Nevertheless Engels 'Dialectics of Nature', written in the 1870s and 1880s, had this to say: 'One thing remains to be

done here: to explain the origin of life from inorganic

Place. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 The Forest Rangers. 6.00 ATV Today. 6.35 Cross-roads. 7.00 Star Action Movie: 'The Searchers' with John Wayne ,eJffrey Hunter, Vera Miles, 11.05 Hadleigh. 11.59 Pulse, Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 3.00 p.m. Play Better Golf. 3.30 All About Riding. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.30 Arthur. 4.55 Forest Rangers. 6.00 Calendar, Weather. 6.30 Castle Haven. 6.55 'The Miracle' with Carroll Baker and Roger Moore. A nun and a captain of the dragoons. 11.00 Happy Ever After. 12 midnight Weather.

Weather.

TYNE-TEES: 4.13 p.m. North East Newsroom. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Sara and Hoppity. 4.25 Mr. Piper. 4.53 North East Newsroom. 4.55 Ivanhoe. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 The Saint. 8.00 Marcus Welby MD. 9.00 Curry and Chips. 11.00 Jokers Wild. 11.30 Late News Extra. 11.47 Loving Kindness by David Gray.

GRAMPIAN: 4.15 p.m. News Headlines. 4.30 The New Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. 4.55 Ivanhoe. 5.50 News. 6.00 Grampian News. 6.10 The Flintstones. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 The Ghost and Mrs Muir. 7.30 Adventure: 'Donovan's Reef'. 11.00 Parkins Patch.

'At the present stage of science that implies nothing less than the preparation of protein bodies from inorganic substances. . . As soon as the composition of the protein bodies becomes known, chemistry will be able to set about the preparation of living protein.

'But to demand that it should achieve overnight what nature itself succeeds in doing only under very favourable circumstances on a few cosmic bodies after millions of years, would be to demand a miracle. In all essentials, the Marxist

method led Engels to the correct conclusions. It is precisely the probing of the way in which the basic hereditary material functions and protein is built, which we

explained briefly last week. yields the possibility of explaining how these processes emerged at the very door of life itself. The impact of the development of biochemistry took

some time to penetrate into the field of origins. Nevertheless, the growing knowledge that all life was chemically one, as well as

genetically interrelated, led in 1924 to Oparin's theory. Essentially the same ideas were expressed independently in 1929 by J. B. S. Haldane.

Most modern (materialist) theories of the origin of life are based on this work by Oparin and Haldane and it is to J. D. Bernal's * exposition, elaborated in the light of subsequent developments that we turn for our outline.

Bernal emphasises that this is an attempt to produce a plausible history of the origins of certain chemical-physical processes on the earth's surface at a stage when its gross physical features were much the same as they are today.

Such a history must reveal the working out of real material contradictions and incorporate all the relevant data available at the present stage of development in genetics, etc.

To this extent, any history of the origin of life is provisional and will undoubtedly be amended and refined as science advances.

* The Origin Of Life by J. D. Bernal; Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1967.

The crucial test is whether additional knowledge leads to a development of theory, i.e. a closer, more accurate, richer reflection of the objective process, or whether such data demands a drastic revision of

the previous theory.
The process itself divides naturally into three major stages—from atom to molecule, from molecule to polymer (molecule chain), from molecule to organism.

earth originated in the oceans.



Charles Darwin: His theory ruled out spontaneous generation.

The first stage in its formation -probably water, from methane and ammonia-was the production of organic molecules characteristic of life such as the amino acids, the basic building blocks of protein. These are the constitutents

of the 'primary soup' of the Oparin-Haldane hypothesis. The energy for the syntheses of these basic substances would be provided by radiation, either radioactivity or, more likely, ultra-violet light

from the sun. The present-day atmosphere of the earth admits very little ultra-violet owing to the presence of oxygen and we must therefore assume that the original atmosphere contained

no oxygen. The presence of the gas today is probably due to the development of plants at a later stage. Such atmospheres without oxygen and composed of methane and ammonia have been detected on the planets

Jupiter and Saturn. Further support for the theory was provided in 1953 by Miller.

By exposing mixtures of methane, ammonia and water to various forms of electrical excitation, he was able to preduce definite molecules of amino acids, sugar and vegetable ·acids.

The dependence of this process on water limits the type of planet on which life can originate. The temperature must be between 10 and 40 degrees centigrade for life to start and thrive and the planet must be large enough to prevent evaporation of the water

molecules. In our planetary system only earth fully satisfies the necessary conditions, but many other planets must exist in other solar systems as possible candidates.

Stage two in the process consists of the formation from the constituents of the primitive soup of more complex molecules, formed by

stringing together in linear order of similar or identical

sub-molecules. These polymers were probably the simplest forms of nucleic acid and, at some decisive stage, there appeared the mechanism of identical replication—the essential char-

acteristic of life itself. This is the central problem of the origin of life.

How did the transition from molecule to self-reproducing molecule take place? No firm answer can be given. but Bernal suggests that it

occurrence. Such a process would be greatly assisted by two factors. Firstly, the thickening of the primary soup by evaporation and secondly, the clustering of the molecules around

could not be a chance

mineral particles such as clay, on beaches and in estuaries. Somewhere in this mud would be so called 'sub-vital' areas where the decisive chemical reaction took place. This is a hypothetical chemical stage of life which preceded any separate physical

form of organism. The final stage in the origin of life is the formation of separate organisms which probably did not have any definite shape or boundary.

The appearance of membranes, essentially a sort of protein sandwich, provided the possibility of cells-the fundamental units of all living organisms from the smallest single-celled bacterium to the

highest forms of existence. The development of the cell, with its well-defined boundaries and its complex structure, brings us away from the origin of life and on to the path of evolutionary theory. By the very nature of the subject, much of what has

gone above must be tentative. The decisive test will come with the construction of the living cell from non-living matter, within the confines of the scientist's laboratory.

B.B.C.-1

9.38 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 12.30 p.m. Farm Management. 1.00 Ryan A Ronnie. 1.30 Watch With Weather. 2.05-2.55 Schools. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.25 Journal T. Blue Peter. 5.25 Journey To The Centre Of The Earth. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 National News

and Weather. 6.00 London-Nationwide. 6.45 The Doctors. 7.05 Top Of The Pops. 7.30 Dad's Army. 8.00 Softly Softly.

8.50 The Main News and

Weather. 9.10 Sports Review of 1969. 10.30 24 Hours. 11.15 Weatherman. 11.17 Car-Wise.

Regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times: at the following times:

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.45
p.m. Midlands Today, Look East,
Weather, Nationwide. 11.47 News
Summary, Weather.
North of England: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Look
North, Weather, Nationwide. 11.47
News Headlines, Weather.
Wales: 2.30-2.50 p.m. Dysgu Cymraeg.
6.00-6.45 Wales Today, Weather,
Nationwide. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw.
Scotland: 6.00 6-45 p.m. Reporting

Scotland: 6.00 6-45 p.m. Reporting Scotland, Nationwide. 11.47 Epilogue,

News Headlines, Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Scene

Around Six, Weather, Nationwide. 1.47 News Headlines, Weather. South and West: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South West, Weather, Nationwide. 11.47 News Headlines, Weather.

B.B.C.-2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. p.m. Teaching Adults. Newsroom, Weather Call My Bluff.

The Money Programme. 'This Happy Breed' by Noel Coward, with Frank 9.10 Finlay, Dandy Nicholls and Gillian Martell. 10.40 News Summary, Weather. 10.45 Line Up.

I.T.V.

2.25 p.m. Christmas Kitchen at Cordon Bleu. 3.25 More Best Sellers. 3.55 Face Of The Earth. SOUTHERN: 2.25-3.25 p.m. Christmas Kitchen. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News

4.15 News Headlines, 4.17 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30 Crossroads. Bugs Bunny. 5.20 Magpie.

Peyton Place.
The Thursday Film: 'Hell and High Water', with Richard Widmark and Bella Darvi. Cold-war communist plots.
9.00 Dave King Show.

This Week. News At Ten. Cinema. Alfred Hitchcock, John Barry, John Schlesinger, Bryan Forbes, 10.30 Stanley Donen and Ken Annakin choose

favourite clips and talk about their work. 11.00 I Spy. 11.55 A Que Rights. Question Of Human

All independent channels as London ITV except at following times: CHANNEL: 11.00-12 noon Schools.
4.45 p.m. Puffin's Birthday Greetings.
4.50 The Flaxton Boys. 6.00 Channel
News and Weather. 6.10 Police File.
6.15 Channel Sports Roundup. 6.35
Crossroads. 7.00 Curtain Raiser. 7.05
The Thursday Film: 'Charge Of The
Lancers' with Paulette Goddard and
Jean-Pierre Aumont. 8.30 This Is Your
Life. 11.00 Peyton Place. 11.50 News
and Weather In French, Weather.

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Headlines. 4.17 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Skippy. 6.00 Day By Day. 6.35 Castle Haven. 7.00 The Thursday Film: 'Cry For Happy' with Glenn Ford, Donald O'Connor, James Shigeta. Service life in the Far East. 10.30 Peyton Place. 11.25 Southern News Extra. 11.35 The Papers. 11.50 The Weather Forecast, the New Liturgy. WESTWARD: 11.00 a.m.-12.10 p.m. Schools. 4.08 Westward News Headlines. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.38 The Gus Honeybun Show. 4.50 The Flaxton Boys. 6.00 Westward Diary. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Curtain Raiser: Popeye. 7.05 The Thursday Film: As Channel. 8.30 As Channel. 11.00 Seaway. 11.50 Faith For Life. 11.56 Weather.

For Life. 11.56 Weather.

HARLECH: 2.25-3.25 p.m. Christmas Kitchen at the Cordon Bleu. 4.20 lt's Time For Me. 4.26 Castle Haven. 4.55 Tinker and Taylor. 6.10 Report. 6.20 Batman. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Midweek Movie: 'Imitation General' with Glenn Ford, Taina Elg. Sergeant Murphy impersonates a dead Brigadier-General. 8.30 Curry and Chips. 10.30 Just How Homeless Do You Have To Be? Housing situation in and around Bristol. 11.05 Hadleigh. 12 midnight Weather.

Harlech (Wales) as above except: 4.29-4.55 p.m. Crossroads. 5.20-5.50 Tins A Lei. 6.01 Y Dydd. 6.24 The Ghost and Mrs. Muir. 6.57-7.00 Report. Mrs. Muir. 6.57-7.00 Report.

ANGLIA: 2.25-3.25 p.m. Christmas Kitchen at Cordon Bleu. 4.05 Castle Haven. 4.30 Anglia Newsroom. 4.35 Sean The Leprechaun. 4.50 The Flaxton Boys. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Action Movie: 'Blackbeard the Pirate' with Robert Newton and William Bendix. 11.00 Survival. 11.30 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 4.00 p.m. News Headlines. 4.02 Survival. 4.15 Peyton

ULSTER: 2.25-3.25 p.m. Christmas Kitchen at the Cordon Bleu. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.50 Ulster News Headlines. 4.55 The Adventures of the Seaspray. 6.00 UTV Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'Kim' with Errol Flynn, Dean Stockwell. 11.00 Dangerman. 11.55 Weather.

SCOTTISH: 4.20 p.m. Scotland Early. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 The New Adventures of Superman. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.35 High Living. 7.05 Feature Film: 'The Mating Season' with Gene Tierney, John Lund, Thelma Ritter, Miriam Hopkins. 11.00 Late Call. 11.05 lokers Wild.

Almost certainly life on

at the

Young

Socialists

GRAND XMAS

BAZAAR

Saturday

December 13

CORN EXCHANGE

LEEDS

Doors open 12 noon

Penal clause threat at Morgan's

department PRESS workers at Morgan Crucible's Battersea, London, plant have been threatened with

By our industrial correspondent

the introduction of an incentive bonus scheme drawn by the management earlier this month.

Described by one worker as 'a wage-cut for twice the work', the scheme would give Morgan's—who supply carbon components to the motor industry-continuous working of a kiln and four presses, split shifts, the manning of two presses or kilns by one man and a

breakdowns in production. Bonus earnings would be calculated on a group basis under the scheme.

form of 'penal clause' for

'Standard units' earned by a particular group of workers would be worked out from records of a total week's press

If production was lost as a result of jams or breakdowns, the whole group would

Workers would be expected to transfer immediately to spare presses in the event of breakdowns.

Morgan's apparently expects the press workers to agree to these conditions in return for estimated average earnings of £28 a week, less than they can earn at present.

Most of the men are determined to reject the scheme.

Morgan Crucible is to shut down much of its Battersea site and transfer operations to South Wales over the next few years.

Midland Red garage stops over sacking

By a Workers Press reporter

MIDLAND RED'S Broms-(Birmingham) bus garage continued at a standstill yesterday as crews continued their strike over a conductor's dismissal.

The strike, which began on Monday night when the conductor was sacked over what the Transport and General Workers' Union has described as 'a ticket query', brought nearly all the buses at the Bromsgrove garage off the road within two hours.

Mr D. Harrison, chairman of the T&GWU's Bromsgrove branch, claims the sacking represents 'victimization of bus conductors due to the introduction of one-man operated

The conductor said that when hard-pressed on the Birmingham-Worcester route, he gave a passenger the wrong

Crabtree workers face productivity WORKERS at the Leeds factory

of Hoe Crabtree Ltd., who meet today in the third week of their official pay strike, face a number of serious questions.

The 500 strikers at the factory — part of the Vickers group—are claiming an all-round 25s. increase on the basic rate and the completion of a productivity deal.

Their claim has exhausted procedure since it was submitted in February and Crabtree's management seems unwilling to meet the

When the second phase of the engineering package deal was introduced, the management offered an increase of only 6s. on the basic rate.

As a result of adjustments to bonus percentages some

Several stewards at the plant are supporters of the periodical 'Engineering Voice', which advocates a 'high-wage, high-productivity' economy.

Their spokesman, Mr Terry Jacques, said that they are determined to win the full 25s., but recognize that under the terms of the 1968 deal 19s. of this would be consolidated from bonus unless they negotiate a productivity

Not told

The shop stewards' committee has not told the strikers what the terms of such a deal would be. Negotiations have been conducted behind closed

Some of the men have the impression that it would mainly involve improving the of materials, which improve earnings in some departments where shortage of jigs tends to de-lay production.

But the management could make such changes at any time without a special agree-

More ominous is that fact hat in the past Crabtree stewards have recommended a scheme which is now in operation at Johnson Radley, de engineerin

An official of the Department of Employment and Productivity pronounced the Johnson Radley scheme 'the second-best productivity deal in Yorkshire'!

Third paid

Before the Johnson Radley scheme was introduced, the board of directors laid down that of the savings madewhich are considerable—only a third should go to the

The other two-thirds were to go to capital investment and towards 'holding a stable price-structure'.

Crabtree workers must beware of any such schemes.

They are fighting for a wage increase under the conditions isolation created by the November 1968 agreement.

Since then, in a number of factories, the employers have

been able to impose productivity agreements, in some cases for a song.

'The Newsletter' said of the engineering package deal last ovember 'it was not a claim with strings attached, but strings with nothing attached'.

By contrast, other factories in the Leeds area have negodomestic agreements gaining limited pay increases without any productivity conThe only way to win substantial increases is to refuse to implement the 1968 agreement and reject all productivity sell-outs.

At Crabtree's this means a united fight within the Vickers group.

Crabtree's shop stewards should say where they stand: are they willing to lead a fight, or are they going to negotiate a productivity sell-

must act

By an industrial correspondent

FEELING is running high amongst Kelloggs workers at Trafford Park, Manchester that the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers should take official action over shift change-over payment.

As previously reported in Workers Press, workers at the plant struck when a shop steward and three other men were sacked following a suc-cessful ban on the shift change-over.

The men have been rein-

At a recent mass meeting attended by union officials there was support for a proposed vote of no confidence in the local official who had failed to take any action over the dispute.

This was ruled out by the divisional officer who claimed the meeting was merely to discuss the management's pro-The deal - £1 and seven

strings'-was overwhelmingly The productivity strings included: changing into overalls

Black

• FROM PAGE ONE

Panther.

anyone else that stood in the

In New Haven, Connecticut, 14 Panthers are on trial for

charge of murdering a fellow-

sheriff's deputies in the prison

and is now in a bare cell without a bed. He has to sleep

on the cold floor.

The deputies who attacked

him tried to choke him and

his tonsils are now so swollen that he can hardly talk.

Conspiracy

Seale's treatment in San Francisco follows his Chicago

trial for conspiracy, in which he was deprived of his right to a lawer of his choice, and

bound and gagged in the

say Kellogg workers

before clocking on: an undertaking to work the changeover until the relief shows up; guaranteed four hours after half an hour (this did not stipulate where the worker should work the four hours it is an attempt to introduce mobility of labour into the factory); the shift change-over would be included in the main working agreement so that the workers would be liable to work almost any hours from the moment they sign on with

If the USDAW executive committee takes no action on getting a substantial pay rise with no strings, many workers feel that the agreement to work the change-over should be scrapped altogether.

Workers at Kelloggs must beware of the employers' attempts to 'sell' the producstrings, which lead to crippling working con-

Agreement near in SALT talks

US AND Soviet officials met in Helsinki yesterday for their eighth session of talks on the limitation of strategic

According to observers in Helsinki, the progress has been such that agreement could be very near on the fixing of a date, venue and agenda for the full-scale summit' between Soviet and US leaders on the question of nuclear arms limitation.

CORRECTION

Yesterday's Workers Press wrongly gave the names of the three Amalgamated Enexecutive councilmen who have now signed our 'Stop Wilson's Washington Visit!' petition as Ernie Roberts, Bob Wright and Arthur Hearsey.

Three of the union's executive members have added their signatures to the campaign beside that of president Hugh Scanlon but the list should have read Bob Wright, Arthur Hearsey and (as reported in Tuesday's Workers Press) Reg Rirch

As assistant general secretary Ernie Roberts, who has also signed, does not formally sit on the executive.

Scanlon, Wright, Hearsey and Roberts signed after Tuesday's meeting of the executive and not, as reported, of the national committee.

Bus-

● FROM PAGE ONE

from us, but also London's transport system to be deci-

Some of the proposed cuts are due to be made from January 4 onwards.

The real purpose of productivity deals, changes in technique and 'modernization' — as the Socialist Labour League has always warned—can only, under capitalism, be to drive through such cuts.

Claims that they are designed to improve the services concerned are now being more openly exposed every

Treachery

The union leaders' treachery in agreeing to these changes is in this case directed not only against those who work on the railways and buses . . . but also against workers who rely on these services or are engaged in related work.

One such deal was recently forced through, against the wishes of large sections of the trade union membership, in railway workshops under the control of British Rail.

Earlier this week, a memorandum approved by Labour's Transport Minister Mr Fred Mulley brought the fruits.

Total workshop capacity is
to be further cut down and

those which continue working will have to rely increasingly for orders on private industry. One of the categories of outside work Mulley will be aiming for is rail equipment designed to carry 'all forms of container'.

Wall Street fall

strengthens

recession fears

AFTER a weak and

brief rally, Wall Street

stock prices dropped

again on Tuesday. The

Dow-Jones industrial average fell 1.25 points,

closing at 783.79, the

lowest level for three

Meet Mr Lollipop in Leeds on Saturday

The Wall Street decline reflects a deep feeling of pessimism for 1970 amongst financiers and industrialists.

A leading US economist, Milton Friedman, has said that a sharp recession may set in within six months if the Federal Reserve does not loosen at least some of its restrictions on credit.

Coup ousts

A MILITARY coup ousted the Dahomey government of Dr Emile Zinsou yesterday morning.

A former French colony, Dahomey has a population of around 2½ million, its principal export being palm products. Ironically, Zinsou was the candidate backed by the Army

in the Presidential referen-dum of July 1968. His regime, like all previous Dahomey governments was closely tied to French capitalism, both economically and politically. The policies of the new rulers are as yet unknown.

ATUA-YS PUBLIC MEETINGS

Stop Wilson's visit to Washington

COVENTRY

Thursday, December 11 7.30 p.m.

Willenhall Wood School St James' Lane Willenhall

GLASGOW Sunday, December 14

3 p.m. Partick Burgh Halls (nr. Merkland St underground) Admission 1s. 6d.

LEICESTER

Wednesday, December 17 8 p.m. The Globe Silver Street

NOTTINGHAM Thursday, December 18 8 p.m.

People's Hall Heathcote Street

CORBY Monday, December 15

> 8 p.m. Corby Candle Tinderbox Room

undertaken or supported by

the Foundation and Schoen-

man personally, one factor stands out above all others:

middle-class radicalism and

protest politics.
should be no surprise that

this new crisis hits the

very revisionist, reformist and Stalinist is politically

flat on his back at the very

moment when solidarity

action with the Vietnamese

Revolution is called for

Jordans, the Tony Cliffs and

the Purdies were bragging

more than ever before.

This time last year

protesters just now.

FROM PAGE ONE

Russell's secretary, whose reply we published in the June 29, 1968 issue: The situation is that Bertrand Russell does not know where Ralph Schoenman is ... Schoenman has recently been abroad and could not sustain his secretarial work. He has become an ambassa-

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. There is no question about that.' So in June 1968 Schoenman,

dor-at-large for the organ-ization. Ralph Schoenman

remains a director of the

the testimony of Russell's personal secretary, was still a director of the Foundation and entrusted with responsible work, even though he was no longer able to serve as Russell's secretary.

Yet at the same time. Russell (in June 1968) could not say where his 'ambassador-at-large' was. This is also, according to

Russell's most recent state-ment of two days ago, still the case now. On whose authority then has Schoenman been travelling the world in his quest for noble causes to embrace? Why has the news of the final

break between himself and Russell been so long delayed? How is it that a director of the Foundation involved himself in such vital international questions as Viet-

nam, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the Middle-East crisis without the knowledge of Bertrand Russell, who is, after all, the man from whom the Foundation takes its name? And if we look at the political

about the thousands they had brought on to the streets of London in called 'solidarity' with the Vietnamese people.
Where are these thousands now, all those who claimed to have found a short-cut to building a genuine work-

ing-class movement of soli-darity with Vietnam? The politics of Schoenman are to be found in the prostration of all these revisionist groups before the challenge of mobilizing the working class against Wilson and Nixon in solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The story of Ralph Schoenman has still to be fully told. In the interests of clarifying all the principled questions

that surround the present international struggle to defeat US imperialism in Vietnam, those that can help to tell it should speak out now. Or better still, since the

Russell Peace Foundation is particularly enamoured of 'ad hoc' committees such as VSC, could it not set up one to investigate the mystery of Schoenman?

WEATHER

London area, SE England: Cloudy, bright periods. Wind light, south-westerly. Near normal. Maximum 6C (43F). Central Southern England, E Midlands: Cloudy, occasional rain or drizzle. Wind light. South-westerly. Near normal. Maximum 6C (43F). W Midlands, Central-Northern

England: Cloudy, some rain or drizzle at first, bright periods later. Winds southwesterly, light or moderate. Near normal. Maximum 6C (43F). Channel Islands, SW England:

Cloudy, some rain or drizzle at first, bright periods later. Winds south-westerly, moderate. Near normal. Maximum 8C (46F).

North-West England: Cloudy

at first, brighter later. Scattered showers, wind light or moderate, westerly. At or a

periods, isolated showers. Winds westerly, fresh or strong. Below normal. Maximum 4C (39F).

Glasgow area, Northern Ireland: Bright periods, showers.

Wind westerly, fresh or strong. Below normal. Maximum 5C (41F).

Outlook for Friday and Saturday: Mainly dry in the south and showers in the north, but cloud and rain spreading in from the west later. Temperatures rather cold in the

I.C.I. PREPARES TO SLASH MANNING

court-room.

as your industrial staff correctly pointed out in Tuesday's Workers Press, lies behind the fine talk in Imperial Chemical Industries' Weekly Staff Agreement (WSA) and I would like to supplement your remarks with some references to the situation at Wilton.

Recently-on November 26, to be precise—the 700 plumbers and electricians on the site upheld by an overwhelming majority a previous decision not to enter discussions with the

company on job-evaluation. This was a severe blow to the ICI management's efforts, over the past six years, to implement a productivity deal based on this tech-

Although the Electrical, Electronic Telecommunications Union / Plumbing Trades Union is the only union not talking at present, the management has said it cannot see its way clear to implementing the scheme without the co-operation of this section of workers.

But the stand taken by the EETU/PTU is weak.

an all-round understanding of the deal's dangers, but only because the company refuses to freeze all bonuses at the highest level during the estimated 18 months before the deal will be concluded.

The deal cannot be made to work in the interests of the unions by clever nego-

What these deals really represent, as the Workers Press points out, is the struggle of British capitalism

LETTER

to overcome its crisis. ICI needs to compete against enormous German and American chemical combines who run their plants with a fraction of the labour employed by the British mono-

Job-evaluation and mobility of labour are designed only to reduce manning scales, create unem-ployment and establish pay criteria which will limit further increases.

Last year, with the con-sent of the Prices and Incomes Board, ICI's profits went up 16 per cent. Wages,

The day after the electricians and plumbers met, ICI announced an increase in profits from £119 million to £135 million . . . but no wage rise for their workers, despite the fact that all sites except Wilton and Billingham have accepted productivity bargaining and

ob-evaluation! Some shop stewards and convenors in favour of talking are using the argument that 'Unless we talk, we

thing in the deal for us. After all', they say, 'if we don't like the deal at the end of the day we can always throw it out'. But the management has made it quite clear how it

won't know if there is any-

sees talks going. Firstly, teams will be set up between management and stewards who will jointly investigate all the jobs on the site in an initial 'fact-finding' phase. Next comes the horsetrading, or, as they put it, 'job-building' phase—where flexibility is discussed.

portant stage is assessment. Management apply a points system — exclusively under their control—to the jobs that have been 'built', in order to determine the grade and payment for the

Since the points system is controlled by the manage-ment, anyone who describes this phase of talks as 'negotiations' is misleading the membership. If a grade is not accept-

able to a union, this can be rectified during the 'jobenrichment' phase.

Here the fight between unions, to grab more points by taking over other duties (possibly eliminating some trades), is intensified. To enter discussions is to

accept the principle that

wage increases have to be

gained by selling protective

conditions that have taken several generations of trade unionism to acquire.

The few pounds that may be gained will be rapidly devoured by rising costs of

Trade unionists must see that the WSA agreement is the first stage in ICI's preparations to decimate manning scales in the heavy chemicals industry. ICI worker, Wilton.

tenced to four years' imprisonment for contempt of court. He now awaits extradition to Connecticut to stand trial alongside the New Haven 14 on a capital murder charge.

that number injured and more to wage war on the Panthers and physically destroy them. The Panthers' unquestioned heroism in their fight against

like his atrocious war in Vietnam, is a trial of the methods

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETING

Czechoslovakia, persecution of Soviet intellectuals and the

HOLBORN ASSEMBLY HALL

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

The last two issues of Workers technical difficulty. We return

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strike continues

little below normal. Maximum 5C (41F). Edinburgh: Bright or sunny

north at first, otherwise near

Bonn pact' By a foreign correspondent FIRST FRENCH reactions to the rapid progress of the West German-Soviet talks, which began on Monday, have been mixed. The Gaullist regime always prided itself on its intimate relations with the leaders of the Soviet bureaucracy, and Pompidou the United States. The ultra-conservative newspaper 'L'Aurore' headlined on

French fear

'Moscow-

COME SEE ABOU FORENAD FRONT



A Swedish demonstration in support of Black Panther leader Bobby Scale, now jailed after a brutal trial.

Because he stood up to Judge Hoffman's attempts to railroad him on the fabricated conspiracy charge, without even giving him the right to

defend himself, Seale was sen-

Over the past 18 months 28
Black Panthers have been killed by police, many times than 200 arrested on a variety of serious fabricated charges. There is a concerted cam-paign, directed almost undoubtedly by Nixon himself,

By failing to base them-selves on the working class, defying the entire imperialist state with a small group of militants, the Panthers have enabled the Nixon administration to isolate them and cut them down piecemeal. Nixon's murderous police campaign against the Panthers,

the US ruling class intends to

use against workers all over the world in the coming

this massive police repression

must not obscure the political

lessons of their organization.

Communist Party Congress

Monday Dec. 15, 8p.m.

Speaker: G. Healy (national secretary, Socialist Labour

Chairman: M. Banda (Editor, Workers Press)

BACK TO RED

Press have appeared with a to our usual two-colour promasthead, due to a duction today.

has certainly tried to uphold that tradition, while at the same time strengthening French capitalism's ties with record of all the activities

The sheer speed of the Bonn-Moscow 'thaw', which began after the election vic-tory of Willy Brandt three

months ago, has taken many leading French politicians by New pact

Tuesday the possibility of 'a new Russo-German Pact', a clear reference to the deal made by Stalin with Hitler on the eve of the Second World War after several years of Kremlin flirtation with

It is obvious that the Soviet bureaucracy values agreement with Bonn far higher than any accord with France. Since its post-war revival on US credits, West German

capitalism has always been closely linked politically. diplomatically, economically and militarily to US imperial-Brandt's move in the direction of more friendly relations with the Kremlin must have

had the foreknowledge, if not

the actual approval, of the

US government and ruling

class.

Background Everything points towards attempts to obtain a far-reaching deal between the Soviet bureaucracy and US imperial-

This is the political back-ground to the Stalinist betrayals in France in May-June last year, and currently in Italy. It is also the reason why British Stalinism supports Wilson's visit to Nixon in the new year. Nothing must obstruct the

progress of 'peaceful - coexis-

tence' between imperialism

of all genuine solidarity with the people of Vietnam. Italian teachers

THREE MILLION high school pupils were off school again yesterday as Italian teachers continued their strike for higher pay and benefits.