What we think

Vietnam

A C.P. diversion

evils" in Vietnam. There is a choice between aggressor and

'Mr Wilson has chosen to support the criminal. After putting on his tortured conscience act, he showed beyond doubt whose side he is on.'

This, dear readers, is not an extract from Workers Press. The emphasis only is ours. The rest is taken from the editorial column of the 'Morning Star' (December 9, 1969).

Yes indeed—there is no doubt in the minds of millions of workers and colonial people that Wilson is, and has been, on the side of the criminal US imperilaism, in Vietnam and in Britain.

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Col. Ha Van Lau, claimed that "The Nixon Administration was actually downgrading the Paris conference . . . by not appointing a leader to the US delegation, after Mr Henry Cabot Lodge's resignation".

So much for negotiations!
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Such is the dialectic of the Paris talks!

From My Lai to the ghetto of Los Angeles, US imperial-ism is determined to smash and obliterate every vestige of resistance to its rule. And such is the criminal

PAGE 4 COL. 6

Twin threat to engineers

NO RETREAT AT YORK

BY DAVID MAUDE

'MUCH NEEDED and long overdue reforms in our negotiating habit', as Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers president Hugh Scanlon described them in April, may well be further delayed when union leaders meet the engineering employers in York next Tuesday.

Jones below and Scanlon right must be kept to the position on piece-work as stated in



Ford and Daly

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Yorkshire miners' call

BY 44 VOTES to 35 the Yorkshire area council

of the National Union of Mineworkers has called

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Ford and secretary Lawrence Daly.

On a card vote the resig-

nations were called for by

Yorkshire area president Sam Bullough said the motion

was backed by ten branches

which did not agree with the attitude of the union's national

leadership during the recent

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would have been more appro-

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But what Daly ignores is that he was elected secretary

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First test

The hours strike was his

Throughout, he behaved in

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Daly has a long political

He left the Communist

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Every indication points these talks.

The much-criticised York

main issues left outstanding by last year's engineering negotiations. As the Socialist Labour League has always insisted,

engineering unions' leaders. Instead of using the strength of their united and confident memberships in action to force a favourable settlement, they accepted what was considered by many

Encouraged by the retreat, the employers then moved in on two more

Under the 1922 York Agreement, shop-floor disputes are supposed to be handled through progressive negotiations at departmental, plant and district level before reference to Central Con-ference at York.

Higher

'Failure to agree' at any stage leads to the dispute being referred to a higher

During this time he gained a reputation as a 'progressive', by militant speeches on indus-● PAGE 4 COL. 1 →

tish NUM, defeating a Communist Party candidate.

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to deadlock quickly being reached when the joint Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions-Engineering Employers' Federation working party once more gets together to discuss changes in the industry's 47-yearold disputes procedure.

Big dangers, nevertheless, face all engineering workers as a result of

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the 1968 engineering package deal marked an important retreat on the part of the

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A 'failure to agree' at York means that the matter 'failure to agree' at is referred back to the unions ● PAGE 4 COL. 8 →

CHICAGO BLACK PANTHERS

Police 'inquiry' as protest grows

SERGEANT Daniel Groth, the Chicago police officer who led the raid on December 4 in which two leaders of the Black Panthers were shot dead and four others seriously wounded, denied yesterday that the two men had been deliberately gunned down in their slum apartment.

Widespread allegations that the police shot Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in cold blood have led Chicago police chief James Conlisk to set up an 'investigation' into the killings.

Start fight on building strings now

BUILDING workers in at least three cities will demonstrate their opposition to a new pay and productivity deal as their union leaders meet the employers to sign the final draft next Wednesday.

On Merseyside, a half-day stoppage and demonstration has been called to coincide with the London meeting.

Shop stewards representing many thousands of bulidings workers in the area have arranged that marchers will meet at Liverpool's Islington Square, march to the city's building employers' office and then on to a mass rally at the Pier Head.

In Manchester, sites are electing delegates who will travel to take part in whatever actions have been arranged by building workers

in the capital. In London itself, building workers will march to the National Federation of Building Trades Employers'

● PAGE 4 COL. 4 →

The police inquiry will doubtless try to whitewash the 14 plain-clothes killers who poured a hail of bullets into the Panthers' flat.

The Chicago killings, which bring to 28 the number of Panthers murdered by police in the past 18 months, are concerted campais against black militants all over the country.

Cook County state attorney, Edward Hanrahan, whose office supplied the police squad which carried out the killings, described the allegations as 'an orgy of sensa-

Notorious

Cook County is the notorious Democratic fiefdom ruled by supporters of Chicago's reactionary Mayor Daley. like Nixon Daley, Agnew, is a fervent advocate of 'law and order'—that is, the use of police, National Guard and the Army to suppress anyone who stands out against

US imperialism. 6,000 people turned out for the funeral of the two dead Panther leaders on Wednes-

day. Liberal Negro leader Ralph Abernathy told the crowd at the funeral:
'The nation that conquered Nazi Germany is following the

same brutal course as the Nazis.' Many leading US liberals,

including nine Negro congress-● PAGE 4 COL. 1 →

STOP WILSON'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

Widespread support for our petition

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Six AEF shop stewards, together with stewards from the T&GWU and the NSMM,

The petition says: 'The intended visit of Harold Wilson to Washington at the end of January, to swear continued loyalty to his paymaster Nixon, is an affront to the British working class and to those millions of Americans who have demonstrated their opposition to Nixon and the war.

'We are in favour of the greatest possible mobilization of the Labour and trade unio movement to stop this visit.' Nine students at Birmingham

Fred Hampton, Black Panther shot down by Chicago cops. PAGE 4 COL. 1 -->

STOP WILSON'S WASHINGTON VISIT!

FOR THE DEFEAT OF US IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM!

DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY JAN. 11

ASSEMBLE: Speakers' Corner (Marble Arch),

MARCH: via Oxford Street, Regent Street, Trafalgar Square past Downing Street.

MEETING: Lyceum Ballroom, near Aldwych,

Auspices Young Socialists

Briefly

TUC REJECTS BILL: Mrs Barbara Castle's 'frightener' for trade unionists who refused to accept her proposals for 'Prices and Incomes Policy after 1969'—rejected by the TUC General Council yesterday afternoon—was 'a free-for-all which will force

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Mrs Castle, in her attack on the working class, did not comment on her decision to end all statutory restraint on dividends on December 31.

ACTON STRIKE: The Acton underground maintenance workers at a strike meeting workers at a strike meeting yesterday voted overwhelmingingly to continue their 12week-old strike.

The strike is over the alleged breaking by London
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for recruiting craftsmen. Yesterday London Transport again asked the strikers to return to work and London Tory MPs urged Mrs Castle

to intervene.

NURSES' LOBBY : A United Nurses' Association delegation lobbied MPs at the House of Commons yesterday as part of the nurses' 'Raise the roof' pay campaign.

One of the delegation said

We were going to highlight
the likley Moor demonstra-

tion to show just how far nurses would go to show their dissatisfaction'.
The Ilkley Moor protest—in

which nurses were camping out high on the moor—has been called off after a fellow hospital worker going up to see them fell to his death on Wednesday night.

FRENCH AIRLINE STRIKE: French airline stewards and hostesses struck for the second time in eight days yesterday, severely cutting the Paris services of Air France. The strike was against the introduction of a new scheme under which safety certificates will be awarded to staff by the private airlines and not the government.

TEACHER SHORTAGE DISASTER: The shortage of maths teachers in Britain's schools is growing serious and with a disproportionately high number retiring in the next ten years the situation 'could add up to disaster', warns a

Royal Society report.

The Report discusses the teacher shortages in the science subjects.

Because of the small and

decreasing number of stu-dents with 'A'-level science or maths who enter teacher training, the colleges will not be able to meet the needs of the immediate future.

P.I.B. tightens more screws

'TRADE UNIONS', stresses a new efficiency and productivity guide published by the Prices and Incomes Board yesterday afternoon, 'can greatly assist the management to introduce acceptable productivity changes, particularly where these involve substanchanges in working methods.'

As Mrs Barbara Castle pre-pared to meet a storm over her new 'wage-freeze' plans, the guide described how to tighten the screws provided

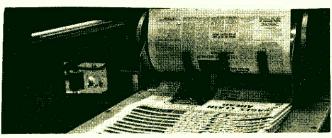
by her White Paper.

The Board is now demanding that agreements should spell out the need for constantly rising levels of effi-ciency; that reliable yardsticks for measuring such increases be devised: that output costs should be shown to be reduced; that pay should only be improved when productivity increases are proven and that any increases that are granted should not be too

Unions, it says, must expand and strengthen their productivity advisory services and 'look to their methods of communication between head office and the places where members work'.

We have been warned!

GREET **WORKERS PRESS**



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

Young Socialists)

DOUBLE TALK ON GREECE

Stalinists mask Soviet leaders' role

IN ITS EDITORIAL yesterday, the 'Morning Star' called on the Labour government to vote for the expulsion of the Greek military regime from the Council of Europe at its meeting has proved itself one of the

in Paris today: 'The whole weight and in-fluence of this country should be used to secure the expulsion of the Athens junta from the council, without any fur-ther delay and without qualifications.'
The 'Star' then chides Wilson and Stewart for their

Greek colonels:

reluctance to break from the

Firm supporter
'Unfortunately the past record of Mr Wilson and the Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart and the words they used in parlia-ment this week still leaves doubts in many minds about

what will happen tomorrow.' What hypocrisy! The Communist Party leaders call on Wilson to break

from the Greek dictatorship at the very time when the Soviet government, through both political and economic discussions with the colonels, regime outside of the USA. This is the classical Stalin-

ist technique of double bookkeeping. 'Star' indignantly The attacks Wilson's dealings with Athens, but remains silent on the equally strong ties main-tained by the Kremlin with the torturers' regime.

Like all its other campaigns,

for solidarity with the people of Greece against the colonels The 'Morning Star' has still to explain its silence over oviet participation in European Games held last summer in Athens.

Letters appeared in the

'Star' both supporting and attacking Soviet participation,

but neither Communist Party nor 'Morning Star' comment

on this principled issue was

the Communist Party's call

with the proposed campaign against the South African cricket tour next summer. Communist Party members should seriously consider the politics behind these issues. What is involved is the whole history of Stalinism, its attempt to subordinate the struggle of the British and international working class to the counter-revolutionary interests of the Soviet bureau-

forthcoming.
This is all the more reveal-

ing in view of the vast coverage given by the 'Star'

to anti-Springbok demonstra-

tions in recent weeks, together

cracy in its dealings with imperialism.

Solidarity with the Greek workers, as with all those struggling against US imperialof the working class on these principled international quesism in Vietnam, cannot be based on such rotten compromises between imperialism and Stalinism.

The only way to assist the Greek people in their fight for

freedom is to develop the

struggle in Britain against the

Wilson government, which has

reactionary Athens' regime. This the Stalinists will not do, as we have seen proved time and again in the struggle in the unions and the factories for a socialist alternative to the right-wing leadership. The most recent, and stark-

all along covered up for the

est, example of Stalinist pro-tection of Wilson is the Communist Party's insistence that he should go to Washington to meet the leader of US imperialism. Response

> ing class to our campaign against Wilson's visit to Washington proves that similar class solidarity can be established with the people of Greece.
>
> Both the right wing and the Stalinists fear the mobilization

The response in the work-

This is why Wilson and the Soviet bureaucracy are today united in their support for the Greek regime, whatever protests the 'Morning Star' makes to the contrary.

What think

Vietnam

A C.P. diversion

'THERE is no "choice of evils" in Vietnam. There is a choice between aggressor and

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There is no doubt in our minds, or in Wilson's for that matter.

The doubt—and it is a carefully and deliberately nurtured one—about Wilson however, is disseminated by the CP leaders and editorial writers of the 'Star'.

About that there is no doubt at all. It is a part of their two-faced policy on

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That is why the same editorial, having condemned Wilson as a friend of the criminal in the first half, then goes on to call explicitly for 'pressure' on the criminal's friend to exert more pressure

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BY DAVID MAUDE

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On a card vote the resignations were called for by 1,060 votes to 845.

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Throughout, he behaved in no way differently from his predecessor, Will Paynter. He refused to lead the 150,000 strikers. He insisted on a return to work, on 'procedure'.

Thus, it has taken only a few months to show Daly in his true colours. What is involved here, however, is more than a 'left' militant speech-maker being shown up when he gets into office.

Background

Daly has a long political background.

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The Ilkley Moor protest—in which nurses were camping out high on the moor—has been called off after a fellow hospital worker going up to see them fell to his death on Wednesday night.

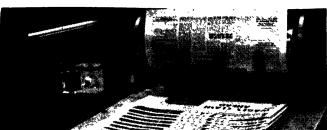
FRENCH AIRLINE STRIKE: French airline stewards and hostesses struck for the second time in eight days yesterday, severely cutting the Paris services of Air France. The strike was against the introduction of a new scheme under which safety certificates will be awarded to staff by the private airlines and not the

TEACHER SHORTAGE DISASTER: The shortage of maths teachers in Britain's schools is growing serious and with a disproportionately high ten years the situation 'could add up to disaster', warns a Royal Society report. The Report discusses the

teacher shortages in science subjects.

Because of the small and decreasing number of students with 'A'-level science or maths who enter teacher training, the colleges will not be able to meet the needs of the immediate future.

GREET WORKERS PRESS



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)

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

DOUBLE TALK ON GREECE

tish NUM, defeating a Com-

On the retirement of Will Paynter, Daly—this time supported by the Communist Party — defeated right-wing conditate.

candidate Joe Gormley and became NUM general secre-

During this time he gained 'progressive',

a reputation as a 'progressive', by militant speeches on indus-

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in Paris today:

Greek colonels:

munist Party candidate.

Stalinists mask Soviet leaders' role

IN ITS EDITORIAL yesterday, the 'Morning Star' from the Greek dictatorship called on the Labour govat the very time when the Soviet government, through both political and economic ernment to vote for the expulsion of the Greek military regime from the Counhas proved itself one of the cil of Europe at its meeting

This is the classical Stalin-'The whole weight and inist technique of double bookfluence of this country should be used to secure the expulkeeping. 'Star' indignantly sion of the Athens junta from attacks Wilson's dealings with the council, without any fur-Athens, but remains silent on ther delay and without qualithe equally strong ties maintained by the Kremlin with fications.'
The 'Star' then chides the torturers' regime. Wilson and Stewart for their

firmest supporters of

regime outside of the USA.

Like all its other campaigns. the Communist Party's call for solidarity with the people of Greece against the colonels

European Games held last summer in Athens. Letters appeared in the struggle in Britain against the Wilson government, which has

This is all the more revealing in view of the vast coverage given by the 'Star' to anti-Springbok demonstrations in recent weeks, together with the proposed campaign against the South African cricket tour next summer. Communist Party members

should seriously consider the politics behind these issues. What is involved is the whole history of Stalinism, its attempt to subordinate the struggle of the British and international working class to the counter-revolutionary interests of the Soviet bureaucracy in its dealings with im-

Solidarity with the Greek workers, as with all those struggling against US imperialism in Vietnam, cannot be based on such rotten com-promises between imperialism and Stalinism. The only way to assist the Greek people in their fight for

is to develop the

perialism.

do, as we have seen proved time and again in the struggle in the unions and the factories for a socialist alternative to the right-wing leadership.

Response

The response in the work-

of the working class on these principled international ques-

reactionary Athens' regime. This the Stalinists will not

The most recent, and starkest, example of Stalinist pro-tection of Wilson is the Communist Party's insistence that he should go to Washington to meet the leader of US

ing class to our campaign against Wilson's visit to Washington proves that similar class solidarity can be established with the people of Greece.

Both the right wing and the Stalinists fear the mobilization

This is why Wilson and the Soviet bureaucracy are today united in their support for the Greek regime, whatever protests the 'Morning Star' makes to the contrary.

P.I.B. tightens more screws 'TRADE UNIONS', stresses

a new efficiency and productivity guide published by the Prices and Incomes Board yesterday afternoon, 'can greatly assist the management to introduce acceptable productivity where ductivity changes, particularly where these involve substantial changes in working methods.'

As Mrs Barbara Castle pre-pared to meet a storm over her new 'wage-freeze' plans, the guide described how to tighten the screws provided by her White Paper.

The Board is now demanding that agreements should spell out the need for constantly rising levels of effi-ciency; that reliable yardsticks for measuring such increases be devised; that output costs should be shown to be reduced; that pay should only be improved when productivity increases are proven and that any increases that are granted should not be too

Unions, it says, must expand and strengthen their productivity advisory services and 'look to their methods of communication between head office and the places where members work'.

We have been warned!

'THE TIMES' has seen fit to anticipate the centenary of Lenin's birth in 1970 by calling upon Milovan Djilas, former Yugoslav partisan leader and vice-president, to write a peculiarly derogatory article under the guise of an assessment of the man and his legacy.

The spot in the 'Saturday Review' in which the article appeared is usually devoted to literary reminiscences, short stories and similar fare to assist the English middle class to face the rigours of a weekend.

This time the intention was clearly more serious.

The way is being prepared for a campaign of misrepresentation and slander for the centenary year itself.

That a man like Djilas should undertake this task is no surprise. As could have been expected, there is no attempt to throw fresh light on Lenin's character or on his impact on history.

Instead, Djilas has dredged from a number of recent biographies a quite ordinary collection of half-truths, readymade libels and downright lies salted with enough phoney erudition to sound convincing to the unsuspecting reader.

Here we have Lenin 'the fervent and implacable dogmatist' whose 'interests never strayed outside political and social confines', whose 'spirit . moved indomitably in a single groove'.

The same or similar phrases can be found in any number of books and articles on Lenin and Marxism.

They are intended to depict Lenin as a narrow-minded, bigoted creature incapable of any human feeling: 'no human being ever succeeded in capturing his emotions'.

The conclusion is intended to be: people who seek to change the social order must be similarly narrow-minded and machine-like.

Lenin was made all the nastier and more dangerous having 'inexhaustible energy', 'sharp intelligence' and even 'uncanny infallibility' in selecting the right date to make a revolution.

Even Djilas's 'compliments' are designed to have the right political effect: to alienate from Marxism any of the readers of 'The Times' who might be tempted from reading of the world crisis in its other pages to see whether it might offer a way out.

Djilas does not forget to a clearly intentional racialist slur about Lenin's 'mixed blood' and 'mongoloid features'. The 'objectivity' of a good liberal knows no

bounds. . . That the picture of Lenin's character drawn by Djilas is based on malicious falsehood can be confirmed by anyone who reads his personal correspondence and the accounts of those who knew

The lie that 'no human being ever succeeded in capturing his emotions', for example, is disproved at once from Lenin's affection and solicitude for his mother attested to by a regular exchange of letters over many years.

They generally concluded with such phrases as 'I embrace you tenderly, my darling, send much love to all at

home'. Very ordinary sentiments, but sentiments all the same which do not confirm the stereotype of the hard, affectionless man driven by some inhuman force.

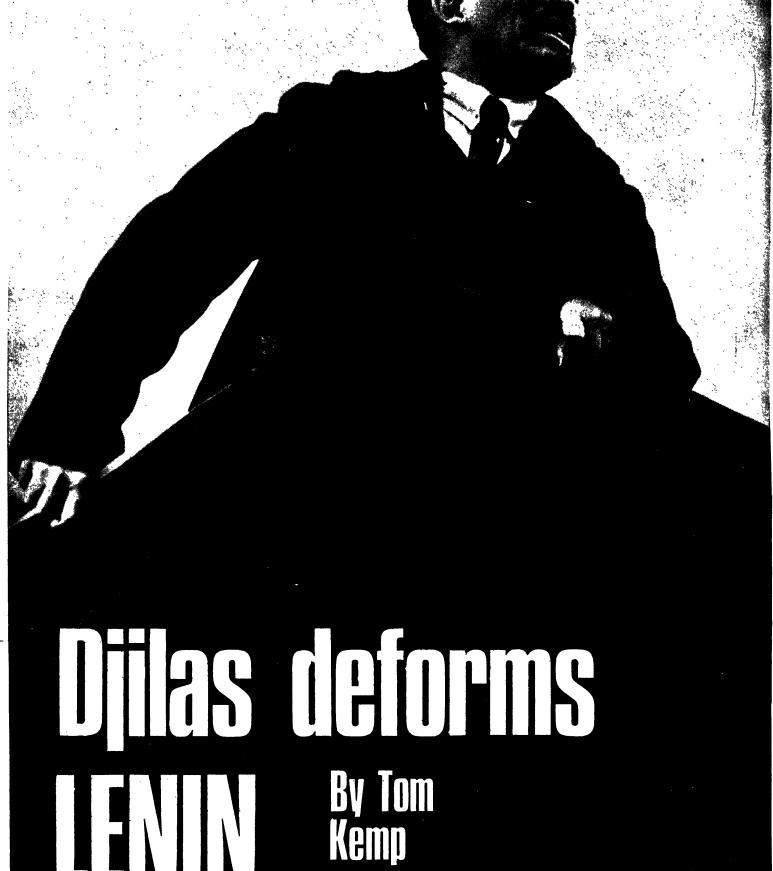
In any case, Djilas contradicts himself when he refers to the shock which Lenin felt at his brother's execution and his so-called 'infatuation' for

'infatuation'?

In fact, Lenin had close personal friendships with many people at all stages of his life, including his sister and his many political collaborators.



Lenin and Krupskaya with peasant families in 1922.



Inessa Armand.

And, by the way, if this relationship 'did not . . . step beyond the bounds of Party comradeship' why call it an

His regard for men like

Plekhanov and Martov long after he had broken with them on questions of political prin-

ciple is well-known. So also, is the fact that the need to make these personal breaks caused Lenin considerable nervous strain at the time.

'Nothing human

As for Djilas's view that Lenin lacked other than 'political and social interests', the net is so wide that it recalls favourite saving: Marx's 'Nothing human is foreign to

Lenin may not have been a keen student of mathematics, music or poetry—like the average reader of 'The Times' -but he did indulge in certain leisure-time activities.

His letters speak of shooting wild animals (while in Siberia). cycling in the forests round Paris, bathing, climbing mountains, going to concerts, etc. For example, writing from London early in 1903, he said:

'The other day for the first

time this winter, we went to a good concert and were very pleased with it, especially with Tchaikovsky's " Symphonie Pathetique". 'Are there any good concerts in Samara? We have been once to the German Theatre.

How we should like to go to the Moscow Art Theatre to see [Gorky's] "The Lower Depths".' Lenin's life as a political exile took him to many countries. He always had a keen

remarking customs, habits of speech and so forth. As for human feelings again, Lenin found time during the Civil War to write personally to comrades who had lost

sons at the front.

eye for scenery and people,

And so it could go on. The whole Djilas school of falsification rests upon nothing but political animosity towards the principles for which Lenin stood and the struggle which he conducted.

Of course Djilas has to Lenin's greatness in some respects. He shows that his theoretical work from the 1890s was

turned towards the fashioning

of a revolutionary party equipped with an advanced

theory. But, as with other enemies of Marxism, Djilas turns the Bolshevik Party of Lenin's day into a monolithic force geared to ideological conformity and military discipline by Lenin himself.

This is a wild and malicious caricature designed to show that the present Soviet bureaucracy was an inevitable outgrowth of the seeds sown by Lenin.

The conclusion is part of the small coin of bourgeois journalism and is handed out ready-made from university political science departments. Diilas has adapted himself to this level without too much difficulty.

On a whole number of crucial political questions Djilas evades stating his own position.

Thus, for him, all matters connected with the character of the October Revolution are 'moot points'. In other words he will be

ready to accept whatever version pays best.
For 'The Times' he main-

tains a studied impartiality and

thus adds additional weight to his already pompous prose. Diilas is unable to explain

why Lenin should have maintained a firm internationalist position in 1914 when all over Europe the historic leaders of

dicalists, were falling in behind their own governments and becoming recruiting agents for the front and the war factories. It might spoil the weekend

'Times' to raise such delicate matters. It would also mean that

Djilas would have to say who was right and raise some questions which have relevance to the history of the workers' movement in his own country.

Djilas rightly (for once) sees 'The April Theses' as a crucial stage in preparing the October Revolution through a struggles with those, including Stalin, who had swung the Bolshevik Party into conditional support for the Provisional government.

Here Lenin's intervention was quite decisive-and could only have been made as the result of all the preceding struggles to define the Marxist path for Russia.

But even on this point Djilas is not able to give an accurate historical account.

Thus he is wrong about Lenin's position in 1905 and treats the coming together of Lenin and Trotsky after a decade of bitter opposition as an accidental matter.

To do otherwise would require a discussion of the permanent revolution and of What Is To Be Done?'which, strangely enough, remains unmentioned

Theoretical questions not discussed

No doubt Djilas would be out of his theoretical depth if he had to discuss such questions and it would hardly be digestible reading for the weekend readers of Times'.

It is much more palatable to dig out from Rosa Luxemburg just that part of her writings-made from behind a prison wall when her knowledge of the facts was very incomplete-in which she displays her weaknesses rather than her revolutionary strength —her criticism of the Russian Revolution.

Djilas does not trouble to discuss what the fate of the Russian Revolution might have been if Rosa's prescriptions had been applied.

Again, in mentioning Lenin's early recognition of signs of bureaucratic degeneration in the Soviet state and Party, Diilas dismisses them with a few facile phrases divorced from the reality of the social and political struggle in Russia at the time.

He is unable to explain or define the trends in Soviet society which appeared after

Lenin's death. We know from his own book 'The New Class' what sort of a hash he would turn out and we can be thankful for having been spared a re-write!

Turning to 'the myth' of Leninism, Djilas identifies it with the ideology of the bureaucracy in the Soviet

the Second International, and not a few anarchists and syn-

He is thus able to perpetuate the wilful confusion of all the bourgeois 'experts' be-tween what Stalin and the Stalinists appropriated as 'Lenin's heritage' at the same time as they took over the state and the Party and the real meaning of Lenin's contribution to Marxism.

It is perfectly true that Lenin did not set out to create a new body of theory, but regarded his task as being to develop and apply Marxism as the science of proletarian rev-

This he did, and it is this imperishable contribution that we shall celebrate next year.

Djilas evades anti-Stalinist

But there is another aspect of this which Djilas evades. The bureaucracy will also celebrate the Lenin centenary with all the pomp, pretentious-

it is capable. At the very same time, as always, the anti-Stalinist opposition will continue to demand a return to Leninism.

ness and hypocrisy of which

This is no enigma, but it can only be understood by showing the connection between Lenin and Trotsky and the way in which the International Committee of the Fourth International represents the real continuation of Lenin's work today. And in this connection Leninism is certainly no 'body of dogma'. When Djilas goes on to say that Lenin's 'mode of thought

what Marxists understand by 'philosophical questions'. Lenin conducted all his political struggles on the philosophical basis of dialectical materialism which he sought to

was not a philosophical one'

he is plainly wrong if he means

that Lenin was indifferent to

strengthen all the time. Lenin saw that it was necessary, but by no means sufficient, to conduct a struggle in defence of materialism.

He went back to Marx to extract from his writings a grasp of the dialectical method which had been overlooked or all but forgotten by all the other theoreticians of the Second International and which was the source of their prostration in 1914 when the war came up.

As Lenin himself showed. even the best theoreticians in the pre-1914 movement, such as Kautsky or Plekhanov, all the learned scholars of German social democracy, neglected the dialectic.

This was the importance, initially, of 'Materialism and Empirio - Criticism', another work of Lenin's which Djilas unaccountably 'forgets'.

Actually this book is central in differentiating Lenin from the other trends in social democracy at that time: it was their indifference to philosophical questions which pre-

saged its degeneration. Even those who took up the defence of materialism at all did so in a spirit more akin to that of the 18th century materialists than to that of

the dialectic. If any aspect of Lenin's struggle to build the workers' party should be singled out for special emphasis in the centenary year it should be this

From the standpoint of the petty bourgeoisie, represented by the failed revolutionary Milovan Djilas, such a matter is unworthy of mention and

probably seems quite meaning-Workers who want to know how Lenin's work can assist their own struggles should not make such a mistake.

Lenin's historical

It was not magic or willpower, but the theoretical of Lenin genius accounts for the role he was able to play in history when circumstances provided the opportunity.

There is thus a close relationship between all the aspects of Lenin's work and his theoretical writing to which Djilas is blind.

Stalin and the Stalinists had to break with Lenin's dialectical method and did turn his theory into sterile dogma to conserve their own power.

In that they broke with Leninism.

By accepting the Stalinists as authentic descendants of Lenin Djilas has either been taken in or writes what his audience requires; perhaps he has never thrown off the effects of his own Stalinist training.

The readers of 'The Times' are unlikely to peruse Lenin's 'State and Revolution' or 'Imperialism' to find out whether the version offered by Djilas

In fact it is a dishonest distortion.

Djilas wilfully perpetuates a number of misconceptions which reflect his lack of understanding of the Russian Revolution and of the reasons for its degeneration under Stalin.

The claim that 'Imperialism' was culled from Hobson and is 'constricted and schematic' cannot be borne out from a reading of the book.

The theory of imperialism propounded by Djilas himself hardly reaches the level of a third-rate school textbook, being 'as it has always been, one of the aspects of the essential nature of a great power'.

The attempt to claim that the development of monopoly capitalism does not bear out Lenin's view carries absolutely no conviction.

Djilas is unfortunately wrong in saying that Lenin 'lived' to see the triumph of his ideas'. He certainly carried through the first successful proletarian revolution in 1917 and thus changed the course of world history.

But this was, as Lenin well knew, but a beginning. The formation of the Com-

munist International, which Diilas only mentions in passing, indicates that Lenin's real hopes lay in the arena of world revolution. This question, too, cannot

be taken up without considering what happened to the Comintern, and thus without discussing the Left Opposition. Trotsky and the Fourth International. Under a pretentious cloak of

learning and spurious impartiality Diilas has dished up a hotch-potch of familiar nonsense, worthy of 'The Times' but contemptible when coming from a one-time would-be revolutionary. If these warmed-over pot-

tages are the best that the press organs of the bourgeoisie can produce for the Lenin centenary it can only be assumed that their intellectual bankruptcy is already well advanced.

Weather.
6.00 Entertaining With Kerr.

6.25 Television Brain Of

Children. 8.25 Golden Silents. 8.50 The Main News and

11.05 Late Night Terror: 'The Kiss Of Blood', with Roy Dotrice and Diane Cilento. Lord Sannox takes revenge for his wife's adultery. 11.30 Weatherman.

All regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times:

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.00 p.m. What Are The Facts: About sub-fertility?

Wheelbase. The First Churchills. Westminster At Work. News Summary, Weather. I.T.V.

his first job in Milan

Sandro Panzeri, A 16-

year-old boy about to take

Lenin, Krupskaya and his sister in 1922 with orphans from the Civil War.

12 noon Racing. 4.10 p.m. How About You? 4.40 Hatty Town. 4.55 Lost In Space. 5.50 News From ITN 6.03 Today.

Wheel Of Fortune. Strange Report. 8.30 Hawaii Five-O. Curry and Chips. 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 Frost On Friday.

6.30 Peyton Place.

11.15 Hadleigh.

Rights.

SOUTHERN: 1.30-3.35 p.m. Racing. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines.

4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Forest Rangers. 5.20 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 Day By Day. 6.00 Scene South-East. 6.40 Out Of Town. 7.00 Curry and Chips. 7.30 Marcus Welby MD. 8.30 Parkin's Patch. 9.00 Happy Ever After. 11.15 Weekend and Southern News Extra. 11.25 Cinema. 11.55 Weather Forecast, The New Liturgy. WESTWARD: 11.00 a.m.-12.10 p.m. Schools. 1.30-3.35 Racing, 4.10 Westward News Headlines. 4.12 Peyton Place. 4.40 The Gus Honeybun Show. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 6.00 Westward Diary. 6.25 Sports Desk. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 A Date With Danton. 7.05 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.00 The Untouchables. 9.00 Curry and Chips. 9.30 Parkin's Patch. 11.15 Faith For Life. 11.21 Weather. HARLECH: 2.05 p.m. Racing. 4.20 It's Time For Me. 4.25 Castle Haven. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 Very, Very Varied. 6.01 Report. 6.20 Batman. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 The Friday Film: 'Beau Brummel' with Stewart Granger and Elizabeth Taylor. Life and loves of Beau Brummel. 9.00 It Takes A Thief. 11.15 Report—Sport. 11.45 Weather. Harlech (Wales) as above except: 4.29-Report—Sport, 11.45 Weather. Harlech (Wales) as above except: 4.29-4.55 p.m. Crossroads. 6.01 Y Dydd. 6.30-7.00 Welshscene.

ANGLIA: 2.05-4.10 p.m. Racing. 4.25 Anglia Newsroom. 4.35 The Romper Room. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 It Takes a Thief. 8.00 Mr & Mrs 8.30 Hadleigh. 11.15 The Horror Film: 'House of Frankenstein' with Boris Karloff and Lon Chaney Jr. 12.36 a.m.

ATV MIDLANDS: 1.30-3.35 p.m. Racing, 4.00 News Headlines, 4.02 Survival, 4.15 Peyton Place, 4.40 Paulus, 4.55 Thunderbirds, 6.00 ATV Today, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.30 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased), 8.30 Hawaii Five-O. 11.15 Midland Member: Rt. Hon.

11.35 Interpol Pulse, Weather.

Pulse, Weather.

ULSTER: 2.00 p.m. Racing. 4.30
Romper Room. 4.50 Ulster News Headlines. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 6.00
UTV Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00
Star Western: 'Man In The Saddle'
with Joan Leslie, Randolph Scott, Ellen
Drew. 8.30 Curry and Chips. 9.00 Hadleigh. 10.30 Sportscast. 10.55 Friday
Night. 11.00 Frost On Friday. 11.45
Weather.

Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 2.00 p.m. Racing. 4.15
Felix The Cat. 4.20 I've Married A
Bachelor. 4.55 Tarzan. 5.50 News. 6.00
Calendar, Weather. 6.30 Wheel Of
Fortune. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30
Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.30
Marcus Welby MD. 10.30 Yorksport.
11.00 Frost On Friday. 11.45 Late
Weather.

Weather.

TYNE-TEES: 2.05 p.m. Racing. 4.08
North East Newsroom. 4.10 How About
You. 4.40 Hatty Town. 4.53 North East
Newsroom. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa.
6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Peyton Place.
7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Dave King
Show. 8.00 The Untouchables. 9.00
Hadleigh. 11.15 Your World On Friday.
11.45 Late News Extra. 12 midnight
The Name Of The Game. The Name Of The Game.

SCOTTISH: 1.30-3.35 p.m. Racing. 4.20 Scotland Early. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 Skippy. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 The Peyton Place Hour. 8.30 I've Married A Bachelor. 9.00 Hadleigh. 11.15 In Camera. 11.45 Curry and Chips. 12.15 a.m. Late Call.

GRAMPIAN: 2.05 p.m. Racing. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 Castle Haven. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 6.00 Grampian News. 6.10 Why On Earth? 6.35 Bonanza. 7.30 The Dave King Show. 8.00 It Takes A Thief. 9.00 McCue's Music. 11.15 Survival.



11.35-11.55 a.m. Schools, 12.55 p.m. Maes A Mor. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weather. 2.05-2.40 Schools. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Crackerjack. 5.40 Junior Points Of View. 5.50 National News and

6.45 The Virginian. 7.55 Not In Front Of The

9.10 The Survivors. 10.00 Come Dancing.

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather. 11.32 News Summary, Weather, Weekend Prospects for Anglers, Road Works Report.

North of England: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Look North, Weather. 11.32 News Headlines

Scotland: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Reporting Scotland. 9.10-9.35 Current Account. 9.35-10.00 He And She, Bonn Comhraidb. 11.05-11.35 Monty Python's Flying Circus. 11.35 Epilogue, News Headlines, Weather.

Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Scene Around Six. 11.32 News Headlines, Weather.

Wales: 1.30-1.45 p.m. Ar Lin Mam. 6.00-6.25 Wales Today. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 7.05-7.30 Bob Yn Dri. 7.30-7.55 Week In Week Out. 11.05-11.30 Llygad Y Geiniog. 11.32 Weather.

South and West: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-West, Weather. 11.32 News Headlines, Weather, Weekend Road Works Report.

B.B.C.-2

Newsroom, Weather.

The Italian Cinema: 'Il Posto', directed by Olmi,

All independent channels as London ITV except at following times:

A Question Of

CHANNEL: 11.00 a.m.-12.10 p.m. Schools. 1.30-3.35 Racing. 4.50 Puffin's Birthday Greetings. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 6.00 Channel News and Weather. 6.10 Channel Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 A Date With Danton. 7.05 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.00 The Untouchables. 9.00 Curry and Chips. 9.30 Parkin's Patch. 11.10 N.Y.P.D. 11.35 News and Weather In French, Weather.

IMPERIALISM has always needed to shroud some of its political figures in myths to sustain certain illusions in the rightness of its economic activities.

In particular these myths serve to draw the middle class more closely to the ruling class.

T. E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) is a case in point.

At his funeral, Winston Churchill wept, called him one of the greatest beings of our time' and said that 'whatever our need we shall never see his like again.'

Ralph Fox, a prominent Stalinist intellectual of the 1930s offered a tribute in these 'humble' terms in 'Left Review':

'He was able to combine war and politics in a way that, apart from himself, only the leaders of the Red Army have succeeded in doing.'

This was the homage of the petty - bourgeoisie to

In fact, as this new book makes clear, Lawrence's whole political life in the Middle East was devoted to the subjection of the Arabs to British imperialism.

He was prepared to go to the most fantastic lengths to do this-including posing as a Bedouin himself. He promised the Arabs independence and quite consciously and flag-rantly breached the promise:

*

'I had to join the conspiracy . . . I risked the fraud, on the conviction that Arab help was necessary to our cheap and speedy victory in the East, and that better we win and break our word than lose.'

So much for Lawrence's legendary devotion to Arab nationalism

Far from fostering the unity of the Arab tribes, he was intent on keeping them divided, but rallying the Arabs for the victory of British imperialism at the expense of the French in the Middle East.

His political life stinks of fraudulence and treachery which in turn characterizes the entire history of the British ruling class

When he disagrees with upper civil servants and generals it is because he is not convinced that the government is fighting strongly enough. The Sykes-Picot agreement is a case in point.

This agreement was drawn up to carve up the Ottoman Empire (as it then was) between Britain, France and Tsarist Russia.

When the Bolsheviks took power, they made all secret treaties public.

When the Sykes-Picot agreement was made public the British government concocted a few old tales denying that any such agreement had been made. Lawrence opposed the agreement, not because he had Arab independence in mind. but because it allowed French imperialism the rich oil deposits in Syria.

That is why he led the Arabs so heroically into Damascus where he hoped to institute Feisal as a puppet of the British ruling class.

Politically, then, Lawrence's life reeks of deception. But of



'THE SECRET LIVES OF LAWRENCE OF ARABIA' By Phillip Knightley and Colin Simpson Nelson pp. 293 42s. **Reviewed by Dave Spooner**

course it is the private life of Lawrence that has aroused particular interest.

Like Oscar Wilde's Dorian Gray, while the 'public' Lawrence was built into heroic proportions, the so-called personal' life of Lawrence was full of what can only be called depraved relationships.

There are numerous hints of masochism, flagellation and homosexuality.

While these appear to be two opposed sides of Lawrence, they constitute a unity. Lawrence put it bluntly later

'I prostituted myself in Arab service. For an Englishmen to put himself at the disposal of a red race is to sell himself to a brute. . . .'

Those writers and intellectuals who joined the Communist Party or were sympathetic to Stalinism in the 1930s cultivated the rotten myth of Lawrence.

Raph Fox insisted that 'This man who was so typical of his own class renounced that class!'

In what way, he fails to

A whole section of Communist Party intellectuals made a cult of Lawrence (and, by proxy, British imperialism) which was perfectly in line with their acceptance of the counter-revolutionary activities of Stalinism.

Christopher Cauldwell, for example, wrote in 'Studies in a Dying Culture' that:

'[T. E. Lawrence] had desired to be just and friendly and brave and to hate pomp and ceremony and wealth, and to love the essence of a man simply as it realized itself in action. These values, lost to the bourgeois world and only partially and primitively realized among the Bedouins, are the core of Communist honour.

. All of these intellectuals eulogized Lawrence as a man of action.

When it came to action and politics, any old politics and

action would do. There is nothing of Bolshevism in all this; only a

crude hero cult. The working class abolished by common consent. Like many journalistic exposés this book draws back at the critical point,

While often presenting material that exposes Lawrence's enormous deception, it seeks to keep the myth

Nevertheless, in spite of all their efforts to the contrary, the funeral scene that ends the book, with Lady Astor weeping, Churchill weeping and the King sending a dignified message, reads as the sheer farce and miserable humbug that it was.

THROUGHOUT the history of man's struggle to understand and control the world he lives in. science has been in conflict with religion. This was so, whatever men of science might personally have believed.

The rationalists used to dream that knowledge could, by itself, conquer superstition and mysticism.

But, in this century of stupendous scientific and technological expansion, the fundamental outlook of science, including physics itself, has been infected with scepticism and idealism.

For this is also the century of capitalist decay.

Religion in all its forms derives, not merely from ignorance, but from the continuation of class exploitation and oppression.

God's mystery springs from the mystery of the social order, not just of nature.

In its youth, bourgeois science believed that it would ultimately explain everything in the world—life and human thought included—in terms of the laws of motion of basic particles of matter.

These laws, essentially quantitative and mathematical, would bring into their compass all the qualitative contrasts and transformations of living reality.

This mechanical world view could never be carried through consistently, as Engels forsaw. 'Mechanics . . . knows only



Behind the show of fighting for Arab unity, T. E. Lawrence sought to keep the Arab tribes divided in order to protect British imperialism. Above: Lawrence arrives in Damascus in his Rolls Royce.

IN THE Amalgamated Engineering and Foundry Workers' Union a number of new branches have recently been formed on a factory basis. What is behind this?

'Trade union reform' is one of the most deceptive and dangerous catchwords of the

Many militant workers, frustrated and bitter at the way in which the machinery of the unions is bureaucratically controlled, and even used against the interests of the members, look towards changes in rules and procedure as a solution.

Others, knowing that shop stewards are closer to shopfloor issues and to the rank and file, suppose that all that is necessary is to place more and more of the functions of the unions in their hands, and to work for organized links between stewards nationally.

Undoubtedly such links are necessary, but the essential question in the unions is one of leadership.

Many workers will accept this, and are extremely hostile to their present union leaders. But what is most often not understood is that the basic question is one of political leadership.

In the present period, it is inevitable that the trade unions come under attack from monopoly capitalism.

The aim of the attack is to integrate the unions into the capitalist state. There is no return to the old type of trade unionism, building up strength in an atmosphere of 'free collective bargaining'.

Those who think that the existing 'strong' unions only need one or two 'strong' and militant leaders are making a mistake which will have drastic consequences if not corrected.

Either the unions become instruments of the mobilization of the working class for the revolutionary taking of power, or, under right-wing or 'left-wing' reformist leaders, they

will serve the capitalist state. Every major workers' struggle today involves a conflict with government, a political con-

In such a conflict, all those leaders who start with per-spectives of the survival of capitalism and not the struggle for workers' power can only

betray.

Three of the biggest unions in Britain are led by so-called 'left' leaders: Hugh Scanlon in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry-workers (AEF), Lawrence Daly in the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), and Jack Jones in the Transport and General Workers' (T&GWU).

They are supported by the Communist Party, in line with their tactic of 'left unity'.

With this line, taking advantage of the desire of many workers for united action against the employers, the CP deceives the workers into thinking that their demands can be met through supporting

this type of leadership.

They are, in fact, preparing even worse betrayals than those already perpetrated.
It should be remembered

that Scanlon is now sharing chairmanship of a committee to deal with strikes in the car industry with British-Leyland boss Lord Stokes, after having signed the engineers' claim in November 1968 and handed to Ford's a victory on their 'penal clauses'.

All these leaders accept wholeheartedly the need for 'productivity' and speed-up, which flows inevitably from their acceptance that capitalism must continue and prosper.

Scanlon, still with the full backing of the Stalinists, is now concentrating on speeding up the procedure agreements in engineering.

He combines this with proposals to place all negotiations on wage-rates in the hands of the local union officials.

Barbara Castle also speaks about the workers on the shopfloor and at local level as being a real 'power' in industry, while at the same time preparing anti-union and wagecutting legislation.

It is intended to have the national organs of the unions tied to the state, if necessary through the TUC, and the

Dangers of trade union reform-

A warning to engineers

local levels tied directly to the monopolies and their 'productivity' plans. The purpose of all Scanlon's campaigning must surely be to take the union along this road?

Local arbitration boards dominated by company representatives and local union bureaucrats of the unions, mostly appointed by the national executive, constitute another aspect of the 'new reforms'

The ETU, led by the right-wing Chapple and Cannon, is already far along this road.

At the present stage of trade union struggles in this country, these issues are of great importance. In the engineering industry,

age deal. Yet at the same time

the big employers are impatient to reap the profits harvest of the productivity promises made by Scanlon in the 1968 pack-

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT and the 'left' leaders can go

a crucial battle is beginning at British-Leyland in Oxford over on talking left without ever the proposed imposition of Measured-Day Work. engaging in struggle with the right wing. The Stalinists go along with The official machine is free to get on with the job of

the bureaucratic manoeuvres of Scanlon for two reasons: policing the unions. firstly, they hope it will help to consolidate the positions they and their friends have In at least one district of the AEF, an attempt is being made to constitute new taken in the official machine; branches on a factory instead secondly, and more important, of a local basis. This should be their own counter-revolutionstrenuously opposed. The present union rule does not ary politics actually coincide with the aims of the employers specify either locality or and the union bureaucracy.

If a situation is created Marxists in the unions today. where wages are negotiated like Communist Party militants and settled at local and plant in the past, fight to build political groups in their faclevel, then of course the national officials are freed from the test of any clash with the employers and the government,

In the fight against the trade union bureaucracy and its right-wing politics and classcollaboration, such groups of Marxists in the factories need to organize their work in the various union branches in the

The industrial strength of the engineers in centres like Sheffield, and any potential political strength, has been built up because one or two strong factory groups have in this way, through the various local branches, been able to influence and educate by example the workers in the weaker factories.

In fact the Stalinists have sapped that strength and turned it into an electoral base for their own and 'left' candidates in AEF elections.

In the present period of political struggles, what is the future of this type of political

The Stalinists encourage the factory-based branches (already set up in two plants in Sheffield where they dominate the district committee) in order to 'freeze' the present situation and obstruct the development of alternative leadership in the union.

They understand very well that this fight for alternative leadership is essentially the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

They anticipate a situation where branch meetings take place on company premises, with the employer stopping subscriptions off the wage note, and with the employer and the local officials collaborating to get rid of 'un-

For the politically advanced workers, the establishment of factory branches has no advantage whatsoever.

They are already able to fight for and carry out the responsibility of industrial and politically organized work.

ened, because their activities will be constitutionally confined to the factory through the branch.

All Trades Unions Alliance and the Socialist Labour League through the Workers Press, politically advanced workers will know how to continue the fight for revolutionary leadership, and no bureaucratic manoeuvre by the Stalinists and their friends will stop this.

But an essential part of this fight to build leadership is to struggle on this very issue, part of the fight for proletarian democracy in the unions.

perty and all the corruption but a revolutionary struggle which must accompany it and for leadership, against opporput it where it belongs, in the tunism and Stalinism in the

Koestler's question-mark tipped with theological poison

quantities, it calculates with velocities and masses, and at most with volumes. . . . In physics, however, and still more in chemistry, not only does continual qualitative change take place in consequence of quantitative change, the transformation of quantity into quality, but there are also many qualitative changes to be taken into account whose dependence on quantitative change is by no means proven. That the present tendency of science goes in this direction can be readily granted, but does not prove that the pursuit of this tendency will exhaust the whole of physics and chemistry.' ('Dialectics of Nature' pp. 255-256.)

The attempt to reduce all phenomena to mechanical motion of identical particles was doomed to failure, and religion has not been slow to take advantage of every weak-

ness of its old enemy. 'Beyond Reductionism' is an account of a symposium held in Switzerland last year. Some important figures in biology, psychology and linguistics made contributions in which they discussed their dissatisfaction with the mechanistic approach and its inadequacy to cope with recent discoveries.

Several contributors stressed the importance of the conception of a 'system', especially in dealing with living organisms. The behaviour of such an object is not sufficiently described merely in terms of the detailed courses followed by its constituent parts.

One of the participants in the symposium was von Bertalanffy, founder of the 'General Systems Theory', and the relevance of this approach to other fields of life science is brought out in several papers.

Many of these ideas attack mechanistic methods thought in ways which are quite acceptable to Marxism. In the case of the paper by Piaget and Inhelder, 'The Gaps in Empiricism', the debt to Marxism is clearly conscious.

But two papers, J. R. Smythies' on 'Aspects of Consciousness' and F. A. Hayek's on 'The Primacy of the Abstract', are openly idealist; and none of the theological poison. In the 'Beyond Reductionsymposium, he intervened from time to time in this spirit.

For example, when, in a

discussion on evolution, it is pointed out that only a very small number of mutations are capable of producing a possible variant, Koestler asks: 'Do you realize that what you say leads to the conclusion

that evolution is the fulfilment of a preordained programme,

'BEYOND REDUCTIONISM' New perspectives in the life sciences Edited by Arthur Koestler and J. R. Smythies

Hutchinson £3 10s. Review by John Crawford

eminent scientists assembled seem to notice the contradic-

This becomes understandable

when we recall that the chief

organizer and guiding spirit of the symposium was Arthur Koestler. This ex-Stalinist exnovelist became a professional anti-communist long ago. But unlike many others in his profession, Koestler has

worked to find theoretical

weapons to use against Marxism. Searching desperately throughout the length and breadth of world culture, his aim has been to make room for mysticism in the realm of science.

In recent years, he has devoted himself to writing about science and especially biology, in order to demonstrate that there are things in heaven and earth that science cannot deal with. He always leaves his reader clutching a lethal question mark, tipped with

straints?' (Page 82.)

ing to grapple with the in-adequacies of mechanical materialism, Koestler is taking advantage of them to smuggle in the germs of a mystical extra-universal force guiding the movements of matter.

Koestler does this job with great subtlety. But in the last paper, the

of suffering.

preordained by way of con-

While the scientists are try-

psychiatrist Frankl gives the game away. After criticizing those psychological theories which attempt to reduce man to 'nothing but' a machine or some other non-human model, Frankl turns to the question

He remarks that 'suffering is ambiguous so far as its meaning may be localized in a dimension higher than suffering itself. This leads to the question whether the human dimension is the ultimate, the final dimension' (page 408).

Strip away the existentialist jargon and we find ourselves standing outside the pearly gates, waiting for opening

Because it develops inside a

Marxism bases itself on the

This revolutionary method

of thought sees the world as

it really is: matter in motion.

cesses of development of

matter in their intercon-nection, instead of breaking

them down into isolated and

Movement, qualitative leaps,

contradiction, struggle, are

not regarded as unfortunate

lapses which science must

explain away, but as the

excluding Marxism itself, are

the highest levels reached by

the development of this

Marxism goes beyond the

old mechanical materialism,

not only in understanding the

material basis of its enemy-

idealism—but also in grasping

its own history material-

In fighting for a socialist world, it prepares to release

the movement of science from

the shackles of private pro-

service of humanity.

istically.

essence of living reality.

Life and thought,

unchanging elements.

It seeks to grasp the pro-

social order in its death agony,

time.

every advance made by science increases the danger it faces from religion in its modern Only Marxism can form the basis for victory in the struggle of materialism against idealism.

power of the working class to desirable' militants. smash capitalism and rid the world of exploitation, the soil on which mysticism grows.

> political leadership within the plant through the stewards' committees and through their Where they are in a minority position, they will be weak-

Undoubtedly, working in the

No backdoor changes of union structure to tighten the grip of the bureaucracy!

Not 'trade union reform'.

at the

Young

Socialists

GRAND XMAS

BAZAAR

Saturday December 13 **CORN EXCHANGE**

LEEDS

Doors open 12 noon

ATUA-YS

PUBLIC MEETINGS

Stop Wilson's

visit to

Washington

GLASGOW

Sunday, December 14

3 p.m.

Partick Burgh Halls

(nr. Merkland St underground)
Admission 1s. 6d.

CORBY

Monday, December 15

8 p.m.

Corby Candle

Tinderbox Room

LEICESTER

Wednesday, December 17

8 p.m.

The Globe

Silver Street

NOTTINGHAM

Thursday, December 18

8 p.m.

People's Hall

Heathcote Street

WILLESDEN

Thursday, December 18

8 p.m.

Willesden Trades and

Labour Hall

High Road, N.W.10



Marchers walk by the offices of one of Parrett and Neves' newspapers.

Ford and Daly

trial questions and left-wing

stances on political matters. A few years ago, for example, he visited North Vietnam, inquiring into American

'Ready-made'

He thus became the darling of all the anti-Marxist 'left' groups who preferred basing their hopes on ready-made leaders like Daly to the scientific building of a revolutionary leadership in the working

His actions during the strike have left these people hurt and bewildered.

For example, 'Black Dwarf' of November 26 carries a cry from the heart: 'What is Lawrence Daly doing?

'Lawrence Daly's actions during the recent mining strike appear to be totally in-defensible. Siding with the NCB and the capitalist state agains the strike actions of his men, he played an antisocialist and counter-revolutionary role.

'From a union leader with a long record of militancy and internationalism, his action was horrific.

'Can he or anyone else explain these changes?' Yes, Marxists can explain these 'changes'.

men, have protested at the

treatment Nixon is giving the

on trial in Chicago charged

with conspiring to incite a riot

during the Democratic Party

convention were brutally sup-

pressed by a massive force o

police, who used tear gas and

Panther chairman Bobby

He was denied the lawyer f his choice, bound and

gagged in the courtroom and

eventually sentenced to four

Despite Wednesday's farci-

cal intervention by Labour MP Mrs Anne Kerr, the

● FROM PAGE ONE

years' imprisonment for 'con-

Seale was originally a defend-

clubs liberally on the demon-

Demonstrations outside the

convention there last year.

Seven leading Panthers are

Black Panthers

prison

White House.

Daly but the political and

It is now no longer a question of talking 'international-ism' and of well-publicized visits to Vietnam.

The crisis of American capitalism reaches out from Vietnam to Europe.

Atrocities

American imperialism is forced not only to commit atrocities against the Vietnamese people but to launch an offensive against

This leads to attacks on the working class in Western Europe over hours, wages, conditions and union organ-

The strike wave spreading through Britain—miners, dustmen, dockers, teachers, etc.and also through France, Germany and Italy, has international implications. At the same time, the fight

against the Vietnam war takes place at a new level—specifically, the fight to stop Wilson's visit to the United States.

Left-talkers can get by no longer—on neither industrial nor international questions.

The Yorkshire miners have. in fact, answered the 'Black

Chicago trial is in deadly

The defendants face long

prison sentences, and the udge has already made very

clear that he intends to hit

the Panthers as hard as he

Parrett and Neves back down

Printers win web-offset dispute

THE LONGEST and costliest strike in the post-war history of the National Graphical Association was concluded this week with a qualified victory for the union against Parrett and Neves, the Chatham based web-offset newspaper printing works.

The strike, which lasted 19 months and cost the NGA £50,000, began over wage rates for operating web-offset presses at Sittingbourne and developed rapidly into a struggle for trade union recognition.

Parrett and Neves, who publish 'Chatham Standard' and 'Chatham News', and some other local weekly papers, provoked the dispute by calling off the preliminary discussions over web-offset manning scales and refusing to enter into agreement with the

The NGA response to this was no contract, no work. The employers first tried to win over the 24 NGA members by offering them an extra £5 a week and a job for life if they rejected the union's instructions and worked the

machines.
When the men unanimously refused they were summarily dismissed and non-union labour was employed.

The NGA first attempted to resolve the dispute by putting pressure on the Newspaper Society to which Parrett &

Neves belonged.

The company agreed to take back only five out of the 24 dismissed at this stage.

Defiance

Despite the intervention of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation and the stopping of all collaboration between the NGA and the Newspaper Society — because expel Parrett and Neves-the company continued its defiance not only of the NGA, but of the entire Kent trade union movement, which 'blacked' all supplies going in

and out of Parrett and Neves. Tudge Hoffman is **un-**The embargo of the unions doubtedly following a policy which comes straight from the soon began to have an effect on the company. After 33 issues, Parrett and Neves had By its murderous onslaught to suspend publication of the daily 'Evening Mail' in October

against the Panthers, whose only 'crime' is that they are determined to resist police In October NGA general persecution, the Nixon adminsecretary John Bonfield outistration hopes to frighten the lined four conditions for a vast numbers of Americans who are moving into action

They were: the reinstatement of the 24 members withagainst the Vietnam war and against Nixon's imperialist out victimization, the removal policies. of the six expelled NGA mem-The growing movement to defend the Panthers against bers from the office, the establishment of 100 per cent trade this vicious persecution is evidence that Nixon will not unionism in all departments, and a proper settlement in succeed. and manning of the web-offset Washington visit

Demonstration

In May, 1969 a mass demonstration of 2,000 members of NGA and SOGAT in Chatham failed to shake the company's determination to employ scabs. The company kept production going from a stock-pile of newsprint which it had accumulated in preparation for

Finally, when every avenue of pressure was exhausted and when criticism from the ranks began to mount, the NGA leaders decided to force the issue by 'blacking' all Kodak products in all national and provincial newspaper works

minister leaves for **U.S.** talks

yesterday for a ten-day visit to the United States where he will have talks with Secretary of State William Rogers.

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.

By a Workers Press reporter because Kodak continued to

supply Parrett and Neves. This move apparently had

What went on between Kodak and Parrett and Neves we can only surmise, but in the end the company capitulated on all except (possibly, we are not sure) the second demand of the NGA in relation to the six expelled

Irony

The irony of the dispute is that the firm, having refused to sack the 'blacklegs', is now saddled with the problem of massive overmanning of the machines—far in excess of the number at the beginning of

Israel rejects

proposed terms

for Middle-

East deal

THE JOINT search by the Soviet bureaucracy

and US imperialism for a Middle-East 'package

picion even by Arab

government leaders, the

'bait' offered to them under

forward on Tuesday by

Secretary of State William

Commitment

to peace by Israel and Egypt.

(2) 'A number of specific security safeguards to be worked out under United

direct talks between Israeli

No room

and Egyptian leaders.

(1) 'A binding commitment

government yesterday.

Rogers calls for:

Rhodes.

safeguards.'

deal' has run into new difficulties.

Building

Cavendish Street headquar-

ters.
They will lobby officials for

rejection of the proposed

Union leaders, however,

intend to accept the

have already indicated that

They have thus opened the

way to a big new drive for productivity concessions from

Such a drive will be opened

up around, in particular, the

notorious 'inter-availability of

labour' clause.

Men will be asked to work

at not only their own trade,

but that of other workers as

Tighten up

The way that the employers

intend to implement their

wage offer, itself far less than

the '£20 Now!' demanded by

building workers all over the

country, also indicates a drive

The offer consists of a new

But in order to qualify for

MEL workers must not be

late or absent during the week

or allow work to be inter-

rupted by weather, holidays

If the union leaders sign the

The most important task

deal it is without any proper

mandate from their members

ahead, therefore, is the build-

ing of a new leadership for

the struggles in which the

industry's workers are un-

doubtedly going to be in-

vals, but fog patches early and

late. Frost during evening. Wind light, variable or nor-

therly. Near normal. Maximum

7C (45F). West Midlands, NW and

Central Northern England,

Edinburgh: Dry with sunny intervals. Becoming rather

cloudy later. Frost or fog

patches early in the day. Wind light, nor or north-west, back-

or industrial action

to tighten up on discipline.

a 'minimum earnings level (MEL) allowance.

basic rates made up

required by their employer.

agreement.

the employers.

NGA and SOGAT members on the march through Chatham early this year in protest against

One day wages strike

Meet Mr Lollipop in Leeds on Saturday

day stoppage on January 9 and reject a management offer of 15s. increase on

The Lucas Merseyside area shop stewards' committee have called for this one-day stoppage and a meeting of shift workers in the four Lucas combine factories on Merseyside on

The action is in support of their demand for a £5

CAV and Girlings shop stewards' committees are to ings of shift workers at the two factories that they re-

at Lucas

A MASS meeting on Wednesday at Lucas Industrial Equipment, Fazakerley, Liverpool, decided unani-mously to support a one-

U.S. jets Libyan coup leaders

Lieutenant Colonels Adam El-Hawas and Moussa Ahmed were named yesterday as the two leaders of the abortive coup against the new military government in Libya.

supersonic long-range plane Cairo reported that one

in flames on the east of the

attacked Syrian military positions and airport, a military spokesman said here.

Israelis, he added.

People in Damascus reported hearing explosions. A military communiqué said large formations of Israeli

airspace. 'Our air force intercepted them and our anti-aircraft guns went into action,' the communiqué said. No casual-

People crowded on rooftops to watch the aerial battles. Syrian MIG 17 and MIG 21

The Israeli air raid came less than 24 hours after an artillery battle on the Syrian-Israeli ceasefire line, in which the Syrians claimed to have killed and wounded 26 Israeli soldiers for the loss of three

are named

announced that the coup had been staged for last Sunday under the direction of the only two military men in the cabinet: at local level. the Minister of the Interior Ahmed, and of Defence El-Hawas, but it had been forestalled by the regime and its ring-

of its bases in Libya granted under the 1953 Anglo-Libyan treaty.

NOT PROOF

the split in the new regime with Britain.

to power by the coup of September 1.

NO RETREAT

and management concerned

Many engineering workers view this agreement with hostility, because it appears to them that disputes can be batted backwards and forwards from York almost indefinitely.
For the employers the

situation is even more serious. Faced with increasingly competitive home and international markets, they sought changes which would shorten the procedure, tighten up on discipline and allow them to attack their main enemy-unofficial shop-floor actions outside of procedure.

The growing militancy of motor and engineering workers has prevented the union leaders from running this far yet.

Unable to reach agreement in November on the employers' proposals for the compulsory establishment of works' councils and the obligatory ratification of a strike action by national union officials, union leaders threatened to withdraw from the procedure altogether.

Anarchy *

It was this which sparked EEF director-general Martin Jukes' outburst a bout 'anarchy' (reported in last Saturday's Workers Press). What, then, are the dangers

of the situation facing engineering workers? blocks to an agreement is the principle of 'status quo'.

Union leaders demand that managements should not be allowed to proceed with any changes affecting wages or working conditions while these are still under dis-

cussion. At the 1969 meeting of the of the AEF National Committee in April, Scanlon insisted: There must be an entirely fresh approach to the principle of "status quo". Either party, desiring a change from the existing circumstance. the existing circumstances, must use the procedure in

order to effect such a change.' principled stand, you might think. Why then has the AEF not intervened against the procedure agreed with the

Employers' Association in October — in which this issue is ducked?. During the hearing

appeals by South Wales engineers who are dismissed by their employers, they remain

Final

Final decisions are to be

works' conference on the case within seven days. The second, and most

This, again, was one of the

employers

British-Leyland are desperate to get something done about

Present arrangements allow workers disputing a particular piece-work price to move onto the time rate until their claim

ployers are attempting to push up production rates.

Were the union leaders to carry out a retreat here similar to that they have been prepared to tolerate in South Wales it would be a bitter blow to all engineer-

Held

held to this! One way in which a retreat could be carried out here is if the Confederation were to agree that workers would have to accept the manage-

ment's price for a job until agreement on a new rate Such a move, like the em-

ployers' other attempts to tighten discipline and attack shop-floor trade union strength, must be firmly

The Huddersfield branch of the Communist Party has called for the stopping of Wilson's proposed visit to

Fifteen people, including a number of Communist Party members, have signed a petition in Leeds demanding the stopping of Wilson's visit in the New Year to

Washington'. 35 students from South-East Technical College, London, have signed the petition, to-gether with 50 from Woolwich Polytechnic, and 80 members and supporters of Woolwich Young Socialists and readers

University have signed a similar petition.

The Workers Press.

Constructional Engineering Union official Mr L. F. Spackman was among 40. of the Workers Press. Tottenham Court Road re-

> 20 workers at the Hounslow Post Office sorting office, 47 readers of the Workers Press in North Kent and 11 workers at the Albion Sugar factory in South-East London, have also signed the petition.

The London School Economics branch of ASTMS passed a resolution yesterday calling on the executive committee of ASTMS and the Labour Party national execu-Washington visit be stopped.

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

Chairman: M. Banda (Editor, Workers Press)

Israeli

ISRAELI Foreign Minister Abba Eban left Tel Aviv

He will also officially launch the United Jewish Appeal wealthy American supporters

ing south-west. Near normal. Maximum 6C (43F). Channel Islands: Dry with sunny intervals. Fog patches early. Becoming rather cloudy later. Wind light, northerly. normal. Maximum 9C

ist leadership. WEATHER SW England: Dry at first with London area, SE and Central Southern England, East Midlands: Dry with sunny intersome sunshine and a few frost

> ing south-west, light, becoming moderate. Near normal. Maxi-Glasgow area, Northern Ireland: Dry with fog and frost patches early. Becoming cloudy, with rain spreading from the west in the afternoon and evening. Wind light, south-west, becoming fresh or strong later. Near normal. Maximum 8C (46F).

and fog patches. Becoming

cloudy with occasional rain

later. Wind north-west, back-

Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Rather unsettled with some rain at times in most areas. Near normal tempera-

in Suez raid US-BUILT Phantom jets

were used for the first time by Israel on Wednesday in attacks on Egyptian positions along the Suez gulf. It was the first time the

Arabs since the US government delivered 50 of them last summer.

the terms of the deal was Phantom had been shot down denounced by the Israeli Damascus, Thursday: Big formations of Israeli aircraft The US-inspired plan put

Syrian planes attacked the

Aerial dog-fights were reported over the capital.

Nations auspices, following the procedure used in the Phantoms, Mirages and Sky-1949 armistice negotiations at hawks had penetrated Syrian (3) 'Withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egyptian territory

within the context of the The Israeli cabinet rejected were immediately rethese terms after a meeting in Jerusalem late Wednesday night, and instead called for

iets were in action.

As in Vietnam, there is no room for compromise between imperialism and its agents and the struggle of the semi-

colonial people for national unification and self-determin-Nasser and the other Arab leaders will still work for such a deal, and the Soviet bureaucracy will pull every diplomatic wire whilst encouraging Nixon to make it possible, but the struggle of the Arab masses will continue. The need is now for social-

distractions.

British Stalinism.

It is precisely now, when the movement of the European workers synchronizes with the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, when the spectre of revolution and Communism begins to haunt European capitalists, that Stalinism rushes in with new and even more sinister diversions and

The anxiety of the 'Star' and the sudden flurry of CP activity is not really surprising. It is a conditioned reflex reaction to the inspiring and highly-successful campaign of the SLL and the Workers Press to stop Wilson's Wash-

ington visit.

The fact that leading trade unionists like Scanlon, Hearsey and Birch have signed the petition is too much a canary for Gollan to swallow. the leaders. The thought that Wilson

That is why the CP leaders are rallying all their forcesas well as the 'left' rebels in the Parliamentary Labour Party like Michael Foot-to

progressive about this fake campaign and its authors.

Gollan's anxiety is our opportunity.
Roll in the resolutions and fill up the forms. Wilson going to Washington

The ruling three-man Revolutionary Command

FROM PAGE ONE

leaders arrested. The leaders of the coup have been charged with working to undermine the current negotiations with Britain on the evacuation

It is quite possible that reflects disagreements over the handling of the talks

Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council Colonel Kadiffi certainly made a militant-sounding speech before the first session of the talks on Monday, though this should not be taken as proof of the regime's ability to pursue a consistent anti-imperialist

All the signs point to continued instability in the Bonapartist regime brought

and chicanery

of hundreds of CP members the campaign has horrified

might actually be defeated by the working class in taking his reactionary step is too much for King Street.

create a distraction around a 'pressure campaign' so that Wilson can go to Washington. We say there is nothing

Those who believe today that Wilson and social democracy can change will tell you tomorrow that imperialism can change.

made by an 'impartial' management representative. It will be open to the man or his union to demand a

important, danger of the present talks concerns piece-work.

issues left outstanding by last year's engineering package

No national piece-work agreement was reached in last year's deal.

is settled. This can be a devastating weapon particularly, when em-

The 'Engineering Voice'—of which Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones are leading supporters—declared in November 1968 that 'the union side has clearly stated that unless this principle [mutual agreement of piece-work prices] is written in there will be no national piece-work agreement'. Scanlon and Jones must be

could be reached.