

Xmas Day demonstration

U.S. SOLDIERS SHAME 'LEFT' MPS

BY MICHAEL BANDA

DEFYING the juggernaut of US imperialism and the threats and sanctions of the hated military-police dictatorship of Thieu and Ky, 500 people, including many US servicemen, are planning to celebrate Xmas in a unique, but appropriate, way by staging a 'Peace Happening' in the John F. Kennedy Square in Saigon on Christmas Eve.

The organizer, Richard Boyle, has said that this is the first attempt to unify South Vietnamese civilians and US soldiers opposing the war into a single movement.

Although the objectives of this movement remain purely pacifist and do not go beyond calling on both sides (sic) to stop fighting permanently at Tet—the Vietnamese New Year beginning on February 5—the fact remains that US soldiers on active service will be demonstrating against the hated war under the noses of the US military high command.

What this means is that the radicalization, as we predicted, has been extended from the civilians to the armed forces.

As the stench from the massacres begins to spread and the toll of US dead begins to mount, thousands more GIs will be sucked into the vortex of the anti-war movement.

The very logic of Nixon's strategy—or rather the lack of a viable one—makes this process irresistible. The growth of pacifist moods in the army, as Lenin pointed out in the First World War, is only the first step towards a more belligerent attitude of the commanding staff of the army and its own ruling class.

Defiance

We welcome this spirit of defiance as a signal proof of the complete failure of Nixon to whitewash his own regime and blame the massacres and brutalities on the war-weary and frustrated GIs.

There is little doubt in our minds that as the war grinds bloody into its third decade, many GIs, instead of venting their exasperation on innocent women and children, will turn their guns in another direction—against the inspirers and directors of this filthy enterprise.

In shameful contrast to this is the despicable attitude of the Labour leaders—right and left.

In parliament and in the TUC we have witnessed in the last two weeks the greatest treachery against the Vietnamese and the GIs who are fighting against this war.

Instinctively sensing the threat to their own stability represented by the prospective defeat of Anglo-American imperialism in South-East Asia, these obsequious creatures immediately ran to the defence of their ringmaster Wilson and the circus-manager Nixon.

With the alacrity of trained seals they barked their acquiescence to the war—and with it the massacres.

The most disgusting performance in this cynical exercise was probably that of Mr John Rankin—Labour MP for Govan—who enjoys the confidence and support of the Stalinists as chairman of the Medical Aid for Vietnam Committee.

He, together with 68 other MPs, signed the motion to 'dissociate' and 'withdraw US troops from Vietnam'.

After the usual expressions of 'sincere horror' this man went into the House and together with a group of other Labour signatories, like Pavitt, Moonman, Fraser, O'Halloran and Snow, proceeded to vote

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STOP WILSON'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

Wide layers join protest

SUPPORT for the campaign is still rolling in from trade unionists and students—many of them members of the Communist Party acting in opposition to King Street's contemptible 'Make Wilson Speak for Britain' line.

ERITH AEF district shop stewards' quarterly meeting has voted in favour of a resolution to stop Wilson's visit.

Signatures to a petition making the same demand were joined at the weekend by those of a number of people connected with education, broadcasting, journalism and the theatre.

Demanding the stopping of the visit were authors Piers Read and Pamela Jens; Ed Victor, Stephen Gilbert, Clive Goodwin, Jane Porter and 'Black Dwarf' editor Tariq Ali; Equity members Francesca Annis and Christopher Logue; ACTT members Verity Lambert, James McTaggart and Anne Scott; ABS member Bill Ash and 'Sunday Times' reporter Alexander Mitchell.

A RESOLUTION demanding the stopping of the visit has been carried by the Edinburgh branch of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs.

A SIMILAR motion was defeated on the Edinburgh Trades Council, but 21 members of the council signed the Workers Press petition—seven being Communist Party members. Of this seven, one was the convener of Grange-mouth's BP refinery site and another a member of the council's executive.

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One of the GIs in Vietnam who wore a black armband in sympathy with the first US Moratorium. Others will take wider action on Christmas Day.

GESTETNER

Die-casters to strike

DIE-CASTING workers at Tottenham's Gestetner plant have threatened to strike if their employers refuse to settle a claim for improved condition money by the beginning of next week.

Their claim, on which a failure to agree was registered earlier this month, is based on the adverse conditions under which they work.

A management offer of 7½d an hour for large machines and 3d an hour for small was rejected by the unions involved.

Workers in the fettling-shop were offered nothing. If the management continues to refuse an improvement the die-shop workers could bring the factory to a halt within days.

But this does not necessarily guarantee victory. In May 1967, a strike which followed a failure to agree on the handling of a new 'hot-spray' machine in the factory's paint shop led to the signing of a full co-operation agreement after the men were locked out.

Stewards warn that there must be no repetition of this set-back. This time—with the management already moving towards proposals for job-evaluation in the factory—the stakes are even higher.

Pie-in-the-sky from car union boss

By our industrial reporter

AN URGENT plea for the easing of hire purchase restrictions on car sales was made yesterday by leaders of the motor industry's main 'white-collar' unions.

In a letter to Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr Roy Jenkins, Clerical and Administrative Workers' general secretary-designate Mr R. A. Grantham speaks of the union's concern about the fall in home car sales in recent months.

The government's credit restrictions, he says, are wasting investment, affecting exports and creating labour difficulties.

'The government', Grantham urges, should announce an immediate easing of hire purchase restrictions until the end of March, particularly bearing in mind that purchasers will otherwise hold back until after the Budget and the worsen an already serious position.'

If Grantham or any other like-minded union leaders think that they can get out from under the big struggles now approaching in the car industry with reformist 'pie-in-the-sky' about taking the pressure off the employers, they are mistaken.

Neither the lifting of hire purchase restrictions nor the Trades Union Congress's '6 per cent growth' mirage are going to avoid this clash.

Bernadette Devlin

Court hands out six-month sentence

SIX months' imprisonment. That was the vicious sentence doled out by a Londonderry court yesterday on 22-year-old Miss Bernadette Devlin.

She was found guilty on three counts of inciting people to commit riotous behaviour and one of behaving riotously during the street battles in Derry last August.

Nine other charges against her were dismissed and she was allowed to go on £250 bail pending her appeal.

Miss Devlin's counsel, Sir Dingle Foot, told the court that before August 12, the date of the alleged 'offences', the people of Bogside were in a state of acute and perpetual fear, and on August 12, 13 and 14 had bused themselves with the building of barricades against police attack.

Miss Devlin did not encourage aggression, he said, she encouraged resistance. Bernadette Devlin gets six months in jail, while the police chiefs and Stormont leaders whose forces attacked Bogside, are left to go scot-free.

Ruling-class justice, with its defence of the rights of property and its hostility to the working class, is at the very core of the Londonderry court's decision.

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Briefly

PIB BACKS FARES RISE: The Prices and Incomes Board has approved the fare increases proposed by British Rail for London and the Home Counties, which will cost another £5,200,000 a year. The PIB's report disagrees with British Rail's scheme to spread the increases evenly and suggests that passengers in the more thickly-populated areas should pay a larger share.

Whichever way the increases are imposed, they will mean a considerable rise in the cost of living for those working in the area.

British Rail proposed to increase monthly season tickets by up to £2 and day returns to London by up to 8s.

Fare increases for journeys within ten miles of London were to be approximately the same as those already approved for London Transport.

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Holdings of just 50 shares at 9 a.m. yesterday morning were £1,050 richer only an hour and a half later!

The rush for the shares, which have risen in price ten times over in the past two months, has been caused by the discovery in Western Australia of big, new resources of nickel.

The value of the find is, however, still a matter for conjecture as the extent and profitability of the fields have not yet been fully determined.

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The aircraft crashed into a primary school, killing about 30 children and set the school and other buildings on fire.

First reports said that 60 of the airliner's 68 passengers were also killed.

Arab students back liberation struggle

FOUR HUNDRED delegates, representing 4,000 Arab students in Britain, met at the Conway Hall, London, on Sunday for the annual conference of the General Union of Arab Students.

The conference elected a new executive committee, headed by last year's president Nuri Bahrani (King's College, London).

Abu Fatah representative Abu Hassan was enthusiastically received by the conference.

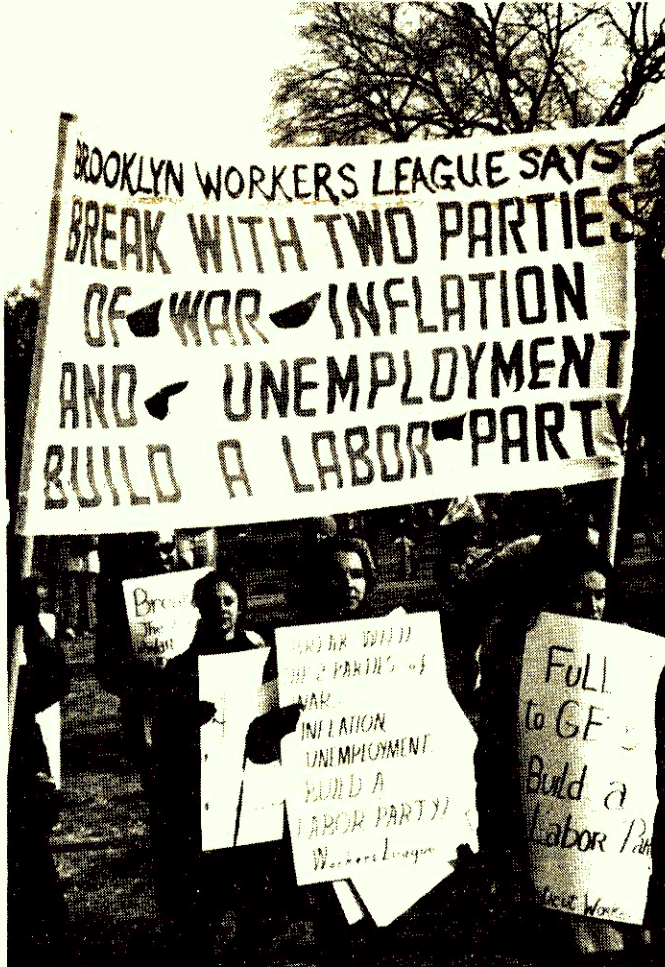
He brought greetings in the name of the Arab revolution, the Palestine revolution and the world revolution against imperialism.

Hassan called on Jewish socialists to join with the Palestine Liberation movement in the fight against Zionism.

Stand firm
The Palestinian movement, he said, must stand firm and not be swayed by 'peace' proposals.

'We can never expect a just peace from the US imperialists who are massacring the people of Vietnam', he said.

The conference was also addressed by fraternal delegates from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Movement for Liberation of the Trucial States.



The Workers' League, who posed the only political alternative on the second Moratorium, gave a tremendous impetus to principled action by GIs in Vietnam.

We demand the release of Soviet anti-Stalinists

A statement by the Editorial Board of Workers Press

TWO SOVIET anti-Stalinists were arrested on Sunday as they prepared a counter-demonstration to the anticipated celebration of Stalin's 90th birthday.

The first police victim, Victor Krasin, an economist, was arrested in his flat on the eve of the demonstration.

The police have so far given no reason for his arrest.

Anatoly Yacobson, a translator, was arrested in Red Square about mid-day, when police, some in plain clothes, attacked about 20 people who had gathered there with banners protesting against the celebration of Stalin's 90th birthday.

Most of the demonstrators were among signatories of an open letter circulated, recently which protested at the expulsion of writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn from the Writers' Union.

Leading the group were Pyotr Yakir, the son of the Red Army General killed in the 1937 purge, and the wife of Major General Grigorenko, who was recently certified 'insane' in an attempt to silence

one of the most outspoken opponents of the bureaucracy. The expected pro-Stalin demonstration did not in fact take place.

Despite persistent rumours that the Soviet Party leadership intended to glorify Stalin on his birthday, yesterday's 'Pravda', in its first editorial on the subject for 13 years, continued on the line laid down at the 1956 20th Congress of the CPSU.

'Contribution'

The 'Pravda' article, reported without comment by the British Communist Party's 'Morning Star', claims Stalin 'made an important contribution' by his theoretical and political activities to the 'ideological and political struggles against the enemies of Leninism'.

But he also committed theoretical and political mistakes, particularly in later life, the paper said.

The article makes only passing reference to the Moscow Trials and the purges of the 1930s, stating that Stalin was guilty of 'unfounded repression'.

sition inside the USSR, it dare not yet openly declare its full support for Stalin's crimes.

Attitude?

What is the Communist Party's attitude to the arrest of Krasin and Yacobson?

Hundreds of Communist Party members are now thoroughly sickened by the neutral reporting of such repressions in the columns of the 'Morning Star'.

We, and they, demand that Gollan speaks out.

For our part, we demand the immediate release of Yacobson, Krasin, Grigorenko and all the other anti-Stalinists imprisoned and interned by the Stalinist Kremlin regime.

Xmas Arrangements

THE Workers Press will not be published on Xmas Day and Boxing Day. Like other national dailies it will appear on Saturday, December 27. All inquiries call 01-720 2000.

A salute to Workers Press

AS AN adult trade unionist in times when the working class are continually under attack from a so-called Labour government, and capitalist employers, I feel that the greatest achievement and weapon the working class has fought for is the introduction of the Workers Press, the only socialist paper in existence in Britain today.

In saying this, workers can see that all the other so-called left papers can offer no alternative to the policies of the

Wilson government and the employing class.

When trade unionists read such drizzle as is contained in the 'Morning Star' can they really believe that the Communist Party can offer any alternative?

In our area the Communist Party are weak, but very dangerous enemies of the working class. When they see the Workers Press on sale they quickly take fright and turn tail and run as they will do throughout Britain now that the working class have their

own paper in which to fight not only the Wilson government and the employing class, but also the treachery of the Stalinist Communist Party.

So I salute the Workers Press and all the help it has given me as a weapon of all workers who fight for socialism.

Danny Quill,
General and Municipal Workers' Union
branch secretary,
Desborough Containers Branch, Northants.

What we think

Towards 1970

THE COMMON MARKET and Soviet-US relations are two issues which have loomed large throughout 1969. As the year draws to a close, vital decisions affecting both are in the process of being made.

The agreements reached in the early hours of yesterday morning by the six member countries of the Common Market was presented by the press as a 'pact' which somehow opened the way for Britain's entry.

It is nothing of the kind. The agreement, above all, is a last-ditch attempt to avoid the disintegration of the common agricultural policy, which has been in crisis since its inception.

That agreement was reached at all was due more to the Market countries looking ahead to the inevitably deepening economic conflicts with the US than to any progressive desires for European union.

Because French farming produces the biggest agricultural surpluses, France has been insisting that the question of financing the Market's surpluses should be settled before there could be any discussion of Britain's entry application.

The financing of the surpluses is a major issue in the Market involving the division between the member countries of a bill now running close on 3,000 million dollars a year.

The Six have agreed on the division of this bill into fixed percentages to be paid by each country from next year.

But the cutback in imports from Europe into the US, which will certainly result from the oncoming US recession, will force each of the Common Market countries to rush to protect its own industries.

The crisis on Wall Street sounds the unmistakable death knell for the proposal that by 1975 a European parliament should have control over the EEC spending budget.

Yesterday morning's agreement means that should Britain enter the Market, a levy would be placed on all agricultural imports from the Commonwealth and elsewhere into Britain to level the playing field in the Market.

Far from smoothing the way for British entry, yesterday's decisions confirm that the attempt by the British capitalist class to enter the Market will involve a major confrontation with the working class.

Fear of such a clash drives the dominant sections of the West European capitalist class, the French and German, into closer relations with the Soviet bureaucracy.

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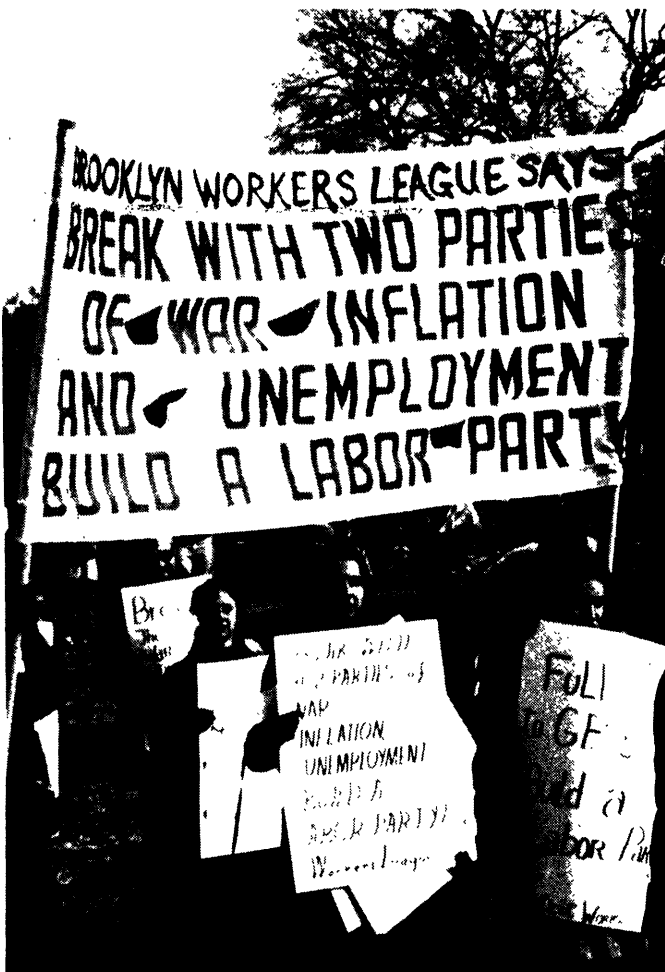
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Xmas Arrangements

THE Workers Press will not be published on Xmas Day and Boxing Day. Like other national dailies it will appear on Saturday, December 27. All inquiries call 01-720 2000.

A salute to Workers Press

AS AN adult trade unionist in times when the working class are continually under attack from a so-called Labour government, and capitalist employers, I feel that the greatest achievement and weapon for the working class has fought for is the introduction of the Workers Press, the only socialist paper in existence in Britain today.

In saying this, workers can see that all the other so-called left papers can offer no alternative to the policies of the

own paper in which to fight not only the Wilson government and the employing class, but also the treachery of the Stalinist Communist Party.

So I salute the Workers Press and all the help it has given me as a weapon of all workers who fight for socialism.

Danny Quill, General and Municipal Workers' Union branch secretary, Desborough Containers Branch, Northants.

How the bureaucracy appropriates Lenin

IDEOLOGICAL hatchman of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's Central Committee, Mikhail Suslov, has set the key note for the celebration next year of the centenary of Lenin's birth.

His article, entitled 'Leninism and the Revolutionary Transformation of the World', is part of the all too familiar and dreary process of turning Lenin into 'a harmless icon'.

Formally correct in certain of its particulars, this article, like the hundreds of others which will be churned out to order in the next 12

By our foreign correspondent

months, is typically hypocritical and mendacious.

Lenin is presented, on the basis of one quotation torn out of context, as the founder of the 'theory' of 'socialism in one country' upon which the bureaucracy's revision of Marxism rests.

It is evident in this case that Lenin was referring to a successful workers' revolution in one country and not to the building of socialism.

The many quotations marshalled by Robert Black in Workers Press for December 5 gives an idea of the contempt with which Lenin would have met such a theory.

Suslov conveniently forgets the real author of the theory of 'socialism in one country', the man who was once lauded as 'Lenin's heir', Josef Stalin.

Yet, without one mention of the butcher of Bolsheviks and betrayer of the Revolution, who appropriated Lenin's legacy only to deform it, Suslov goes on to claim that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as it exists today is the legitimate descendant of Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

Differed

Certainly Lenin did build a Party of a new type which differed in important respects from the contemporary parties of European social democracy.

It also differed, no less fundamentally, from the CPSU, whose 'monolithism' Suslov holds up for praise.

In order to build this Party Lenin had to battle with all the old trends in the Russian labour movement as well as

the revisions of Marxism which appeared at the time.

He did insist at all times upon an uncompromising struggle for Marxist principles and sought to develop Marxism creatively to equip the Party to take the leadership of the working class and prepare it for power.

'Lenin attached primary importance to the unity of the Party,' says Suslov and emphasizes the need for discipline and democratic centralism.

By this means he uses Lenin's name to oppose all discussion in the CPSU, to preserve its Stalinist character and to sally forth to restore a semblance of conformity in the foreign Communist Parties.

In reality the inner life of the Bolshevik Party was quite different from that which prevails in the CPSU and its 'fraternal parties'.

There was, within its ranks, a high level of political discussion which included the discussion of differences and the formation of tendencies and groupings on a programmatic basis.

Lifelessness

Suslov's acceptance of 'democratic centralism' is purely formal.

What he means by it is that the policy requirements of the Kremlin bureaucracy have to be obediently carried out.

It has to be seen in relationship to the rise of new opposition forces in the USSR and in the CPSU itself, in a demand, that is, for genuine discussion and a real return to Leninism.

The main characteristic of the CPSU is its lifelessness and the reduction of Marxism to a sterile dogma, turning many against Marxism altogether.

Self-praise has always been a failing of the bureaucracy. Its praise of Lenin provides its mediocrities, like Suslov,



Suslov (seated far right) 'forgets' Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the 22nd Congress and attempts to show Lenin as the founder of Stalin's policy of 'socialism in one country'.

with a means to proclaim their own 'virtues'. Of course, what is now declared to be the Leninist policy of the Central Committee would, 15 years ago, have been attributed to his 'best disciple', the genial Stalin.

But now Stalin is studiously omitted from the record and Suslov is able to write at length about developments in the Soviet Union since the Revolution without once making a reference to him.

Suslov says that Lenin regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary stage in the establishment of socialism.

He equates this with the dictatorship of the bureaucracy, whose ideologist he is.

He sees no contradiction with the abandonment of even formal adherence to the dictatorship of the proletariat by the Communist Parties in favour of 'advanced democracy', popular fronts and anti-monopoly coalitions.

He does not stop to consider what content Lenin gave the terms, nor what he wrote about the withering away of the state.

Evidently Suslov is addressing not only the CPSU, but also the leadership of the other Communist Parties whose 'monolithism' has been falling apart in recent years under the strains generated by the crisis of the bureaucracy itself.

Indeed, the last few months have seen a perceptible hardening on the part of the leadership of the French, Italian and other Communist Parties in an attempt to counteract the effects of the Czech events of 1968.

Tartars

On every question which Suslov touches he refers not to Lenin's policy, but the practices of the bureaucracy.

So he can deal with the nationalities policy of the Soviet Union without referring to the fate of the Crimean Tartars, Volga Germans and other minorities whose sufferings under Stalin have still not been redressed.

Nor does he dare to mention the fact that during the Second World War Quisling officers like Vlassov were able to recruit an army to fight

alongside the Nazis, or explain why.

In making economic advance the touchstone of success he says nothing about the claims and promises of the Khrushchev period and the failure to fulfil them.

In fact, the right sub-title for Suslov's article would be an essay in deception.

All the crimes of the bureaucracy, its blunders, mistakes and false promises, are conveniently consigned to the memory hole.

Of Lenin it remembers nothing but some convenient quotations torn from their context which suit its present needs. Its fulsome praise for Lenin in words is a cloak for a complete break with Leninism in practice.

Suslov omits the blood purges of the 1930s, the oppression of the nationalities and the blows struck against the working class.

He quotes Engels on the peasantry as though oblivious of the fact that the forced collectivization ordered by Stalin was in direct contradiction with everything which Engels counselled.

Suslov has even 'forgotten' Khrushchev and especially his denunciation of Stalin in 1956 and the call for a restoration of Leninist norms at that time.

In the same way Khrushchev's own boastful and unrealistic claims that full communism would be established by the 1980s are also forgotten.

What Lenin said about economic management in the desperate days of the Civil War and the New Economic Policy (NEP) are made to cover the retreat to individual and material incentives made for the benefit of factory managers in the 'economic reform'.

That Lenin was pre-eminently an internationalist is formally acknowledged and even in part correctly explained.

Lenin's interest in and knowledge of the political and economic development of all the main countries was based upon a wide Marxist culture, an understanding of the international character of capitalism and thus of the class struggle.

It was precisely this understanding which made it impossible for Lenin at the same time to be the protagonist of the theory of 'socialism in one country'.

His understanding of Russian development, breaking with the parochialism of the Narod-

niks and the exceptionalism of the Mensheviks, could not have been acquired on any other basis.

However indispensable Lenin's personal contribution, he did not work alone, but as a member of a Party and in collaboration with others.

To isolate Lenin from the life of the Bolshevik Party, with all its inner conflicts, struggles and splits is to produce a Lenin who stands outside history.

Instead, Lenin is forced into a mould made by the bureaucracy in its own image and becomes unrecognizable as the originator of 'socialism in one country', 'peaceful co-existence' and 'the parliamentary road to socialism'.

Suslov's praise for Lenin is thus part of the bureaucracy's self-praise, an assertion of its belief in its own infallibility.

Speaking of the mass actions of the working class in France, Italy, Japan and other countries in the past two or three years, he does not stop to ask why they have not opened up the road to power.

He admits, indeed, that as far as the Communist Parties are concerned such struggles 'do not go beyond the framework of the capitalist system, the erosion of monopoly power'.

Old recipe

He does not say where monopoly power has been 'eroded' or explain how such a policy differs from the gradualism of the reformists.

Any serious reader of Lenin will know in what terms he would have qualified such policies.

In every case the policies of the Communist Party leadership has been at variance with Lenin's teachings.

Suslov serves up the same old recipe, the usual indigestible dish of distortions and falsifications.

He repeats the tired phrases of the International Conference of Communist Parties held in Moscow last June.

Such incantations will not save the bureaucracy from the wrath to come.

The advance signs of a real return to Leninism, of a new opposition which is finding its way to the political revolution and the path of the Fourth International are now visible throughout eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself.

The celebration of Lenin's centenary will signal not the apotheosis of the bureaucracy, but its impending defeat and the victory of the working class.



Soup kitchens were set up in Petrograd in 1918 in an attempt to overcome the acute food shortages. The NEP which Lenin was forced to pursue then is used by Suslov to cover up the retreat to individual incentives for factory managers made today.

Hard-liners make a come-back

A BITTER struggle continues to rage in Czechoslovakia as supporters of the pre-February 1968, Novotny line make their comeback.

The weight of Russian influence can be seen in this continuous drive to clear out the 'reformers' and bring back members of the old guard.

What is euphemistically called 'normalization' is a sustained attempt to break the resistance of the Czech working class and extinguish the remaining embers of political revolution which burst into flame in the summer of 1968.

The Czech events alerted the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and the whole of eastern Europe to the dangers of so-called 'liberalization' and strengthened the hand of the hard-liners.

What this means is that they then have to look around for a political and ideological basis upon which to consolidate their rule and oppose the 'reforming' elements.

Old positions

Unable to formulate any original alternative, the so-called conservatives are forced back to the purest Stalinism.

Already Stalinist in method, as shown most clearly by the military intervention in Czechoslovakia, they have logically to pursue this line into all spheres of political and economic life.

The bureaucracy is thus driven back to its old positions, as though Khrushchev had never existed, by the mounting dangers of political revolution of which the hostility of the Czech workers and the activities of the opposition in Russia itself are the most overt signs.

The tendency is thus quite the opposite to that in 1956. Then the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution assisted Khrushchev's move towards 'liberalization'.

Now the Czechoslovakian events strengthen the hands

of all those elements in the bureaucracy nostalgic for the stability and good times of the Stalin era.

The drift back to Stalinism is, of course, not yet open and admitted. It takes place, no doubt, to the accompaniment of much in-fighting in the leading committees of the Communist Parties, a faction fight hidden from the membership and still more from the public at large.

It is therefore necessary, as it were, to read the signs.

But when such signs appear with regularity in different spheres and several countries it is permissible to draw at least some provisional conclusions.

In the Soviet Union for some time there has been a

perceptible tendency to rehabilitate Stalin and his close co-workers.

This takes the form, first of all, of no longer insisting upon Stalin's 'errors' or the nefarious effects of the 'personality cult'.

Recognition

It goes further in the actual revision of history in order to excise those criticisms of Stalin which were permitted in the years after 1956.

The next stage must be some more open recognition of Stalin's service to the Soviet Union and to the international working class.

Members of the Soviet opposition itself, like Grigorenko,

have already drawn attention to and attacked these tendencies.

They will inevitably encounter resistance from even wider circles of people whose painful memories make them fear a return to the early morning knock on the door and the unregulated activities of the KGB, to the hysterical atmosphere of trials and purges through which they once lived.

Those, like Roger Garaudy in France, who went still further in their opposition, have been disciplined and other measures are being prepared against them.

The sharpening of the class struggle in Europe which was signalled by the May-June events in France in 1968 places the Communist Party leadership everywhere on the alert.

It knows that the sell-outs which it makes in accordance with the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy taxes the patience of the working class and makes wider layers receptive to a revolutionary alternative.

positive light. Occasions like Stalin's birthday may well be used to test out the ground still further.

These tendencies to check and discipline 'liberalizing' tendencies have been displayed in many Communist Parties. There has been a virtual retreat from the critical position which some of them adopted towards the Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia.

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Dangerous

Trotskyism is regarded as the most dangerous force in this connection.

The CP leaders must therefore everywhere attack Trotskyism and so-called ultra-leftism.

But how can they do this without raking up all the slanders and misrepresentations of the past and insisting that it is not a trend in the working-class movement at all but an agency of capitalism?

In other words, how can they fight Trotskyism and prevent it making inroads into the working class without denouncing it in the exact terms used by Stalin in the 1930s? Hence in Britain Gollan can describe the Trotskyists as 'Hitler's agents' and in other countries a stream of material is produced with the same intention.

The growing opposition in Russia and eastern Europe which prepares the ground for the political revolution, the need to screen the sell-outs with which the Stalinist bureaucracy hopes to contain the working class in the

capitalist countries, thus strengthens the intentions of the hard-liners.

The 'liberalizers' are seen as merely opening the flood gates.

Even figures like Husak have a purely transitory importance: only a move back to a Novotny-type regime can satisfy the bureaucracy that Czechoslovakia is firmly under control.

Engulfed

It must not be assumed that by these means the bureaucracy can 'solve' its problems.

On the contrary, 'the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus'.

The moves of the hard-liners come into sharper conflict with the working class which is being precipitated into decisive struggles.

They are an expression of the crisis in which the bureaucracy is engulfed, not a way of escape.

The stubborn resistance of the Czech working class, which is showing its opposition by a concerted go-slow policy in the factories, the heroic efforts of the 'Samizdat' in the Soviet Union, are sure signs that the bureaucracy is doomed.

The return to lies and slanders against Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement is a tribute to the strength of revolutionary Marxism and reflects the bureaucracy's understanding of the dangers of losing its hold on the working class.

The come-back of the hard-liners and the rehabilitation of Stalin, provide opportunities for breaking into the ranks of the Communist Parties on much more favourable terms than before.

This is especially important, of course, in countries like France and Italy, where these parties lead the main sections of the working class.

This is not a mere propaganda fight to establish the historical correctness of certain propositions.

It is now a struggle of living forces in which the prize is the leadership of the working class.

This is the task to which the Fourth International can now go forward with confidence.



The stubborn resistance of the Czech working class and heroic efforts of members of the Soviet opposition like Grigorenko (above) are sure signs that bureaucracy will be defeated.



Suslov makes it clear that as far as the Communist Party is concerned such struggles 'do not go beyond the framework of capitalism'.

By Tom Kemp

ITALY'S acute political crisis has produced great strains within the Communist Party and brought to a head disputes within the leadership apparent since the early 1960s.

The latest episode is the suspension from the Party of Lucio Magri, Aldo Natoli, Luigi Pintor and Rossana Rossanda, animators of the highly-successful journal 'Il Manifesto', which has criticized the reformist line of the Party leadership.

The bomb outrages in Milan, probably the work of right-wing provocateurs, if not of the secret services, underlines the seriousness of the situation.

The possibility of a right-wing coup based on the army has been brought nearer. Neo-fascist groups have stepped up their propaganda in the past few days, taking advantage of public anxiety prompted by the bomb incidents.

This autumn millions of workers have been brought into strike struggles, not only about the renewal of labour contracts, but also over general social and political questions.



Never since the pre-fascist years has Italy experienced such a deep social and political crisis, posing the question of the regime itself. At the same time, despite the mass actions of the working class and the enormous solidarity displayed in the strikes, the Italian Communist Party and the trade unions have given no effective leadership. This crisis of leadership has

created unprecedented discussion and debate inside the Party itself.

The appearance of 'Il Manifesto' is but one symptom. The weaknesses of the Party's perspectives over the past decade have been exposed in a period in which they threaten to bring disaster to the working class.

Even since Togliatti appeared at the Bari Congress in 1944 and imposed the Moscow line which involved support for the government of that time led by Mussolini's old Marshal, Badoglio, the Party has acted as loyal opposition, playing the parliamentary game.

It has evidently been hoping, when the time was ripe, to enter into a left coalition comprising elements of the Christian Democracy—the ruling party supported by the Vatican and big business—as well as the Socialist Parties.

The eruption of the masses on to the political scene, as well as the obvious danger of a right-wing coup, has blown sky-high this perspective of peaceful development along the parliamentary road.

Party leaders have themselves been forced into open debate which has centred on the question of the conditions under which they would enter a government.

In other words, the debate proceeds in a form which is now largely out-distanced by events and therefore has an abstract quality divorcing it from the needs of the working class.

In August two articles in 'L'Unita' by Party leader Amendola under the title 'Party or Government' put the right-wing point of view.

Using the authority of Togliatti as his starting point he argued 'it is necessary to confront the problem of the entry of the Communists on to the government plane' as a matter of urgency.

Evidently Amendola meant that the time had come actually to enter the much-discussed left-centre coalition.

In other words he was urging the Party to enter into a governmental coalition with a section of the bourgeoisie in the so-called 'left' of the Christian-Democratic Party.

Caught as it is between the demands of the masses and the desire to preserve its old relationship with the state through parliamentary activities, the Party leadership is in an uncomfortable position.

The position established by Amendola was corrected by Enrico Berlinguer, another Party leader, in the Chamber of Deputies on the lines that the question had been posed prematurely.

As they are still divided and risk finding themselves cut off from their worker base, the Party leaders hesitate to make a decision.

Presumably they hope that in some way the crisis will be overcome.

To that end they seek to speed up the conclusion of new labour contracts in industry and generally to defuse the explosive situation existing in the big plants like Fiat.

In the meantime, 'Il Manifesto' expresses the view of a section of the middle leadership which is dissatisfied with the 1960's policies, but which does not yet dare to go further back to seek the roots of the Party's present impotence.

In the September number, under the heading 'Who With and For What?'—the reference is to the possibility of a Communist Party entering a coalition government—Aldo Natoli seeks to resolve the problem of entry on different lines to Amendola or Berlinguer.

He argues that the situation is not at all the same as in 1944-1947 when the CP was in the government under the Catholic politician De Gasperi, but contains different elements.

'What is the character of the social crisis?' he asks. 'Not just that the government is inefficient, or the urgency of satisfying the immediate and

elementary needs and aspirations of the masses, but above all the fact that the masses are in movement, organized and with claims which are very advanced, and which at this moment are shaking up the whole political picture. Distant horizons, gradual changes, partial conquests are each day being made irrelevant by a clash of classes which seizes the whole of society and even the state power.'

It is therefore necessary to discover whether there are in the Christian Democracy or the Socialist Party forces which really seek social changes. In fact a gap has opened up between these parties and their

social bases.

Therefore, he argues:

'In order for a left alternative to gain consistency, it must single out its own political links, define its own programmatic content.'

It must begin with the movement in the country, not with the possible party combinations, radicalize it and draw the different opposition forces together and build a new global strategy.

In this perspective the parliamentary arena is of secondary importance compared with the kind of regime Italy should have, which class should rule.

Speaking for the 'Il Manifesto' tendency, Natoli thus

challenges not only Amendola, but the thinking behind the official Party line.

It must be said that Natoli is at best still groping towards a correct Marxist line.

He remains imprisoned in conceptions inherited from Togliatti, whose role he does not criticize.

He expresses the disquiet of many Italian communists as is shown by the rapid exhaustion of the large printings of the austere magazine 'Il Manifesto' soon after it is put on sale.

Still the alternative remains vague and is then only put forward after events had precipitated the working class into national struggles on an unprecedented scale.

The Italian Communist Party was clearly taken unaware by this movement.

But, as Natoli and other left critics of the leadership fail to see, it not only did not prepare for such a situation, it did its best to prevent it ever occurring.

A much more fundamental critique of the policy of the Italian Communist Party is

therefore called for.

A real alternative policy and leadership has to be built.

The interview which the four suspended supporters of 'Il Manifesto' gave to the Rome weekly 'L'Espresso' for December 7, shows that they are not yet able to take up the struggle on these lines.

For example, Natoli explicitly acknowledged that they had not gone beyond the positions suggested by Togliatti and repeated in his famous Yalta testament.

Pintor, another of the same group, was clearer.

'There is no room', he said, 'for a reformist opposition to rely on this or that combination of ministers. It is a problem of power, not of governments. If one is convinced of this, one must then look in a new way at the movements of struggle and the ferments which disrupt the traditional political forces. Anyone who followed the extraordinary procession of workers which passed through the streets of Rome last Friday could not but be struck by the readiness

for struggle and political potential which were expressed there and the contrast with the narrow horizons of immediate material gains within which this potential had been confined for so long.'

Very interesting, showing, as it does, how much this intellectual opposition has been stirred by mass actions by the working class.

But it also indicates again its limitations: for who confined the workers' struggles to narrow channels if not the Communist Party and the trade unions under its control?

The half-way opposition of 'Il Manifesto' remains more of a symptom of the crisis in the Italian Communist Party than a method of resolving it through the creation of a genuine revolutionary party.

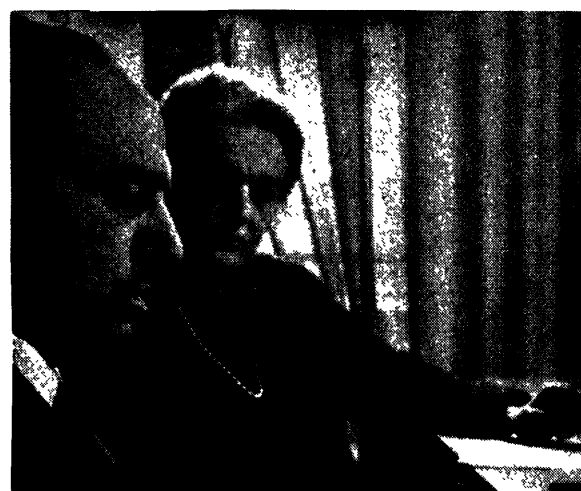
Its members still speak in general terms about 'a restructuring and reunification of the left' and of the need for 'a positive strategy' which will start from a realistic analysis of current society; organizational formulas are not enough, and the process cannot be rushed', it says.

In some of its phraseology, in other words, it resembles 'new left' tendencies which have appeared in other countries.

It is clear that 'Il Manifesto' group does not propose to undertake the responsibility of providing an alternative leadership.

It reflects various currents in the Party branches and trade unions which are dissatisfied with the existing policy, but do not see clearly any alternative, much less one based on the formation of a revolutionary party.

The crisis of leadership in Italy therefore continues to manifest itself in an extreme form.



Aldo Natoli and Rossana Rossanda: leaders of the 'Il Manifesto' group.

TUESDAY

TV

B.B.C.-1

- 1.00 p.m. Bob Yn Dri. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weather. 3.40 Malcolm Muggeridge asks 'The Question Why'. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal Magic. 5.20 Wacky Races. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 National News and Weather. 6.00 London-Nationwide. 6.45 Z Cars. 7.05 Tom and Jerry. 7.15 The Black and White Minstrel Christmas Show. 8.00 Terry Scott on 'Xmas' with guest artists. 8.50 The Main News and Weather. 9.10 The Day They Sold Alaska: Tuesday's documentary. A film about the greatest sale on earth. 10.00 Bombardier Scumble Back Among The Boys: Filmed account of his visit to the troops in Northern Ireland. 10.30 Christmas Carol: Words and music for Christmas.

B.B.C.-2

- 11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.30 p.m. Newsroom and Weather. 8.00 The First Night of 'Pygmalion': A reconstruction of how Shaw came to write the play. With Max Adrian, Miriam Karlin and John Osborne.

I.T.V.

- 2.45 p.m. Dockers' Christmas Party: show put on by men from Sector Six of the London Docks for old age pensioners. 3.45 More Best Sellers: The Bloomsbury Group. 4.17 Paulus. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 The Sooty Show. 5.20 Sexton Blake. 5.50 News From ITN. 6.03 Today. 6.30 Branded. 7.00 The Tuesday Film: 'The Guns Of Fort Petticoat': With Audie Murphy and Kathryn Grant. Women defend themselves against the Indians. 8.30 Cribbins. 9.00 Happy Ever After: 'Fowler's Day'. With Anthony Jackson and Lynn Ashley. A man, a girl, a baby and a script. 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 Dave Allen In The Melting Pot: Impressions of New York City. 11.15 Tales From Dickens: 'Christmas at Dingley Dell' With James Donald, Ambrosine Phillpotts, John Salew and Jack Warden. 11.45 What Was He Like?

REGIONAL I.T.V.

- CHANNEL: 4.15 p.m. Castle Haven. 4.30 Chez Oscar. 4.55 News. 5.00 Channel News and Weather. 6.10 Channel Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Movie: 'The Lonely Man' with Jack Palance and Anthony Perkins. 8.30 London. 11.20 Channel Gazette. 11.25 Commentaries et Previsions Meteorologiques, followed by Weather. WESTWARD: As Channel except at following times: 4.01 p.m. Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.13 Westward News Headlines. 4.40 The Gus Honeyburn Show. 6.00 Westward Diary. 11.25 How About You? 11.50 Faith For Life. 11.56 Weather. ANGLIA: 4.10 p.m. Castle Haven. 4.35 Anglia Newsroom. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Western Movie: 'Riding Shotgun with Randolph Scott'. Wayne Morris and Joan Weldon. 8.30 London. 11.25 All Our Yesterdays. 11.52 Reflection. HARLECH: 4.18 p.m. It's Time For Me. 4.25 Castle Haven. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report. 6.20 Batman. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Peyton Place. 7.30 It's A Trad. Trad Christmas: Sammi Brown and the Avon. 7.55 Jazz Band. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 London. 11.25 The Staghunters. 12.10 a.m. Weather. Harlech (Wales) as above except: 4.25-4.55 p.m. Crossroads. 6.01 Y Dydd. 6.26 Castle Haven. 6.51-7.00 London. 11.15 The Staghunters. 12 midnight Weather. ATV MIDLANDS: 4.00 p.m. News Showcase. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 ATV Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Western Movie: 'The Charge At Feather River' with Guy Madison. Frank Lovejoy. 8.30 London. 11.25 Play With A Purpose, followed by Weather Forecast. ULSTER: 4.30 p.m. Romper Room. 4.50 News. 5.00-5.45 London. 6.00 UTV Reports. 6.35 Crossroads.

- 11.05 He And She. 11.30 Newsnight: Exiles' Christmas: Norwegianians in London. 11.50 Weatherman. All regions as BBC-1 except at the following times: Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather, Nationwide. 11.52 News Summary and Weather. North of England: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Look North, Nationwide. 11.52 News Summary and Weather. Scotland: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Reporting Scotland, Nationwide. 10.30-10.55 Quizburgh. 10.55-11.05 John Gilpin Rides Again. 11.52 News Headlines. Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Scene Around Six, Weather, Nationwide. 10.30-11.05 Patterson's People. 11.05-11.30 He And She. 11.52 News Headlines, Weather. Wales: 5.20-5.50 p.m. Telewela. 6.00-6.45 Wales Today, Weather, Nationwide. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 8.00-8.25 Lliw A Chacol. 8.25-8.50 Ryan A. 10.30-10.50 Z Cars. 10.50-11.05 He And She. South and West: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-west, Weather, Nationwide. 11.05-11.30 The Christmas Story followed by Peace On Earth. 11.52 News Headlines, Weather.

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tv column

THE RECORDS show that in the USA many people are committed to mental hospitals after violently smashing their television sets.

Many more deeply confused, angry and desperate people all over the world believe that the tele is sending out dangerous rays or influences and trying to control their minds.

They are absolutely right, of course, but often end up having electricity pumped through their brains and powerful drugs through their veins to make them forget such crazy notions.

Frank Allaun, MP, having seen the film, suggested that the real reason for the ban was political in that it would scare the pants off many people because of the danger it showed of a high degree of

pendent Television Authority (ITA) to ban the film because the opinion of the Secretary-General of NATO was that it contained classified information.

since 'his department paid for frequent trips to the NATO headquarters in Norway by the television team during the filming and Defence Ministry officials agreed to advise Tyne Tees Television on the editing of the film, which they subsequently cleared'.

The links between this Labour government and NATO, between it and a television company are clear. And

of therapy; that the BBC 'should accept as a necessary and helpful development the ABS policy of having more branch-level participation in union decisions'.

A fine comment on the BBC and on the ABS!

It also recommends the Corporation should accelerate the process of job-evaluation and work more closely with the union (familiar?) over its

tions and because of BBC workers' co-operation in improved efficiency, both sides should reconsider the submitted pay claims.

In other words find a nice compromise. Obviously the BBC working-party currently looking into conditions will try to produce some slight concessions early in 1970. That way a little peace can perhaps be bought for a little while.

But meanwhile preparations for the next stage of the struggle should be going on in the unions. There are very few signs that it is.

Instead, the leadership is pursuing old ways and worn-out palliatives. It will all erupt again soon and like all crises, postponement only ensures a greater upheaval next time.

The future of broadcasting technologically, is staggering in its possibilities. Satellites and coaxial cable systems which will allow viewers in England to receive directly the television output of America or Europe or the USSR; cassettes available on purchase, hire or from libraries which will permit an infinite selection of recorded material to be played at home by choice; many more channels of sound and television to meet all national, local, educational and entertainment needs; televised newspapers employing either screen presentation or a print-out.

CONTRADICTORY

Equally, however, it shows a contradictory face. The gap between the technological developments and the interests of the class they should serve (but under capitalism can never do) grows wider every week. The occasional programme which gets close to the truth only highlights the bulk which lie.

Just as 'The Times' is one of the best sources for discovering the daily details of the real intentions of the bourgeoisie, so the television, by its editorial line and what it fails to mention, reveals clearly what is going on with the class enemy.

And as Britain has the oldest, most corrupt but skillful bourgeoisie in the world, so our television has rarely been too blatant or obvious in its conduct of affairs.

But that is all ending. The capitalist class may still seem monumental in its power, but all round now is the evidence of its desperation and crack-up. Its television is no exception.

Take this little problem. After weeks of Whitehall scurrilous the film made by Tyne Tees Television about some aspects of NATO is not to be shown.

In the Commons (December 15) Mr Healey, Secretary of State for Defence, explained that he had advised the Inde-

pendent Television Authority (ITA) to ban the film because the opinion of the Secretary-General of NATO was that it contained classified information.

Frank Allaun, MP, having seen the film, suggested that the real reason for the ban was political in that it would scare the pants off many people because of the danger it showed of a high degree of

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FEVERISH CUTS

None of these developments await a new technology. All the means exist and working models for each aspect are either in production or ready to go.

But what is the reality? Capitalism feverishly cutting all trimmings in its ferocious bid to stave off its liquidity crisis; British television and radio in a desperate financial plight and unable to pay its workers or keep up any semblance of a decent output.

Its reformers are floating various ideas: a reduction in the advertising levy for the commercial companies and a pay-as-you-view scheme, like those for telephone service, for the BBC.

But even they have to acknowledge the seriousness of the situation. An anything but radical member of the BBC's General Advisory Council, who is also editor of the weekly science journal 'Nature', John Maddox, recently wrote:

'Nothing in what is now planned for the future of the BBC's finances (higher licence fees and hopefully more money for educational broadcasting and local radio plus better returns from the Post Office attempt to collect licence fees) suggests, however, that the Corporation will be able to keep up with the steadily increasing complexity of television production and with the legitimate public interest in diversity' ('The Listener', December 11).

FINAL SOP

Another part of the report recommends that the ABS should 'deal with the problem' of a union rule empowering the National Executive Committee to act 'other than in accordance with arbitration machinery'.

The court correctly points out that it was precisely this rule which prevented an agreement between ABS and the BBC.

Its final sop, however, is that the BBC should not be prevented by financial stringency from 'granting' salaries and conditions commensurate with its declared policies.

Of course it shouldn't, but the crisis consists precisely in the inability of the system to mitigate the effects of its economic crisis on workers everywhere, the BBC included. Not much hope there.

Then a final beat urges that because of the court's observa-

its true class face is even clearer.

So it is precisely as it seems most potent with colour and three channels, more hours to fill and more news to distort, that the basic weaknesses of the system's broadcasting are being revealed.

Another sign is also to hand. The report of the Department of Employment and Productivity (DEP) court of inquiry into the BBC dispute (HMSO Cmnd. 4240) was another extremely feeble attempt to patch up a crisis situation.

It uses all the old and tired formulas of accepting parts of the broadcasting workers' complaints while attempting to pass-off others. It tries to confuse by its apparent reasonableness.

It points to what it considers perhaps the most important reason for the walk-outs, strikes and stoppages—a lack of confidence in the way in which the BBC handled the Association of Broadcasting Staff (ABS) claim.

One supposes that if the BBC had itself been more confident (a pre-condition of which is strength) it might have been tougher or at least seen to be in control of the situation or even simply able to buy off trouble.

The report recommends a startling and amazing course

'UNDERSTANDING'

Healey also denied that his government was in any way responsible for the film, beyond passing on the message to the ITA. He then announced his 'understanding' that the film was to be destroyed within the next 25 hours and another copy was to be placed in the Ministry of Defence Library 'to be available to the public at such time as NATO decides that classified information which is a threat to security is no longer involved'.

But then a new twist: 'The Times' for the next day carried a report by Charles Douglas-Home saying that the film was not to be burnt or stored at the Ministry of Defence.

It also pointed out that, in fact, Healey was responsible

Rolls-Royce, Scotland Electricians and clerks face more job-evaluation

1970

FROM PAGE ONE

20 years, the West German government has replied to a communication from the Ulbricht regime.

Social-Democratic Chancellor Willy Brandt does not pursue a purely national policy when he responds to the overtures from East Berlin and Moscow.

In an interview with the magazine 'US News and World Report', Brandt emphasized that his government's new approach to the Soviet bloc was a response to the lead given by the United States government: 'We are just catching up... The US is engaged in activities to bring about, if possible, a change in relations with the Soviet Union... We are following that path, too...'

Collusion between the Soviet bureaucracy and United States imperialism throws its shadow across all the plans of the European capitalists to carve out an independent role for themselves in politics and economics.

The twin pillars of counter-revolution today are US imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy. Even the industrial might of West Germany cannot provide the economic basis for an independent foreign policy by the Brandt government.

1970 will not only be a year of continued treachery by the Stalinists and the reformists as they seek to draw closer still to imperialism. By the same token it will also provide unprecedented opportunities for the exposure and defeat of these two reactionary tendencies within the workers' movement.

1970 must be the year of building the revolutionary party in Britain as our contribution towards the final defeat of world imperialism, social democracy and Stalinism.

NONE OF the real issues facing clerical workers and maintenance electricians at Scotland's three Rolls-Royce plants have been settled by the ending of their recent strike actions.

FROM BOB SHAW

At a mass meeting last Wednesday, 2,000 clerks and technicians at Hillington, Glasgow and East Kilbride voted to return to work.

They had received assurances that 50 of their colleagues, suspended because of their refusal to carry out management instructions ten days ago would be reinstated and negotiations on their wage claim resumed.

The 2,000 clerical and technical staff are members of the Association of Clerical and Technical and Supervisory Staff, a section of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Complaints

They complain bitterly that over the last nine years the differential between their wage and that of technical and craft workers has widened from £5 to over £13.

During this time all clerical and technical work has been modernized with the installation of computers, accounting machinery, etc.

Job-evaluation for the clerical workers was introduced in 1954. This section of workers say that they have in effect had a wage-cut over the last few years.

This is the second major dispute to break out in the Rolls-Royce factories in Scotland during the last six months.

The combine faces a crisis with a reduction in its dividend payments, announced

earlier this year, and large investment in modern electronic machinery for its aero-engine division.

Determination

The conflict with the maintenance electricians who went on strike for four months against the new wage-grading scheme, however, showed the determination of Rolls-Royce workers to resist the management's attack on wages.

The Rolls-Royce management was soon in further difficulties with the strike of 2,000 ACTS members.

Within a week 1,000 workers had been laid off and it was expected that the whole Hillington factory would grind to a halt in a matter of days.

Here was an excellent opportunity to examine the job-evaluation introduced in the agreement 'Wage Structure, Part 1' and to demand a full discussion on the policy which is being followed by the Hillington factory—particularly the decision to work within the job-evaluation scheme.

Called off

With the offer of a £150 bonus and an 'independent'

U.S. SOLDIERS

FROM PAGE ONE

for the government's policy of support for Nixon!

In the history of the British parliament all manner of unconscionable things have been said and done, but it would still be difficult to find a precedent for Rankin's political duplicity.

In his spare time he collects blood and expresses 'sincere horror', etc., but in his capacity as an MP he votes for the war to go on.

As a result of parliament's decision casualties will go up giving ample scope to the Medical Aid committee's talents as a do-gooding blood collector. Remarkable, isn't it? Naturally the 'Morning Star', already embarrassed by the opposition of Norwood to the Prices and Incomes Act, keeps silent on Rankin.

The CP, with its phoney campaign of collecting signatures and letters asking Wilson to 'speak up for Britain' (!?) supplements the betrayals of the TUC and the Labour 'lefts' in parliament.

No amount of 'pressure'—however judiciously applied—and no amount of persuasions—however sincerely expressed—will make Wilson change his mind.

Wilson represents the labour bureaucracy—privileged stratum which is an organic product of imperialism.

Lenin pointed out this basic truth a thousand times and, as the Russian revolution so clearly proved, there is no prospect whatsoever of

reforming this outgrowth of a gangrenous system.

That is why we say, again, that the campaign against Wilson's visit to Washington is the touchstone of working-class politics today.

All those who support Wilson's trip—with or without reservations—are supporting imperialism and its barbaric madness.

All those who oppose his visit—with no matter how many reservations—are identifying their struggles with the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and the GIs who courageously oppose this war. There is no middle road.

Only the Trotskyist movement in Britain, France and the US have fought in this principled manner.

Now we are being joined by hundreds and thousands of workers, intellectuals and CP members who see the necessity for working class action against the war and Wilson and of expressing their solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution, not by specious gestures and platonic protest, but by concrete action.

We say to all those who are opposed to the wage freeze, high rents, high fares and high prices, Measured-Day Work, job-evaluation, redundancy and short-time working—sign our petition, commit your union branch to oppose Wilson's visit and join our demonstration on January 11. Forward to 1970, the defeat of Wilson's visit and the victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The petition has also been

Stalinist leaders creep closer to Brandt

THE WEST GERMAN government was yesterday anxiously awaiting a reply from Polish Prime Minister Jozef Cyrankiewicz to its request for bilateral talks.

Cyrankiewicz told the Polish parliament that the reply would be affirmative, and would be sent as a diplomatic note to Bonn via the city's Polish trade mission.

Czechoslovakia and Hungary have already made overtures to Brandt.

The Soviet government is also prepared to begin discussions.

Poland's insistence on recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as her western frontier is unlikely to deter Brandt's government, which has already expressed its willingness to recognize the frontier.

Less success

But Brandt seems to have had but less success in his negotiations with the East German government.

The terms of a draft treaty proposed by East German premier Walter Ulbricht, published in the East German newspaper 'Neues Deutschland', make few concessions to Bonn.

Ulbricht reiterates the East German demands for 'normal equal relations', diplomatic ties with embassies in the respective capitals, recognition of the inviolability of present frontiers, renunciation of the threat and use of force and of the use and control of atomic weapons.

West Berlin, the draft says, should be treated as 'an independent political unit'.

The Bonn government has repeatedly declared that it is not prepared to grant full recognition to East Germany.

These moves are only the public side of an unparalleled flurry of diplomatic activity between the West German and the Stalinist bureaucracy in eastern Europe.

Fear

In the background is mortal fear on both sides of the European working class, now entering a period of big and decisive struggles.

Europe's capitalist rulers want to 'normalize' their relations with the Stalinist bureaucracies while, for their part, the bureaucrats are desperately seeking a buffer against the revolutionary tide sweeping across the entire imperialist world.

This is what all the diplomatic bargaining, both public and private, is really about.

Britain's Stalinists, of course, are right behind their bureaucratic masters in all this.

Yesterday's 'Morning Star' repeats the demand for a European Security conference, which they hope will ratify once and for all the division of Europe into capitalist and Stalinist spheres of influence.

This treacherous line, which would mean the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact alliance, was carried overwhelmingly at the British Party's recent 31st Congress.

Arrests follow Obote shooting

ARRESTS in connection with last Friday's attempted assassination of Uganda President Milton Obote were reported in Kampala yesterday.

Those arrested include former Prime Minister Benedicto Kiwanuka, leader of the opposition Democratic Party, and Paul Semogerere, the Democratic Party's publicity secretary.

Both are already on bail pending a High Court hearing of sedition and criminal libel charges in connection with remarks made in a pamphlet published by the Democratic Party last month.

Kenya president Jomo Kenyatta announced his new cabinet yesterday. He relinquishes the Foreign Ministry, which is taken over by former Defence Minister Dr Njoroge Mungai.

Kenyatta's cabinet reshuffle follows the recent general elections in Kenya in which the main opposition party, the Kenya People's Union, was barred from taking part.

Many of its leaders, including Oginga Odinga, remain in detention.

The purpose of such a deal, as far as the Americans are concerned, would be to safeguard the position of the massive US investments in the Middle East, now more and more threatened by the Arab workers and peasants.

The trade union and labour movement must demand the immediate quashing of this vicious sentence.

Engineering conference called

THE All Trades Unions Alliance is calling a national conference of engineering workers in Sheffield on February 7, 1970, and asks all engineering union branches and factory committees to send delegates.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE STATEMENT

control over earnings and intensity of work taken away by these productivity deals.

This is precisely the aim of the employers. They are determined to establish exclusive control over every aspect of production in order to maximize returns on their investments.

Cattell and Jukes have shown how the employers are preparing for stage two of the package deal.

Cattell (in 'The Times' Business News) attacked the idea that every improvement in productivity (and profit) should have a 'price tag'.

Jukes, for the engineering employers, condemns 'anarchy', calls for a tough line and insists that bosses must be bosses.

The Labour government's incomes policy has opened the door for this employers' campaign.

Leaders who will not fight Wilson and Castle only prepare the way for the Tories, just as in the factories they leave Castle free to smooth the path for productivity deals and destruction of shop organizations.

The 1968 package deal, with its guarantee of collaboration on productivity, is being implemented in such a way that it persuades many poorly-paid pieceworkers that there is little point in remaining on piecework and they might as well consider productivity and Measured-Day Work (MDW) proposals, which are carefully dressed up by the employers to appear to give better pay.

For the sake of two days' holiday and two miserable 6s increases, the engineers' strength was called off from the fight and the door opened to the employers.

Stewards in one firm after another are being offered 'education' in productivity bargaining.

Scanlon and his collaborators are already firmly committed to plant bargaining instead of nationally-negotiated rates. The aim is to turn the whole machinery over to the bureaucratic control of full-time officials and 'experts' appointed by the national executives.

The whole set-up would be drawn into integration with the state through local arbitration courts and government ministries.

Because of the leaders' retreat in 1968, the employers now feel free to demand big concessions in the proposed new procedure agreement.

The answer so far as they are concerned is not new procedure but how to administer a defeat to the engineering workers.

Scanlon and Jones, combining talk about 'status quo' with acceptance in practice of the right of management to sack or change agreements first, then negotiate, are preparing another defeat. That cannot be permitted.

These are the grave dangers in the situation. But they are not the whole situation. In thousands of firms, wage demands are piling up which make the sums granted under the 1968 deal look pathetic.

The example shown by millions of low-paid workers and by the workers of Italy and France has hardened the fight and shown what can be done.

But this wages struggle, which is certain to break out in the first weeks of 1970, comes up against the equally basic needs of the employers to take steps to

reap the profits of their mergers and big investments, profits which they consider were promised to them in the package deal.

The great battle is in front, not behind us.

Large and decisive sections of the industry have not yet even formally accepted the fight of the employer to throw out payment by results.

Their resistance to MDW and productivity deals will lead the way for the millions who are already realizing what kind of fight is required against the employers' plans.

The issues raised by Cattell, Jukes, British-Leyland chief Stokes and the employers generally are questions which concern directly the ownership and control of the industry.

The ownership and control of the great private companies cannot guarantee the security of the men who work in engineering. The giant mergers of recent years financed by the government, are the prelude to unemployment and wage cuts.

The policy of nationalization of the engineering industry under workers' control and without compensation becomes the central issue.

The political implications of the struggle on productivity and wages, against the background of the need to prepare now against the return of the Tories, provide the basis of this fight for ownership and control of the industry.

All union branches, district committees and shop-stewards' committees are invited to send delegates to the ATUA conference of engineering workers on February 7, 1970, to discuss these and other urgent problems facing engineering workers, and to work out a strategy against the employers.

The conference will be held at the Montgomery Hall, Sheffield (opposite the Town Hall) from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 2 p.m. to 4.30 p.m.

China hits out at Soviet-W. German talks

AN ARTICLE in Monday's edition of the Chinese newspaper 'People's Daily', broadcast on Peking Radio, yesterday attacked the Soviet Union for holding non-aggression talks with West Germany.

The article said the Kremlin was 'making a dirty deal with Chancellor Brandt's government, betraying the German people and trying to meet Bonn's demands in West Berlin'.

The Moscow talks on a non-aggression pact, the article said, were a new step to intensify collusion between 'the Soviet revisionist clique' and West Germany.

'SINISTER'

'It is also part of its sinister deal with US imperialism to carve up Europe into spheres of influence. Foreign Ministry, which is taken over by former Defence Minister Dr Njoroge Mungai.

Kenyatta's cabinet reshuffle follows the recent general elections in Kenya in which the main opposition party, the Kenya People's Union, was barred from taking part.

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Kenyatta re-shuffles Cabinet

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Bernadette Devlin

FROM PAGE ONE

militants who were involved in the street fighting earlier this year.

Taken in conjunction with the lifting of the Northern Ireland government ban on outdoor meetings, it indicates that the Northern Ireland Tories now feel strong enough to proceed to the next stage of repression in Ulster.

The Ulster Tories must not be allowed to use the courts to attack the left.

Zionists squeal after Washington talks

By a Workers Press correspondent

THE ISRAELI cabinet met in crisis session yesterday to discuss what Foreign Minister Abba Eban termed Israel's 'grave and arduous argument' with the United States.

Eban was reporting back from his talks in Washington and London over the weekend.

The Israeli ambassador in the United States, General Yitzhak Rabin, also attended the cabinet discussion.

The Israeli leaders are worried that Washington may force them to concede some of the territory conquered in June 1967 as the price for a Middle-East 'settlement'.

The US is thought to favour the relinquishing of all occupied Jordan territory, while giving Jerusalem the status of an open city.

Israel's Zionist rulers have all along stressed their intention to hold on to the conquered Palestinian territories, wrested from their Arab inhabitants during the June war.

The US proposals will undoubtedly prove equally unacceptable to the Arab masses, who want the eradication of the permanent Zionist threat to their struggles for national independence.

The purpose of such a deal, as far as the Americans are concerned, would be to safeguard the position of the massive US investments in the Middle East, now more and more threatened by the Arab workers and peasants.

The trade union and labour movement must demand the immediate quashing of this vicious sentence.

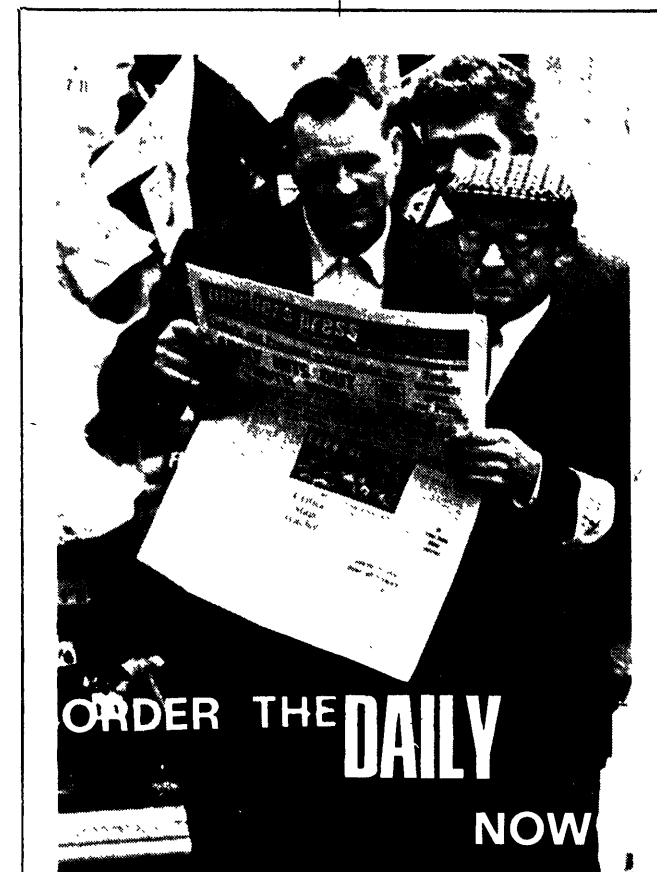
'ON THE BRINK' OF S.A.L.T. AGREEMENT

By a foreign correspondent

OBSERVERS in Helsinki yesterday claimed the United States and the Soviet Union were 'on the brink of agreement' at the preliminary talks aimed at strategic arms limitation.

The heads of the two delegations were meeting yesterday morning in the Soviet embassy at Helsinki to hear whether the Soviet government was prepared to agree to the opening of top-level negotiations on arms limitation next year.

Provided Moscow agrees, the next round of talks is expected to open in Geneva in April.



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KEEP LEFT WEEKEND RALLY

Saturday and Sunday, January 10 and 11

1970 marks the 19th year of the Young Socialists' official newspaper. Selling at 4d for 16 three-colour pages and with a circulation of 20,000, it is the foremost youth paper in the labour movement today.

KEEP LEFT INVITES ALL ITS READERS TO THE

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

East India Hall, East India Dock Road, London, E.14

Saturday, January 10 2.30 p.m.

Young Socialist National Speaking Contest

DANCE IN THE EVENING

The Crescendos The Element of Truth Special appearance

LONG JOHN BALDRY East India Hall 8 p.m.-11 p.m.

FILM MAKING AND THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Sunday, January 11 9.30 a.m. CLASSIC CINEMA, POND STREET HAMPSTEAD, LONDON, N.W.3

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FOR THE DEFEAT OF US IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM!

DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY JAN. 11

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

MEETING: Lyceum Ballroom, near Aldwych, 4 P.M.

Details from 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

Tickets for the whole weekend 12s 6d

WEATHER

London area, SE, central Southern and central Northern England, E and W Midlands: Sunny periods, rain later. Wind west, backing SW, moderate or fresh. Above normal. Maximum 8C (46F). Channel Islands, SW and NW England, Glasgow area: Sunny intervals at first, becoming cloudy with rain at times. Wind south to SW, moderate or fresh, increasing to strong locally. Normal. Maximum 8C (46F).

N Ireland: Cloudy, rain at times. Becoming brighter with showers later. Wind SW, fresh or strong. Above normal. Maximum 8C (46F). Edinburgh: Sunny intervals at first, becoming cloudy with rain at times. Wind west, backing south to SE, moderate, increasing fresh or strong. Normal. Maximum 7C (45F). Outlook for Christmas Eve and Christmas Day: Rain at times in all areas and near normal temperatures.