

## A smokescreen for class compromise

# MOSCOW DRAWS CLOSER TO WASHINGTON

THE SOVIET Communist Party's end-of-the-year statement on world policy only thinly disguises its strategy of collaboration with imperialism.

**What we think**  
**Just another protest?**

EVERY DAY that passes now further exposes the rotten, bureaucratic and anti-Leninist policies of international Stalinism. The Vietnam war has now reached a stage where the counter-revolutionary activities of the so-called 'Communist' Parties are flooding more and more brilliantly. But this is not an automatic process. Above all it is the great leaps in development which have been made by the revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard, in line with the forward movement of the working class, which make this exposure possible.

Many thousands of workers, starting in Britain, are now able to measure the voice of Trotskyism—the Workers Press—against the Stalinist traitors to revolutionary Marxism every day. Yesterday's Workers Press led on its front page with an article by editor Michael Banda on the 'peace' demonstration—which will be supported by American GIs—planned to take place tomorrow in Saigon.

The growth of pacifistic moods in the army, the article stressed, 'as Lenin pointed out in the First World War, is only the first step towards a more belated attitude to the commanding staff of the army and its own ruling class.'

On Friday, November 21, we dealt editorially with the press coverage of the strike for better and cheaper housing by 20 million Italian workers. 'The movement of the Italian workers' we insisted, 'frightens the entire capitalist class and all bureaucratic leaderships. Their fear is that the European working class will learn from the Italian workers' experiences and be inspired to build revolutionary parties as alternative leaderships to the Stalinist and Social-Democratic parties.'

Again a position entirely in line with the struggles of Marx, Lenin and their political heir—Trotsky—to lead the working class to socialism on the basis of revolutionary internationalism.

For us, the Italian strike was the main news for November 20 and nothing could have illustrated our remarks better than the coverage given to this by the other papers. In common with the capitalist, Fleet Street press the 'Morning Star' shied away from this story. Only four column inches could be spared by Matthews and his Stalinist cohorts—and their mealy-mouthed report was pushed to page three by news of 'moon-walk' and similar stories. Far from emphasising what was new from the point of view of Marxism by the proposed Saigon demonstration, the 'Morning Star' tried to present this solely as another protest.

On the surface, the presence of the Stalinist silence on

No-one should be taken in by the militant-sounding phrases of this document, obligatory in a statement allegedly celebrating 1970 as the Lenin centenary.

The Kremlin bureaucracy has always concealed its moves towards compromise or a deal with imperialism behind a smokescreen of anti-imperialist propaganda.

But even here, the verbal attacks are milder than those of the last major statement on policy published on the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Like the December 21 'Pravda' statement on Stalin, the 13,000-word 'Theses' embody something of a compromise or unresolved factional struggle within the bureaucracy.

The only capitalist countries attacked by name are the United States and West Germany, who are accused of not having abandoned their hopes to re-fight the historical battles of the 20th century—to take revenge and to hurl socialism off the summit of world influence.

Yet only in the last few days the Soviet government has concluded an agreement with US officials in Helsinki to stage full-scale arms limitation talks in Vienna by April, 1970.

And for good measure, the bureaucracies of Poland and East Germany have followed the Kremlin's lead in opening up negotiations with the West German government of Willy Brandt.

### Fraud

The 'anti-imperialism' of the statement is therefore at once exposed as a fraud, as a 'Leninist cover for continued negotiations with the centre of all imperialist power—the United States government.

Stalinism is in deep and growing crisis. Every struggle of the international working class reveals it more than ever before as a reactionary force, concerned only with the maintenance of the status quo and the preservation of the bureaucracy's privileges.

But the immense problem for the bureaucracy is precisely this: How can it come to terms with imperialism and yet at the same time maintain the fiction that it is the legitimate defender of Lenin's revolutionary heritage towards the right, towards international class collaboration with imperialism, cannot therefore be a smooth or open process. It is masked by 'left' phrases and manifestos, by protestations of loyalty to Lenin, and interrupted by factional struggles within the bureaucracy and even by tactical turns back to the left.

### To the right

But the general curve is to the right, to betrayal and the eventual undermining of the very foundations of the bureaucracy itself—the property relations established by the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Both the imperialists and the Stalinists, actions have always spoken louder than words. A decade of 'anti-fascist' propaganda by the Stalinists proved to be no obstacle to the conclusion of the Stalin-Hitler Pact in 1939, and the routine verbal assaults on US and West German imperialism have proved as little trouble today.

The Soviet government and its press have so far studiously avoided any attacks on the US government in connection with the atrocities in Vietnam. The Stalinist silence on

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As we have repeatedly emphasized in the Workers Press, Stalinism together with social democracy remains the main counter-revolutionary force within the working-class movement.

Stalinism foists on the working class the reactionary programme of the parliamentary road to socialism in order to guarantee for imperialism the continuation of its rule in the advanced capitalist countries, in return for which the Soviet bureaucracy hopes to secure the sanctity of its own national frontiers.

As part of this deal, the bureaucracy requests, and in fact has been given, (as we saw in Hungary and Czechoslovakia), a free hand to deal with its own working class.

In pursuing this policy of 'peaceful co-existence', the Stalinists serve the counter-revolutionary strategy of world imperialism.

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DOCK employers are expected to ask the government next month for another big loan to finance the voluntary severance scheme in the industry.

By an industrial correspondent

newspaper put it, 'young fit men able to cope with higher output targets and more complicated cargo-handling methods'. Only a direct fight against the Devlin scheme and not, as the Communist Party advocates, pressure for 'better redundancy pay', can answer this treacherous policy.

Since the scheme began in July 3,069 dockers have accepted severance payments and another 621 are to be offered severance in the near future.

These payments have already used up the government's first loan of £3.5 million.

### Responsible

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They argue that productivity must be increased, otherwise work will be lost to other more competitive ports. But, of course, increased productivity leads to fewer jobs and the whole cycle starts again.

On the London docks alone the employers want to pay off another 1,400 men by March.

The London Labour force has already been reduced by 5,300 to 23,500 over the past two years. The employers, need as one

## Y.S. LOOKS TOWARDS 1970 WITH CONFIDENCE



Young Socialists seen voting for their programme at one of last weekend's rallies.

1970 WILL be the 'Year of Lenin and Trotsky' for the Young Socialists—a year in which item number one on the agenda is the building of a mass revolutionary youth movement.

By a Workers Press correspondent

This campaign has got off to a particularly good start.

Branches are finding an enthusiastic response to the rally with its variety of events. 60,000 two-colour, double-sided leaflets have been printed so far for the rally and already YS branches have been out on the high streets distributing them to the Christmas shoppers.

### Rallies

Last Sunday, as part of the campaign to make January 10 and 11 a big success, the London and Middlesex Regions held rallies and Christmas parties; one at Coram Fields, St Pancras, and the other at Blythe Hall, West Kensington. One hundred YS members attended the Middlesex rally and 200 came to the London one.

The important concern at these rallies was a discussion on the expansion of the Young Socialists and the Keep Left, the 'Stop Wilson going to Washington' campaign and the building of support for the Workers Press. At its meeting last weekend the YS National Committee discussed the plans for a campaign to make the Tenth Annual Conference in Scarborough the biggest and most decisive conference in the history of the Young Socialists.

40 pupils at Marylebone Central School and 23 at Ackland Brighley School, Tufnell Park, have signed the Workers Press petition.

Bob Sugdon, Deptford International Socialist, P. S. Dowden, Young Communist League, Bill Greenshields and R. Moydes, Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) have also signed.

CAMPAIGNS by Crawley and North Kent Young Socialists brought in, respectively, 182 and 150 signatures.

28 ATTI and National Union of Students members—including members of the Young Socialist Student Society, the International Marxist Group

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On Monday there were token strikes in Manchester, Liverpool, Blackpool, Stockport and Bolton to coincide with the meeting of the gas industry's national joint council.

This action probably helped move union leaders to reject the offer of a 10 per cent wage increase for 60,000 manual workers.

But this does not mean they are going to fight. The offer would have added only 31s 8d to the basic

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The Workers Press petition was also signed by a total of 53 teachers demonstrating through Leeds in support of their £135-a-year pay claim last week.

TWO Communist Party members were among a number of miners who signed at the Kent coalfield's Betteshanger pit. 20 University of Kent students have also signed.

44 DELEGATES to the General Union of Arab

Students' conference on Sunday—reported in yesterday's Workers Press—supported the campaign to stop the visit. IN LONDON, 23 Union of Post Office Workers members at King's Cross GPO mail van depot and West Central sorting office have signed the petition; seven NUR members from King's Cross station; five student nurses from University College hospital and eight students at Kensington's Imperial College. 16 members of the Schools Action Union signed outside their conference in London at the weekend. 12 Workers Press subscribers in Euston have written to say that they are in favour of the greatest possible mobilization of the labour and trade union movement to stop Wilson's visit. During a highly-successful

### SEASON'S GREETINGS

The Workers Press editorial board would like to take this opportunity of sending seasonal greetings to all our readers, subscribers and contributors.

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**£1,000 MONTHLY APPEAL FUND WE NEED £297-5s.11d. BY DEC. 31**

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Any other month we would be hopeful of reaching the target, but there is Xmas in between, and everyone knows how easy it is to spend out over this period.

The time for action is now, at once, as you read these lines.

Can you make that Xmas Eve whip-round now?

Do the job systematically. Explain that £1,000 a month is a rock-bottom minimum for the Workers Press.

We are sure our readers will understand.

We enter 1970 with great confidence in the future of our paper. Without our readers' support this would have been impossible. Help us over the Xmas hump. Rush the donations at once to:

Workers Press Fund  
186a Clapham High Street  
London, S.W.4.

## More Cant-(erbury) tales

BY JOHN SPENCER

CHRISTMAS-TIME is here again—bringing the usual outpouring of Fleet Street bilge. And who better to open the floodgates than the 'News of the World', year-round specialists in the crudest hypocrisy.

Following the success of the great 'legs v. breasts' debate in the columns of the new 'Sun', its Sunday sister calls in an established practitioner of what Thomas Carlyle called the art 'whereby a man speaks openly what he does not mean' to bring Christmas cheer to the 'News of the World's' four million readers.

This paper really believes in getting its copy straight from the horse's mouth. Only a few weeks ago, it shocked the Fleet Street establishment when it let Christine Keeler loose on the Tory skeletons in the high society cupboard.

Now it's the turn of Britain's home-grown high priest, the Archbishop of Cant(erbury) himself.

Not that the Archbishop is rattling any Tory skeletons. The story he has to tell is a good deal older and even more flyblown than Miss Keeler's.

But it's a familiar old tale and doesn't do the circulation figures any harm. No doubt the Archbishop's message came as a welcome break from routine for the boys down at the 'NoW's' Bourville Street offices. There is nothing like a refreshing dip into the fountainhead of idealist claptrap for those who face the arduous task of putting it across every Sunday.

Sandwiched between the man who 'killed to save his blue film business' and the girl who was 'led to degradation' in a golden Jaguar, the arch-shaman certainly picked a magnificent setting for his message: 'you're the real heroes of our time'. He praises those 'individual Christians' who 'have always risen above the squalor of the times'.

No doubt they have his sympathy. It's not so easy to compete for readers with the pick of last week's squalor! But it can't be denied that the setting of the archbishop's words gives them a piquancy they would surely have lacked in his own parish magazine—quite apart from the wider readership.

However, the message is much the same as ever.

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## Briefly

**TRANSPORT STRIKE WARNING:** London Transport chairman Sir Maurice Holmes yesterday told bus and underground workers that their threatened New Year's Day strike could only achieve the opposite of what was intended.

In an attempt to blame transport workers for fare increases, he said a strike 'will cause a further reduction in passengers using the services, leading to further cuts in services and a worsening of the financial position of the London Transport executive, which will tend to bring the next increase in fares nearer'.

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**MRS MEIR ATTACKS US:** Israeli Prime Minister Mrs Golda Meir has said Washington's support of her country has been eroded to the point of dangerous appeasement of the Arab states.

In a New York Times interview she said 'I don't think it is Washington's intention, but each new proposal encourages the Arabs to increase their military activity across the borders.'

'Things are going good for them. They just have to shoot more.' Israeli leaders are becoming increasingly worried that Washington may try to force them to give up territory conquered in June 1967 in return for a settlement with the Arab states.

**AIR FRANCE STRIKE:** A lightning strike by Air France luggage handlers yesterday forced the cancellation of at least 15 flights from Orly airport.

The strike was called as holiday air traffic built up to a peak. The handlers are demanding better working conditions, more staff and higher wages.

### WEATHER

London area, E and W Midlands, central northern England: Cloudy, occasional rain or drizzle becoming dry with clear intervals by evening. Moderate SW wind. Near normal. Max. 6C (43F). SE and central southern England: Cloudy, occasional rain or drizzle becoming dry inland with clear intervals by evening, but with coastal showers. Moderate SW winds. Normal. Max. 7C (45F). Channel Islands, SW England: Cloudy, occasional rain or drizzle becoming brighter, but with showers by afternoon. Moderate SW winds. Near normal. Max 8C (46F).

NW England, N Ireland: cloudy occasional rain or drizzle. Becoming brighter with showers during the morning. Fresh SW winds. Rather cold. Max. 6C (43F). Edinburgh: Cloudy, occasional rain or showers. Brighter intervals. Fresh SW winds, near normal. Max. 5C (41F). Outlook for Christmas Day and Boxing Day: rain at times in most places but also bright intervals. Temperatures a little below normal.

## 'My record player and I'

YOU liked the Queen? Then you'll just love Jimmy Saville! Yes, the plucky little Yorks disc-jockey is stepping into the breach to fill that vacant Royal quarter-hour on Xmas Day with a simple message of goodwill recorded exclusively for listeners to Radio Leeds.



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By an Industrial correspondent

Unable—for fear of provoking an open confrontation with the dockers—to use the direct methods of sackings to cut down the labour force in preparation for the implementation of the Devlin Phase Two, the employers have had to hand out large severance payments averaging £1,700 per docker to induce men to leave their jobs.

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Right from the word 'go'

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The handlers are demanding better working conditions, more staff and higher wages.

## WEATHER

London area, E and W Midlands, central northern England: Cloudy, occasional rain or drizzle becoming dry with clear intervals by evening. Moderate SW wind. Near normal. Max. 6C (43F). SE and central southern England: Cloudy, occasional rain or drizzle, becoming dry inland with clear intervals by evening, but with coastal rain. Moderate SW winds. Normal. Max. 7C (45F). Channel Islands, SW England: Cloudy, occasional rain or drizzle becoming brighter, but with showers by afternoon. Moderate SW winds. Near normal. Max. 8C (46F).

NW England, N Ireland: cloudy occasional rain or drizzle. Becoming brighter with showers during the morning. Fresh SW winds. Rather cold. Max. 6C (43F). Edinburgh: Cloudy, occasional rain or showers. Brighter intervals. Fresh SW winds, near normal. Max. 5C (41F). Glasgow area: Mainly cloudy showers or longer periods of rain. Moderate or fresh SW winds. Rather cold. Max. 5C (41F). Outlook for Christmas Day and Boxing Day: rain at times in most places but also bright intervals. Temperatures a little below normal.

## My record player and I...

YOU liked the Queen? Then you'll just love Jimmy Saville! Yes, the plucky little Yorks disc-jockey is stepping into the breach to fill that vacant Royal quarter-hour on Xmas Day with a simple message of goodwill recorded exclusively for listeners to Radio Leeds.



**THE DECISION made by the Soviet Politburo in the autumn of 1929 to speed up the formation of collective farms proved to be a crucial turning point in Soviet history.**

The decision was made to deal with the growing problem of food supplies which the launching of the First Five Year Plan could only make more acute.

A principal advocate of the new turn was Stalin himself.

His 50th birthday, which fell in December, 1929, marked the real opening of the cult of adulation which was to surround him until the end of his life.

It is no accident that the cult and the panic drive to 'catch up and outstrip' capitalism began at the same time.

In a real sense the character which collectivization took, and more especially the decision to 'liquidate the kulaks as a class', was Stalin's handiwork.

The story which is to be briefly told here, however, is an indictment of the whole bureaucratic regime and the theory of 'socialism in one country' which it professed.

In the 1920s agriculture in the Soviet Union was still almost entirely carried on by peasants who farmed individual plots, still often using wooden ploughs and primitive tools.

As capitalism penetrated the villages in the latter part of the 19th century so a section of the peasants turned to farming for the market, accumulated capital and employed hired labour.

Peasants of this sort, often notorious also as usurers and exploiters, were generally known as kulaks.

At the other end of the social scale there were wage labourers and peasants with tiny plots of land which were insufficient to support themselves and their families.

In between stood the most numerous group of middle peasants who employed mainly the labour of their own families and produced a modest surplus over their own needs.

After the peasantry as a whole had given its support to the overthrow of landlordism in 1917, the divisions within it once again manifested themselves in the 1920s.

The bureaucracy at this stage, during the period of the New Economic Policy, encouraged the kulaks and the stronger peasants who were the main source of grain procurement.

The line of the right wing, of whom Bukharin was the main spokesman, was at this time endorsed by Stalin.

However, the difficulties in maintaining food supplies led to increasing attention being paid in the late 1920s to the formation of collective farms on a voluntary basis.

The Left Opposition strongly opposed the policy of the bureaucracy of concessions to the kulaks and advocated a programme designed to encourage the formation of collective farms by the peasantry and the provision for these farms of the technical means to improve the productivity of agriculture.

When the massive onslaught on private farming was launched at the end of the 1920s, it represented a purely empirical turn which had not been thought out or prepared in advance.

True to its Bonapartist character the Stalinist bureaucracy, forced by the difficulties of the economy to launch into industrialization, now shifted from support for the kulak to seek a basis in the towns and in the poorer layers of the peasantry.

This turn was made easier by the defeat of the Opposition against whom the support of the kulaks and other conservative elements was necessary as part of the Stalin-Bukharin alliance.

When Stalin decided to launch the collectivization drive no preparations had been made.

Some 25,000 Party members were hastily mobilized and drafted into the villages, encouraging peasants to join collectives, forcing them where necessary and singling out and expelling the kulaks and their families.

At a conference of agrarian specialists on December 27, 1929, Stalin announced the decision to 'liquidate the kulaks as a class'.

Certainly kulaks had been resisting the social pressure for collectivization in the late 1920s and even perpetrated acts of terrorism against government officials.

But their power to resist was steadily diminishing and class antagonism in the villages was certainly on the increase.

After Stalin's speech, however, 'de-kulakization' began in earnest in a most chaotic and brutal manner.

When kulaks got wind of impending collectivization they frequently slaughtered their livestock and were joined in reckless feasting and destruction by other peasants. Indiscriminate reprisals followed and hundreds of thousands of

people were deported to remote areas, often to perish from cold and hunger.

In the absence of genuine kulaks in an area the same treatment was meted out to other peasants.

This resulted in a gigantic campaign of intimidation against a large part of the peasantry who were by no means kulaks and stirred up opposition and hatred against the regime.

In many places, therefore, conditions of civil war virtually prevailed.

Often 'de-kulakization' took place without any regard for the formation and consolidation of the collective farms.

Although some sections of the peasantry took part in the operations against the kulaks, the main driving force came from the brigades sent from the towns.

Local officials and others joined in an indiscriminate plunder of kulak possessions for their personal use.

The way in which the campaign was organized, rather than strictly defining and isolating the real kulak exploiters, gave the peasantry as a whole the impression that it was under attack.

The collectives were thus formed under the worst possible conditions in which many of the members joined reluctantly or in a mood of sullen resentment or hostility.

Mass suicides, crowding of masses of people into unheated railway vans, the procession of 'death trains' across the countryside had a most demoralizing effect.

Recent Soviet accounts suggest that some four million people were deported from the Russian Republic alone and another million from the Ukraine; hundreds of thousands were deported from the other republics.

It was imposed by the

**TOM KEMP LOOKS AT 40 YEARS OF COLLECTIVIZED AGRICULTURE**



The Left Opposition (above) opposed concessions to the kulaks and advocated in 1925 the formation of collective farms.



Collectivization eventually began in December 1929 when Stalin decided to 'liquidate the kulaks as a class'.

How many of these people died in transit or after arrival will probably never be known.

It is now clear that collectivization was not, as Stalin claimed, a mass movement based on the support of the peasantry.

It was imposed by the

bureaucracy, and by Stalin in particular, in a desperate bid to solve the agrarian problem which had been made worse by the conciliation of the kulak practised all through the 1920s.

It was carried through without proper political preparation and was as much a surprise to

those who had to carry it out as it was to the peasantry as a whole.

Far from making a contribution to the agrarian problem, it jeopardized the whole economy, antagonized a large section of the peasantry and made necessary substantial retreats, including the concession of private plots to the collective members.

During the first quarter of 1930 some two-thirds of peasant households had been formed hastily into collectives in preparation for the coming ploughing.

Meanwhile the whole country was gripped by a chronic food shortage made still worse by the determination of many peasants to consume all their stocks and kill off their animals before entering the collective farms.

The real justification for collectivization was its ability to increase the surplus available to feed the towns as industrialization got under way.

Russian industry at this time, and for a long while afterwards, was unable to supply the tractors, machinery, fertilizers and other means necessary to make possible an all-round expansion in food production and, at the same time, a reduction in the labour force in agriculture.

The isolation of the Revolution in Russia and the policy of the bureaucracy have to be taken into account here.

Had the Revolution been carried into the more advanced European countries, it would have been possible to mobilize an advanced industry to assist the development of Russian agriculture.

Had the bureaucracy not been tied to the kulaks and the Nepmen at least some resources could have been accumulated and preparations made so that economically and politically the transition to collective farming could have been carried out more smoothly.

As it was, industry was simply not able to provide the means for the rapid equipment of the collective farms.

A recent work published in Moscow, in English translation, by A. Podkolzin, 'A short economic history of the USSR', makes this clear.

On the same page (p. 160) a table shows 211,050 collective farms in 1932 and lower down 120,000 is given as the number of tractors produced in the whole first Five Year Plan.

In other words, there was scarcely more than one tractor for every two collective farms available in 1932, even assuming that none of those built had worn out, broken down or were being used on the state farms or for other purposes.

Through lack of tractors and machinery the result was often simply to collectivize the existing backwardness, but now with dispirited peasants who had no interest in increasing output.

The slaughter of livestock, not only by kulaks, but also by peasants who entered the collective farms, was a disaster from which the Soviet economy was to suffer for decades.

The number of cows alone fell by over one-third between 1928 and 1932, from 66.8 million to 40.7 million! The effect on other types of livestock was similarly dramatic.

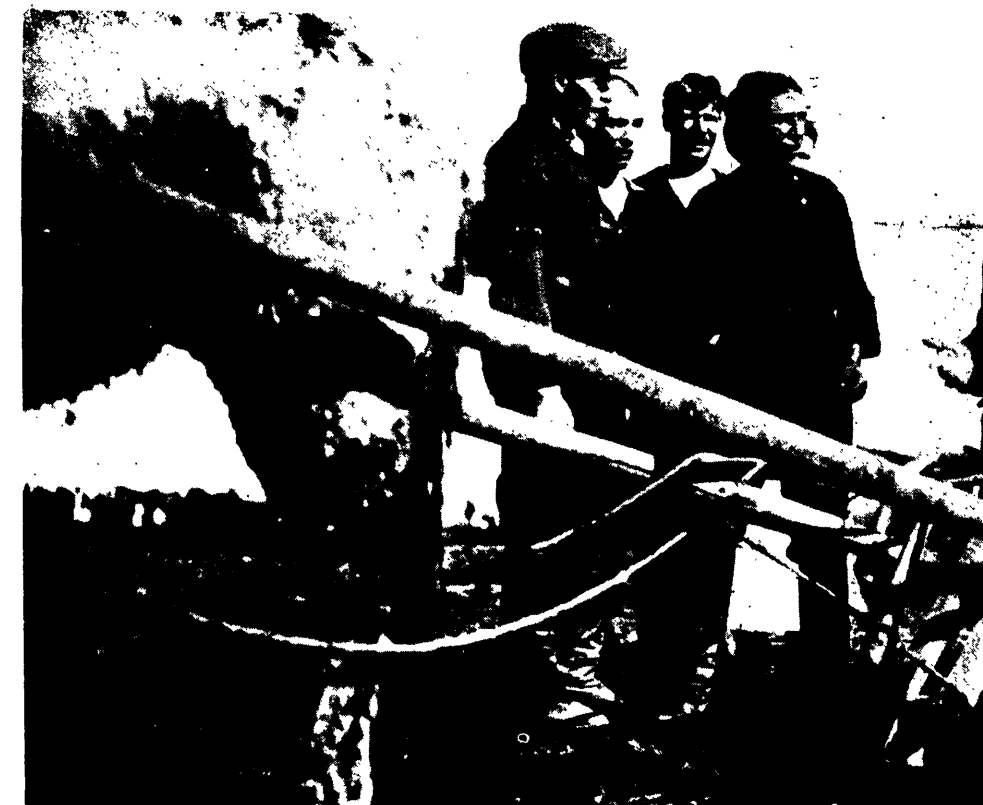
The best that could be done by Stalin's methods was to squeeze out a greater proportion from a smaller total product.

Penury for the peasantry as well as for the urban population was the price which the masses paid for his blunders.

Indeed, within a few months Stalin had to recognize the dangers to himself and to the regime of the hornet's nest

Podkolzin, op. cit. p. 160.

**COLLECTIVIZATION IN THE US**



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By a clever manoeuvre he turned the wrath of the peasants away from himself and on to the Party cadres in a famous article entitled 'Dizzy with success' which appeared in 'Pravda' on March 2, 1930.

For a period thereafter the process of collectivization was reversed, to be resumed at a steadier rate in the next few years.

The need for collectivization in the workers' states is not,

of course, in question. Planned growth and industrialization required the development of a large-scale modern agriculture using technical means which would make possible a continuous increase in production and productivity.

This would take place either as part of a return to capitalism or through collectivization. What is at issue, therefore, is the manner in which collectivization took place.

It has to be remembered, too, that after the Second



So brutal was the forced introduction of collectivization that many peasants in the Ukraine greeted the Nazi invaders as liberators. This hope was soon shattered.

**CHRISTMAS EVE TV**

**B.B.C. 1**

10.35 a.m. Nai Zindagi—Naya Jeevan. 11.05 Here's Lucy. 11.30 The Golden Age Of Comedy; highlights from the studios of Mack Sennett and Hal Roach. 12.45 p.m. Jackanory. 1.00 The Great Sleigh Robbery; cartoon film. 1.10 Boniface's Holiday; cartoon film from Russia. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45 News and Weather. 1.50 A Sky At Night Special: 1969—Year of Space. 2.20 'Star of India' (film). 3.45 4472-Flying Scotsman: an epitaph for the age of steam. 4.25 Play School. 4.50 The Private Lives Of The Robin. 5.15 Something Cool: the Men's Figure Skating Champion of the World. 5.50 National News and Weather.

6.00 London—Nationwide. 6.15 Carols From Kings: From the Chapel of King's College, Cambridge. 7.00 The Doctors. 7.25 The Gang Show: Presented by The Scout Association.

**B.B.C. 2**

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 4.45 p.m. Christmas On 2: programme review. 4.50 The Three Princes (play). 5.50 My World... And Welcome To It. 6.15 Silbury Saga: Ludovic Kennedy looks at the third attempt to answer the mysteries of Europe's biggest prehistoric man-made mound. 7.00 Show Of The Week presenting Mantovani and his orchestra. 7.50 Newsroom and Weather. 8.15 Johnny Cash sings of trains, prisons and hard times. 9.25 'Genevieve': With Kenneth More and Kay Kendall. Comedy about two competitors and their cars in the London to Brighton car run. Christmas Carols sung by the Wandsworth School Choir. 11.15 News Summary. 11.20 'Laura'. With Dana Andrews, Clifton Webb, Vincent Price and Gene Tierney.

8.15 Cilla: Cilla Black with Dusty Springfield, Cliff Richard, Roy Hudd and Kenny Everett. 9.05 The Main News and Weather. 9.25 The Merry Widow: Operetta by Franz Lehár with Mary Costa, Jeremy Brett. 11.10 The Spinners At The Phil: The Spinners in Liverpool. 11.45 Christmas Midnight Mass.

All regions as BBC-1 except at the following times: Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather. North of England: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Look North, Weather. Wales: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Wales Today. 7.00-7.25 Heddie. Scotland: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Reporting Scotland. 11.45 Christmas Eve Service. Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Scene Around Six, Weather. South and West: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-west, Weather.

Detective's hunt for the murderer of a girl called Laura.



Johnny Cash: BBC 8.15 p.m.

**I.T.V.**

10.05 a.m. Flipper. 10.30 The Lone Ranger. 10.55 Tinga and Tucker Christmas Club. 11.10 Lift Off. 11.40 Junior Showtime. 12.20 p.m. Call Me Bwana. 2.05 Crossroads. 2.30 Peyton Place. 2.55 Lost In Space. 3.55 'Heidi' with Maximilian Schell, Jean Simmons, Michael Redgrave and Jennifer Edwards. Little girl in the Alps. 5.50 News From ITN. 6.00 'With A Little Help From My Friends': George Martin presents some of those he's helped to make famous: including The Hollies, Ringo Starr, Lulu, Coronation Street. 7.30 'Doctor In The House': Dirk Bogarde as Simon Sparrow. With Kenneth More and Donald Sinden. 9.15 'Carry On Christmas': 'Carry On' team presents their version of 'A Christmas Carol'. 10.15 News. 10.35 Herb Alpert Show. 11.35 Donald Swann's Christmas Candle: International Christmas celebrations. 12.00 midnight Communion.

**REGIONAL I.T.V.**

CHANNEL: 12.15 p.m. Buffin's Birthday Greetings. 12.20 Feature Film: 'Great Expectations' with John Mills, Valerie Hobson and Jean Simmons. 2.25 On The Barrier Reef. 3.40 Cartoon Time. 3.55 London. 6.00 Channel News and Weather. 6.10 The Pursuers. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 A Date With Danton. 7.40 Treasure Hunt. 8.15 The Saint. 9.10 London.

WESTWARD: As Channel except at following times: 10.45 a.m. The Gus Honeydew Show. 10.55 Harry Town. 11.10 London. 11.40 London. 6.00 p.m. Westward Diary. 1.15 a.m. Weather.

ANGLIA: 1.05 p.m. Castle Haven. 1.30 Romper Room. 1.50 Lift Off. 2.25 Junior Showtime. 3.00 Rudolph The Red Nosed Reindeer. 3.35 'Treasure Island' with Wallace Berry. 3.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 11.35 It's Christmas Day In The Morning. 12 midnight Communion Service.

HARLECH: 10.00 a.m. It's Time For Me. 10.05 Joe. 10.30 Very, Very Varied. 11.10 London. 12.20 p.m. 'The Magnet' with Stephen Murray, Kay Walsh and William Fox. Comedy about a ten-year-old boy who steals a magnet. 1.40 The Adventures of Seapray. 2.05 Skippy. 3.00 Rudolph The Red-Nosed Reindeer. 3.55 London. 6.01 Report. 6.20 Batman. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 1.00 a.m. Weather.

Harlech (Wales) as above except: 6.01 p.m. Y Dydd. 6.26 Crossroads. 6.51-7.00 Report. 11.35 Hosan Lawn. 12 midnight Weather.

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YORKSHIRE: 10.20 a.m. Lift Off. 10.55 Tinga and Tucker. 11.05 The Champions. 12 noon Junior Showtime. 12.35 p.m. Forest Rangers. 1.00 'Very Important Person' with James Robertson Justice, Leslie Phillips and Stanley Baxter. Wartime scientist taken prisoner. 2.35 Castle Haven. 3.00 The Saint. 3.55 London. 11.35 Carols In Kirkgate. 12 midnight London. 1.00 a.m. Late Weather.

GRANADA: 10.10 a.m. Stingray. 10.35 Rocket Robin Hood. 10.55 London. 12.20 p.m. The Doris Day Show. 12.30 'Five Weeks In A Balloon' with Red Buttons, Barbara Eden, Peter Lorre and Cedric Hardwicke. Motley crew tries to chart unexplored East Africa by balloon. 2.30 The Saint. 3.25 The Beverly Hillbillies. 3.55 London. 11.35 Carols From York. 12 midnight London.

TYNE TEES: 2.15 p.m. Castle Haven. 2.40 Lift Off. 3.15 Junior Showtime. 3.55 London. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 The Beverly Hillbillies. 7.00 London.

SCOTTISH: 10.55 a.m. London. 12.20 p.m. Feature Film: 'In The Dog House' with Leslie Phillips, Peggy Cummins, Hattie Jacques and James Booth. 'Five Weeks In A Balloon'. 2.10 p.m. Crossroads. 2.35 The Saint. 3.25 Captain Scarlet. 3.25 Scottish News. 3.55 London. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.30 The Legend Of Jesse James. 7.00 London. 11.35 Christmas Eve Service.

GRAMPIAN: 3.55 p.m. London. 6.00 Gramplan News. 6.10 Gramplan Week. 6.30 Police News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 11.35 Midnight Service.



25,000 Party members were hastily drafted into the villages where Stalin eventually decided to force through collectivization. Young Communists (above) were trained to deliver choral declamations about the Five-Year Plan.



# TOM KEMP LOOKS AT 40 YEARS OF COLLECTIVIZED AGRICULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION



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# COLLECTIVIZATION IN THE USSR



That many peasants in the Ukraine greeted the...

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This would take place either as part of a return to capitalism or through collectivization. What is at issue, therefore, is the manner in which collectivization took place.

It has to be remembered, too, that after the Second

World War collectivization was carried through in the countries of eastern Europe by the same bureaucratic means.

Engels and Lenin always insisted that it was necessary to lead the small peasant towards collectivization.

Trotsky and the Left Opposition advocated similar methods throughout the 1920s. Stalin's abrupt turn, despite his later 'correction', left Soviet agriculture with a disastrous legacy which for a long time, indeed until after his death, was concealed by systematic concealment of the true state of affairs and falsification of the statistics of output.

The retreats which had to be made in the 1930s and subsequent concessions made to the peasantry by the bureaucracy whenever it has been in difficulties are further evidence that it has been unable to solve the agrarian question.

The retreats in eastern Europe have been still more substantial and the whole conception of collectivization has been discredited.

The countryside thus becomes a continuous breeding-ground for capitalist tendencies.

In the Soviet Union itself the parallel market in which the produce of the peasants' private plots is sold continues to make an appreciable contribution to the food supply.

The agrarian sector continues to lag behind by world standards and ties down an excessive share of manpower and resources. Soviet industry still remains incapable on its own of turning out the equipment and chemicals which efficient agriculture requires.

None of Khrushchev's boasts and promises have come to anything and have been discreetly forgotten. Agriculture

remains prone to harvest failures which can shake the whole economy and the Soviet Union then appears in the market as a purchaser of American grain.

Forty years of collectivization under the auspices of the bureaucracy enables the claims of the adherents of the theory of 'socialism in one country', with or without Stalin, to be decisively refuted.

With the turn to collectivization Stalin abandoned the alliance with the right wing, represented by Bukharin, which had been the basis of Comintern policies in the mid-1920s.

Bukharin's supporters had to be cleaned out of the Communist Parties and new leadership installed willing to carry out faithfully the ultra-left course which the bureaucracy now imposed.

This shift took place in the tense atmosphere in the Union and with the p of war with capitalism being discussed.

The right-wing and social democracy whom the Comintern flirted in the days of were now denounced as fascists and the main the Communist Party turned in their direction.

There is no doubt ultra-left line of the C opened the way for takeover in Germany for the most colossal the most highly-organized theoretically-conscious class in Europe.

As Trotsky pointed triumph of the Nazis drive for war again Soviet Union inevitable The turn, of which

AS FAR AS the cinema is concerned I'm an addict; it's something deeply bound up with my fantasy life.

Entering the portals of those odeon palaces that are more and more changing their styles and becoming architecturally like those hard-edged crystal-lit Golden Eggs that the 'swinging 'sixties' laid, is enough still to send a flush of excitement through me.

And once in my seat, the lights out, a cigarette on, I sit there mesmerised by the flickering screen, poised to enter the dream world.

In my life time the screens have changed their sizes, black and white gives way to colour; I've watched 3-D with green and red cardboard glasses on; I have heard Molly and Robinson Cleaver at the theatre organ; I've been bored, irritated, angry and enrapt.

But the magic has gone.

Of course it's had and inextricably was with my childhood, with fairy tales and the princess swineherd (and for fantasy I've paid those clear skinned, upper-class girls with long fair hair and th of despair and some prince will come; what did we have of gett that one playing in th and the witches and t and the fairy godmo many heroes, so many were all left on my knee and took on a i for 1s. 9d. (children h at the local Ritz.

And what a cata myths to recover from

Sonja Henie cuttir the ice, her skates whirling and twisting ble and all with th. Esther Williams, healthy gliding thro water and all with th Disney; the Three Abbott and Costell Kelly; Maureen Humphrey Bogart; C;

## AS EVE TV

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ULSTER: 11.45 a.m. Junior Showtime. 12.20 p.m. Cinderella. 1.45 Superman. 2.10 The New Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. 2.40 Thunderbirds. 3.30 Romper Room. 3.50 Ulster News Headlines. 3.55 London. 6.00 UTV Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 11.35 Carols From Kirkgate. 12 midnight London.

YORKSHIRE: 10.20 a.m. Lift Off. 10.55 Tingha and Tucker. 11.05 The Champions. 12 noon Junior Showtime. 12.35 p.m. Forest Rangers. 1.00 'Very Important Person' with James Robertson Justice, Leslie Phillips and Stanley Baxter. Wartime scientist taken prisoner. 2.35 Castle Haven. 3.00 The Saint. 3.55 London. 11.35 Carols In Kirkgate. 12 midnight London. 1.00 a.m. Late Weather.

GRANADA: 10.10 a.m. Stingray. 10.35 Rocket Robin Hood. 10.55 London. 12.20 p.m. The Doris Day Show. 12.50 'Five Weeks In A Balloon' with Red Buttons, Barbara Eden, Peter Lorre and Cedric Hardwicke. Motley crew tries to chart unexplored East Africa by balloon. 2.30 The Saint. 3.25 The Beverly Hillbillies. 3.55 London. 11.35 Carols From York. 12 midnight London.

TYNE TEES: 2.15 p.m. Castle Haven. 2.40 Lift Off. 3.15 Junior Showtime. 3.55 London. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 The Beverly Hillbillies. 7.00 London.

SCOTTISH: 10.55 a.m. London. 12.20 p.m. Feature Film: 'In The Dog House' with Leslie Phillips, Peggy Cummins, Hattie Jacques and James Booth. 1.40 'Five Weeks In A Balloon'. 2.10 Crossroads. 2.35 The Saint. 3.25 Captain Scarlet. 3.25 Scottish News. 5.55 London. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.30 The Legend Of Jesse James. 7.00 London. 11.35 Christmas Eve Service.

GRAMPIAN: 3.55 p.m. London. 6.00 Grampian News. 6.10 Grampian Week. 6.30 Police News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 11.35 Midnight Service.



25,000 Party members were hastily drafted into the villages where Stalin eventually decided to force through collectivization. Young Communists (above) were trained to deliver choral declamations about the Five-Year Plan.



# LECTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION



During the period of the Stalin-Bukharin alliance the bureaucracy rested on the kulaks.

# ZATION SSR

remains prone to harvest failures which can shake the whole economy and the Soviet Union then appears in the market as a purchaser of Canadian, Australian or even American grain.

Forty years of collectivization under the auspices of the bureaucracy enables the claims of the adherents of the theory of 'socialism in one country', with or without Stalin, to be decisively refuted.

With the turn to collectivization Stalin abandoned the alliance with the right wing, represented by Bukharin, which had been the basis of Comintern policies in the mid-1920s.

Bukharin's supporters had to be cleaned out of the Communist Parties and new leadership installed willing to carry out faithfully the ultra-left course which the bureaucracy now imposed.

This shift took place in a tense atmosphere in the Soviet Union and with the possibility of war with capitalist powers being discussed.

The right-wing Labourites and social democrats with whom the Comintern had flirted in the days of Bukharin were now denounced as 'social-fascists' and the main fight of the Communist Parties was turned in their direction.

There is no doubt that the ultra-left line of the Comintern opened the way for the Nazi takeover in Germany and thus for the most colossal defeat of the most highly-organized and theoretically-conscious working class in Europe.

As Trotsky pointed out, the triumph of the Nazis made the drive for war against the Soviet Union inevitable.

The turn, of which collec-

tivization was a decisive part, thus ushered in a new round of defeats for the working class and exposed the Soviet Union itself to the blows of predatory world imperialism in the van of which stood Nazi Germany.

Stalin for a time sought to reach an accommodation with Hitler, before the adoption of the Popular Front policy in the mid-1930s, and returned to this tactic in August, 1939.

After these years of demoralization and defeats during which, allegedly, socialism was being built in the Soviet Union, the Second World War broke out, bringing many new sufferings for the working class.

The attack on the Soviet Union begun on June 21, 1941, and the events which followed it, showed the real depth of the bureaucracy's crisis.

In many areas of the country, notably in the Ukraine, many peasants greeted the German invaders as liberators, hoping to get their revenge for the imposition of collectivization a decade or so before.

German industry, which might have supplied the tractors to modernize Soviet agriculture if the Comintern had pursued a different policy, supplied instead the equipment for the Panzer divisions which penetrated deep into the workers' state.

The catastrophic defeat of the German working class, attributable directly to the policy imposed on the Communist Party by Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy, thus brought down a whirlwind about their heads.

The courage and sacrifice of the Soviet working class, with its 20 million dead, and not the genius of Stalin or the bureaucracy, made it possible to throw back and defeat German imperialism.

The 40th anniversary of the collectivization drive provides an opportunity to insist upon the disastrous character of Stalin's policy.

The legacy of forced collectivization still lays heavy on the Soviet economy.

The agrarian problem has not been solved and the bureaucracy is incapable of solving it.

The whole 40 years' history of collectivized agriculture refutes the claims of the adherents of the theory of 'socialism in one country'.



AS FAR AS the cinema is concerned I'm an addict; it's something deeply bound up with my fantasy life.

Entering the portals of those odeon palaces that are more and more changing their styles and becoming architecturally like those hard-edged crystal-lit Golden Eggs that the swinging 'sixties' laid, is enough still to send a flush of excitement through me.

And once in my seat, the lights out, a cigarette on, I sit there mesmerised by the flickering screen, poised to enter the dream world.

In my life time the screens have changed their sizes, black and white gives way to colour; I've watched 3-D with green and red cardboard glasses on: I have heard Molly and Robinson Cleaver at the theatre organ; I've been bored, irritated, angry and entrapt.

But the magic has never gone.

Of course it's hopelessly and inextricably wrapped up with my childhood, when the fairy tales and the pantomimes and the princess and the swineherd (and for that class fantasy I've paid in full; those clear skinned, blue-eyed, upper-class girls with their long fair hair and their sense of despair and some day my prince will come; what chance did we have of getting over that one playing in the street!) and the witches and the giants and the fairy godmothers, so many heroes, so many heroines were all left on my mother's knee and took on a new form for 1s. 9d. (children half price) at the local Ritz.

And what a catalogue of myths to recover from!

Sonja Henie cutting across the ice, her skates hissing, whirling and twisting, incredible and all with that smile; Esther Williams, tanned, healthy gliding through the water and all with that smile; Disney; the Three Stooges; Abbott and Costello; Gene Kelly; Maureen O'Hara; Humphrey Bogart; Cary Grant

—and endless parade of illusion and romance and escape.

You sat in the dark and dissolved with the celluloid.

Then later, 'bunking in' through the back door, seeing the picture through twice and reeling out into the evening with a blinding headache; accosting strangers for the A's —'Will you take me in, please?'—the battleground of Saturday morning at the Granada ('We are the Granadeers!'); the screams, the boos, the punch-ups, the beleaguered ice-cream girl innocently providing ammunition with the

# CHRISTMAS DAY TV

## B.B.C. 1

9.00 a.m. On Christmas Day In The Morning: Carols. 9.30 A Spoonful of Sugar from Stoke Mandeville Hospital. 10.00 News and Weather. 10.05 Tom and Jerry. 10.15 The Doctors. 10.35 Christmas Morning Service from St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle. 11.45 Rolf Harris and children from Queen Mary's Hospital for Children, Carshalton, Surrey. 12.30 p.m. Royal Family: documentary. 2.15 Top Of The Pops 69 part one. 3.00 Billy Smart's Circus Spectacular. 4.10 Disney Time: Julie Andrews introduces scenes and characters from her favourite films. 5.00 Cinderella: pantomime.

6.30 The Main News and Weather.

6.40 Save The Children: Appeal

6.45 Christmas Night With The Stars: Stars from BBC Light Entertainment in 1969.

8.15 The Morecambe and Wise Christmas Show.

9.15 'McLintock': Western with John Wayne.

11.15 Tony Bennett and The Count Basie Orchestra.

12.05 a.m. And Was Made Black: A look at modern 'incarnation'.

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

Wales: 9.30-10.00 a.m. Gloria In D by Antonio Vivaldi. 10.05-10.35 Hylö 'Dollig. 11.45-12.25 p.m. The Selfish Giant. 12.25-12.30 p.m. Cartoon Carnival.

Scotland: 6.30-6.35 p.m. A Christmas Appeal on behalf of The Save The Children Fund.

## B.B.C. 2

10.15 a.m. Play School. 10.35 Christmas Morning Service from St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle. 11.45 'Kyoto': Film involving the indestructible elements of Japanese culture of which Kyoto is the spirit. 12.30 p.m. Royal Family: documentary. 2.15 Chronicle: The Fate Of The Armada. 3.00 The Royal Ballet: 'The Sleeping Beauty', Acts 1, 2 and 3. 5.25 News Summary. 5.30 Call My Bluff. 6.00 The Price Of Fame: or Fame at Any Price. George Fame and Alan Price.

6.45 'The Paladins of Palermo'. From the Sicilian Teatro dei Pupi. Puppet Theatre.

7.10 Children Talking: That Christmas Feeling.

7.20 Jesus: The story of his life through the eyes of the young generation.

8.05 News and Weather.

8.15 Bird's Eye View: Beside the Seaside by Sir John Betjeman, an aerial tour of the English seaside.

9.05 This Colourful Year Of Sport: Henry Longhurst looks back on the highspots and lowspots of sport in 1969.

10.25 Barbra Streisand entertains and causes A Happening In Central Park.

11.15 News Headlines.

11.16 'The Day They Robbed The Bank Of England' (film).

## I.T.V.

8.15 a.m. Carols from Central Hall, Westminster. 9.05 Super-nation 9.30 Cinema Special: Michael Parkinson looks at 'U' films. 0.15 Church Service. 11.00 A Merry Morning: Leslie Crowther at a party for children in Seacroft Hospital, Leeds. 11.30 'Moonfleet' with Stewart Granger, George Sanders, Joan Greenwood and Jon Whiteley. Smuggling and treachery on an ancestral estate. 2.00 p.m. Kelvin Hall Circus. 2.00 This Is Tom Jones with Judy Collins, David Frye, Millicent Martin, the Treorchy Male Choir and The Mike Sammes Singers. 3.00 'Petticoat Pirates' with Anne Heywood and Charlie Drake. Wrens steal a Royal Navy frigate. 4.35 'Aladdin': Mike and Bernie Winters, Jack Douglas, Jimmy Logan, Josef Locke, Peter Vernon and Maggie Vickers in a traditional pantomime. 5.50 News From ITN.

6.00 All Star Comedy Carnival: Specially written items from 13 of IFA's most successful comedy shows.

8.30 The Benny Hill Show.

9.30 'Robin and the Seven Hoods': With Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin and Sammy Davis Jr. Chicago gangsters in the 1920s.

10.30 News.

10.40 'Robin' continued.

11.45 Whicker In Europe: Alan Whicker meets Count Robert-Jean de Vogue, a French tycoon aristocrat once condemned to death.

12.15 a.m. What Was He Like?

## REGIONAL I.T.V.

CHANNEL: 10.15 a.m. London. 11.30 Peyton Place. 11.55 Feature Film: 'The Professionals' with William Lucas, Andrew Faulds. 1.00 p.m. London. 3.00 'With A Little Help From My Friends'. 3.55 Chez Oscar. 4.10 Crossroads. 4.35 London. 9.30 Feature Film: 'Term Of Trial' with Laurence Olivier and Simone Signoret. 10.30 News. 10.45 'Term Of Trial' (continued). 12.05 Whicker In Europe. 12.35 a.m. Weather.

WESTWARD: As Channel except at following times: 9.30 a.m. Cinema's Musical Special. 4.00 p.m. The Gus Honeybun Show. 12.30 a.m. Faith For Life. 12.36 Weather.

HARLECH: 8.15 a.m. Christmas In HMS Calliope. 9.30 London. 11.30 'A Girl, A Boy And A Bike'. John McCallum, Honor Blackman, Patrick Holt and Diana Dors in a comedy about a cycling club. 1.00 p.m. London. 3.00 'With A Little Help From My Friends' with George Martin. 4.00 Popeye. 4.35 London. 12.15 a.m. Weather. Harlech (Wales) as above except: 9.30-10.15 a.m. Tins A Lei.

ANGLIA: 8.45 a.m. Christmas In HMS Calliope. 9.30 London. 11.30 'Carry On Constable' with Sidney James, Eric Barker and Kenneth Connor. 1.00 p.m. London. 3.00 'With A Little Help From My Friends'. 4.00 Popeye. 4.35 London. 12.15 a.m. Weather. Anglia (Wales) as above except: 9.30-10.15 a.m. Tins A Lei.

ATV MIDLANDS: 8.15 a.m. Carols For Everyone. 9.05 Mr Piper. 9.30 London. 11.30 'The Long, Long Trailer' with Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz. Comedy. 1.00 p.m. London. 3.00 'With A Little Help From My Friends'. 4.00 Popeye. 4.05 Crossroads. 4.35 London. 9.30 'Term Of Trial' with Laurence Olivier and Simone Signoret. 10.30 News. Weather. 10.40 'Term Of Trial' (continued). 12.05 a.m. Whicker In Europe followed by Weather Forecast.

ULSTER: 10.15 a.m. London. 11.30 'Tarzan's Savage Fury' with Lex Barker. 12.50 p.m. Arthur. 1.00 London. 3.00 But One Year. 3.45

HMS Calliope. 9.30 London. 11.30 Feature Film: 'Treasure Island'. 12.15 a.m. Christmas Message. 4.10 Message For Christmas.

SCOTCHIE: 8.25 a.m. Moderator's Christmas Message. 8.35 Carols From Kirkcaldy. 9.05 Joe 90. 9.30 London. 11.30 The New Adventures of Superman. 12 noon Skippy. 12.30 p.m. Crossroads. 1.00 London. 3.00 'With A Little Help From My Friends'. 4.00 Peter And The Time Machine. 4.05 High Living. 4.35 London. 12.15 a.m. Late Call.

GRAMPAIN: 9.05 a.m. The New Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. 9.30 London. 11.30 Feature Film: 'Treasure Island'. 12.15 a.m. Christmas Message. 4.10 Message For Christmas.

TYNE TEES: 8.45 a.m. Christmas In HMS Calliope. 9.30 London. 11.30 Feature Film: 'Call Me Bwana'. 1.00 p.m. London. 3.00 Feature Film: 'Treasure Island'. 4.35 London. 12.15 a.m. Christmas Message.

# CINEMA

By Brian Moore

## Dreamers wake up!

World War collectivization was carried through in the countries of eastern Europe by the same bureaucratic means. Engels and Lenin always insisted that it was necessary to lead the small peasant towards collectivization.

Trotsky and the Left Opposition advocated similar methods throughout the 1920s. Stalin's abrupt turn, despite his later 'correction', left Soviet agriculture with a disastrous legacy which for a long time, indeed until after his death, was concealed by systematic concealment of the true state of affairs and falsification of the statistics of output.

The retreats which had to be made in the 1930s and subsequent concessions made to the peasantry by the bureaucracy whenever it has been in difficulties are further evidence that it has been unable to solve the agrarian question.

The retreats in eastern Europe have been still more substantial and the whole conception of collectivization has been discredited.

The countryside thus becomes a continuous breeding-ground for capitalist tendencies.

In the Soviet Union itself the parallel market in which the produce of the peasants' private plots is sold continues to make an appreciable contribution to the food supply.

The agrarian sector continues to lag behind by world standards and ties down an excessive share of manpower and resources.

Soviet industry still remains incapable on its own of turning out the equipment and chemicals which efficient agriculture requires.

None of Khrushchev's boasts and promises have come to anything and have been discreetly forgotten. Agriculture

by side by the same culture of American imperialism.

In the dark we follow the dream, cherish it, even long for it, for this world that has simple priorities, simple problems, and in a way in this yearning all sorts of yearnings in ourselves are invoked.

In spite of the pap, the pop culture, the naive romanticism, there is a reminder of something else, of our own desires which even the bleak indifference of the streets, or the shrill barbarities of the headlines in the newspapers cannot really dispel.

For it is part of that striving for man to achieve something else, some greater humanity, some closer understanding between himself and others, however primitive or crude the form.

Hollywood has churned out its paying opiate for decades now.

My generation was weaned on it, grew up on it was deeply affected by it.

Yet a part of its naked propaganda for the capitalist system eludes the grasp of it manipulators and makers.

In spite of its spinning of commercial dreams of un- reality, with a get-rich-or-die mentality of Cinderella, from rags to riches, at the same time it presents a world so patently in contradiction to the real one.

And one day the dreamers wake up.

The dreams now are finished, dead, bankrupt, but their allure still remains and the fight for that is on the agenda.

The 1960s grind to a halt with their protests, their velvet trousers and satin shirts of the pop groups and the middle class in confusion, the pot and the pop, the style and the fashion.

These were just bubbles on the surface of the great burning cauldron.

The 1970s start with the whiff of big class struggles in the air.

Capitalism is shaking. A new generation of workers throughout the world is beginning to speak and to struggle.

These memories, sentimental, nostalgic, but irreversibly my life, haunt every cinema I go into.

It came as a shock to me when I was in Cuba a few years ago.

A number of young artists had assembled an exhibition of underdevelopment.

You walked through something like a maze, a construction of corridors and passages and in every corner displayed in their true light were all the images I have described above and others too, juke boxes, Cadillacs, hamburgers, clips of

empty cartoons that whizzed through the air, arced in the projection beam and thudded against the screen; the furtive drags at the early Woodbine from the front row when the match seemed to explode like a cartridge attracting for sure the attention of every adult eye in the place; and then in the period of Marilyn Monroe, Rock Hudson and all-American Doris Day (I never liked her) in the back row nervously sliding what inevitably became a cramped left arm round the stiff shoulders of the latest date.

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A number of young artists had assembled an exhibition of underdevelopment.

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# BOXING DAY TV

## I.T.V.

9.05 a.m. Diane's Magic Theatre. 9.15 New Adventures of Batman. 9.35 'Dodge City' with Errol Flynn and Olivia de Havilland. Western. 11.20 Holiday In Switzerland: The story of a goatherd who becomes the manager of a Swiss hotel. 12.05 p.m. Crossroads. 12.30 Peyton Place. 1.00 Professional Wrestling. 2.00 Big Band Sound: British musicians get together and recreate the music of Dorsey, Count Basie, Glen Miller, Duke Ellington and Woody Herman. 2.45 Voyage To The Bottom Of The Sea. 4.45 Laurel and Hardy. 2.00 Hey! Cinderella: American-Canadian Laugh-In type pantomime. 5.55 News and Sport From ITN.

6.10 Nearest and Dearest Special.

7.00 Tommy Cooper.

7.30 The Ken Dodd Show.

8.30 The Engelbert Humperdinck Show. With José Feliciano, Tom Jones, Dionne Warwick. Curry and Chips.

9.30 News At Ten.

10.05 'Breakfast At Tiffany's' With Audrey Hepburn, George Peppard, Patricia Neal and Mickey Rooney. Glossy New York romance. a.m. What Was He Like?

## REGIONAL I.T.V.

CHANNEL: 12 noon Crossroads. 12.20 Peyton Place. 1.00 London. 2.45 Feature Film: 'The Big Country'. 5.52 Channel News Headlines. 5.55 London. 6.09 Channel Weather. 6.10 London. 10.15 Feature Film: 'The Cardinal' with Tom Tryon. 1.10 a.m. Weather.

WESTWARD: As Channel except at following times: 9.00 a.m. 'Kind Hearts And Coronets' with Alec Guinness, Valerie Hobson, Dennis Price and Joan Greenwood. 11.15 Holiday In Switzerland. 12.30 p.m. The Gus Honeybun Show. 1.15 a.m. Faith For Life. 1.21 Weather.

HARLECH: 9.10 a.m. Batman. 9.35 'Kind Hearts And Coronets' with Dennis Price, Alec Guinness, Valerie Hobson and Joan Greenwood. Comedy about a man avenging his mother by a series of murders. 11.15 Holiday In Switzerland. 12 noon Crossroads. 12.30 p.m. High Living. 1.00 London. 2.00 Getting Sentimental Over You. 2.45 'The Buccaneer' with Yul Brynner, Charlton Heston, Claire Bloom, Charles Boyer and Inger Stevens. Pirates and the Battle of New Orleans. 4.50 Arthur. 5.00 London. 5.53 News Headlines From Wales and the West. 5.50 London. 10.15 'The Unforgiven' with Burt Lancaster, Audrey Hepburn, Audie Murphy and Charles Bickford. Western. 12.30 a.m. Weather. Harlech (Wales) as above except: 9.00-9.25 a.m. Bore Tranchoet.

ANGLIA: 9.20 a.m. Arthur. 9.50 'Tarzan's Peril' with Lex Barker. 11.15 Holiday In Switzerland. 12 noon Crossroads. 12.25 p.m. The Romper Room. 1.00 London. 2.45 'Tycoon' with John Wayne. 5.00 'Alice In Wonderland'. 5.55 London. 12.20 a.m. Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.00 a.m. The New Adventures Of Pinocchio. 9.15 Stingray. 9.40 Diane's Magic Theatre. 9.50 'Tarzan's Peril'. 11.15 Holiday In Switzerland. 12 noon Crossroads. 12.25 p.m. Peyton Place. 12.54 Popeye. 1.00 London. 2.45 'A Night To Remember' with Kenneth More. 5.00 Thunderbirds. 5.55 London. 10.15 'Rio Bravo' with John Wayne, Dean Martin, Angie Dickinson and Rick Nelson. Western. Followed by Weather Forecast.

ULSTER: 11.40 a.m. Romper Room. 12 noon Crossroads. 12.25 p.m. Cartoon. 12.30 God's Golden Years. 1.00 London. 2.45 'Voyage To The Bottom Of The Sea'. 4.45 Arthur. 4.50 'With A Little Help From My Friends'. 5.50 Ulster News Headlines and Sports Results. 5.55 London. 10.15 Friday Night with Rev. Gerard McConville. 10.20 'The Grip Of Fear' with Glenn Ford, Lee Remick and Stefanie Powers.

YORKSHIRE: 9.10 a.m. Survival. 9.40 Diane's Magic Theatre. 9.50 'Tarzan's Peril' with Lex Barker, Virginia Huston, George Macready and Dorothy Dandridge. 11.15 Holiday In Switzerland. 12 noon Crossroads. 12.25 p.m. Peyton Place. 12.54 Popeye. 1.00 London. 2.45 'Voyage To The Bottom Of The Sea'. 4.45 Paulus. 5.00 London. 12.20 a.m. Late Call.

GRAMPAIN: 10.00 a.m. Return To Oz. 10.50 Ivanhoe. 11.15 Holiday In Switzerland. 12 noon Crossroads. 12.20 p.m. Captain Scarlet. 12.50 Popeye. 1.00 London. 2.00 Getting Sentimental Over You. 2.45 Feature Film: 'The Errand Boy'. 4.25 Valentine's Day. 5.50 Popeye. 5.00 London. 12.20 a.m. Road and Ski Reports.

## B.B.C. 1

9.03 a.m. Watch With Mother. 9.45 News and Weatherman. 9.50 Tom and Jerry. 10.00 The Conquest Of Everest: The story of the first successful climb of the world's highest mountain. 11.15 Television Brain Of Britain. 11.35 The Virginian. 12.50 p.m. Boxing Day Grandstand: 12.50, 1.25, 1.50, 2.20 Racing From Kempton Park. 1.00 Holly Handicap Chase. 1.30 Boxing Day Handicap Hurdle. 2.00 King George VI Chase. 2.30 Christmas Hurdle. 1.10, 1.40, 2.10 Motor Racing featuring the Grandstand trophy race for Saloon Cars up to 1300 cc and the W.D. and H.O. Wills Trophy Race for Formula Ford cars. 1.20 Football Preview. 2.40 Rugby League. 3.05 'Singing In The Rain' with Gene Kelly, Debbie Reynolds, Donald O'Connor, Cyd Charisse and Jean Hagan. 4.45 Pinocchio.

6.00 National News and Weather.

6.10 Today's Sport including Results.

## B.B.C. 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 12.50 'The Red Balloon': An award-winning fantasy about a little boy who makes friends with red balloon. 1.25 'Bell, Book and Candle' with James Stewart and Kim Novak. Witchcraft in modern America. 3.05 News Summary. 3.10 Gardeners' World. 3.40 Aida: Verdi's Opera. Acts 1, 2, 3 and 4.

6.10 'The Distracted Preacher': Dramatisation of a Hardy story.

7.00 BBC 2's Company Of Comedy: A choice of comedy scenes from BBC 2 shows during 1969. 6.25 p.m. Scene Around Six. Weather. 12 midnight News Headlines. Weather. Wales: 9.10-9.45 a.m. Ar Lin Mam. 11.35 a.m.-12.15 p.m. Teletewe. 12.15-12.25 Babushka. 12.25-12.50 Bob Yu Dri. 10.15-11.05 The Sixties.

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# G.M., Chrysler to lay off 60,000 Massive rise in U.S. unemployed

AS THE CRISIS worsens in the US, Nixon and his big-business friends are determined that the working class must bear the burden of the crisis, not only in higher taxes and prices and an intensification of the Vietnam war—but also through the creation of a massive army of unemployed.

As a foretaste of what is to come, General Motors has decided to close down 11 out of 23 assembly plants for four additional days during the Xmas to New Year holiday and nine others throughout the holiday period.

## Wilton I.C.I. sparks strike for condition pay

By a Workers Press reporter  
SEVENTY electricians and instrument mechanics employed at Wilton's Imperial Chemical Industries' power station walked out yesterday morning in support of their claim for the retrospective payment of condition money.

The men had been operating a 'black' on all jobs within the area specified as abnormal—roughly two-thirds of the plant—and decided on a one-day strike after the firm stopped paying two electricians who refused to enter a blacked area.

### Retrospection

Although the men have won their claim for a multiple 'zonal' payment, they are demanding 18 months' retrospection against the company's offer of six months.

The men are undeterred by what they believe to be a management provocation immediately prior to the Christmas holiday.

60,000 workers will be affected by these temporary closures.

At the same time Chrysler Corporation will be closing seven of its plants from one to two weeks.

### Preparation

This is in preparation for the forecast made by Ford's of a seven per cent slump in car sales in the US during 1970—a slump which is already evident by the thousands of 1970 models lying unsold in the dealers' lots in Detroit.

This is only the beginning. As the deflationary measures of the Nixon government begin to bite, the mild recession could very well develop into a general slump affecting every major industry in the US.

Already it is estimated that 280,000 defence employees in the Defence Department are to be paid off as part of the Nixon retrenchment programme to balance the budget in the fiscal year 1970.

### Purpose

On top of this massive cut-back are another 212,000 workers in the defence industries being ordered to lose their jobs—plus another 22,000 servicemen who will be discharged from the army in the coming year.

The real purpose of Nixon's programme was blurted out by the November 15 'Business

Week', economic journal of US big business. 'Nixon advisers are now prepared to go to the wall, meaning recession, if that's what it takes. . . . Nixon economists favour unremitting restraint until business flattens. . . . The main objective is to bring next year's wage increases below this year's. . . . (Our emphasis.)

This, of course, is not only Nixon's programme—but Wilson's as well. . . . Some of the consequences of Nixon's austerity (for the poor) programme have alarmed sections of the capitalist class who fear a violent visceral reaction from the working class, a reaction already manifested by the dogged resistance of the 147,000 General Electric workers.

Max Frankel of the 'New York Times' tersely summarized the anxiety of these circles in the December 4 edition:

### 'Tolerable'

'The housing crisis has deepened due to the shortage of capital funds. The barely "tolerable" limits of unemployment are being reached. Programs to cope with crime and pollution and other major irritants are being set back by the high cost of borrowing as well as the chronic shortage of public funds. . . .

'These sacrifices, it is thought, will be difficult enough to bear even if the worst fears of aggravated recession prove groundless. . . .

Nixon's attempts to create a 'controlled recession' and drive down workers' living standards will prove more disastrous for US imperialism than even the 'uncontrolled' intervention in Vietnam.

The rise in working-class militancy in the context of the

## Moscow

● FROM PAGE ONE  
revolutionary politics and leadership. This combination of 'lefts' and Stalinists has served the employers well throughout 1969.

Again under the smoke-screen of militant talk, the British Stalinists have helped to smooth the way for vicious productivity deals in industry after industry.

Their support for union leaders selling out deals comes from the international strategy of class compromise, taught to Gollan and company by Stalin himself.

For this reason we insist that understanding the role of Stalinism is the beginning of all political wisdom today in the trade unions.

We promise our readers—and all our enemies—that 1970 will see no let-up on our part in the fight against our historical enemies.

Gollan and his Stalinist friends will not be given the chance to betray. Together with the working class, we intend to politically annihilate them.

By our foreign correspondent

present world situation must lead inexorably to an unprecedented sharpening of class conflicts to the point where US labour will be forced to break with the Democratic Party and launch its own party.

This is the prospect for 1970.

## JOINT ACTION?

● FROM PAGE ONE  
wage as against the £2 demanded by the unions to give gas workers the same rise as recently awarded to workers in the electricity supply and water industries.

The national pay talks for the gas industry will be resumed on January 12, a week after the threatened strike.

The unions, led by Sir Frederick Hayday of the

General and Municipal Workers, will continue to use the dangerous argument that the claim has already been paid for by increased productivity coupled with a cutting-out of 10,000 jobs in the past two years.

This inevitably paves the way for further redundancies and productivity deals and must be rejected in favour of the £2 claim with no strings.

## Petition grows

● FROM PAGE ONE  
and the Communist Party—have signed in Manchester.

THE resolution from Edinburgh ASTMS branch, reported in yesterday's Workers Press, will be presented to the No. 12 Regional Council of the union and, if carried, will be forwarded to the National Executive.

A TOTAL of 359 signatures has so far been collected by Young Socialists in Hull.

They include those of Tim Poston, president of the Hull University Students' Union; three leading National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers' stewards—Arthur Atkinson, Len Luders and George Richmond—and ten workers from Hull's Imperial Typewriters plant.

Hull University economist Michael Kidron, a leading member of the 'International Socialism' group, has signed but all the group's other

members at the university have refused to sign.

Ten Port Talbot steelworkers—including AEF shop steward and branch chairman A. J. Bevan—have supported the campaign.

62 members of Birmingham's Joint Guild of Students (covering Aston University, the College of Commerce and the College of Art) have called for the greatest possible mobilization of the labour and trade union movement to stop the visit.

AT a meeting of the Liverpool Trades Council, 17 delegates signed. They included Trades Council president Eddie Louden and several members of the Communist Party.

The only refusals came from right-wingers and two supporters of the revisionist 'Militant' group.

CARDIFF Young Socialists, in a campaign around the city's docks, collected 23 signatures on the Workers Press petition.

# McGarvey justifies Grangemouth retreat

BOILERMAKER'S SOCIETY president Mr Dan McGarvey can hardly claim that the rotten settlement which ended the nine-week strike at the BP refinery site in Grangemouth was a victory.

But in his union's 'Monthly Report' (December 1969) he does his best to justify it.

Boasting of his executive's belated call for national solidarity action in support of the Grangemouth strikers, McGarvey claims that 'the outcome . . . was a meeting with Victor Feathers (sic), General Secretary of the TUC, of all the unions with membership at the Grangemouth refinery. . . . we finally arrived at a formula and eventually an amendment to clause 4 of section 7 of the agreement which was accepted by the executive council and our Grangemouth members.'

Nowhere does McGarvey give the terms of the formula arrived at in the course of his 'three long days and nights' closed with 'Feathers' and representatives of the other unions.

### Real character

But the terms of the settlement show the real character of the deal: of the 500 boilermakers who took strike action in September, only 253 were offered their jobs back (200 of the original 300 platers and 53 of the original 137 platers).

The rest, with McGarvey's agreement, were 'surplus to requirements'. In addition, the boilermakers remaining at the site not only had to accept the terms of the July 1968 agreement, which they had originally rejected, but became the subject of a special 'penal clause' applying only to them.

As one Grangemouth boilermaker wrote to the Workers Press on December 16, the Scottish executive committee members of the ABS, told the Grangemouth men that 'boilermakers were not to touch work done by the CEU, PTU, ETU and AEF, but if it is necessary these other trades will do boilermakers' work.'

### Deal forced

This unique penalty for the boilermakers was imposed with McGarvey's agreement. And 'imposed' is the only

By our industrial reporter

were cries of 'blackmail'. The men had no alternative but to accept these conditions as they were getting no support from the EC. . . .

Having tried to paint as a victory one of the biggest setbacks administered to the boilermakers, McGarvey lashes out in a pained way at the other unions, the PTU, AEF and CEU, whose officials 'told a meeting of the contractors on August 25 that if the contractor disciplined our members then they (the other unions) would provide the necessary labour to do our members' work. . . .

### Locked out

As he correctly points out, the other unions thus prepared the way for the management to lock out the boilermakers and allowed union labour to be used to scab on the boilermakers outside the gate.

But if these were the terms under which the boilermakers were fighting, how did McGarvey come to an agreement which gave not only the employers, but the other unions all they wanted—the sacking of half the boilermakers and the opening of boilermakers' work to all the other trades?

Or to pose a question McGarvey directs at the other union leaders:

'What about the jobs of those fighting the employers—of course this was the 30 pieces of silver which will and should occasion many sleepless nights for those who sold out the trade union movement.'

'He turned round and said, "The EC would not put the sanctions on again". There

Well, what about them, Mr McGarvey?



McGarvey

word to describe the process whereby the deal was forced on the Grangemouth men.

The same boilermaker describes the vote on the deal:

'Jim Murray, our Scottish executive committee member, came to the meeting on December 5 asking us to accept the ending of the strike on the agreements laid out by the EC and the employer, for only 253 men to get back on the site. At the meeting he was asked, before the vote was taken, if the men still voted to carry on the strike, would the EC put the sanction back on again.

'He turned round and said, "The EC would not put the sanctions on again". There

## Egypt denies Israeli commando raid

ISRAELI claimed yesterday that successful commando raids had been carried out across the Gulf of Suez on the Egyptian naval base at Safaja.

In Cairo, a military spokesman categorically

## Cant-(erbury) tales

Labour has never fulfilled its promises on the number of houses built. The type of housing has sometimes led to disasters like Ronan Point.

But when we got down to London more or less the same offer was re-dished up by the full-time officials and recommended for acceptance.

But it was unacceptable as far as the majority of the stewards were concerned.

An amendment was moved that we accept the £1 on the basic, reject the £2 and call a full national official strike on January 31.

Then someone from the back of the hall called for the vote to be taken and the chairman closed the discussion.

There were objections to this from all over the hall. The situation was completely

● FROM PAGE ONE  
the world have been revolutionaries', the archbishop announces. 'Jesus of Nazareth was a revolutionary, too.'

Part of this 'revolutionary' teachings, if we are to believe the high priest, is the need to 'turn the other cheek, give comfort to the hungry and be loyal to the state while worshipping God.'

'Christianity', he adds, 'began in an age when most men and women automatically acknowledged the supernatural—just as they automatically acknowledged that the earth was flat!'

'But today we live in a scientific age when the process of doubt about God's existence, begun by philosophers in the 18th century, has reached a climax caused by the pace of change. . . . However, if 2,000 years ago Christianity was fundamentally true, it remains fundamentally true today and always will.'

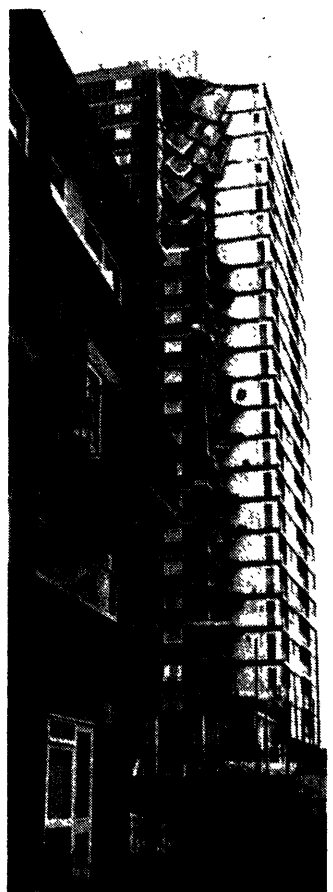
What was good enough for Moses is obviously good enough for this 20th century 'revolutionary', who comes complete with his own palace.

From his Olympian perch, the primate compliments his

The heroes and leaders of our time', he says, are 'the ordinary men and women who endure dull and ill-paid jobs and live in inadequate and ugly houses who still remain constantly cheerful.'

So long as there are people like that about, happy in their God-given misery, then princes of the church, who have always insisted it's best to stay that way, have nothing to fear.

That's why it's so important to be loyal to the state and keep the archbishops, Fleet Street and their capitalist system in business.



Labour has never fulfilled its promises on the number of houses built. The type of housing has sometimes led to disasters like Ronan Point.

## Protest?

● FROM PAGE ONE  
of a dozen American soldiers on a peace demonstration in Saigon may seem a small thing, as they automatically acknowledged that the earth was flat!

But today we live in a scientific age when the process of doubt about God's existence, begun by philosophers in the 18th century, has reached a climax caused by the pace of change. . . . However, if 2,000 years ago Christianity was fundamentally true, it remains fundamentally true today and always will.'

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# Housing crisis: Labour governments pave the way

AT A civic 'do' in the town hall in November, Sheffield Corporation Public Works Department marked the occasion of the completion of its 10,000th house since 1945.

Housing Minister Greenwood was there to officially 'open the door' of the house, situated in the Public Works' Kelvin development site.

No-one will deny this splendid achievement, when taken into account with all the other major works carried out by the PWD.

Viewed, however, in its historical perspective, the latent creative potential of the PWD has in fact been damped down.

The local Labour Council in 1945, reflecting the Labour government's housing plans outlined in 'Let Us Face the Future', stated that it would build 21,000 houses in three years.

Today, 24 years later, the total number of houses built by both the PWD and the private sector is just 30,000 houses. There are still vast slum and derelict areas in the city.

At the Margate Labour Party conference (1946), Bevan stated that by the end of the life of that government no family would be without a house of its own. Yet as early as February of 1947 the housing and building programme was a shambles for in that month the building programme was cut by £2,000 million.

In the year of the demise of the 1945 Labour government the housing total for

## LETTERS

that year—137,000 houses—was the lowest of any government since 1921.

It was in this period too, in response to the 1945 Labour government's plans, that the building industry and unions had agreed to train 100,000 building workers to carry out this programme. Subsequently, only 7 per cent ever found employment in the building industry.

More profitable than building houses, schools, hospitals, was the export of building materials.

It is a related fact that the present struggles of the tenants and the larger struggles that will follow from January 1, 1970, as a result of rent increases, are all part of an entire process.

There can be no doubt that the Labour government of 1945, and the demand for many years of full employment and coming from those who claim leadership of the working class—has been the

In the situation that followed many local authorities 'shared' the existing Exchequer subsidies with houses that carried no subsidy.

As more and more houses were built over the years the 'share' diminished eventually to a point where it became totally ineffective as a device for keeping rents down.

This, with an ever-increasing bank rate, is the reason behind the tenants' struggles as it is also the reason for cutting back on housing for rent.

Tenants' associations that have sprung into life in the last decade or so in defence of their homes—in defence of their standard of life attacked at the level of rents (since a rent increase is a wage cut)—have resisted to the point of legal action against them and the prospect of mass eviction.

The tenants' demand for many years of full employment and coming from those who claim leadership of the working class—has been the

demand for a reduction in the bank rate to local authorities to 2 per cent.

Lately the tenants' associations themselves are demanding the 'freezing' of the bank rate at its present level.

While the tenants' associations' demand appears more realistic, it must be borne in mind that both demands are made to capitalist economies in a situation where the trend in the bank rate is forever upwards in a frantic defence of the pound. The demands are unrelated to any demand for a change in the society from which all these problems arise.

It is a fact that a 2 per cent bank rate can come as a result of a struggle for socialism. Socialism will not come merely from a demand for a 2 per cent interest rate.

It follows therefore that any demand short of a demand for a change in society, any demand short of a demand for a change in the leadership of the working class would lead to and begin a degenerative process.

Interest rates at 2 per cent to local authorities alone would result in the emigration of investment to points of higher interest; similarly the 'freezing' of interest rates at any level (since the trend is upward) would also cause investment to emigrate from the local authority to the areas of higher interest rates as they appeared elsewhere.

Indeed such policies as the 'cutting' or 'freezing' of interest rates to local authorities in the hands of Powellite economists would be a useful device for cutting back on housing and all other services carried out by local authorities dependent on loans and capital investment.

The related problem of housing and rents is an ever-ridden society has had and has the problem.

Bevan's promise to the lads from the forces in the last war remains unfulfilled.

Seneca, 2,000 years ago in the Roman Senate, also deplored that 'the returned warrior has nowhere to lay his head.'

From Seneca to Lloyd George—'homes for heroes'. From Shakspeare, who promised his lads many kraals to Churchill's property-owning democracy, the problem (like 'the poor') is still with us.

The time is long overdue for all those housed by the local authorities, all those desperately seeking to own their homes, all those inadequately housed in the slums of this wealthy state to make a stand now.

The most decisive weapon in the hands of the tenants is the rent-strike; its most revolutionary act.

Under the revolutionary leadership now emerging in Britain these things are within reach and can be achieved:

- Nationalize the land!
- Nationalize the buildings and building materials industries!
- Nationalize the banks and building societies!
- Stop the repayments to the International Monetary Fund!

Sam Holmes, Sheffield PWD Stewards' Chairman, ASPD Stewards' Committee.



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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 8 p.m.-11 p.m. 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  
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FOR THE DEFEAT OF US IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM!

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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