

## L.P. 'LEFTS' RETREAT... AS USUAL

NOVEMBER  
JAN 31 1970  
INSTITUTION

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By David Maude

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Castle: Glad union leaders got together with bosses.

of partnership' and 'greater say' for workers in order to 'remove the causes of unrest'. Another 'left', ASB president Dan McGarvey, declared that June 18 would 'go down in history as the day on which democratic socialism was saved from committing harikari'.

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The trade union leaders had 'worked like beavers' to carry out the 'penal clause' deal.

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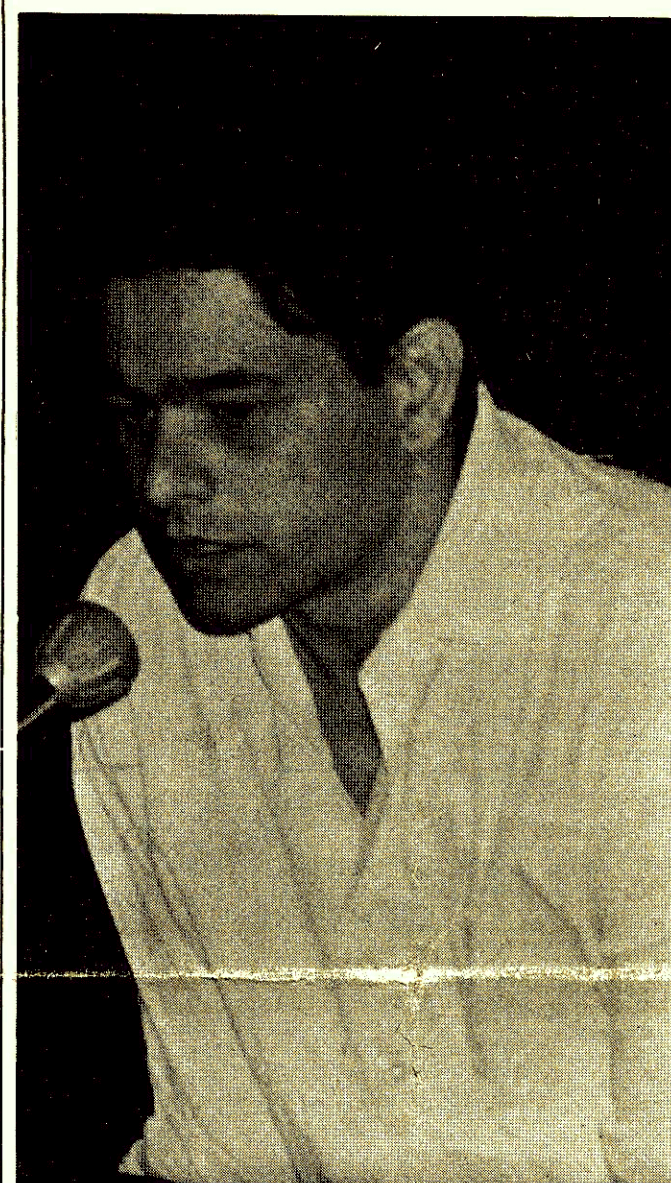
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By Peter Jeffrey

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'We just do not know where we stand,' said one prominent London dealer. 'Things are pretty chaotic.'

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Meanwhile US Treasury secretary, David Kennedy and International Monetary Fund (IMF) chief Pierre-Paul Schweitzer gave the move guarded support in statements from Washington.

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Without a daily newspaper, it is true, we cannot educate and raise the consciousness of the working class to new and higher levels—but without revolutionary political agitation we will never succeed in rousing the working class to revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system.

This is the most important distinction between the Workers' Press and all other left-wing papers—the 'Morning Star' included.

Their technique is their politics. They dissimulate and equivocate because that is the only way to confuse, deceive and restrain the working class in the interests of a privileged bureaucracy.

Serving imperialism, they replace agitation with demagoguery.

That is not our role and never will be. We are committed irrevocably to the complete material and spiritual liberation of the working class and we have no need for lies, half-truths and hypocrisy.

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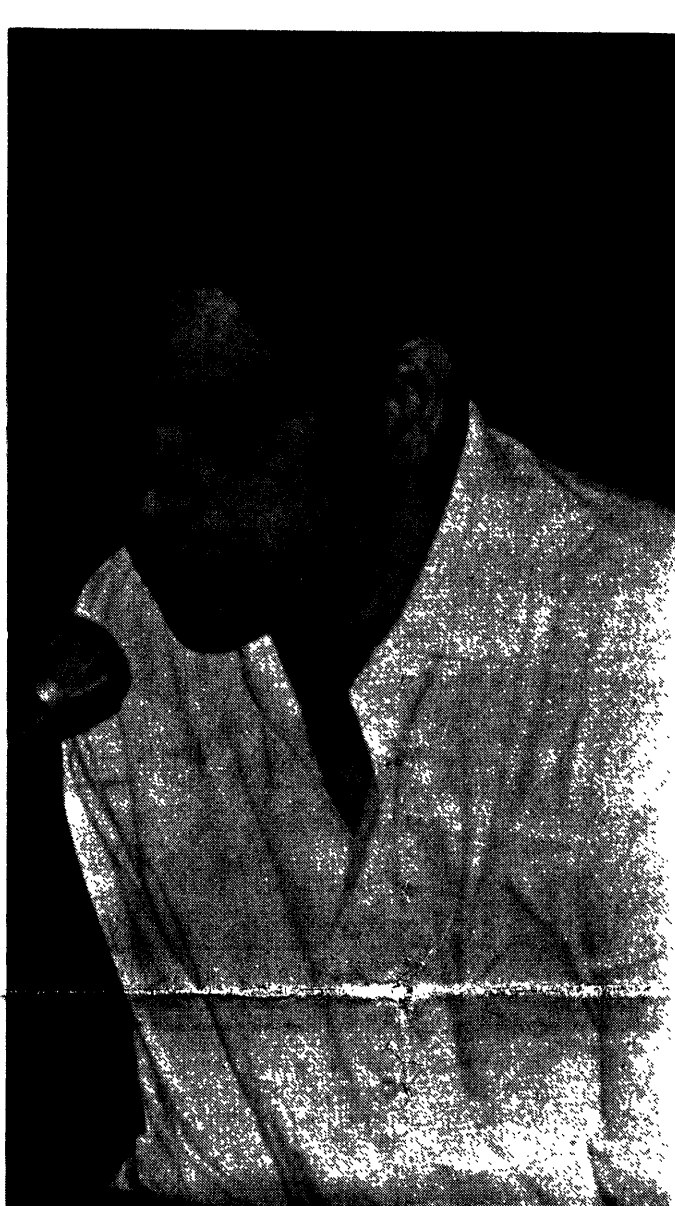
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## Miners' strike

SIX collieries in the Barnsley, Yorkshire, area on Monday joined the strike over market men's wages, which began three weeks ago at Cadeby Main pit.

The six are Thryburgh Hall, Wath Main, Cortonwood, Maltby, Manton and Barnborough.

See page four for a full report on the Cadeby strike.

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See the film.  
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**FOR THE third time in ten years, entry into the Common Market, or European Economic Community, has become a major issue in British politics.**

Both the Tory and Labour leaderships are declared supporters of entry but there are divisions within each party.

With so much at stake for the future of British capitalism, it is not surprising that there should be deep divisions within the ruling class and that they should be reflected in the labour and trade union bureaucracy.

This led to some strange alliances in 1961-1962 and no doubt will again. Further shifts in position can also be expected since the decision of Enoch Powell to ride in on the widespread concern at what entry into the Common Market would mean for food prices and the cost of living.

The lengthy editorial in 'The Times' on September 6 strongly supporting an application is an index of the seriousness of the bid which is now going to be made.

It represents the policy of major sections of British capital which hope thereby to find a solution to otherwise insurmountable financial and economic problems.

## Capitalism and the national state

To understand the reasons for the formation of the Common Market and the discussion of European economic integration now going on, it is necessary to refer to the historical conditions under which capitalism developed in Europe.

Historically, the national state was the political expression of the dominance of the bourgeois class.

Each state thus had its own set of laws, its tariffs and trade regulations, its own currency and banking system.

These states jostled for position in the world market, carved out colonial empires, formed alliances and went to war with each other.

The climax was reached in the murderous wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945.

These wars expressed the contradiction between the great productive (and destructive) forces released by modern science and technology and the social relations of production, of which the national state frontiers within which bourgeois rule had been established formed a part.

Marxists pointed out that the further development of the productive forces required the breaking down of the national state frontiers as well as the expropriation of the owners of the means of production.

The historical delay in the establishment of socialism, a consequence of the crisis in the working-class leadership, imposed upon the European bourgeoisie the task of dealing with the outmoded national frontiers inherited from the past.

The wars of the 20th century, the revolutions in Russia and eastern Europe, the challenge of the working class and the economic decline of Europe convinced important sections of the bourgeoisie that it could not survive without closer European union.

This trend was backed by the United States in the period of the reconstruction of European capitalism after 1945.

The establishment of the European Economic Community by France, Italy, Germany and the Benelux countries in the 1950s was the most significant of a series of measures towards closer economic integration which followed the war.

Britain decided not to adhere to the Treaty of Rome which brought this organization into existence, not being prepared to surrender any sovereignty to a body with a doubtful future which it could not be sure of controlling. Instead, the initiative was taken in forming the looser European Free Trade Association.

The governments which went into these groupings, and the economic and political interests which supported them, did so for reasons of material interest.

Despite much idealistic talk indulged in by politicians, publicists and intellectuals about 'united Europe' and the need to supersede the nation-state, the long-standing national interests of the bourgeoisie be-

came even more sharply defined within the new organizations.

## Common Market problems

The gatherings of the Common Market countries, far from taking place in an atmosphere of co-operation and goodwill, have witnessed some of the hardest bargaining for short-term national interests ever seen in the annals of European diplomacy.

At the end of last year the odious Herr Franz Josef Strauss, West German Finance Minister, who should know, expressed himself frankly on the subject.

'Were it not for my natural optimism' he wrote, 'I would not be talking about Europe at all any longer, for all we can see in Europe today is a melancholy demonstration of our own helplessness, of our hopeless political impotence.'

He added later, speaking of his Common Market partners:

'Their European policies sometimes look like an endless succession of diplomatic manoeuvres, mutual blocking tactics, deceit and haggling on percentages and agricultural contributions.'

There is a tendency to blame the present strained relations within the Six and the lack of progress towards economic integration as laid down in the Treaty of Rome upon the nationalist intransigence of General de Gaulle.

The implication is that now he has gone everything will be plain sailing, and the former obstacles to Britain's entry will disappear.

It is true that de Gaulle made his contribution to the general mistrust, but he did so as representative of specific national interests as understood by dominant sections of French capital.

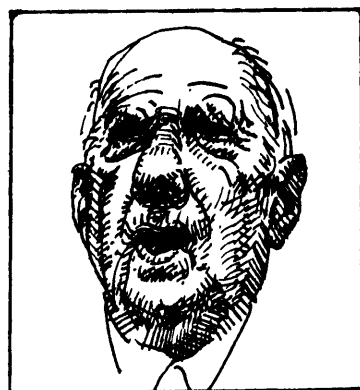
De Gaulle made no secret of the fact that he had no time for the visionary nonsense which accompanied European Common Market propaganda and to which politicians as well as ideologists paid lip-service.

In the famous Soames conversation which blew up into a major diplomatic incident last February, de Gaulle made proposals which amounted to the replacement of EEC by a looser and larger organization which Britain could join.

Some accounts of the Com-

# BRITISH CAPITALISM AND THE COMMON MARKET

By Tom Kemp



The British government used this against the French to support with the Germans and others to strengthen their future bid for entry.

But if the former French president had no scruples about going behind the backs of his 'allies', and the British disclosures were made as part of a diplomatic manoeuvre, Strauss and his colleagues have employed the same methods.

Strauss came to London with proposals for political and military co-operation which would have had the effect of diminishing French influence in Europe and preparing the return of Germany to a greater political role.

Again London would not play ball, for its own reasons.

Each government—at least those of Britain, France and Germany—considers the question of European unity purely from a national point of view and tries to line up the smaller countries on its side.

The old struggle for hegemony thus goes on in a new form within the EEC and in relation to Britain's role. No one country is in a position to dominate without support from one of the other big three in Europe.

Under de Gaulle, France was able to play a political role which greatly exceeded her relative economic power.

Since the spring of 1968 this position has changed and the departure of de Gaulle, only gives formal expression to the sharp deterioration in her financial and economic position which has taken place.

## The struggle for hegemony

In fact in the Six France now plays the role of the sick man supported by an ailing Italy and a scarcely healthy Belgium, with only Federal Germany apparently vigorous.

Some accounts of the Com-



'Their European policies sometimes look like an endless succession of diplomatic manoeuvres, mutual blocking tactics, deceit and haggling on percentages and agricultural contributions.' HERR FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS, West German finance minister.

mon Market focus attention on the growth in industrial production and trade within the member countries have been favoured in recent years.

It is true that there has been significant growth and that this has been particularly disquieting for the British capitalists in view of their intensified economic problems.

But the world background of growing economic crisis has had direct effects in Europe.

The failure of the EEC, despite the formal ending of tariffs between member countries on July 1, 1968, to make a real move towards economic integration is part of this crisis.

The repeated money panics, the balance of payments problems of the USA, Britain and France, fear of industrial recession and agricultural over-production, have intensified the competitive struggle within EEC and between member countries and others.

Even the firmest EEC supporters admit that it is, as yet, little more than a customs union.

There is no sign that practical steps are being taken to unify the banking and monetary system or to harmonize overall economic policies.

Co-operation in science, technology, social services and other spheres remains very limited.

For instance, there are national regulations regarding hygiene, grading, labelling, etc.

There are certain restrictions on currency movements and other administrative obstacles.

Governments show no hurry to remove these further protective devices for national producers.

The Treaty of Rome itself set up no machinery for the co-ordination of economic policy, which remains firmly in the hands of member states, none of whom show any inclination to surrender their powers to an authority in Brussels or anywhere else.

The state bureaucracy, set up by the bourgeoisie in each national state, has a vested interest in preserving the old

struggling to avert a further devaluation; the Belgian franc is maintained at its present value with difficulty; the flight from the lira owing to the wave of class struggles sweeping Italy makes its devaluation only a matter of time.

In fact, monetary integration would bring the EEC under the control of the mark, a prelude to the realization of German hegemony over western Europe.

The Common Market countries are not agreed about Britain's entry, the consequences of which they estimate from their own national standpoint.

Excluding Holland, whose ties with British capital (Shell, Unilever, etc.) make her spokesmen echoes of London, and Belgium and Luxembourg, who cannot play an independent role, the significant question is whether Germany will support it and be able to counter remaining opposition from Paris.

Italy is in favour because she sees Britain as a counterweight to German and French power.

In any case terms will be laid down, especially in relation to sterling, the balance of payments and agricultural policy, which may be difficult for any British government to accept.

In addition, it is hinted, even in some public statements, that it must deal with the trade unions—i.e. integrate them more firmly into the state and impose an effective wages policy.

There is obviously an extremely protracted period of hard bargaining ahead before there is any chance of Britain's application being accepted.

De Gaulle's departure makes no difference to the basic issues.

Many idealistic people see the Common Market as the first step towards junking the national state and building some sort of international order.

They produce a variety of arguments, some economic, such as the advantages of a

large market area, others political, such as the ability of a united Europe to match up to the challenge from America or the Soviet Union.

The plans and proposals which follow are quite unrealistic because they assume that the different European ruling classes could be persuaded to abandon the national state form through which they have established themselves and that international economic integration is possible while the means of production remain in capitalist hands.

The evidence shows that economic integration cannot proceed except through political integration.

This the European bourgeoisie has been completely unable to advance even by a single step.

All it has been able to do is to set up one shaky customs union (EEC) with protective tariffs against the outside world and one club for the mutual lowering of tariffs without a common tariff (EFTA) which are themselves in rivalry with each other.

This is the net result of a quarter of a century of 'integration' in western Europe.

It is thus quite plain that the bourgeoisie is unable to remove the barriers to the development of the productive forces which are constituted by the national state.

Its attempt, as it were, to substitute itself for the working class has proved a failure.

It is upon this class that the task of superseding the old state frontiers devolves.

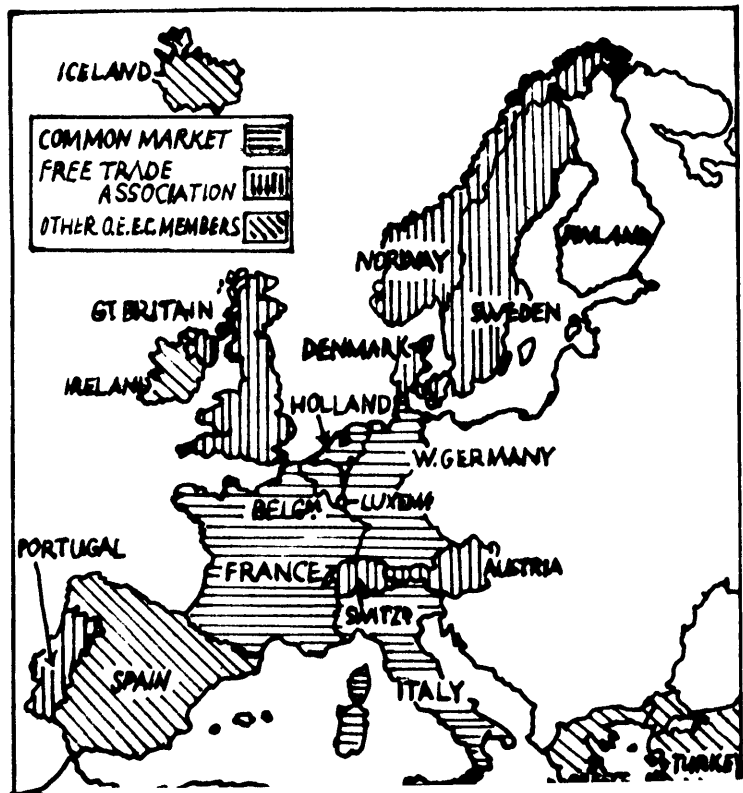
It is only on the basis of nationalized property relations and a planned economy under the control of the working class that it will be possible, and necessary, to carry through a programme of international economic integration.

The answer to the Common Market and all proposals, whatever their intent, for European unity is that it is first necessary to carry through the socialist revolution on a national and European scale as the basis for the United Socialist States of Europe.



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By Charles Parkins

## A ROW broke out among some Labour MPs recently over lobbying for Middle-East governments.

If this row must be commented on, it is not because of anything that might be learned from it about the Middle East, but for the way it shows up, for members of the labour movement, the very 'broadmindedness' of the Labour Party.

It is a 'broadmindedness' that allows virtually anyone—anyone except Trotskyists—from airing their views.

Such views, of course, make no difference to policies—the government will still pursue a programme aimed against workers at home, and against Arab and Jewish workers and peasants overseas.

The recent row began with remarks allegedly made by Mrs

Margaret McKay, MP for Clapham, about Jewish MPs. Mrs McKay was on a four-week tour of the United States, during which she addressed a meeting held in New York by a body called the 'Inter-Faith Committee for Middle East Peace and Development'.

She was reported to have said at this meeting that 'with 62 Jewish Labour MPs in the Commons it was impossible for the government to be anything but pro-Israel in its policy'.

Protests Mrs McKay is a member of the Anglo-Jordanian Parliamentary Alliance. Her alleged remarks brought protests from Jewish MPs and organizations. It was pointed out that only 37 MPs were Jewish.

On September 18, Mrs McKay flew back into London and told reporters that she was 'flabbergasted' to hear of the way she had been reported. She said that she had spoken

at a private meeting and did not know that reporters were present. She denied making the remark attributed to her.

Into the fray came Sir Barnett Janner, MP for Leicester North West, and President of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain. He declared that since Arab states were unfriendly to Britain, it was 'patriotic' for MPs to support Israel.

Accurate

However, United Press said that her reporter had been present at the meeting and that he was 'sticking to his story'. The chairman of the New York meeting, the Rev. Dana Kloutze alleged that the story was accurate and said: 'There were 32 people present. How can she deny it?'

According to the 'Daily Telegraph' of Friday September 19, Mrs McKay said: 'It is utterly ridiculous to say I attacked the British govern-



The wave of class struggles sweeping Italy such as the strike (above) at the Pirelli works in Milan involving 20,000 workers makes devaluation inevitable.

# Labour MPs row over the Middle East

ment. I support its policy and was defending it.'

Interviewed by Independent Television News on the Thursday, and asked whether she had made the remark about a 'Jewish lobby', Mrs McKay again made the point that she had not attacked the government.

It was noticeable that when the interviewer used the phrase 'Jewish lobby', Mrs McKay repeated the same phrase in her reply—why did she make no attempt to correct the interviewer by making a distinction between 'Jewish' and 'Zionist'?

Criticism

It seems, in fact, that Mrs McKay's main concern was to cover herself against the charge that she had publicly criticized the government.

Might we ask how, if Mrs McKay is a friend of the Arab peoples can she refrain from criticizing the British govern-

ment, in view of its policies not only regarding Israel but in Aden and the Persian Gulf?

However, what is most noticeable is that, judging from the reports, Mrs McKay does not seem to think it is objectionable that she should equate being Jewish with being a Zionist. Neither do the Zionists think it objectionable.

But it is objectionable to any genuine international socialist. We reject the lumping of all Jewish people together under one political label.

Zionism

There are Jewish workers and Jewish capitalists, Jewish socialists and Jewish reactionaries.

Zionism is a reactionary chauvinistic movement, financed and directed by wealthy Jewish capitalists, which tells the Jewish workers that they have a common identity and interest with Jewish bosses and not with their

fellow workers.

In this way it tries to tie them to the imperialist system which has been responsible for modern anti-semitism.

In the Middle East the Zionists brought about the expulsion of one million Palestinian Arabs from their homes in 1948, and subsequently allied themselves with imperialism in the 1956 Suez aggression, going on in 1967 to a war of conquest which led to large areas coming under Israeli military occupation and colonization.

Support In the pages of 'The Newsletter', we have consistently exposed the reactionary nature of Zionism. For this reason, we have also drawn attention to the support given to Zionist organizations by a number of Labour MPs.

Not all these MPs are Jewish; that is not our concern. We have attacked the policies they have advocated, or the

organizations they have belonged to and not their origins.

No communist, no socialist, would single people out according to their origins.

We completely reject any talk about 'Jewish influence', and we reject the false equation that 'Jewish equals Zionist', whether it is asserted by Polish Stalinist bureaucrats, Arab reactionaries or the Zionists themselves.

Welfare

It was Maurice Edelman, MP for Coventry North, who reportedly declared at the 63rd annual conference of 'Poale Zion' in April: 'To be a Jew is to be a Zionist. To be a Zionist is to be a Jew.'

The remark allegedly made by Mrs McKay could only be welcomed by Zionists.

It may also be utilized by racists who revel in such phrases as 'Jewish control', especially in connection with the labour movement.

The capitalist press is bound to have seen the usefulness of such a remark being publicized. The last people it can help are the Palestinian Arabs. The Palestinian organizations such as Al Fatah or the Popular Liberation Front in particular, have been extremely careful in all their statements to stress the distinction they make between 'Jewish' and being a 'Zionist'.



# WORLD TROTSKYISM GREETS THE WORKERS PRESS

## AMERICA

Dear Comrades,

Greetings to the first daily Trotskyist paper in the world! September 27, 1969 will be a tremendous milestone in the history of the entire world working class.

We have followed closely the five-year struggle for the daily paper. We are confident that the launching of the Workers' Press will in its turn set the stage for further leaps in the building of the revolutionary party. We know this will be so, because our party and only our party is armed with Marxist theory and it is only through the constant fight for this theory that a revolutionary party of the working class will be built.

'The Newsletter', now to be incorporated in the Workers' Press has been our guide in the fight for a Marxist paper in the United States, in our fight to re-establish a weekly Trotskyist paper in the US for the first time since the degeneration of the Socialist Workers' Party and its reunification with the Pabloite 'United Secretariat'. The first issue of the weekly 'Bulletin' is now scheduled for the first week of November of this year.

We know that the first daily Trotskyist paper is the product of years of conscious struggle, and it appears at a critical point in the development of the international capitalist crisis and of the revolutionary movement. The imperialists are faced with a deepening economic crisis. They are faced with an undefeated working class which is ready to fight to defend its gains, and ready to learn the lessons of decades of revolutionary struggles in the space of a few short years and even months.

The strike wave throughout Western Europe is a fitting welcome to this daily paper.

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS' PRESS!  
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Fraternally yours,  
Lucy St. John, Editor,  
Bulletin of International Socialism.  
Organ of the Workers League, USA.

## CEYLON

Dear Comrades,

The Revolutionary Communist League (Ceylon) send its warmest revolutionary greetings to the Socialist Labour League on the occasion of the publication of the first Trotskyist daily.

Coming as it does on the eve of the great class battles, provoked by the culmination of the crisis of international capitalism, which will see the most insidious attempts at betrayal by the Stalinist and social-democratic leaderships and their Pabloite accomplices, the Workers' Press confirms the ability of sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International to keep pace with the historic needs and tasks of the international working class.

The forging of this agitational and organizational weapon in the struggle against capitalist oppression and the treachery of the traditional leaderships is a guarantee of the victory of the British working class in the vanguard of the international working class.

The growth of 'The Newsletter' from a tabloid to a daily would never have been possible without the support of the British workers for the consistent struggle for building the revolutionary leadership carried on by the Socialist Labour League in the forefront of the Trotskyist forces under the leadership of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The publication of the Workers' Press is a triumph

not only for the British, but for the international working class.

We are especially elated by the success of 'The Newsletter' as it has functioned as the link between the International Committee and the Revolutionary Communist League and has played an inestimable role in our struggle to build the revolutionary leadership in Ceylon.

As the indomitable fighter for the principles, strategy and tactics of the historical needs and tasks of the working class 'The Newsletter' has set an example to all Marxist revolutionary journals.

Although the Revolutionary Communist League is only just over a year old, we have been able to develop our Sinhala newspaper 'Virodhaya' from a monthly into a fortnightly and increase the size of our Tamil monthly, 'Ethirppu'.

From December this year we shall make 'Virodhaya' a weekly and 'Ethirppu' a fortnightly. The Revolutionary Communist League pledges its 'Virodhaya' and 'Ethirppu' to follow and uphold the inspiring example of 'The Newsletter' before the Ceylon working class in the supreme confidence we share with all sections of the International Committee that the Fourth International is now the greatest lever of history.

Yours fraternally,  
Keerthi Balasuriya,  
On behalf of the Political  
Committee of the Revolutionary  
Communist League (Ceylon).

## FRANCE

Dear Comrades,

The greetings I am sending you in the name of the French Trotskyist Organization for the reconstruction of the Fourth International are full of pride today. The English section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, the Socialist Labour League, by unceasing militant work, has raised its activity to a level where it is able to publish a daily paper every day under the name, Workers' Press.

The SLL demonstrates by this achievement that faithfulness to the principles of the programme of the Fourth International is the only ground on which a Bolshevik organization can be constructed.

The daily Workers' Press will become, we are sure, the organizational factor which will permit the SLL to strengthen its base in the construction of the revolutionary party in England.

In this way, Workers' Press will soon become the only workers' newspaper in Great Britain, affirming by doing so, that a workers' newspaper can only be a Trotskyist newspaper, a revolutionary newspaper.

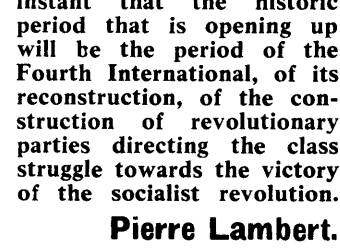
The daily Workers' Press opens great opportunities for strengthening the activity of all the sections in their work for the convening of the Fourth Conference of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, open to organizations and groups in all countries, and particularly the East European, for the new revolutionary international.

Dear comrades, to end this message I would like to address myself personally to my old comrade Gerry Healy, in the name of those who, in the dark years before the war, when Stalin was exterminating the old Bolsheviks, responded to Leon Trotsky's appeal to take up the struggle for the Fourth International.

Dear comrade Gerry, the daily Workers' Press affirms by its achievement that the thread of continuity that Leon Trotsky passed on to us has not been broken.

I do not doubt for one instant that the historic period that is opening up will be the period of the Fourth International, of its reconstruction, of the construction of revolutionary parties directing the class struggle towards the victory of the socialist revolution.

Pierre Lambert.



Pierre Lambert

# Must the show go on?

By Brian Moore

TO open a new column for the first Trotskyist daily paper is an historic occasion.

It represents years of struggle, sacrifice, determination, but above all the living potency of Marxism.

Each week this column will concern itself with films and theatre, hoping to draw the attention of Workers' Press readers to significant developments and contributions in this field.

We hope that writers, directors, technicians and actors will be stimulated to contribute to these pages as well as their counterparts in factories on the shop floor.

## Complexity

Because we believe that cultural matters are of vital concern and are inextricably bound up with political ones; because we believe that works of art are an indissoluble part of the creative energy of man in his struggle for survival against nature, in his struggle to become himself; we believe that works of art remind us of our own humanity, show us ourselves in a new light, place before us the infinite complexities of human relationships, of love, hate, passion, pain, despair, death, joy.

In this they confront us with the possibility or imperative of change.

For Marxists these works comprise part of the rich and contradictory heritage of our past and present culture and it is our task, through revolutionary struggle, to liberate them from the alienating bonds of class society, to make available to workers what has hitherto been the rich preserve of the bourgeoisie.

When we take on an understanding and analysis of capitalist society we take on the whole of it, and that includes the creative and imaginative expression of its culture.

## Restrictions

But we also understand that capitalism places severe restrictions on the development of creative expression, that in its persistent drive for profit it reduces all men and things to commodities, binds them to the law of the market place, and art in this process is no exception.

Worse, it seeks to pervert culture to satisfy its own propaganda-ends either by bribery direct ('we pay the piper and we call the tune') or by the insidious pervasiveness of its ideology.

In particular, the more public creative forms like films and

## THEATRE

theatre come more directly under the tentacular pressures of the profit drive and in their vulnerability they are more at the centre of contradiction.

## Expression

When a new talent emerges it is in spite of, rather than because of the system, but the system itself demands its dues in return.

We hear a great deal of the freedom of expression permitted by bourgeois democracy, but in reality it is the freedom to go without.

Actors, writers and directors are in some cases highly paid, in others abysmally paid casual labourers, forced to hawk their talents like pedlars at a fair.

When they are working, their talents and, more important, their talents' development, are subordinated to the demands of the cash register and the accountants' balance sheet.

## Resilience

That work of quality does persist is an indication of the resilience of talent, but the casualties of 'success', of frustration, isolation, false values and fatigue is the other side of the balance sheet of imperialism in its decay.

In the last decade in this country's theatre we have seen great breakthroughs that lost their way, reverses, confident voices that disappeared, but in the wings as it were, behind these developments were the rumblings of a growing force, a force that unconsciously authors were reflecting in a confused, sometimes hostile way, the force of the working class beginning to flex its muscles after the long periods of defeat.

The Workers' Press enters the political scene as internationally the working class in every major European country, in Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Czechoslovakia, prepares a new and unprecedented offensive, challenging the old balance of forces, shaking the old assumptions and illusions, and above all polarizing the situation.

## Propaganda

This is the new context for the future, where perhaps writers and artists will not merely reflect but strive for a conscious understanding of and active participation in the struggle.

On the other side the capitalist class will undoubtedly do

all they can to buy over talent for their own propaganda.

Some of the so-called left tom-cats of the late 1950s have jumped already for their tins of cat food.

The choice is becoming clearer to all brethren of pen and greasepaint, that is for sure.

We will be counting you gentlemen, every week, from these pages.

There are no formulae for works of creative expression, for the imagination matures through many differing historical and psychological processes at a pace that often lags behind political developments.

Perhaps in periods of rapid political development the times are not propitious for art.

But we are not here to speculate on such matters.

The challenge of a new revolutionary period confronts writers, directors and actors alike, and the challenge is there to be met.

A new spirit is capturing the imaginations of the working class of Europe which will transform mankind.

The revolutionary movement welcomes creative people to join the struggle, bringing their skills and talents to serve the working class.

It is here that the veils are lifted and new horizons opened.

And the alternative? The alternative is the end of everything.

**The  
Intelligentsia  
and  
Socialism**

By **LEON TROTSKY**

A review written for the St. Petersburg review 'Sovremenny Mir' in 1910, of Der Sozialismus und die Intellektuellen, by Max Adler published in Vienna in the same year.

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# Salute the Chinese Revolution!

on its 20th Anniversary

ON THE 20th anniversary of the victorious Third Chinese Revolution we salute the conquests of the Chinese workers and peasants. Their achievement stands beside that of the Russian October as one of the earth-shaking events of the 20th century.

At a time when these conquests are threatened both by the treachery of the Soviet bureaucracy and by the aggressive aims of United States imperialism we call for the defence of the Chinese Revolution.

The overthrow of the corrupt regime of the Kuomintang struck a great blow at



The period that followed the defeats of 1927, the Long March (seen above), the anti-Japanese struggle, the break with the Kuomintang were grappled with empirically by the Chinese leadership.

world imperialism and encouraged the colonial liberation movement, particularly in

Asia. It provided the basis for the heroic resistance of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front to the US invaders.

By 1949 the revolutionary upsurge of the working class in the advanced countries had already been broken by the treachery of the reformists and the desire of the Soviet bureaucracy to reach an agreement with the British and Americans based on the division of the world decided at Yalta and Potsdam.

Indeed, if the counsels of Stalin had been followed Chiang Kai-shek would have remained in power in China.

From its beginning therefore the Chinese Revolution was in the grip of serious contradictions. The situation created by the Korean War forced the Chinese leadership to go further and faster than it had intended in carrying forward the social revolution.

It was obliged, in the coming years, to attempt to build an advanced industry and a collectivized agriculture in a country which was economi-

cally more backward than Russia in 1917.

Inevitably, immense hardships were imposed on the teeming millions of China. Bureaucratic deformations assumed a dramatic form.

The bloody 1927 defeats, of which Stalin was the architect, were a serious setback for the Chinese working class. The leadership which took command in the next period, that of the Long March, the anti-Japanese struggle and the renewed alliance with the Kuomintang, grappled empirically with the heritage of China's backwardness, isolation and subordination to world imperialism.

By seizing power in 1949 it had acted in flagrant defiance of Stalin's advice. Its problems became more acute and drove it into sharp collision with the Soviet bureaucracy while it continued, paradoxically, to pay respects to the old image of Stalin.

Strains and rifts in the Chinese bureaucracy, a product of these conditions, came to a head in the 'cultural revolution'.

Mao and his supporters launched an unprecedented campaign intended to overcome the very contradictions in China which resulted from backwardness, isolation and the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It was aimed against those who, behind defences of power and privilege in the party and the state, sought a reconciliation with Khrushchev and his successors and prescribed a similar policy for China.

While the Maoists were formally correct in the denunciation of the opportunism of the leadership of the Soviet and other Communist Parties they were unable to trace them out to their historical roots.

This inability to understand their own past and thus explain the contradictions of the Chinese Revolution drew the Maoists further into a morass of political confusion and opportunism.

From this stemmed an entirely false position on Stalin and his legacy and the wrong conclusion that the Soviet Union has returned to capitalism.

The Maoists have been unable to offer any way out for China or to provide an alternative to Stalinism.

Turning away from the struggle in the advanced countries, they developed unprincipled relationships with the national bourgeoisie—which led to disaster in Indonesia—and failed to offer an international perspective to the working class.

In saluting the Chinese Revolution and pledging ourselves to its defence, we therefore draw attention to the dangers which confront it and emphasize that it is only by

the extension of the revolution into the advanced countries that it can be secured and carried forward.

By the same token, the defence of the Chinese Revolution is inseparable from the victory of the proletariat through the political revolution in the countries of East-

ern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The fate of the Chinese Revolution is thus indissolubly linked with the building of the revolutionary party in China and in the other countries of the world under the banner of the Fourth International.

The Korean War (seen below with the American troops withdrawing from the North) forced the Chinese leadership into carrying the social revolution in China further forward.



If Stalin's advice had been followed Chiang Kai-shek (seen left) would have remained in power.



# Vauxhall stops after men reject penalties

PRODUCTION at the Ellesmere Port, Cheshire and Luton plants of Vauxhall Motors would cease at the end of yesterday's day shift, the management announced on Monday afternoon. Production of Bedford trucks at the company's Dunstable (Beds.) factory would also stop. About 100 more men were laid off at Luton today.

The decision, which involves about 3,500 men at each plant follows a meeting of Cheshire assembly-line workers which rejected the company's 'penal clause' deal by an overwhelming majority.

3,000 workers, members of the National Union of Vehicle Builders, were laid off nearly two weeks ago following a dispute in the press shop.

The management is trying to push through a deal which includes draconian disciplinary clauses and intensification of Measured-Day Work in return for increases of only 8d. to 10d. an hour.

## 'INTERVENE'

At Monday's meeting there was a call from a section of the men for Mrs Barbara Castle, Secretary for Employment and Productivity, and Mr Vic Feather, TUC general secretary, to meet shop stewards to discuss the issues.

## Rover prices going up

THE Rover company increased the prices of most cars and Land-Rovers from Tuesday.

The increases will range from £8 to £50 for cars and £56 to £87 for Land-Rovers.

## General strike in Argentina

ARGENTINA will today be brought to a standstill by a 36-hour general strike called by the powerful General Labour Confederation.

The ruling military junta has issued a warning that they will crush ruthlessly, with guns if necessary, any attempt to disturb 'public order' during the strike.

A government communiqué said that the strike was revolutionary in nature and consciously or unconsciously played into the hands of 'a process of subversion'.

Meanwhile police have arrested five people in the capital, allegedly members of a large communist cell led by an Italian trained in Cuba and the Soviet Union.

It is clear that a massive movement is now building up against the military regime in Argentina.

The general strike follows a series of partial strikes earlier in the year.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

Motor workers' conference All car, car components and delivery workers are invited to a motor workers' conference

Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth Birmingham

Saturday November 8 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Write for credentials to: R. Parsons, 21 Strawberry Path, Blackbird Leys, Oxford.

Conference fee: 5s. a person

All Trades Unions Alliance SCOTLAND

All motor workers are invited to attend a meeting in Kingston Hall, Glasgow, C.5. Sunday October 5, 2.30 p.m. to discuss

The economic crisis and the motor industry. Which way the unions?

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# Yorks. pay battle mounts Cadeby men can win

ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED miners at Cadeby Main colliery have voted to continue their strike—now entering its third week—over market men's wages.

From Jack Gale

Market men are skilled men without regular jobs who can be assigned to fill vacancies caused by absenteeism or illness. The Cadeby workers claim that market men are being sent to low-paid jobs when face work is available.

On face-work men at Cadeby get 85s. 2d a shift plus 20 per cent bonus, but some are being sent to jobs paying only 77s. with a 16 per cent bonus. This can make a difference of over £3 a week.

## Productivity

The government's pit closures programme and concentration of faces is aimed at maintaining productivity with fewer men.

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## Ford men sceptical of parity claim

THE PROBLEM of leadership for the Ford workers in their fight for the current £8 to £10-a-week claim is now the big question being discussed in the factories.

The claim, which is for parity with the Rootes, Ryton, factory, has received an enthusiastic response.

There is a general feeling that the claim is justified by the rising cost of living.

One worker said he was prepared to stay out three months, even if the kids starved—with no overtime, £16 a week was impossible to live on.

The claim was put to the management on Friday by the trade union side of the National Joint Negotiating Committee (NJNC).

## No confidence

But Ford workers have no confidence in the present leadership on the shop floor or in the unions.

Workers cannot see why the union leaders will put up any more fight than they did last March when the notorious penal clauses were accepted.

Workers say, if we had to accept penalty clauses for 35s., what would we have to accept for £10?

As one worker pointed out: 'This betrayal was clear in the "penalty clause" strike. The union leaders said the penalty clauses had changed from "chains to a skein of wool" and the "Morning Star" called the deal a partial victory.'

## Conspiracy

Another alleged it was a conspiracy from top to bottom.

The derision with which the Ford management treated the claim showed how confident they were that the union leaders would hold the men back and connive with the Labour government in helping the employers hold down wages.

this. So, the Cortonwood strike made real gains for some men, increasing pay from 52s. to 71s.

## Uniform

But what the Coal Board steadfastly refused to do was to introduce a uniform country rate.

They strove through negotiations with the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) to preserve differences between one region and another and between one pit and another.

In fact, the highest rates, such as Brodsworth (85s. 2d.) and Bentley (83s. 6d.), are a result of local board militancy rather than negotiations.

The NCB relies on the union leadership to preserve these divisions. The real issue is the need for a united fight for a unified rate throughout the coalfield.

## Agreement

We say: every qualified face worker who is willing to work on the face should have the National Power Loading Agreement (85s. 2d), no matter what job he does.

Yet the union leadership keeps the miners ignorant of the varying wages and conditions in different pits.

For example, compare conditions between Cadeby Main in the Barnsley area and Wheldale in north Yorkshire.

On the Wheldale powered support-power loading faces there are two men on the tail gate stable and five on the shearing machine cutting the face.

Cadeby has two men on the tail gate and seven on the face.

## Harder

Moreover, Wheldale cuts coal on three shifts, involving harder work for the loader gate stable men.

Cadeby cuts on two shifts and the loader gate stable machine advances on the third shift.

The union leaders must be forced to check on conditions and pay at all pits and get the highest conditions introduced in every pit.

At Cadeby the NUM's Barnsley area panel urged the branch committee to take the men back to work, promising to bring the area out if no satisfaction was reached within a week.

It is understood this position was accepted by a small majority on the committee, but was rejected by a strikers' mass meeting on Saturday, September 27.

## Lesson

The Cadeby men must learn the lesson of last year's Wheldale strike where panel leaders persuaded the men to go back, promising to bring the area out if nothing was gained in 14 days.

Nothing was gained, the panel was not brought out and the strike was broken.

The Cadeby men must not let this happen to them.

Up to now they have stood firm. Now they must fight to extend their strike.

A united fight on wages, closures and rents can defeat the NCB.

# STEEL CLERKS RESUME WORK

THREE hundred clerks at the Lincoln brake factory of Clayton Dewandre who have been blacking steel from the British Steel Corporation (BSC) agreed to resume normal working from yesterday.

This was the condition laid down by TUC general secretary Vic Feather, who has promised to intervene in the dispute.

The action taken by members of the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union (CAWU) at Lincoln was in support of a claim for recognition of the union at three Scunthorpe steelworks and had affected production in sections of the motor industry.

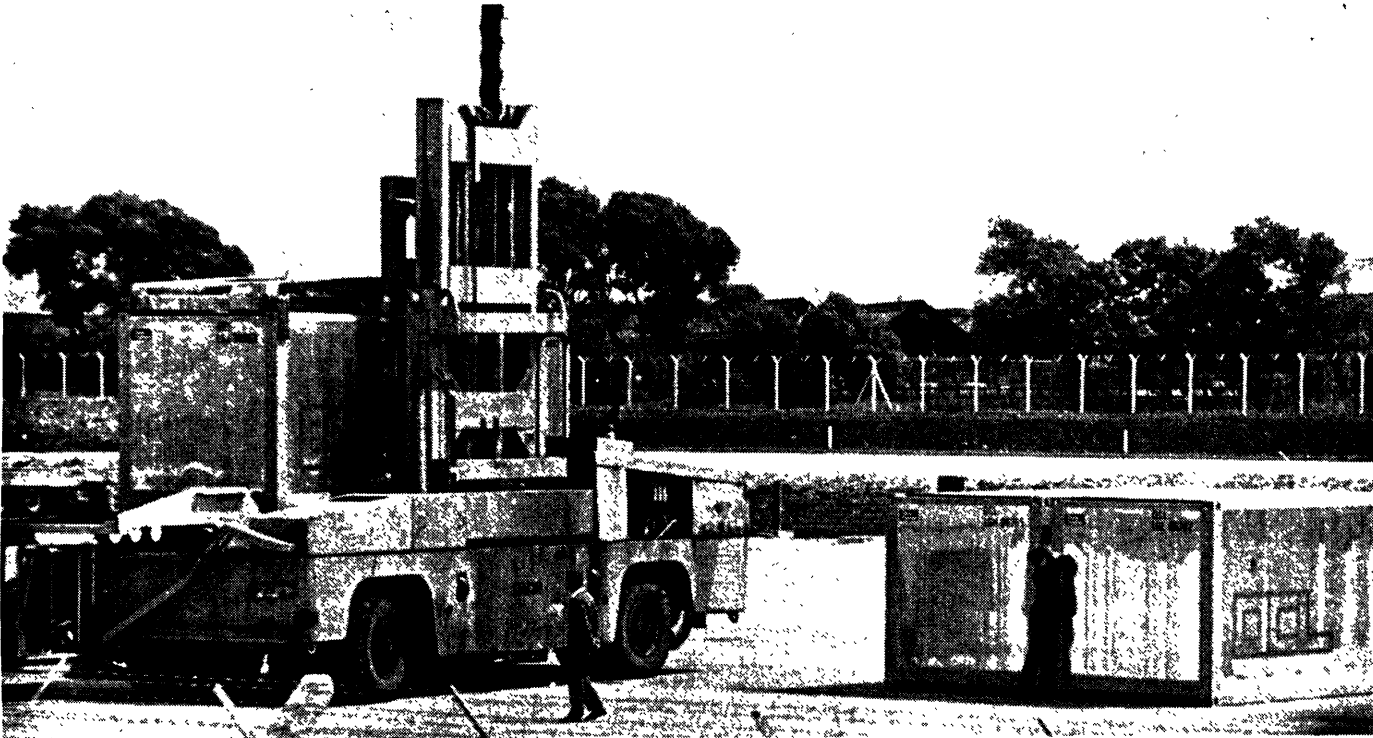
## Message

FROM PAGE ONE will carry out the most consistent, widespread and ruthless agitation against this barbarous system and the Stalinist and social-democratic traitors who defend it. We shall uphold the traditions of Leninism. In conclusion let me say: without your help and devotion this paper would not have been possible, but without your continued sacrifice and generosity it would not become the weapon we want it to be. This is your paper—fight for it!

## Cancelled

The union's general secretary, Roy Grantham, said on Monday that other action by clerks, planned for factories in the East Midlands this week, had now been cancelled and that talks would soon take place between the TUC and the Steel Trades Confederation to try to reach a settlement.

The clerks employed by BSC and all workers should examine the TUC's role in the Port Talbot dispute. In line with its agreement to do the dirty work for the



With new container berths like the one at Tilbury above, the only 'collaboration' the employers are interested in is working out equipment to the maximum with the minimum of men.

## Squatting next to police station

LAST Friday night, members of the East London Squatters Campaign moved into Arbour House, a block of pre-war flats in Stepney, London.

Five families with children are now occupying the premises which belong to Tower Hamlets Council.

The squatters' movement has of course provided the capitalist press with mountains of material over recent months, culminating in a veritable orgy over the phoney 'revolution' at 144 Piccadilly.

## Agreement

It happens that Arbour House is next door to the local police station!

A spokesman for the police said: 'It is most unusual having squatters as our neighbours but they have been well-behaved and there has been no trouble!'

## Dock dispute ends

WORK was resumed on Monday by 129 dockers at Liverpool's Coburg dock after a week's strike.

The dockers had walked off three ships in a dispute over cargo inspection awards, involving Spanish cargoes. They were later joined by a gang of 25 dockers working on a vessel at the nearby Toxteth dock.

However, the return of the 129 dockers was followed immediately by a further dispute involving 650 men working on four ships.

## Stalinists join forces with Orange Lodge

THE Communist Party has found strange new friends with its 'left unity' policy.

The Orange Lodge, complete with Union Jacks and portraits of the Queen, were allowed to head the march to Liverpool Pier Head called by the Irish civil rights campaign on Saturday.

The old faithfuls from 'International Socialism' were also present, of course.

Any workers who read leaflets inviting them to 'come and see what is really happen-

ing in Northern Ireland' can only have been confused at this display of political and class compromise.

## HOSTILE

By refuting the principled Marxist programme of the Socialist Labour League for the immediate withdrawal of troops and for a workers' and farmers' government based on nationalized industries, the Stalinists attempt to divert the Irish workers' struggle behind the reformism of the civil rights campaign.

Stalinism is hostile to the building of revolutionary parties for the expropriation of the employers.

Their slogans for British standards of parliamentary democracy were at one with the Orange Lodge chants of 'Ulster is British, Ulster is British'.

It is no accident that the red banners of the Communist Party and 'International Socialism' should be disgraced in this way.

It is merely the logic of popular front politics—following directly in the paths of Stalinist betrayal in Spain and France in the late 1930s.

## READINESS

One leading Merseyside Young Communist League member explained: 'They just turned up and joined in, what could we do?'

In fact the Union Jacks were at the head of the march. This attitude contrasts vividly with the Communist Party's readiness to use the police against the Young Socialists on previous demonstrations.

Merseyside workers rightly gave no support to the whole affair.

Less than 25 people took part.

Nevertheless much can be learned about the depths to which Stalinism will sink.

## Mobility opposed by A.E.F. transport workers

ACTON London Transport railway works fitters voted on Monday to continue their strike against management attempts to erode their skilled status.

The strike started when the management refused to allow the deputy apprentice instructor—an AEF fitter—to take on the chief apprentice instructor's job whilst the latter was on holiday.

The LTB claimed there was too much work for the fitters to do and he could not be spared from his job.

The men—250 members of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry workers—claim that the management has done this many times before and has deliberately refrained from hiring new fitters in order to weaken the skilled men in this position.

All-round support The management's real aim, one striker commented, was to establish full mobility of labour between skilled and unskilled jobs in order to weaken union organization in the works.

## 15 ships hit by strike

A SEVEN-DAY-OLD strike of 140 tugmen held up 15 ships on the Manchester Ship Canal on Monday.

The men, whose unofficial strike is over a pay dispute, were to meet on Tuesday at Runcorn.

## Hackney dustmen's strike spreads

ABOUT 150 dustmen from the London borough of Islington struck work on Monday in support of the 200 Hackney dustmen who have been on strike since last Tuesday.

The Islington strike followed a unanimous decision at a meeting last Thursday to strike if the council refused to reply to their demand for a £4.10s. pay rise.

The present basic rate is £15 9s.—the men want £20. One striker, married with two children said: 'It's almost impossible to make ends meet. We do the same work as the Lambeth dustmen and they get £25 basic. We are determined to stay on strike until we get the money.'

Rubbish has been piling up in Hackney since the strike began, particularly in the area around the Ridley Road market.

The Ridley Road heap is now more than ten feet high. Attempts by the council to remove rubbish heaps in lorries 'in the interest of health and welfare' failed when pickets induced the drivers to drive away.

## LABOUR 'LEFTS' RETREAT

FROM PAGE ONE out their undertaking to the Prime Minister.

None of the trade union leaders who dominated the debate were prepared to swing the full force of the

And no one, of course, mentioned the anti-strike provisions of the TUC's 'Programme for Action' itself.

Summing up for the executive, Mrs. Barbara Castle was able to

STRESS that the government had heard nothing to change its mind about the necessity for reactivating part two

ACCEPT composite 26 as echoing 'the pledge' 'Programme for Action' that every effort should be made to reduce the number of stoppages of work.

She was particularly glad that trade union leaders were to get together with the employers to sort out what she described as 'the present chaos' in the motor industry. Car workers look out!

# THE MEANING OF DEVLIN PHASE TWO ON THE DOCKS

By Bernard Franks

The article, headed 'Act Together to Regain Lost Trade', begins:

'Our river, to which we owe so much, is dying. How tragic it would be to feel that those of us who have been so closely connected with it should be guilty in one way or another of contributing to this.'

'Dying' is the word for it.

Docks and jobs are being systematically killed off by the employers.

Roffey continues:

'While we can accept that Rome was not built in a day, we can also accept that it was built. Should we not therefore turn our attention to establishing a system of employment containing agreements on pay and conditions instead of paying lip-service to it?'

'Such a system has been referred to as "Phase Two, Devlin".'

The latest factor in this 'building' process is the proposal to close the Surrey Docks, London.

## EMPHASIS

Roffey also thinks that 'too much emphasis' is being placed on severance. The hardship, he says, is mainly due to loss of trade from 'our port', and this is where his point on collaboration comes in.

'My view is that both sides of the industry should be concerned in regaining lost work and making every endeavour to obtain new work in order that men will continue to be employed.'

He adds further:

'Away must go bans on this, that and the other. None are serving any purpose whatsoever, other than to destroy our livelihood. That once obtained for the workers of the Port of London...'

But with the new container berths, the 'collaboration' the employers are interested in is working out equipment to the maximum, with any labour available.

## CLOSING

In the old docks it is just a question of closing down as quickly as possible, without trouble.

It is these proposals for extensive exploitation and sackings that the dockers have helped to stave off with bans and protective practices.

The one constant worry is that dockers may forge vital links between docks and ports to act as a united body.

Roffey puts his position:

'Any committee of shop stewards should be organized within the firm where the elections took place, not outside it. The consequences of any other organization of shop stewards cannot do anything but harm and can only result in the usurping of the authority of branches' officially elected committees and union officials.'

## LONG-TERM

In fact, the harder the dockers work to regain lost trade, the sooner that links between dock workers are broken, then the sooner will the employers arrive at their long-term aim of getting 90 per cent of the workers off the docks.

Devlin Phase Two prepares the way for shift work, powers of hire-and-fire for the employers, cuts in manning and the introduction of work-study and Measured-Day Work systems, as well as closures.

If the dockers are to defeat the plans of the employers a united fight of all port workers is needed for a policy of nationalization of the docks under workers' control, and for an alternative leadership in the trade unions which will lead a struggle against the employers and which will fight for a socialist policy on the docks.