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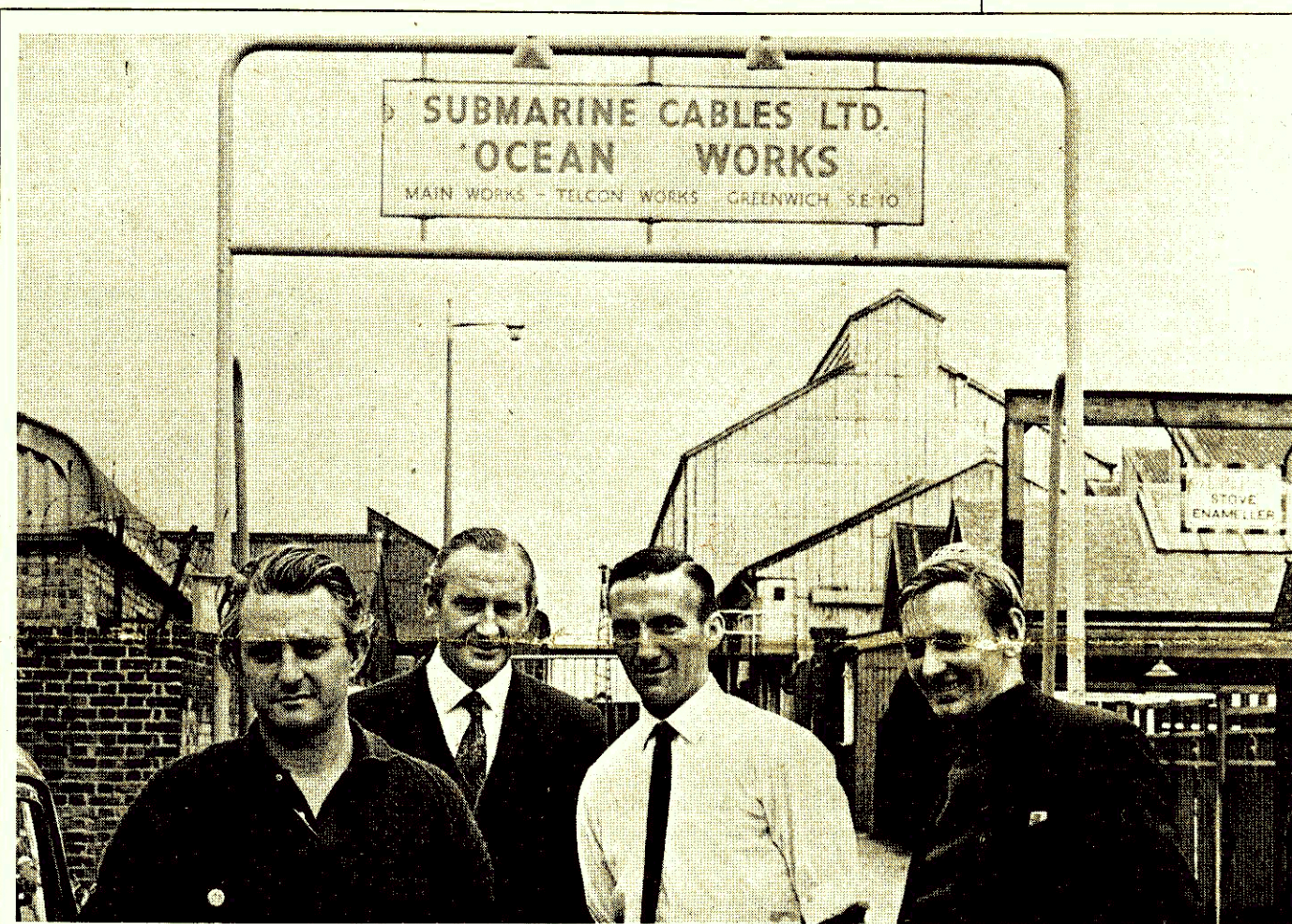
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CAXTON HALL

(nr. St James Park tube)

Speaker: G. HEALY
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workers press

The daily organ of the
Central Committee of the
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INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • PUBLISHED FROM TUESDAY TO SATURDAY • NUMBER 196 • FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 1970

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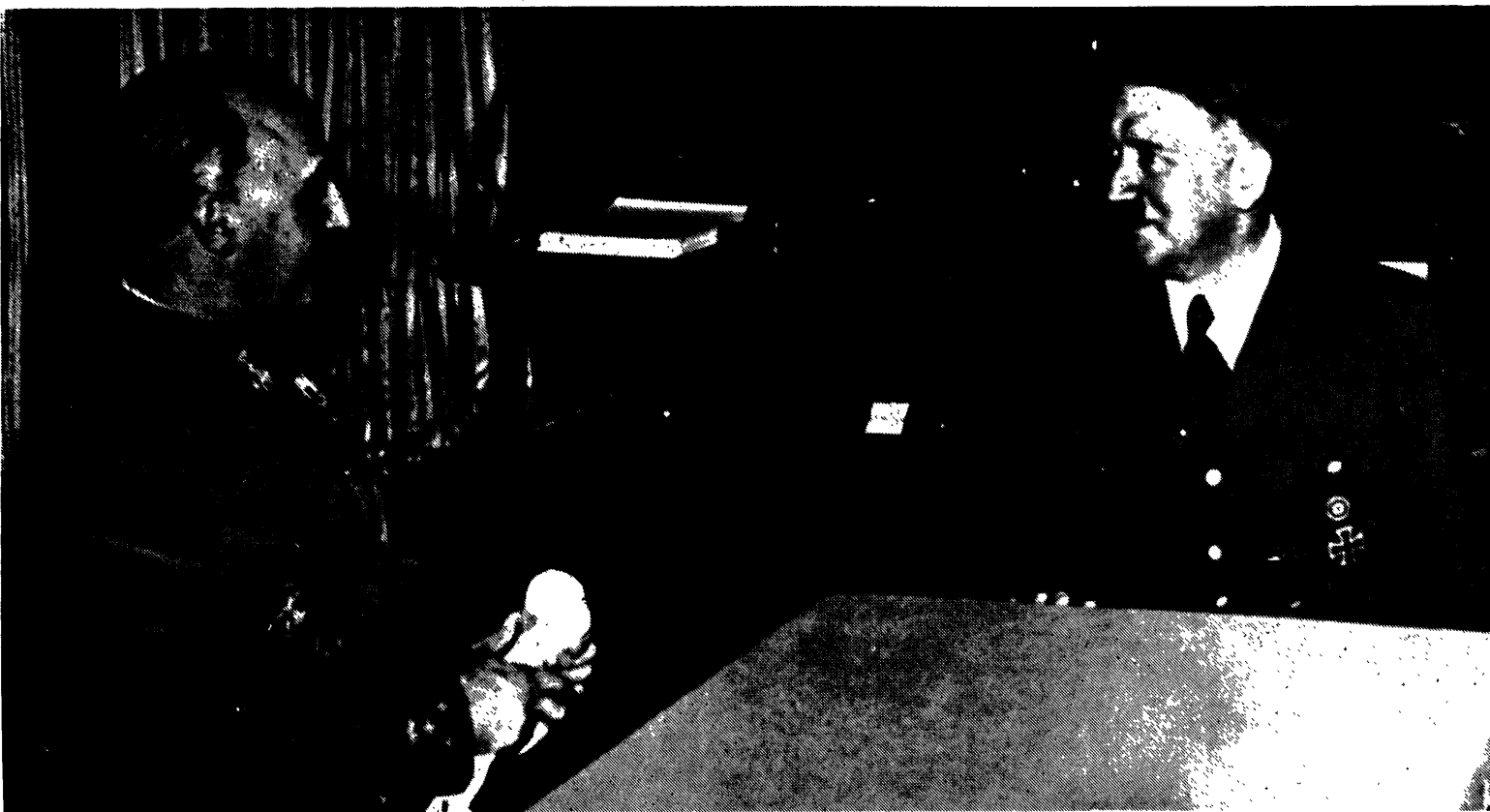
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BOOK REVIEW

Reviewed by
PETER BUSH

Popular
Front
demonstration,
Madrid
1936.

Franco (left)
with
Hitler
in
October
1940.

'FRANCO'
By J. W. D. Trythall
Hart-Davis 42s



THE NUMBER of openly pro-Franco historians emerging from British universities today is a sure reflection of the fear of the growing struggle of the working class felt by sections of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia.

Mr Trythall analyses Franco's life not to warn the working class that fascism is the only way that capitalism can defend itself in its epoch of decay, but to advise the middle class that perhaps Franco was not so bad after all a studious stoical general who made Spain a peaceful place to live in.

'Officers were doubtless as disturbed as other governmental circles by the events of May 1968 in France. This proof of the speed with which a revolutionary situation can develop certainly influenced the introduction of a "state of exception" into Guipúzcoa in the summer of 1968 and into all of Spain for part of 1969.

'Will the fear of bush-fire revolution, therefore make for an iron regime once Franco has gone? Or will pressures for Europeanization and democratization be so great that the risk of disorder is run?'

As Mr Trythall well knows, European democracy is in absolute disorder because of the forward movement of the working class, and the demo-

crats are looking for an 'iron regime'. However, he sees the working class as just a passive object in history which may have to be dealt with from time to time.

He concentrates on a history of diplomatic exchanges and divisions within the bourgeoisie and discusses only briefly the leaderships of the working class.

Although there is space to tell of the occasions when Franco had to postpone his marriage, in order to defend Spanish imperialism, the POUM is only mentioned twice and the Spanish Communist Party is discussed in terms of its 'Leninist lack of preoccupation with long-term objectives and concentration on the task at hand'.

Yet Franco is in power today because of the lack of Marxist party in Spain and the betrayals of Stalinism.

Franco, from his first experiences in the Spanish army, showed himself an enemy of the working class and colonial peoples.

★

He volunteered to serve in Africa to defend Spanish Morocco against popular movements.

Coming from a family with naval traditions, he was full of pride for Spanish conquests overseas.

In his diary he glazes over 'beautiful advances':

'While one section opens fire on the houses to cover the manoeuvre another slips down by a small cutting, surrounds the villages and puts the inhabitants to the sword;

Yet another pro-Franco biography

the flames rise from the roofs of the houses and the Legionnaires pursue the residents.'

No doubt like many an American general in Vietnam he thinks it 'inexplicable how resistant these peoples are to civilization'. Franco's exploits in Morocco made him a national hero.

In 1917, he was put in charge of a force to pacify the working class in Asturias where the 1917 general strike had been prolonged.

The biography says this was his first contact with the lower orders and made him turn a political science to resolve the paradox of miners who, though not monsters or savages, had not the respect of decent men for patriotism and hierarchy.

His studies confirmed that it was all the fault of communists.

But Franco needed no books. He had a whole history of working-class repression to learn from, and shared international capitalism's hatred for the Russian Revolution, which had shown the way for-

ward for the international working class.

Capitalism, having entered its definitive crisis, could only offer the working class barbarism if this class did not follow the example of Russia.

In Europe during the late 1920s and early 1930s, this choice became clear.

Capitalism turned to fascist terror against the trade unions in country after country.

International Stalinism prepared massive defeats by the policy of division of the class on the basis that social democracy was social-fascism and later by the rightward swing to the 'democratic' bourgeoisie with the policy of the Popular Front.

In 1934, the Asturian working class took over the coalfields. The Minister of War immediately turned to Franco to lead the army and Moroccan legionnaires against the miners and to crush the Asturian 'October' most ruthlessly.

In 1936, after the election of the Popular Front government, Franco and the generals

prepared to destroy the trade unions in order to save 'civilization', or private property, endangered by the revolutionary movement of the masses.

General Mola wrote in the preliminary instructions for the nationalist insurrection drawn up on April 20, 1936: 'It will be borne in mind that the action must be extremely violent in order to reduce the enemy, who is strong and well organized, as soon as possible.

Of course, all the leaders of political parties associations or trade unions not joining the movement will be imprisoned and exemplary punishments meted out to strangle rebellious movements or strikes.'

In other words, follow Hitler and Mussolini. But Franco was only successful because the workers lacked a Bolshevik leadership which could lead the way ruthlessly to a socialist revolution.

The Stalinists liquidated as quickly as possible any socialist opposition, got rid of that

slogan now as dangerous to the bourgeoisie—'Death to private property!'—and replaced workers' militias and the control established by the working class over factories, transport etc. by bourgeois, or as they described them 'more disciplined' forms of organization.

Thus, Stalinism demoralized the workers and prepared the victory of Franco.

Trythall is silent on these bitter experiences of the working class.

After his victory, Franco continued his war against the Bolshevik Revolution by sending the 'Blue Division' to help Hitler attack Russia within three days of the Germans crossing the Russian border for 'the battle which Europe and Christianity have for so many years awaited' (Franco to The National Council of The Falange on July 17, 1941).

At home thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals were shot or imprisoned.

After the war, during which he maintained commercial relations with both sides, Franco found solid support from American capital.

In 1950 Spain was granted a \$62.5 million loan. On the September 27, 1953, the Madrid Pact was signed giving arms and economic aid in return for permission to have American bases in Spain.

★

The post-war inflationary boom also gave Franco two huge sources of foreign exchange—tourism and money sent to Spain by millions of Spaniards working abroad.

Now that the boom is over these elements which have 'stabilized' the Spanish economy are being removed, and the question is posed 'Where does Spain go now?'

As Franco was the necessary weapon of capitalism in decline, when that decline emerges in a more pronounced form and the working class is undefeated and self-confident,

Spain and international capital again looks for the strong man. At this point the Stalinist bureaucracy welcomes Franco as an ally against the offensive of the working class.

The working class, whose opposition to the fascist regime has been shown in strike wave after strike wave, expresses the need for a socialist Spain as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The task is to build a conscious leadership with a full understanding of the role of Stalinism and the advances of Trotskyism.

The Spanish working class certainly knows that fascism has not been reformed in Spain and will quickly learn that Stalinism cannot be reformed either.

It is not surprising that Mr Trythall does not discuss this movement of the working class; instead, he devotes pages to dreams of a liberal monarchy.

Unfortunately for him, the 'disorder' of capitalism has long ago destroyed that dream.

LAST STOP FOR PENN CENTRAL?

WALL ST was given yet another crisis to worry about this week when Penn Central, the sixth largest company in the US, filed a declaration of bankruptcy.

Formed in 1968 by the merger of two main railway firms, the Pennsylvania and the New York Central, with \$7,000 million in assets, the Penn Central was expected to be able to make a profit, despite the decline in US railroads since 1945.

★

But the economic recession put paid to these hopes.

The Pennsylvania and the New York Central used to be in the most bitter competition. When the merger took place, the component parts proved to be incompatible, technically and temperamentally.

The two computer systems which the companies employed and the signalling systems were quite different.

One meeting of the merged board nearly broke into a fight over whether the last car on a freight train should be called a 'caboose' or a 'cabin'.

When the cash began to run out this spring, a subsidiary firm tried to issue \$100 million of debentures, but nobody wanted to take it.

In the first three months of 1970, the company lost cash at the rate of \$700,000 a day.

Huge losses on passenger services, which the company must provide by law, were no longer being compensated by freight earnings.

★

The US government had to come to the rescue and a plan was drawn up for a loan of \$200 million. This would have arrived in the nick of time, since large debts fell due for repayment this week.

However, on Friday it was announced that the loan was not going to be given. Nixon had bowed to Senate opposition to setting a precedent for government money to be spent in this way.

The bankruptcy of so large an enterprise will have incalculable but severe effects on the financial situation in the US.

Although the 20,000 miles of track are still operating, Penn Central's many creditors are looking on anxiously as this huge chunk of capital rolls rapidly downhill.

US Round-up

THE PRINCIPLE BEHIND DEFENCE

ONE OF the most outstanding indications of the polarization of class forces and the attendant heightening of political tension in the United States is the number of violent assaults on left-wing militants and organizations.

The Pabloite Socialist Workers Party and their youth movement the Young Socialist Alliance are no strangers to this problem.

In the past two years they have suffered a continuous series of bombings of their premises.

The beginning of this year brought a much bolder type of raid when three armed men took over a house in which the SWP and YSA were to hold a celebra-

tion of the 11th anniversary of the Cuban revolution later in the day.

The assailants held the two people in the house—the SWP-YSA defence guards had not at the time yet arrived—while setting the premises on fire with petrol bombs.

But last month the attacks escalated to the most dangerous level.

No less than a dozen gusanos—Cuban counter-revolutionaries—heavily armed with submachine guns, rifles and hand guns entered the SWP's Los Angeles campaign headquarters in the middle of the day and forced

those present to lay face down on the floor.

After setting fire to the building with the aid of several gallon cans of petrol the attackers escaped by a side fire exit.

★

The SWP members were unable to control the resulting inferno and had to flee down the same fire escape.

The fire brigade took 15 minutes to bring the blaze under control, but not before thousands of pounds worth of damage was caused.

This was the sixth attack of this nature on the SWP in the Los Angeles area in two years.

The necessity of defending its premises and members is now beyond any doubt a life-and-death question for the SWP.

But the revisionists long ago turned their backs on the working class, which is the only force capable of beating off the onslaught from these right-wing elements.

After the May 27 incident the SWP formed a 'broad' Citizens' Committee for the Right of Political Expression, but made no turn to the unions for protection.

The June 12 issue of the SWP's paper 'Militant' carries a long report of the May 27 bombings, including a detailed account of exchanges between SWP members and local police.

The purpose of the account was to establish that the police were reluctant to follow up leads turned up by the YSA amateur sleuths or to seek information from their agents in the gusanos organizations.

While the demand should certainly be that the police find and prosecute those responsible, pressure on the police by 'Free Speech' committees is no substitute for independent action by the working class to defend itself and its leadership.

The US police are active everywhere doing the dirty work for the state machine for that is their function.

As the class struggle deepens they more and more hit out murderously at left-wing militants.

★

The Chicago police murder of the Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and the subsequent judicial white-

washing is only one case amongst many others.

Another part of the SWP's response to the May 27 onslaughts was a press conference at which their senatorial candidate Mariana Hernandez called on Nixon, Agnew and her Republican and Democratic Party opponents to condemn the attacks.

These people are, of course, responsible for the CIA—the godfather of the gusanos.

Marxists analyse the development of the economic crisis and the relation of class forces and the tasks which this poses before the revolutionary party.

★

All the repressions and violence directed at the left and at the labour movement are part and parcel of the bourgeoisie's death agony and of preparation for fascism.

The sheltering wing given to fascist tendencies by the crisis-ridden Nixon administration was clearly in evidence after a fascist group had raided the SWP-YSA Chicago offices in November last year.

At a later press conference the group's lawyer—one S. Thomas Sutton openly displayed materials 'liberated' from the SWP premises.

Sutton was certainly sure of the benevolent closed eye of the authorities when he replied to a question on the legality of the attack:

'We find that there is no law that can protect a traitor.'

★

This threat from the extreme right cannot be driven back by a bloc with sections of ruling class, but only through the mobilization of the working class for common defence and the struggle for revolutionary politics.

Yet the YSA, with no heed for these basic principles, forms defence organizations on the campuses with Young Democrats and Republicans and even the Young Americans for Freedom—an extreme right-wing, almost fascist, organization.

While we stand full square with the SWP and the YSA against the extreme right and Nixon, there can be no departure from the principle that the only defence against the offensive from these quarters is in the fight for revolutionary politics in the working class.



Photo indicating arson damage to SWP hall.

THIS BOOK by the founder of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), Clements Kadalie, is one of the few useful books on S Africa.

The fact is that among the growing number of recent books on S Africa there is little that is factually correct, valuable or useful, apart from '300 Years', 'The Role of the Missionaries', 'The Revolution Against Racialism in S Africa' (not yet in English) and a few other works.

Kadalie's biography, published posthumously, is a must for anti-apartheid fighters.

Kadalie completed his first manuscript in 1946, some 16 years after his political eclipse.

It took 24 years before the value of his book was recognized by the English-speaking publishing business. (He did not, naturally, try to get a non-English publisher.)

Meanwhile this business was turning out scores of political potboilers by inexperienced, untalented writers or by apologists for British Liberalism, Social Democracy and Stalinism.



SMUTS

For a long time it has been almost impossible for a worthwhile book on S Africa to find a publisher in England or America. Kadalie's book suffered the same fate at the hands of British and American 'freedom of expression'.

The Anglo-American treatment of Kadalie's manuscript was a continuation of the attempted obliteration of the man himself and of his trade union status and work by all the forces which British imperialism could throw against Kadalie during the late 1920s.

Perhaps it was the revelation of how two of these forces—the British Liberals and the British trade union bureaucracy—brought about his downfall which was the prime reason for the publishers' refusal to entertain this work—a refusal which lasted for nearly a quarter of a century until Frank Cass and Co. having seen the manuscript, at once agreed to publish it.

The book is frankly autobiographical and written as a personal narrative of the rise and fall of the ICU.

Since some of the material was provided by another important ICU organizer, A. W. G. Champion, this work is the only first-hand work devoted entirely to the ICU itself.

Born in 1896

Kadalie was born in about 1896 in what is now Malawi. He came from a family of chiefs which, he records, had had dealings with Livingstone.

His father was one of the builders of the London Missionary Society (LMS) churches.

Clements Kadalie went to the missionary Livingstone College in 1906. There he was influenced by the missionary-imperialist Dr Laws, who drew the boy into YMCA work.

When he had passed his finals in 1912 he taught under missionaries, and in 1915 left Nyasaland 'in quest of a higher civilized life', working first on a Portuguese cotton estate in Mozambique, then on the Shamba and Falcon mines in S Rhodesia.

During the war he applied to the British government at Zomba, capital of the Nyasaland colony, for enlistment. In search of enlistment, he went to Bulawayo in 1916, working on the railways, and in February 1918 entered first for Kimberley and then for Cape Town, Cape.

Here he worked as a packer and messenger.

On the advice of a Labour parliamentary candidate, A. F. Barry, who wanted coloured and African votes for his election to the 'Europeans-only parliament', Kadalie formed the ICU at a meeting in Excelsior Hall, Buitengracht St, Cape Town, on January 17, 1919.

The ICU at once passed out of Barry's influence (segregation, reformism).

The ICU organized the first dockers' strike for December 17, 1919, after an agreement to back up the demands of the all-white National Union of Railwaymen.

The strike was almost total and paralysed the great har-

'MY LIFE AND THE ICU'

By Clements Kadalie

Frank Cass and Co, 1970 £2 10s

THE ICU - SOUTH AFRICA'S BIGGEST UNION



reviewed by N. MAKANDA

bour for 'three full weeks' (p. 44). Troops were brought in by Smuts. The all-white NUR broke the agreement and scabbed on the African strikers.

The ICU had to call off the strike, but won wage increases in August 1920. The Smuts government tried to deport Kadalie, whose legal appeal to remain succeeded.

In October 1920, the dock strike spread to Port Elizabeth, where Samuel Masabalala led the workers.

The authorities brought in the ANC quising, Dr Rubusana from East London to pacify the strikers.

Rubusana laid charges against Masabalala, who was jailed. The workers demonstrated against this arrest and 20 were shot down in cold blood by police and 'white' civilians.

The ICU defended Masabalala who was acquitted. By the time of the 1921 commemoration of the victims of the 1920 dockers' struggle, the ICU was a major force not only in Cape Town, but also in Port Elizabeth, embracing non-European (so-called 'African' and 'coloured') on a non-racial, non-tribal basis.

By 1922 the ICU dockers' union had spread also to East London, largely due to Kadalie's work in the atmosphere generated after the First World War, the Russian Revolution and intensified apartheid under the pro-British Smuts regime.

The January 1923 ICU conference claimed 17 registered branches. This conference was addressed by Labour Party segregationists like Thomas Boydell, later Minister of Labour, a YMCA delegate from the USA and by Rom Mann—an indication of the early Labour, Liberal missionary and also genuine militant influences which had been at work earlier on Kadalie and other ICU leaders.

Massacre

At the time of the 1921 massacre by the Smuts troops and planes of the African peasants of Bulhoek, Nationalist Party leader General Hertzog sent a guinea contribution to the Tragedy Fund.

This was part of the Afrikaner Nationalists' wooing of African and coloured support against Smuts.

The Communist Party fell for this wooing and actually took part in it. At the African National Congress Conference of May 1924, a resolution, moved by the ICU delegation, supported the Nationalists at the forthcoming elections was carried. (p. 58.)

(A small number of Cape Africans had a vote—but no full franchise, since only 'whites' could stand for parliament under the Act of Union made by the British House of Commons in 1909.)

During the ANC conference, Kadalie and Masabalala met Hertzog in Bloemfontein. The Nationalists undertook to print an election issue of the ICU paper 'Workers' Herald'.

In the election campaign the Labour Party stood together with the Boer Nationalists of Hertzog, and the ICU leaders supported this coalition.

The Labour-Nationalist co-

alition won the election and formed a Pact government which, of course, continued the anti-African legislation and persecution of the former Smuts government.

Such was the price of collaboration paid by the ICU leaders, whose sole consolation was that they were not alone, being no different from the CPUSA and ANC at the time.

Durban

In July 1924 Kadalie spread the ICU to Durban, forming unions of Indian and African workers and breaking through the communalism created by Gandhi in Natal.

Johannesburg

In September 1924 the ICU spread, through Kadalie, to Johannesburg.

The ICU entry into the city was at first opposed by the ANC. (p. 67.)

When Kadalie returned to the Rand in January 1925, he was approached by 'Mr Taberer of the Chamber of Mines' (mainly British capital) and asked to withdraw his criticism of conditions in the gold mines.



Fenner BROCKWAY

The police planted an informer on the ICU National Council.

'White' Liberals, from the Mayor downwards, tried to destroy the ICU militancy with their patronage.

'Certain European women' (p. 85), including Etheldreds Lewis, Winifred Holtby, Dame Sybil Thorndyke, Margaret Hodgson (later Mrs Ballinger, a Native Representative who worked the anti-African 1936 Native Representation Act) influenced Kadalie to steer clear of the Communist Party.

The latter was, in any case, suspect in Kadalie's eyes because of its opportunist 'white' middle-class leadership, although he did not come out against the CP until 1926 (p. 84) and had CP non-Europeans

in leading ICU positions in Cape Town, like la Guma and John Gomas.

Kadalie's opposition to the CPUSA was partly due to the influence of the Liberals and partly to the role of the CP in, for example, the 1922 strike of 'white' miners against the employment of African miners in semi-skilled jobs.

In the 1922 strike the CP was on the side of the 'white' miners. The Cape Town ICU was supporting the African miners and protesting the campaign of terror against Africans in Johannesburg by the striking 'White' miners.

This clash made a deep impression on Kadalie and others and was one of the reasons for his rejection of the CPUSA and the 1926 ICU decision not to allow CP members to hold executive positions.

'Help'

Later some of the Liberal anti-Communists (who subsequently, in the late 1930s and afterwards were fully supported by the CPUSA as fellow 'Native Representatives') played a major role in inducing the British trade union movement to send out an 'organizer' to 'help' the ICU.

The results of this 'organization' were disastrous for the ICU and for Kadalie himself. One of the major lessons of his book is that the ICU was destroyed by British Liberalism and by the British Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy—a grave debt to the S African working class which British labour will repay through its own struggle against social democracy and imperialism.

Welcomed

In May 1927 Kadalie went to the International Labour Conference in Geneva. He was received in London by Winifred Holtby and welcomed by Fenner Brockway of the Independent Labour Party. (p. 108.)

The Liberals and Social Democrats of British imperialism were prompt to do what they could with the then famous African trade unionist.

After his return from Geneva, Arthur Creech-Jones, later Labour Colonial Secretary, redrafted the ICU Constitution (p. 110) along 'British trade union lines', whereby British social chauvinism intervened to emasculate ICU militancy and to drive it into collaborationist channels.

At that time, the ICU claimed 80,000 members, including farm labourers (16,000), miners (5,000) dockers (2,500) railway workers (13,000). (p. 112.)

'Advised'

In June 1927, while in London, Kadalie was 'advised' by Brockway, the anti-imperialist who later opposed the anti-imperialist Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya.

Brockway introduced Kadalie to leading Labour Party and trade union figures, he was invited to Westminster and in Scotland he was feted by the David Livingstone Memorial Committee.

He then toured western Europe, but a trip to Moscow fell through 'for lack of time'. (p. 122.)

The same shortage of time did not, however, exist for a prolonged re-visit to the Liberals, missionaries and Labour imperialists of England, Scotland, Germany, Holland and Austria.

Kadalie's attempt to attend the TUC as a fraternal delegate was foiled by what Kadalie called 'the reactionary set-up of the officialdom in the British TUC at the time, whenever matters affecting the subject peoples in the British Empire confronted them'. (p. 137.)

The TUC chose to retain their links with the 'white' S African Trade Union Federation rather than recognize the ICU.

Talks

Before leaving England in October 1927, Kadalie had talks about the 'adviser' from the British trade union movement for the ICU.

The matter was left in the hands of Fenner Brockway and Winifred Holtby. (p. 139.)

After Kadalie's return, the ICU spread as far as Bulawayo and Mozambique. With a membership of 100,000 the ICU applied to the S African TUC for affiliation in December 1927. (p. 148.)

The TUC met on December 28 and 30 and in a long memorandum rejected the ICU application on the grounds that the African workers would swamp the privileged 'white' workers (pp. 149-151.)

The memorandum was signed by R. Stuart and W. H. Andrews.

The latter was the leading member of the S African

Communist Party and its first chairman after its formation in 1921.

Thus the CPUSA, too, took the side of the privileged, anti-African 'white' workers against the African proletariat. This action merely confirmed Kadalie's 'anti-communism'.

At the December 1927 ICU conference in Kimberley, the issue of a British 'adviser' was discussed and accepted, after opposition from rank and filers.

The British 'friends of the ICU' themselves selected this adviser.

The Kimberley conference was followed by another at Bloemfontein, attended by 1,000 delegates (p. 161)—such was the strength of the ICU before the British trade union 'adviser' arrived.

What made disaster more certain was the succession of the Natal section of the ICU, under Champion, shortly before the adviser arrived, an event which the Liberals have always used to exculpate the 'advisers' from the British trade union movement.

Split

The Natal split, however, was of the ICU's weakest provincial section. But this did not prevent the split 'to the maximum to 'save' the ICU.

In S African liberatory circles, on the other hand, it has constantly been held that the objective effect of the 'adviser' was the destruction of the ICU and that the Champion-Kadalie split itself was partly the result of Kadalie's association with the British trade union bureaucrats and Liberals during his trip abroad, and, in particular, of the question of having a 'white' adviser from Britain for the ICU.

The question of the adviser split the Kimberley conference.

After the ICU participation in an anti-pass struggle of April 1928 and during the government's imprisonment of ICU strikers at Onderstepoort and political trials of Kadalie 1951.

and other ICU leaders, the British 'adviser' finally arrived.

Kadalie set aside a chapter called 'Our European Adviser' to deal with this event. (pp. 177-182.)

The choice was W. G. Ballinger, sent by the Motherwell Trades Union Congress in July 1928.

Kadalie was 'disappointed' with Ballinger from the outset (p. 177). His disappointment was confirmed when Ballinger, instead of travelling with Kadalie by train to Johannesburg (as Kadalie had arranged with the railway authorities) chose to occupy a 'European' compartment. (p. 177.)

At Ballinger's first meeting with the ICU National Council he was attacked as a dictator' by some members. (p. 178.)

Kadalie records that Ballinger 'put one official at loggheads with another' (p. 179) and that in 1929 Ballinger attempted to have Kadalie demoted, forcing his resignation as general secretary, after ten years of the ICU.

The bewildered Kadalie, founder of the ICU, found himself in the wilderness, with Ballinger in charge of the ICU.

The 'Ballinger ICU', as Kadalie scathingly calls it rapidly withered, the split with Natal was complete and the Ballinger-Kadalie split finished off the once mighty organization.

It had taken the British Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy exactly one year to destroy the mightiest single trade union ever known in S Africa, perhaps even in Africa.

Kadalie continued the struggle, suffering jail in East London and ultimate eclipse, while Ballinger marched from the ruins of the ICU to become one of the first 'Native Representatives' under the anti-African 1936 Native Representation Act, occupying, this time, not a seat in a 'Europeans-only' train compartment, but in the 'Europeans-only' parliament, where he was when Kadalie died in November 1951.



The Orange Tories

IN STRIFE-TORN Ulster, working man opposes working man. Why? In other parts of the country working men are fighting together to improve their lot in life and to remove the privileges held by a few.

Conservatives must surely smile a little as their natural opponents commit genocide. It must be remembered that the Tories' full title is Conservative & Unionist Party.

The sting is in the tail. The Unionists are the reactionary rulers of N Ireland. Ever since the partition of Ireland the Unionists have been contributing powder to the keg and the oppressed minority have made continual complaints of gerrymandering, unfair housing allocations and the like.

At Westminster the Unionists vote with the Tories and have done so for nigh on 50 years. Do the Tories object to their allegiance? Did they ever attempt to right the wrongs in Ulster? How can workers turn upon each other? This is accomplished by the secret fraternity known as the Orange Lodge, a masonic type organization pledged to uphold the Protestant supremacy.

Bill Inge

THE EDITOR REPLIES

COMRADE Inge is, of course, quite correct to point out the reactionary part played by Unionism and the Orange Order. The Protestant religion has long been the instrument used by the Ulster Tories to keep the workers of N Ireland in subjection.

However, it would be wrong to leave it at that. The divisions which weaken the Irish working class are not just a result of Orange propaganda.

As will all questions of ideology, and especially where religion is concerned, the problem is not just what people believe, but why they believe it.

The ability of the ruling class to impose its political leadership on a section of the Irish workers is a product of the oppression of Ireland by British imperialism, and the inability of capitalism to solve the problems of Irish society, and the Orange Order. In the history of Ireland, the Catholic Church has played a major role in frustrating the united struggle for the liberation of the country. In the North today, Nationalism, the politics of the Catholic ruling class, is just as eager to keep the workers divided and enslaved as Paisley is.

The unity of the working class, the defeat of the Unionists and the ending of partition cannot be achieved except under Marxist leadership.

The flag under which Ireland will be freed from imperialism will be neither Orange nor Green, but the banner of proletarian internationalism.

TV

BBC 1

9.40-10.20 a.m. Schools. 10.45-11.00 Watch with mother. 11.05-11.45 Schools. 12.45 p.m. United Nations 25th anniversary in the presence of Her Majesty the Queen. 1.30 News and weather. 1.38 Wimbledon 1970. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Banana Split. 5.35 Junior points of view. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 LONDON.

6.15 WIMBLEDON 1970.

7.10 THE VIRGINIAN. 'The Outcast.'

8.20 ME MAMMY. 'The Day We Blessed the Bench.'

9.10 FORSYTE SAGA. 'Portrait of Fleur.'

10.00 MAGGIE SMITH'S CINEMA. Personal choices.

10.30 24 HOURS.

11.05 'THE INTERVIEW.' Play. 11.35 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Midlands and E. Anglia: 6.00-6.15 Midlands today. Look East, weather. 11.37 News, weather. Weekend prospects for anglers. Road works report.

North of England: 6.00-6.15 Look North, weather. 11.37 News, weather.

Wales: 10.45-11.05 Ar lin mam. 6.00-6.15 Wales today. 7.10 Heddiw. 7.30 Dyna wall. 7.55-8.20 Week in week out. 10.00-10.30 Yesterday's witness. 10.37 Weather.

Scotland: 6.00-6.15 Reporting Scotland. 10.30-11.05 Bonn comhradh. 11.37 News, weather.

N Ireland: 6.00-6.15 p.m. Scene around six. weather. 11.37 News, weather.

South and West: 6.00-6.15 Points West. South today. Spotlight South West, weather. 11.37 News, weather. Weekend road works report.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL.

4.30-6.20 p.m. WIMBLEDON 1970.

7.30 NEWS and weather.

8.00 WHELBASE. 'The Country Life Car.'

8.25 VILLETTE. 'Breakfast in the Country.'

9.10 THE BEETHOVEN SYMPHONIES. Otto Klemperer conducts Symphony no. 4 in B flat major and symphony no. 5 in C minor.

10.25 NEWS and weather.

10.30 MATCH OF THE DAY. The Lawn Tennis Championships.

11.20 LINE-UP.

ITV

2.35 p.m. The 1970 World Cup. 4.17 In search of St Paul. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Arthur! 5.20 Tom Grattan's war. 5.50 News.

6.04 EARLY BIRD.

6.30 PEYTON PLACE.

7.30 WHEEL OF FORTUNE.

7.30 GUNSMOKE. 'Death Train'.

8.00 DOCTOR IN THE HOUSE. 'Doctor on the Box.'

9.30 MANHUNT. 'The Losers'. 10.00 NEWS.

10.30 TWO-SHOT GOLF. Harold Henning (South Africa) v Jack Nicklaus (USA).

11.00 AQUARIUS.

11.45 OUT OF TOWN. 12.05 a.m. Workshop for peace.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 4.02 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.13 Enchanted house. 4.20 Ghost and Mrs. Muir. 4.55 Captain Scarlet. 5.20 Skippy. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon time. 7.05 Dr. In the house. 7.35 Movie: 'The Spy Killer' with Robert Horton. Sebastian Cabot and Bill John. 9.00 London. 10.30 Controllers. 11.00 London. 11.40 Weather.

WESTWARD: As Channel except: 4.00 News. 4.02 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 10.30 Road safety quiz. 11.00 London. 11.45 Faith for life. 11.51 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Zingalong. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene South-East. 6.30 Junkin.

7.00 London. 7.30 Weekend. 7.35 Dr in the house. 8.05 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 NYPD. 11.00 London. 11.45 News. 11.55 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH: 2.55-3.55 Showjumping. 4.25 Women today. 4.40 Wind in the willows. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.02 Report. 6.10 Buss Bunny. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Adam 12. 7.30 Man in a suitcase. 8.30 London. 10.30 Funny you should ask. 11.00 London. 11.45 Weather.

HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above except: 4.23-4.25. 6.01-6.35 Scene West.

HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 11.00 p.m. Y dydd. 11.30 Cymru Heddiw. Midnight weather.

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.01 Y dydd. 6.30-6.35 Report-Wales.

ANGLIA: 3.10-4.10 Showjumping. 4.25 Newsroom. 4.35 Romper room. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 It takes a thief. 8.00 Jokers wild. 8.30 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15 'The Jayhawkers' with Jeff Chandler, Fess Parker. A Mexican war hero in 1859 is tracked down and recaptured after he escapes from prison. 12.55 Reflection.

ATY MIDLANDS: 4.02 Women today. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 ITV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 News. 8.30 London. 10.30 That girl. 11.00 London. 11.45 Midland member. 12.03 Pulse, weather.

ULSTER: 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cinema: 'Interpol' with Victor Mature, Trevor Howard and Anita Ekberg. An agent of the US anti-narcotics squad is sent to Europe to smash an international dope ring. 8.30 London.

YORKSHIRE: 3.10 Showjumping. 4.10 Zingalong. 4.25 Matinee. 4.50 Rain-bow country. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. weather. 6.30 Wheel of fortune. 7.00 '80,000 Suspects' with Claire Bloom, Richard Johnson, and Cyril Cusack. A smallpox epidemic sweeps Britain and an ex-nurse helps with the sick in order to forget her unhappy marriage. 9.00 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 London. 11.45 Weather.

BORDER: 4.00 News. 4.02 Houseparty. 4.15 Archery. 4.40 London. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Roundabout. 7.35 Bracken's world. 8.30 Albert and Victoria. 9.00 London. 11.45 News, weather.

SCOTTISH: 2.30-4.17 World Cup (repeat). 4.20 Scotland early. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 A little difficulty. 5.25 Lone ranger. 5.50 London. 6.00 Scotland now. 6.30 Handful of songs. 7.00 London. 7.30 Name of the game. 9.00 London. 10.30 In camera. 11.00 London. 11.45 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 4.25 Survival. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Cartoon cavalcade. 6.30 Pop scotch. 7.00 London. 7.30 Preview. 7.55 Name of the game. 9.00 London. 10.30 Finders seekers. 10.00 London.

N.E. busmen hold 2nd pay strike

THREE THOUSAND busmen of the Northern General Transport Company and its subsidiaries are to continue with the second of their one-day token strikes today in support of a claim for a £20-a-week basic wage for drivers and conductors.

The men say their union, the Transport and General Workers, is not pushing the claim fast enough.

They plan to continue with one-day strikes every week.

The last action by the men on June 15 brought sympathy strikes from other bus workers in the area and the same is expected today.

Services run by Northern, Gateshead, Tynewood, Tyne-side and Venture bus companies will be hit.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS MANCHESTER

'The working class can defeat the Tory government'

Wednesday, July 15 p.m. The Wheatstone, High St. (off Market St.)

CORRECTION

In yesterday's page four story 'Teachers' chief's hopes for Tory reforms', paragraph 7 refers to 'Black Paper' and not 'Black Power'.

London enclosed docks Strike deadline overshadows deal

A MAJOR crisis is growing on London's enclosed docks as employers step up the pressure to push through the second stage of the Devlin productivity deal before the threatened national docks strike materializes on July 14.

But they have made it plain that they will not raise the pay offer of £34 10s to £37 accepted in return for two-shift working and the abolition of piece-work by the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The deal is still opposed by the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, the 'Blue' union. Tally clerks on the docks are also in dispute with the employers. They are demanding a weekly wage of £41, against an employers' offer of only £38 5s.

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The deal is still opposed by the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, the 'Blue' union.

These factors make it impossible for the dock employers to implement the deal by Monday, the target date for the introduction of shift-work.

Returning to Ceylon after the war, he resumed the battle especially on the question of the legal rights of the estate workers, who were disfranchised by the United National Party (UNP) government.

When the issue arose of making Singalese the national language, as against the party of Singalese and Tamil, he fought against this, in the teeth of a violent racist campaign.

Now, having capitulated on the language question in the 1950s, and broken finally with Trotskyism, this man ends up as a Minister in a capitalist government and the guardian of the Plantation owners.

The need for a decisive fight for Marxist principles has never been more clearly exhibited.

Tea combines 'safe' from nationalization.

SITTING at Baton-Rouge, the Louisiana State Legislature has rejected a move by the only black member, Ernest Morial, to end the labelling of blood plasma in public hospitals according to whether the donor is black or white.

As Mr Morial pointed out, their decision may result in the loss of a \$50 million-a-year Federal sub-

sidy to the State's hospitals. A white representative, Archie Davies, explained: 'I would rather see my family die than have a drop of black blood.'

'The Federal Health Administration is a communist organization from top to bottom. They want to substitute white blood with Negro blood.'

Grigorenko letter reveals more 'hospital' tortures



Medvedev: Freed.

WHILE LEADING Soviet biologist Dr Zhores Medvedev is now free again after spending several weeks in a Stalinist 'mental institution', the plight of Major General Pyotr Grigorenko is worsening.

In a letter smuggled out to his wife from a Tashkent 'mental home', Grigorenko reveals the barbaric methods used by his captors to 'cure' him of his anti-Stalinist views:

'They decided to break me immediately. They put me into a strait-jacket, beat me and choked me.'

Grigorenko, who is approaching 70 years of age, began a hunger strike in protest against this treatment.

'Forced-feeding every day. I resist as much as I can. They beat me and choke me again. They twist my hands, hit my crippled leg.'

(Grigorenko was injured fighting the Nazis in the last war.)

Another oppositionist, the writer Vladimir Bukovsky, who spent over two years in a similar 'institution', has declared that drugs are being used to break the wills of political 'patients'.

At least 250 oppositionists are now being subjected to this treatment, according to Soviet intellectual circles.

It is these barbarities—more reminiscent of a medieval witchcraft trial than a state claiming to be on the verge of communism—that led to Solzhenitsyn's outburst two weeks ago:

'VICIOUS' 'The incarceration of free-thinking, healthy people in madhouses is spiritual murder. It is a variant of the gas chamber, but it is an even more cruel variation, for the tortures of those being held are more vicious and prolonged.'

Class struggle At the same time, the struggle against Zionism as the agent of imperialism develops increasingly into a class struggle against the Arab landlords and capitalists.

But the guerrilla groups largely rely on support from the Arab government and from Moscow.

While they also indulge in declarations of their 'revolutionary', 'Marxist-Leninist' beliefs, even the most left-wing of them are fundamentally aimed at putting pressure on imperialism.

This is the reason for the emphasis of some of them on terrorist attacks on targets like airlines and supermarkets.

In one of his many recent interviews, Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, said: 'We believe that to kill a Jew far from the battleground has more of an effect than killing 100 of them in battle; it attracts more attention.'

'And when we set fire to a store in London, those few flames are worth the burning down of two kibbutzim.'

'Because we force people to ask what is going on and so they get to know our tragic situation. . . It is right for Europe and America to be warned that there will be no peace for them until there is justice for Palestine.'

Not influenced But the present decision of the imperialists and their agents cannot be influenced by a few acts of sabotage.

Only the mobilization of the Arab workers and peasants, in alliance with the workers of Israel, and of the western countries can defeat imperialism.

To achieve this, a Marxist leadership and a socialist programme is necessary.

Ex-Pabloite defends Ceylon's land-owners

COLVIN DE SILVA, Minister for the Plantation Industries in the Ceylon coalition government, has told a delegation in Colombo that nationalization of the tea estates is not in the government's programme.

De Silva is a leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, which was once affiliated to the Fourth International, and which remained with the organization of Pablo and Mandel after the 1953 split.

One of Ceylon's leading lawyers, de Silva fought for the rights of the Tamil plantation workers in the 1930s and 1940s.

Imprisoned by the British soon after the war broke out, he escaped along with other LSSP leaders, and continued the struggle in India.

Returning to Ceylon after the war, he resumed the battle especially on the question of the legal rights of the estate workers, who were disfranchised by the United National Party (UNP) government.

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Soviet writer aids Stalin's rehabilitation

SOVIET writer Mikhail Sholokhov has cautiously come out on the side of the present Moscow campaign to upgrade Stalin.

By a foreign correspondent

In an interview in the Soviet Young Communist League journal 'Komsomolskaya Pravda' earlier this week, he argued for a 'more balanced view' of Stalin's leadership during the war.

'What Stalin did at that time must not be ridiculed and denigrated. Firstly, to do so is dishonest and secondly, it is harmful to the country—not because one does not condemn victors, but first of all because debunking is not in accordance with the truth.'

Current 'truth'

By 'truth' Sholokhov obviously means current Stalinist policy.

From Khrushchev's 'Secret Speech' to the 1956 Party Congress until last year, most war memories and histories have attacked Stalin for his blunders during the war and his purge of the Red armed forces prior to it.

Now—with Sholokhov's aid—this correct judgement is being revised.

Acton claim

overtime in support of a pay claim.

And yesterday afternoon, works engineers at the site walked out in support of a £3 pay claim.

Under such a scheme, stewards fear, their role in wage bargaining would be eliminated, shop-floor trade union organization eroded and wages held down irrespective of the cost of living.

Pay would presumably be fixed by some form of joint union-management committee—of which CAV workers have had bitter experience in the past—and policed by union officials.

French public employees strike

The Pompidou government faces strike action on several fronts from French public employees.

T.U.C.

o call on the Tories for increased family allowances, more houses, reduced interest rates and more investment.

The reason workers showed 'a lack of enthusiasm for increasing productivity', he claimed, was that they don't have the modern capital equipment as they have in Germany, America and Japan.

Yet all this was addressed to a party whose slogan, Feather told trade unionists in Mitcham just ten days ago, should be: "a writ in every pay-package". . . that's what their industrial relations policy adds up to!!

Omitted Reference to the TUC General Council's statement on the election—boosted by yesterday's Stalinist 'Morning Star' as notice. . . that they will continue to fight any attempts to pass laws about collective bargaining—was completely omitted.

The reason for this is not difficult to see.

Like Transport and General Workers' general secretary Jack Jones, who suddenly discovered that 'even Tory trade unionists would join the rest in battling legal sanctions', Feather is hoping to construct a bridge to the Tory leaders and their financial experts.

'They are the people whose policy we have got to change,' he said yesterday.

It was for this reason that Feather, in the words of yesterday's 'Financial Times', 'persuaded the TUC General Council to issue a moderately-phrased statement on the election' and for this reason that the Council's 'lefts'—including Jones and Amalgamated Engineers' and Foundryworkers' president Hugh Scanlon—accepted his advice.

This is a warning to the whole trade union movement.

Everyone recognizes that the TUC must necessarily negotiate with governments on issues affecting the wages and conditions of trade union members.

But this must in no sense become class-collaboration with a ruling-class government committed, as Feather correctly pointed out at Mitcham, to transforming the unions into its policemen against the working class.

But that was before the election of a Tory government. Now he is climbing down as fast as he can.

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Another anti-Trotskyist smear

THE REPUBLICATION of M. Kidron's 'Western Capitalism Since the War' by Penguin Books has been used by the Stalinist Mr P. Goodwin to smear genuine Trotskyism, which he links with Kidron's reactionary anti-Soviet views expounded in the book.

Reviewing Kidron's book in the 'Morning Star' of June 25, Goodwin has little difficulty in presenting the author—a leading member of the 'International Socialism group'—as an opponent of the Marxist method.

This is not, however, Goodwin's main purpose. He and other leading Stalinists have gladly collaborated with this anti-communist group against the Socialist Labour League both in the student movement and in the trade unions.

Intention Here the intention is to present Kidron's book as a statement of Trotskyist principles and theory.

'Born in the miasma of Trotskyism, but having long jettisoned its links with communism, the approach is unhistorical, totally non-dynamic, a thin, pale, classless substitute for a theory.'

So the collaboration between the IS and the Stalinists against Trotskyism continues.

Kidron obligingly provides the necessary caricature of Trotskyism—and Goodwin completes the job by passing it off as the genuine article.

Notorious Kidron, like all the IS leaders, is a notorious anti-Trotskyist, rejecting the defence of the Soviet Union, denying the decisive role of communist leadership and, even in this period of galloping economic crisis, always arguing that capitalism has many years of healthy expansion before it.

In fact, Kidron's middle-class outlook places him in the same reformist camp as Goodwin—his 'Trotskyist miasma' notwithstanding.

All-round Cambodia call up

LATE NEWS

BARBER 'UNDER OBSERVATION'

The new Tory cabinet met for the second time since the election yesterday to discuss the details of the Queen's Speech, due to be delivered when Parliament reassembles on Wednesday. They are expected to hold a further meeting before the State Opening.

Anthony Barber, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was absent from yesterday's meeting. He was taking it easy in a London clinic where he is under observation.

JOSEPH TO MEET B.M.A.

Sir Keith Joseph, Tory Secretary of State for Social Services, is meeting doctors and dentists in London today to discuss 'a basis for re-establishing co-operation between the profession and the government.'

A policy of non-co-operation has been carried out for over a fortnight since the Labour government referred part of the doctors' 30-per-cent pay rise to the Prices and Incomes Board.

FINAL PRINT OFFER REFUSED

Print employers' 'final' pay offer to National Graphical Association provincial members was 'not acceptable', general secretary John Bonfield said yesterday afternoon.

The offer by the Newspaper Society and the Master Printers' Federation was £3 15s a week. The union had asked for a rise of £5 6s a week.

Brooke Bond Tea

SEEING RED

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

The Federal Health Administration is a communist organization from top to bottom. They want to substitute white blood with Negro blood.

Brooke Bond Tea

Southampton Ford strike continues

FORD'S Southampton plant remained at a standstill yesterday as internal transport drivers continued their strike.

It is alleged that the management disregarded an interim agreement between the EPTU and the T&GWU on the operation of a mobile hoist used by maintenance workers.

The hoist, introduced a year ago for high-level maintenance work, has been the subject of a dispute between the two unions.

Weather

London area, SE and NW England, E and W Midlands: Dry, sunny spells. Perhaps becoming mainly cloudy later. Wind southerly, moderate or fresh. Near normal. Max. 20C (68F).

Central southern and SW England, Channel Islands: Cloudy. Bright intervals, but occasional rain later. Wind southerly, moderate to fresh, locally strong later. Near normal. Max. 18C (64F).

Central northern England, Edinburgh and E Scotland, Glasgow area: Dry, sunny spells. Wind SW, moderate to fresh. Near normal. Max. 20C (68F).

N Ireland: Showers, bright or sunny periods. Wind SW, moderate. Near normal. Max. 16C (61F).

Weekend: Unsettled, occasional rain, becoming mainly dry in North. Temperatures near normal.

U.S. 'peace' plan

gives arms to Israel to strike us in Palestine with the other . . .

The hand which is extended to us must be cleansed of the blood of the people of Vietnam and Indo-China who are fighting for their freedom.

Yesterday it was announced in Moscow that Nasser is to visit the Soviet Union in the next two weeks. This follows the visit last week by U Thant, United Nations secretary-general.

The UN, which presided over the birth of the state of Israel in 1947, will play a major part in the diplomatic manoeuvring now entering a new stage.

The attempt of the big powers to impose a settlement which includes acceptance of Zionist occupation of Palestine throws into sharp relief all the political weaknesses of the Arab guerrilla leaders.

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