

## What we think

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In the open letter which the Socialist Labour League addressed to the 31st Congress we said that "Stalin lives" in the leadership of your party.

We did not have long to wait to prove that, despite the muted criticisms of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and the liberal posturing that went on at the Congress by people like Monty Johnstone, the CP leaders remain, in fact, unregenerate Stalinists whose political depravity grows increasingly monstrous.

The proof comes in a series of remarks made by John Gollan in reply to questions from the floor at a public meeting in Leeds over the weekend, the same meeting in which Gollan defended and supported Wilson's trip to Washington.

Trotsky's ideas, said Gollan, 'were a menace to the Soviet Union'. Trotsky, he said, had been for the defeat of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany in the Second World War and 'whether he got money directly from Hitler is open to question'.

Concluding his reply Gollan then went on to attack British Trotskyism as a wrecking organization 'and not a genuine part of the labour movement'.

This is the real face of Gollan, the authentic voice of Stalinism in Britain speaking. No matter what differences separate Gollan from Dutt, we can safely conclude that they are all united in their inveterate hatred and fear of Trotskyism. And no wonder!

With an ageing leadership, a falling membership and a declining circulation for the 'Morning Star', not to mention a youth movement which is in a state of collapse, the despair of Mr Gollan is not surprising.

That is not all. Not by any means.

The wide crisis of Stalinism, reflected in the Sino-Soviet crisis and the splits and expulsions from the Austrian, Italian and French Central Committees, which are directly attributable to the unprecedented upsurge of the European working class and the hammer-blows of the colonial revolution, has seriously and inexorably undermined the monolithic unity of the Stalinist apparatus.

The whole edifice of 'peaceful co-existence' and 'socialism in one country' is being rocked to its foundations. Naturally its inmates are feeling sick—incidentally so!

Their debility is aggravated by the fact that Trotskyism, far from obeying the prophecies of international Stalinism, is in fact growing and expanding with a vitality that is in direct proportion to the decline of Stalinism.

All over the world the new generation of workers who are now coming into conflict with imperialism and Stalinism are looking, and will be looking, not to the counter-revolutionary and degenerate policies and leadership of Stalinism, but to the programme and banner of the international committee of the Fourth International.

It is not our intention to reply to the crude combination of rank ineptitude and gross misrepresentation which constitutes Gollan's critique of Trotskyism within the limited compass of this editorial.

We have done justice to this task many times in the past, not only in the columns of the Workers Press but also in The Newsletter.

We did not resort to slander or innuendo. We did not have to, because unlike Gollan and Dutt we do not set out to deceive the working class, but to help emancipate it.

We operate with the weapon of scientific research and analysis combined with a scrupulous regard for objective truth.

As General Grigorenko wrote: 'You cannot reconcile lies with a communist conscience' Mr Gollan!

In conclusion we address this challenge to Gollan: for 40 years your Party has slandered Trotsky and his movement without regret or shame.

You have also defended and justified every crime and abomination of Stalin against the working class inside and outside the USSR.

We say categorically—and in front of the whole labour movement—you are

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## The 'murder machine' country allows

# U.S. 'WILD ANIMALS' ON THE LOOSE

BY ROBERT BLACK

WITH AN almost unanimous voice, the world's press has condemned the atrocities committed by the US forces in Vietnam.

The main question is however: whom should we condemn?

A former member of the company that wiped out the village in the 'Pinkville' area, has described in a letter how his unit had turned into 'wild animals', beating up children and stamping a peasant woman to death.

According to the letter, written by Sergeant Gregory Olsen, the peasant woman was working in a nearby field.

### Not guilty

A group of soldiers first shot and wounded her, kicked her to death and finally emptied their rifle magazines into her lifeless body.

These are terrible acts, equal in barbarity to the worst

atrocities of German and British imperialism in their rape of defenceless nations and peoples.

But however brutalized these soldiers might be, they are not the guilty ones, no more than the German soldiers in the last war were in the last analysis responsible for the crimes committed under the Third Reich.

Who has trained these men to behave like wild animals? What social system has so perfected its murder machine that the destruction of an entire people can be programmed by computers?

Decades of anti-communist, racist and chauvinist propaganda in the United States are now bearing their bitter fruit.

US imperialism trained the Calles and the Medinas.

It taught them that communism and 'non-white' peoples were their enemies, that any method, including mass murder, baby-killing, torture, rape, crop and food poisoning and wholesale destruction of peasant villages were justified in the fight to defend US imperialism and its corrupt servants in Saigon.

### Their system

US Congressmen and Senators might well be horrified by what they see in Vietnam. But it is their capitalist system that commits these barbarities.

In their anxiety to exonerate capitalism, they scramble to pin the blame on junior officers or rank-and-file soldiers in the forces. If necessary, they will even sacrifice one or two of the 'big brass'.

But at all costs, the capitalist system that produces the war must be preserved intact. That is why it is essential that we fight against the political confusion created by the professional liberals and protesters.

The US armed forces do not pursue an independent policy. Their actions and strategy are based on the demands of US big business and are determined by the same strategic aims as those of the giant US monopolies and banks.

If he is permitted to go to Washington, no liberal, 'left' Labour MP or Stalinist will object to Wilson's discussing the war with its main strategist.

They will simply ask Wilson to apply a little 'moral pressure' on this exponent of genocide.

### Refuse

We must insist over and over again that it is not a matter of exerting more pressure on Nixon through the good offices of Wilson.

It is the international action of the working class that is going to end this war. Right now we must insist that Wilson refuse to meet the mass murderer Nixon.

If we do not answer the challenge of the Vietnamese atrocities today, it will be the turn of all mankind tomorrow.

### Belgian and Dutch dockers back London container ban

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This international solidarity follows threats by the chairman of Overseas Containers Ltd. to transfer its container terminal—which has been declared 'black' by the T&GWU—from London to Antwerp.

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'We're down to the basic issue once more,' he said, 'we want a substantial increase on our basic pay.'

### Being used

Citing cases where men were receiving a basic wage of only £13 he claimed the BRS workers were being used as 'political pawns... by the PIB and the government'.

Their case for an increased basic was based on need and not, as Mrs. Barbara Castle had claimed, 'on what someone else might need'.

Another steward, George Robinson, explained the background to the productivity offer.

He claimed this had been a 'panic measure' on the part of BRS.

Urging the men to stand firm, he said:

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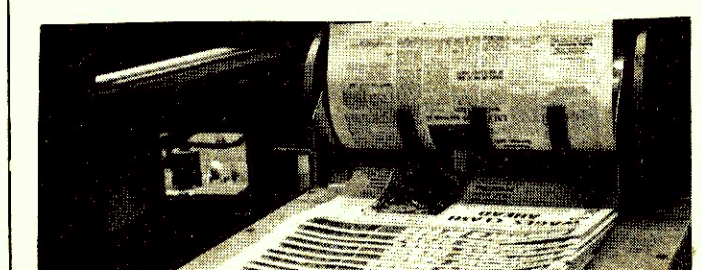
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INSTRUCTION

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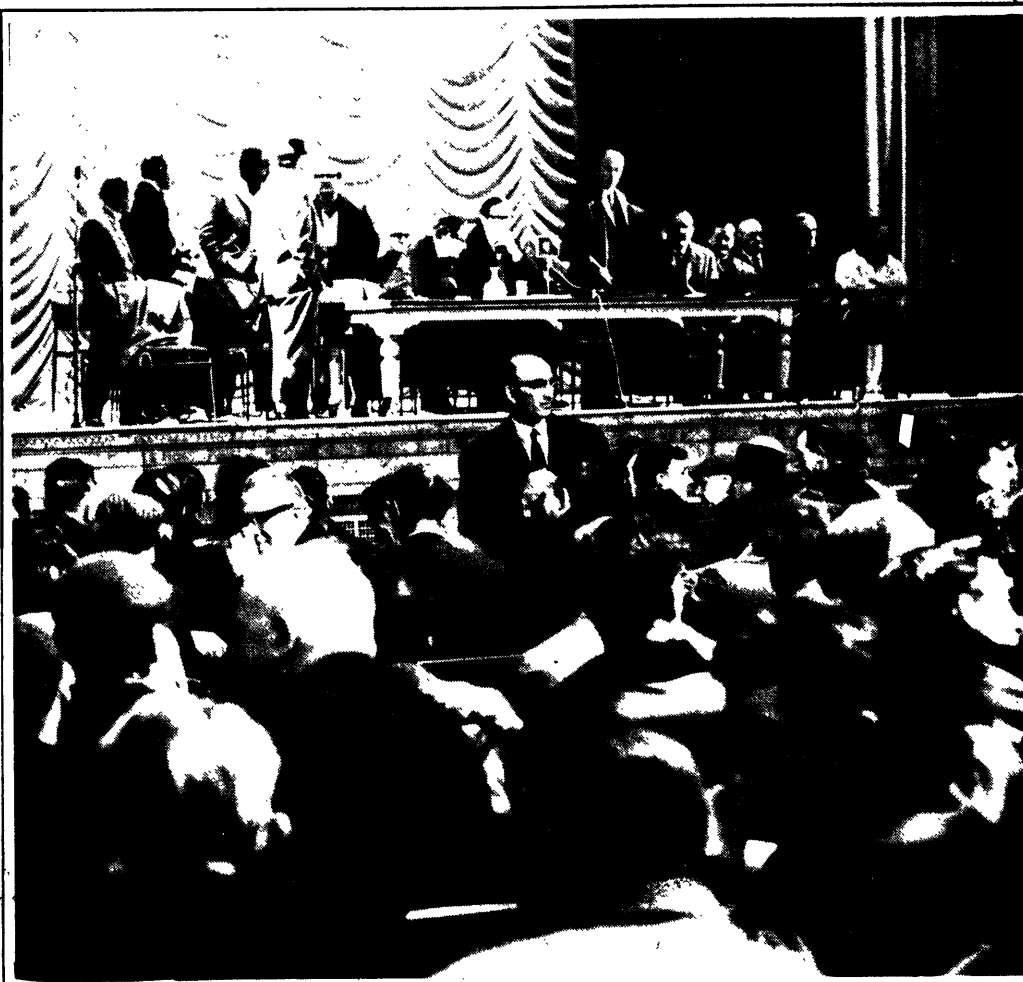
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## BY JACK GALE

'The strength and pressure of the miners to obtain a seven-hour day should be pressed forward with vigour.'

THOUGH the quote above sounds like a demand raised during the recent miners' strike, it was in fact spoken by the late Mr A. Machen at the Barnsley Council of the National Union of Mine-workers (NUM) in December 1959—just ten years ago!

And Mr Machen went on: 'Now we have plenty of coal, stacks of it, mountains of it, the seven-hour day is economically possible and absolutely necessary.'

But it is obvious now—and, indeed, it was obvious then—that a government acting on behalf of the employing class had not stockpiled coal in order to prove the miners' case, but to use it as a weapon against them.

Now, ten years later, miners are having to fight harder than ever before to improve wages and conditions which are an insult.

### Dream

What happened to the golden dream of nationalization which—along with hopes of a Labour government—was seen by generations of older miners as their only salvation?

The mines were not nationalized in the interests of the miners, but in the interests of capitalism. For ten years after vesting day, coal was in great demand, urgently needed by big business to rebuild plant after the war.

And they got their coal cheap. Not even in the House of Commons could an answer be found to one simple question—how much did private industry pay for its coal from the nationalized pits?

But if capitalism did well, the miners did not.

Those were the days when the seven hours were there for the taking, when wages could have been pushed up with ease,



## PART ONE

whip of pit closures came cracking over the miners' heads—over 600 pits have been closed since nationalization.

55 collieries were closed in the last financial year—more than in any previous year.

Miners will remember Wilson's flamboyant gesture in 1967 when he intervened to postpone the closure of four pits due to go then.

Every one of these were closed the following year—so much for that bit of showmanship.

The Coal Board's Report for 1968-1969 was analysed fully by David Maude in 'The Newsletter' September 16, 1969. Only a few of the main points need be stressed here.

The Board made an operating profit of £28.6 million which was turned into a deficit of £8.9 million by the payment of £37.5 million in interest charges—but the industry 'can't afford' an eight-hour day for surface men!

Productivity averaged 42.5 cwt per man shift—an increase of 3.5 cwt or 9 per cent over the previous year.

Costs per ton attributable to wages and related expenses went down by 1s. 8d.—on a production of 160 million tons, this represents a saving of £13 million.

# MINERS SINCE NATIONALIZATION

when the union could have won workers' control of the pits.

What happened? The leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers—both Labour Party and Communist Party—encouraged the working of long hours, including the Saturday shift, and co-operated fully with the management in productivity drives.

What gains the miners did make were made through struggle, never with the official backing of the NUM leadership.

Demands disappeared for months in 'negotiating machinery'. Only unofficial actions won substantial benefits.

(The Grimethorpe strike of 1947, for example, stopped a speed-up and the Yorkshire

fillers' strike of 1955 won new price-lists all over Yorkshire, negotiated while the strike was still on.)

Throughout this time the Communist Party—then in a powerful position with Arthur Horner as general secretary, Will Fynter in the leadership in Wales, the Moffats in Scotland, and big influence in the Midlands and Yorkshire—urged the miners to co-

operate with and trust the Coal Board and the government.

Meanwhile, big business was well looked after. Massive compensation was paid out and the mining industry is still crippled every year by interest due on the money borrowed to pay it.

And where did the money go?

It went to firms like Cory Brothers, who received nearly £16 million in compensation for mines valued at £12.6 million.

This firm distributed £11 million to shareholders and invested the rest in high-profit industries (including oil refining).

work with a firm of mining consultants whose main job was making claims against the Coal Board (over subsidence, etc).

This, then, was the result of the union leadership's 'moderation' and 'co-operation'.

### Compensation

Cheap coal for big business when it needed it, big money in compensation and interest payments, good profits out of coal distribution and mechanization of the pits, plenty of jobs in the nationalized industry for the former owners.

Today, more than ever, the nationalized mines are at the mercy of large-scale industry and big business.

The largest single market for coal is the electricity generating stations, which last year took 74.5 million tons.

Nuclear-powered generating stations used the equivalent of nine million tons of coal.

While the Board is aiming for continuity of supply of coal from long-life and low-cost collieries, there are at present no long-term contracts for the coal consumed by the Central Electricity Generating Board and competition is growing from nuclear power.

The second important market is the coke ovens, which last year used 25 million tons of coal, mainly for use in crude steel production.

The NCB is working closely with the British Steel Corporation to identify lower cost coals to be introduced into coking blends.

Next comes the domestic market, which last year took 21.8 million tons of coal. Here, too, there is increased competition from alternative forms of heating.

Coal consumption at gas works last year totalled 9.2 million tons. This is a drop of 4.4 million tons from 1967-1968.

There is a trend to increased production of gas from oil-based plants and, of course, from the use of natural gas. North Sea and imported natural gas accounted for 24

### Run-down

With this level of production 27,300 men lost their jobs. Yet the government's most recent White Paper on Fuel Policy, published in November 1967, calls for only 120 million tons per year.

This compares with Labour's clearly implied promise in the 1964 election year to maintain production at 200 million tons per year.

What is involved now is 10 per cent a year—or something like 30,000 jobs less in the year ending March 1970.

At the same time productivity is to go on increasing.

The Board wants an output of 75 cwt per man shift by the mid-1970s.

This will be mainly achieved by an extension of major long-wall mechanized face's operating treble shifts.

In the words of the Report: 'As production is progressively concentrated at collieries and on faces where mechanization ensures the highest output rates, a substantial part of the output will be at low cost.'

But ask about the eight hour day and seven hours underground!

And Robens calls a minimum wage of £15 on the surface and £16 underground 'generous'!

The Board can boast 'Despite the heavy closure programme and the high rate of manpower rundown in recent years, the Board have, by close co-operation with the unions in maintaining good industrial relations, avoided major industrial disputes.'

In other words, the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers has continued its policy of co-operating with the employers while their members go down the road.

### Political

Could there be a more outspoken condemnation of any trade union leadership? But this is not just a trade union leadership.

The miners have always been political from the days of the first Labour MPs, and from the time when the support of the South Wales miners contributed in a major way to the formation of the British Communist Party.

The mining areas are the most solid in their support of the Labour Party in elections, and the mining group of MPs is the largest single trade union section in the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Throughout the years since nationalization, the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers, nationally and locally, has been largely shared between right-wing Labour men and Communist Party members.

The right wing has consistently supported every measure taken by the Labour government against the miners.

In every strike struggle, the miners came up against this type of leader.

(In other struggles, too, miners got to know the right wing. Glasshoughton miners lobbying parliament over unemployment were told by their MP that Labour pit closures were better than Tory pit closures, because they were planned!)

Continued in tomorrow's Workers Press



Moves to mechanize the pits, such as the introduction of automated power support units, have only led to widespread redundancies.

### Rich pickings

Cory Bros was one of the biggest coal merchants in the country, making a profit on every ton of coal they handled.

And where did the deputy chairman of Cory Bros serve his country? Where else but on the National Coal Board!

But rich pickings were to be had not only from interest payments and coal distribution, but also from the extensive mechanization of the mines.

One firm engaged in mining machinery was also linked with a pit.

After nationalization the firm's head remained as manager of the colliery, and later became an NCB planning engineer.

Another pit owner worked for the Coal Board for eight years after nationalization and then left to take up full-time



Robens: Calls minimum wage of £15 generous!

per cent of total gas availability last year compared with 13 per cent in 1967-1968.

Other important markets are overseas. Last year the Coal Board exported 3.4 million tons, mainly to European power stations.

There are also big deals with the giant monopolies. Associated Portland Cement takes a million tons of coal a year.

Sales to Alcan (United Kingdom) Ltd are also expected to rise to a million tons in the near future.

In these circumstances, to talk of a 'National Fuel Policy' without a socialist policy of nationalization is complete nonsense.

The coal industry is at the mercy of huge monopolies which exist on super-profits. Without nationalizing the oil monopolies, the private firms which are connected with the construction of the new power stations and the big businesses in steel and cement etc., there can be no security for the miners.

We consider it is reactionary to talk of 'defending' the coal industry by restricting oil, nuclear power and natural gas.

Under a socialist planned economy all these alternative means of power will be developed to the full.

What coal production is necessary will be fully automatic. Human beings will not throw away their lives and risk their health crawling like half-blind animals underground.

### Cheated

But this cannot be done by miners fighting alone.

It is a political programme for the expropriation of the entire capitalist class.

As such it requires the unity of all the working class behind a revolutionary organization.

It was because this was missing that the miners were cheated after nationalization.

For who now doubts that the miners were cheated? What has their reward been?

Hard slog for ten years and then—when the demand slackened—pit closures, sackings, uprooted homes, wages being progressively more and more depressed in relation to the rising cost of living; all accompanied by a persistent drive for more productivity, more efficiency, more discipline.

Any resistance and the big

## Crisis in Soviet Agriculture

ON TUESDAY, November 25, the third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers opened in Moscow. This was the first such gathering summoned by the Party bureaucracy since 1935.

Then, as now, the central question for the Kremlin was how best to feed the working class without undermining the bureaucracy's privileges and power.

The main report at the Congress was presented by none other than Leonid Brezhnev.

After pointing to the rise in food consumption in the

towns, mainly brought about by certain economic concessions to the working class, it was made clear that the bad weather this year could not be blamed for all the difficulties and shortages existing.

Production this year was generally at least around the average for the last four years.

The leading question was the land, its efficient use and the raising of its fertility. As Brezhnev significantly pointed out:

'We are proud of the fact that the expanses of our motherland are boundless. But some people draw the erroneous conclusion from this and

consider that our land resources are limitless.'

This remark is doubtless an attack on Khrushchev's policy of spreading cultivation over as great a sown area as possible, irrespective of the potential yield and conditions of the locality.

### Discredited

This was the now-discredited thinking behind the 'virgin land' schemes of the early 1960s. However, the 'same people' referred to by Brezhnev also include Joseph Stalin and all the apologists of 'socialism in one country'



Brezhnev: Blames Khrushchev.

who sermonized on the inexhaustible resources of the Soviet Union as providing the basis for a socialist society.

Brezhnev goes on to show that such attitudes ignore and in fact encourage colossal wastage and cripple any attempts to raise the productivity of the land.

What he ascribes to the erroneous conclusions of some people is really the incapacity of the bureaucracy to develop an efficient agriculture.

Urging an all-out campaign for conserving and fertilizing the land, he called for yet further expansion of the fertilizer industry and branded farmers reluctant to use new methods of soil improvement as 'anti-social'.

A series of large irrigation schemes in arid areas like the North Caucasus steppe region were reported on at the Congress.

Brezhnev related the plight of the middle Volga region, a grain-producing zone. Here production has been hit repeatedly by severe droughts leading to heavy losses.

### Irrigate

Moreover, the state, as well as losing 'considerable quantities of produce' from the drought-stricken areas, had to assist these areas with seed, forage, food and financial aid. Brezhnev finally drew the conclusion: 'In order to

## By Dick Chappel

assist these areas there is only one answer: irrigate the land'. The question of grain production was passed over with little comment.

This silence seems to further substantiate the rumours of a new deal for importing wheat from the West.

The other problem emphasized was the age-old one of livestock. Soviet cattle are far too thin, Brezhnev reported.

More attention had to be paid to improving feeds; in this connection production of hay had risen only 9 per cent, but it had been decided that a minimum rise of 35 per cent in the production of grain for fodder was vital.

Silage production had decreased. A further two million tons of meat could be produced if the average carcass weight of cattle was increased to 350-400 kilos.

Soviet stockraising has never entirely recovered from the disastrous effects of Stalin's forced collectivization.

The problems explained by Trotsky in 'The Revolution Betrayed' in 1935 have a remarkable echo here.

In 1967, 97 million Soviet cattle produced 4.3 million tons of beef, while in the United States 109 million such animals supplied more than double the quantity: 9.5 million tons.

### Half yield

After 35 years of 'socialist' agriculture, beef yield is about half that of the capitalist farms of the USA.

Brezhnev dwelt at length on what he considered to be the main remedy for these problems: eliminate the chronic shortage of technical cadres and send more soil experts, agricultural chemists, engineers to the farms to establish an improved scientific and technical standard in agriculture which would increase yields all round.

Also launched as a new solution to the inadequacies of farming were the Agrarian-Industrial complexes.

Already several such combined factory-farms specializing in particular food products had been set up in the Ukraine and Moldavia.

This type of organization is presumably designed to gear food production more closely to the demands of the consumer and provide a basis for more rapid mechanization of processing.

It would also appear that the policy of the present leaders of the bureaucracy is once again orientated towards fostering and handing out concessions to the industrial managerial sections of the bureaucracy.

### Greater role

In this case the technician and the food-factory manager are given a greater role in the direction of the collective farms—a far cry from Khrushchev's policy of handing tractor stations to the farmers.

Side by side with these organizational proposals were the political ones of setting up Councils of Collective Farmers and an All-Union Council of Collective Farmers.

These are clear attempts to get the farmers under centralized bureaucratic control and to facilitate their acceptance of the new line of subordinating the collective farm organizations to the industrial and technical bureaucrats.

These agricultural policies are a swing away from Khrushchev's line of boosting the local collective farm managers as an independent force.

They are an attempt to stave off the growing crisis in Soviet farming by another bureaucratic technical shift, this time in favour of the managerial layers already favoured in the factories by the Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership.

Trotsky's comment summing up Soviet farming is highly relevant here:

'In agriculture immeasurably more than in industry, the low level of production comes into continual conflict with the socialist forms of property. The bureaucracy, which in the last analysis grew out of this contradiction, deepens it in turn.' ('The Revolution Betrayed', p. 135.)



Owing to consistent bureaucratic mismanagement, Soviet agriculture has not recovered from the disastrous results of Stalin's forced collectivization when crops and cattle were destroyed by Kulaks (rich peasants).

A NEW SLANDERER of Trotskyism took his bow last Friday in the Stalinist 'Morning Star'.

His name should be noted by all our readers. It is Mick Costello, ex-leader of the Young Communist League and now a Stalin-trained man working for the Stalinist press.

Costello is a man in a hurry, anxious to win his Stalinist spurs. Writing in last Friday's 'Morning Star' on the recent National Union of Students conference, Costello remarks:

'There was almost nothing in the conference of the somewhat sterile battle that used to be the order of the day, between those who wanted to consider problems in the abstract, and those who would discuss "broader" political issues without finding the bridge that would show the link between the two.'

'The only abstract philosophers of this kind were a tiny minority (perhaps half a dozen) of supporters of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League. They received no support from delegates who took seriously mandates from their local organizations.'

NONSENSE

Who is Costello trying to fool with this nonsense? Can it be his own Party members, several hundred of whom attended their recent Party Congress, buying the Workers Press on their way in and reading our reports of its proceedings the next day?

Whatever they may think of the League politically, these Communist Party members know that a movement able to launch successfully its own national daily paper has nothing in common with 'abstract philosophy'.

Once again we must ask: Who is Costello trying to impress? Is he the latest in a succession of Stalinist journalists whose speciality has been the slandering and distortion of the policies of the Trotskyist movement?

Costello certainly has all the facilities for developing into such a writer. With him on the staff of the 'Star' is the author of that notorious pamphlet 'Clear Out Hitler's Agents'—Assistant Editor William Wainwright.

This scurrilous attack on Trotskyism, written in 1942 and never repudiated by its author, concludes with the following advice to its readers:

'Expose every Trotskyist you come into contact with. Show other people where his ideas are leading. Treat him as you would an open Nazi.'

This unrepentant Stalinist now assists in the political training of Costello.

Judged by his latest journalistic effort, the pupil is responding to Wainwright's tuition.

As we have pointed out many times before, the British Communist Party adopts its 'liberal' pose on questions such as Czechoslovakia, only to draw closer to the Labour 'lefts' and, in the final analysis, through the Labour bureaucracy, to the British ruling class.

But all the old hostility to Trotskyism remains.

SOLE ATTACK

This is brought out so clearly in the case of Costello.

The Socialist Labour League is the only organization that he attacks in the whole of his article. For Jack Straw, the new reformist NUS president, he has nothing but gushing praise:

'Mr Straw's words correctly measured the mood of the students. Students will expect that a clear-cut action programme will be carried out, notwithstanding the anachronism of still having a majority on the union's executive committee which fought against many of the policies that were decided upon.'

Then comes the attack, not on this unnamed majority, but on the Socialist Labour League!

This is the essence of Stalinism. Hiding behind phrases about 'ultra-leftism' and 'abstract philosophers', it draws closer and closer to not only right-wing reformists elements, as represented by Straw, but openly capitalist organizations, such as the young Liberals, with whom the Stalinists joined forces three years ago to form their 'Radical Student Alliance'.

Costello follows in the footsteps of not only Wainwright, but younger Stalinist prospects like Monty Johnstone, who combines ultra-reformism with a steady stream of slander against the Fourth International and the Socialist Labour League.

Costello also, no doubt, draws on the experience of Fergus Nicolson in matters relating to 'ultra-leftism' amongst students.



Unlike the Stalinists who hide behind reformists like Jack Straw, the Young Socialists have campaigned to prepare a politically principled leadership in the student movement around the fight to build a revolutionary party to lead the working class.

# A new Stalin bootlicker takes the field

By Robert Black

Nicolson's first job when he became National Student Organizer of the Communist Party in 1962 was to close down entire branches of students and initiate a witch-hunt that led to scores of expulsions throughout Britain.

Johnstone's role in this particular affair was to play the game of 'loyal opposition' to the Stalinist leadership, hoping to win the confidence of critical students by his frequent references to 'that lot in King Street'.

He failed miserably, and many students developed from a critical position towards Trotskyism and the Socialist Labour League.

CUT NO ICE

The tricks that they have learned from their old-guard Stalinist tutors are faithfully reproduced by Johnstone, Costello, Nicolson and company, but they cut very little ice with the politically more serious and principled Communist Party members.

Take, for example, George Matthew's demagogic admission at the Party Congress that he 'suspended his critical faculties' during the Stalin era.

We took Matthews at his word, and gave prominence to his statement in our report of the Congress.

But Matthews is not only a member of the Communist Party National Executive, but the Editor of the 'Morning Star', and it was in this latter capacity that he presumably saw fit to exclude his admission from the report of his speech made in the Monday edition of the paper.

One 'self-critical' face for his own members within the confines of the Congress, another 'orthodox' face for the readers of the paper that he edits. This is Stalinist double book-keeping at its most dishonest.

BLATANT

It seems that Costello is learning the same method.

When we come to his treatment of the student movement, his opportunism becomes blatant.

Costello creates the illusion that students can contribute to the struggle of the working class from the outside, as student radicals, in which all students of goodwill take up a number of 'good causes' and protest about them for all they are worth.



Wainwright: The 'Morning Star' assistant editor, well versed in anti-Trotskyism.

This leads inevitably to a missionary approach to the working class:

'The inequalities of capitalist society were recognized, [on this basis, millionaires can all become allies] and broad terms of reference were given to the executive committee to take up in a campaigning fashion some of the more blatant of these.'

'In coming months we should see the students officially giving backing to squatters, tenants' associations, taking militant action over extortionate rates, housing conditions and lack of facilities.'

The NUS in other words is to become, if Costello and Nicolson have their way, a glorified protest movement for patronizing the working class and confusing those students who want to take part actively in the struggle against capitalism.

The hostility of Costello to the Socialist Labour League comes from Stalinism's hatred

for revolutionary politics and the working class.

Costello writes of the working class as if it needed the 'good works' of the NUS to overcome the excesses of 'capitalist inequality'.

Middle-class radicals have been protesting about the inequalities of capitalism for generations, while at the same time not missing the opportunity to enjoy the privileges that this inequality brings.

Unlike the various charity activities lined up for the next year, the fight on grants and student rights demands firm and principled leadership.

Education at all levels is coming under attack from the ruling class, and the Stalinist alliance with Straw and the Liberals reflects their refusal to face up to the political implications of this fight.

We do not intend to run away from the fight on student grants.

Costello's cheap gibe about 'abstract philosophers' is a cover for his own Party's retreat from positive action to defend and improve student conditions.

FULL SUPPORT

The Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists gives 100 per cent support to all students who come under attack from the government, local or college authorities on questions of student rights and conditions.

The Stalinists are preparing to evade that fight.

If the NUS is to play its part in the struggle against the Labour government and its probable Tory successors, students will have to be won to socialist policies to meet the crisis in education.

This means an all-out struggle against the type of politics represented by Costello and company.

They are only interested in winning their Stalinist spurs by slandering and discrediting the Socialist Labour League.

We can assure them that they are going to be disappointed.

## THEATRE

CROMWELL'S Revolution broke once and for all the power of the King and the state and prepared the way for the victory of the bourgeoisie and the future development of capitalism.

It was the first successful bourgeois revolution: power changed hands: a new class emerged.

But the revolution aroused not only the bourgeoisie, but many sections of the oppressed masses, who saw in Cromwell's struggle a new future for themselves.

Revolutionary conflict released a torrent of hopes, ideas and dreams for the new millennium.

Only ultimately did the true class nature of the revolution reveal itself and the hopes of the masses dwindle into apathy or be ruthlessly put down by force.

Among the many popular movements were the Diggers, led by Gerard Winstanley, a remarkable revolutionary thinker for his time, who set up a communistic rural colony in Surrey in 1649, soon after the execution of Charles I.

Winstanley and the Diggers alone represented the interests of the propertyless agricultural labourer.

Although in some senses backward-looking, he clung to the idea of the village community, which capitalism was beginning to disrupt and disintegrate. Winstanley understood that the root of social conflict flowed from the ownership of private property.

What he saw in the defeat of the King and the aristocracy was the end of property divisions. The land must now belong to all the people.

'The poorest man hath as much right to the land as the richest man,' he declared.

'This is the bondage the poor complain of, that they are kept poor by their brethren in a land where there is so much plenty for everyone.'

Of course such demands were far in excess of anything the new ruling class had in mind.

They met them in the way they knew best—with force and the military.

The Diggers were brutally dispersed.

Winstanley and the Diggers are the subject of John McGrath's new stage play 'Comrade Jacob', based on the novel by David Cauter, which opened at a new theatre in Brighton, the Gardner Centre for the Arts.

McGrath's Winstanley is a



John McGrath (left) and David Cauter.

# Winstanley and Wayne

By Brian Moore

visionary, a man of conviction, clearheadedness and passion, who believes wholeheartedly not only in the rightness of his ideas, but in the inevitability that they will be understood and practised.

He is a man of profound faith; religious, moral; a believer in the sanctity of human life, convinced that the revolution has ended the barbarism of Esau and that the age of Jacob, gentle and rational, is about to be declared.

The poor shall inherit the earth.

He set about building the commune matter-of-factly. Jerusalem will be built.

'How shall we do it?' ask his fellow Diggers.

'Dig,' he replies.

He sets off to negotiate the purchase of seed and equipment, confident and unperurbed, and it is here that he meets the arousing hostility of the local lord of the manor and the land-owning parson Platt.

Inevitably their hostility grows for they see in Winstanley's ideas the total undermining of the status quo. Platt complains to Fairfax, the urbane commander of the army, and Winstanley is summoned before him.

Dignified and direct Winstanley can see no problem. He aims to harm no one; why should anyone harm him.

And it is this unshakeable belief in the reasonableness of men that blinds Winstanley. He is fearless because he is convinced that right is upon his side.

His pacifist views can be of no threat to anyone, yet it is in response to his ideas that the real class interests emerge.

There can be no coexistence for the bourgeoisie with his communist views. They retaliate with the force of the new state.

The play is, therefore, a clarification of the class nature

of the revolution and the inadequacy of Winstanley's idealism, particularly his non-violence, when in collision with the ruling class.

'Must there be then another bloody revolution?' Winstanley asks himself at the end of the play when the Diggers have been defeated.

He is answered by his comrade, Haydon, whose opposition to the pacifism of his leader has grown as the true nature of the violence of the oppression is revealed.

'Freedom is the man that will turn the world upside down, therefore no wonder he hath enemies.'

## CINEMA

By Brian Moore

THE WESTERN must go down as one of Hollywood's great contributions to cinema.

It is a form absolutely consistent with the idealism and individualism of American pioneering history.

At its best the Western has all the confidence, assertion and simplicity of the American dream. In wild, untamed settings man's struggle for survival and law and order, while trying to preserve his own anarchic instinct, are highlighted.

It is only through the agency of a gun that these two contradictions are resolved, in a rough and ready approximation of what is 'right'.

Usually right is assisted by professional skill.

It is this that separates the

goodie from the baddie—in the last resort he is quicker on the draw.

John Wayne is the apotheosis of the Western hero, lantern jawed, curt, direct, not much of a womanizer (women are either singers in black stockings and garters, or gusty pioneers who load guns, cook steaks, and sew up wounds, when the chips are down) tough, stoical not given to sentiment, an unanswerable right arm, and above all indestructible.

The more 'homely' aspects of US imperialism are to be found dramatized.

Watching 'True Grit' this week (directed by Henry Hathaway and starring John Wayne) just two days after the news of Pinkville, the connection between celluloid mythology and brutalization was abundantly clear.

At one point in the film, Wayne, older than he's ever looked, with a black patch over his eye, points his gun at a rat that is eating scraps on the kitchen floor.

'I'm serving notice on you rat', he draws, then fires.

There follows some philosophising about criminals who too are rats and should be treated in the same way.

Actors often complain that they have to believe in their parts, but there could have been no grumble from the man who thinks Ronald Reagan is too left wing.

Performer and person unite. 'True Grit' is a curious marriage of two Hollywood conventions, John Wayne meets National Velvet. For into his brutish life comes a young girl demanding that her father's murderer be brought to justice.

She is very much the pushy American heroine, but more, she is the juvenile spokesman for a new kind of property owner, officious, backed by her lawyer, a hard commercial bargainer, with a ruthless eye to economy and finance.

She is also 15 years old. They set off in search of the killer, assisted by a Texican and the usual girl-boy arguments take place. Can she ride? Is she tough enough? Can she stand blood?

When they finally meet up with the murderer, the film takes a turn towards farce and becomes a rapid parade of predictable suspense situations that have appeared in every film since the Perils of Pauline.

The closing sequence reaffirms the unity between the property-owning girl and her tutor.

Yet there is a curious quality to this film, an ambiguity that is not exactly tongue in cheek, but leaves the options open.

For there is a grotesqueness about Wayne, something prehistoric that won't die.

The world of the western is a violent charade, a tired irrelevant game.

Hathaway the director doesn't seem certain. Is it a glamorization of Wayne preparing him for a new political image, or is it a send up?

In Hollywood that's what's known as doing a professional job and Hathaway is an old hand at it. Don't reveal your hand.

But in the week of Pinkville there's no place for ambiguity.



The Royal Oak of Brittainne. Anonymous engraving, 1649. The oak, representing Charles I, is being cut down by Republicans.

### B.B.C.-1

- 9.15 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 12.25 p.m. Apna Hi Ghar Samajhiye. 12.55 Disc A Dawn. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weather. 2.05-2.50 Schools. 3.45 Representing The Union. 4.20 Heidi and Peter. 5.15 Tom Tom. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 National News and Weather. 6.00 London—Nationwide. 6.45 The Doctors. 7.10 The Laugh Parade: 'Mr Topaze' with Peter Sellers. 8.45 The Main News and Weather. 9.00 Party Political Broadcast on behalf of the Labour Party. 9.10 The Wednesday Play: 'Blood of the Lamb', written by Leon Whiteson, with Frank Finlay. Drama set on a South African liner. 10.30 24 Hours.



### B.B.C.-2

- 11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.00 p.m. Expecting A Baby. 7.30 Newsroom and Weather. 8.00 Man Alive. 9.00 Party Political Broadcast on behalf of the Labour Party. 9.10 Show Of The Week: Vera Lynn. 9.55 My World... And Welcome To It... And The Bedroom'. Dramatization of Thurston story. 10.20 Know Your Owns. 10.40 News Summary and Weather. 10.45 Line-Up. I.T.V. 11.00-11.57 a.m. Schools. 1.40-2.55 p.m. Schools. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 The Tingha and Tucker Club. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Lift Off. 5.20 Sexton Blake. 5.50 News from ITN. 6.03 Today.

- 6.30 The Ghost and Mrs Muir. 7.00 This Is Your Life. 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.00 The Champions. 9.00 Party Political Broadcast on behalf of the Labour Party. 9.10 Special Branch. 10.10 News. 10.40 Association Football. 11.35 Professional Wrestling. 12.15 a.m. The Papers. 12.30 Left Alone. All independent channels as London ITV except at the following times. CHANNEL: 4.50 p.m. Puffin's Birthday Greetings. 6.00 Channel News and Weather. 6.10 The Pursuers. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure Hunt. 8.00 The Saint. 9.00 Life In France. 12.10 a.m. Epilogue. News and Weather in French. Weather. ANGLIA: 4.05 p.m. Katie Stewart Cooks. 4.30 Anglia Newsroom. 4.35 The Romper Room. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 8.00 The Avengers. 12.05 a.m. Reflection. HARLECH: 4.18 p.m. It's Time For Me. 4.25 High Living. 6.01 Report. 6.20

- Batman. 6.35 Crossroads. 12.05 a.m. Weather. Harlech (Wales) as above except: 2.55 p.m. Interlude. 3.05 Sherlock Holmes Festival. 4.25 Interlude. 4.29-4.55 Crossroads. 6.01 Y Dydd. 6.26 Castle Haven. 6.51-7.00 Report. ATV MIDLANDS: 4.00 p.m. News Headlines. 4.02 Houseparty. 4.15 Halls Of Ivy. 4.40 The Tingha and Tucker Club. 6.00 ATV Today, including Police File. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.00 Department S. 12.08 a.m. Pulse. Weather Forecast. YORKSHIRE: 4.00 p.m. Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 Survival. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.30 Hogan's Heroes. 8.00 The Saint. 12.05 a.m. Late Weather. GRANADA: 3.45 p.m. Encore—University Challenge. 4.25 The Short Story. 6.00 The Beverley Hillbillies. 6.25 Newsview. It's Trueman. 8.00 Department S. 12.05-12.30 The Papers. ULSTER: 4.30 p.m. Romper Room. 4.50 Ulster News Headlines. 6.00 UTV Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 8.00 Department S. 12.05 a.m. Weather. TYNE-TEES: 4.09 p.m. North East Newsroom. 4.11 News Headlines. 4.13 Torchy. 4.30 Freud On Food. 4.53 North East Newsroom. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Police Call. 6.35 Castle Haven. 8.00 Man In A Suiatse. 12 midnight Late News Extra. 12.15 a.m. Epilogue. GRAMPIAN: 4.15 p.m. News Headlines. 4.30 Castle Haven. 6.00 Grampian News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 This Is Your Life. 8.00 The Baron. 8.55 Police News. 10.40 Responsible Society?

# Behind the Tilbury container ban

Second of two articles on containerization in London and Liverpool

BY DAVID MAUDE

## WHY IS the Communist Party unable to discuss the real issues behind containerization?

As was explained in the first part of this article yesterday, while the docks remain in capitalist hands, containerization poses an immediate threat to conditions, jobs and wages.

The only principled position that can be taken here is no co-operation with new methods of cargo handling until full nationalization of the docks under the control of those who work in them.

This is the position that has been fought for by the All Trades Unions Alliance.

Whether most dockers realize this consciously or not, containerization poses very sharply the question of power.

Neither the union leaders nor their 'loyal opposition' in the British Communist Party fight on these lines.

Last Friday, the first and last time to date the Party carried more than neutral reports of the Tilbury question, the 'Morning Star' came out patriotically with the following:

'The container company employers ought not to be allowed to blackmail the dockers, the country or the government by threatening to remove to a foreign port. They should be taken over, along with all the remaining private firms operating in the docks and merged into a unified nationalized port industry.'

Precisely what the government, with the acclamation of large sections of the Tory press and the employers, now intend to do!

## Cover up

More than this, at no stage has the 'Morning Star' brought out the treacherous opportunism of the union leaders, fought their agreement with Lord Devlin's capitalist docks 'modernization' or struggled for the building of an alternative leadership on the docks.

It has covered up for them and even led the field in betrayal.

Devlin was given his first recommendation as far as dockers were concerned by Mr Jack Dash (formerly of the unofficial liaison committee on the Royal docks and now much in demand for businessmen's lunches, Young Tory meetings, church services, garden fetes and bar-mitzvahs).

Communist Party members subsequently sat on the modernization committees designed to help implement Devlin's proposals in both London and Liverpool.

In other words, they collaborated with the capitalist rationalization of the docks from start to finish.

Meanwhile, they moved closer and closer to the official machine of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

In July of this year, Merseyside T&GWU stewards—many of them influenced by the Communist Party—helped union officials to send dockers back to work after their four-day strike against the employment of non-registered labour at the Containerbase Federation's Aintree depot.

A limited agreement was extracted from Sir Andrew Crichton that dockers would be employed at Aintree.

## Signed

Nothing was settled about either the Federation's other depots, the fundamental issue of containerization itself or how non-registered labour came to be employed at Aintree in the first place.

This strike took place 13 months after the T&GWU's Mr Jack Jones and Mr Tim O'Leary had signed an agreement with Containerbase, a subsidiary of Overseas Containers, covering all its British depots.

While giving preference to dockers, this did not guarantee them the work.

Pay and conditions were to be negotiated through the

union's Road Transport Group!

Why is this important? Because, as the Communist Party's Liverpool docks branch has pointed out, and the Party's leadership ignores, the employers try constantly to split up the dockers in order to take them on and defeat them section by section.

The formula now being used in an attempt to force through containerization in both London and Liverpool is precisely this.

There has already been a considerable campaign to give the impression that Liverpool dockers are going to work containers regardless of the pay and conditions attached.

No Liverpool dockers spoken to by the Workers Press over the last few days knows of any meeting where such a decision was taken.

Press reports appear to be inspired entirely by interviews with T&GWU officials and members of the local modernization committee.

These people have their own opinions, of course. But in no sense are they necessarily those of Liverpool's 11,000 dockers, who the press claimed had agreed to working containers.

At the end of January this year, more attempts were made to control dockers through the publication of a White Paper setting out the Labour government's plans for docks 'nationalization'.

Far from answering the needs of dockers, the White Paper was designed solely to 'enable the industry to meet the challenge of technological development and provide a more efficient service to users'. (The Reorganization of the Ports, HMSO.)

It proposed the setting up

of a National Ports Authority and the buying-out of employers in all ports handling more than five million tons of cargo a year.

Some highly-profitable sections of the industry, like the container port of Felixstowe, were excluded from the government take-overs and some £25 million of public money was earmarked as compensation for those employers who would be bought out.

Nothing has changed between January and the publication of the government's nationalization Bill last Friday.

In fact the Bill is even more right-wing than the White Paper.

## Confuse

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**MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT**

DATED 27th May 1968 between

(A) F. C. Weymouth  
R. Galois  
D. W. Humphries  
being authorized by the partners (hereinafter referred to as 'the Federation') who intend to form Containerbase Federation Limited which will represent Containerbase (Birmingham North) Ltd.  
Containerbase (Leeds) Ltd.  
Containerbase (Liverpool) Ltd.  
Containerbase (London East) Ltd.  
Containerbase (Manchester) Ltd.  
Containerbase (Scotland) Ltd.

and

(B) THE TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION (hereinafter referred to as 'the Union')

record that it has been agreed as follows—

- It is desirable to co-operate to develop, maintain and safeguard mutually satisfactory conditions of employment and to promote harmonious relationships.
- The Federation recognizes that the Transport and General Workers Union is the appropriate Union to negotiate on behalf of operatives employed by the Containerbase Companies listed above.
- Trade Union membership will be a condition of employment.
- An agreement will be negotiated between the Federation and the Union through its Road Transport Commercial Group for:
  - The determination of basic rates of wages, hours of work and holidays and other conditions of service as shall be agreed from time to time.
  - The establishment of measures to secure the observance of joint decisions.
- For recruitment purposes, the Federation will consult the Union and a joint procedure will be established in respect of each Containerbase. Preference will be given to registered dock workers possessing the necessary aptitude and skills, when applications are considered for this new employment. Suitable persons will also be given to other suitably qualified Port Transport Industry workers where applicable.

This agreement will be amended by mutual consent or terminated by six calendar months notice in writing by either party or earlier by mutual agreement.

For and on behalf of:  
The Containerbase Partners  
F. C. Weymouth  
R. Galois  
D. W. Humphries

For and on behalf of:  
The Transport and General Workers Union  
J. L. Jones  
Assistant Executive Secretary  
T. O'Leary  
National Secretary, Docks Group  
W. J. Jones  
National Secretary, Road Transport Commercial Group

## FOURTH RAID BY ISRAELIS

ISRAELI launched new attacks on Jordan and Egypt yesterday, with jet raids on Arab guerrilla positions along the Suez canal and near the Jordanian village of Adasiyah. It was the fourth such raid in 36 hours.



Engineering workers in a recent Italian demonstration, many of whom rallied round slogans of 'Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat'. Such workers will rally to the CP's left tendency.

## Mandela's wife in trial of 22

THE TRIAL began yesterday in Pretoria of 22 Africans charged with offences under South Africa's 'Suppression of Communism' Act.

The first witness was Mr Philip Golding, the British economist detained in South Africa without charge since May, who was told by the judge that if he gave evidence satisfactorily he could be removed from prosecution.

Among the accused is Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, former leader of the banned African National Congress who has been jailed for life by the apartheid regime.

# 'Manifesto' group protest expulsions from Italian C.P.

INTERVIEWED on Italian television last Thursday, Luigi Pintor, one of the leaders of the disciplined opposition group within the Italian Communist Party made the following statement on the aims of the journal 'Il Manifesto':



'The steps taken against us are as serious as they are unjustified. At the 12th Congress of the Party and in "Il Manifesto" we proposed positions which are widely held in the Party, in the workers' movement and amongst the youth.

'We called for a sharper fight against all reformist illusions. We said that it is possible to fight for socialism today, not in a distant future [a reference to the Italian Party leadership's policy of "structural reforms" within capitalism].

'We said that the worldwide crisis of our movement could only be overcome by throwing the great communist ideal of equality against all bureaucratic degeneration. [This is probably an allusion to the bureaucratic regimes in East Europe and the Soviet Union.]

'To strike at us now with disciplinary measures after 30 years as communist militants is in effect to seek to prevent the debate on these questions continuing among the rank and file of the Party.

'However, this will not prevent us continuing our struggle, in the "Manifesto" and also in other ways.'

Lucio Magri, another editor of the opposition journal, added the following comment:

'If we wish to create a real left in this country, we must start from the struggle of actual forces. . . . Certainly, in order to make a revolution a large and solid organization is required.

'But today this organization remains largely to be built, working within and outside the Communist Party and the trade unions to renew ideas, men and old routines of work.'

The next issue of 'Il Manifesto' will appear in the middle of December and will contain both a documentation and analysis of the events relating to the disciplining of the three Central Committee members who lead the opposition group.

## BP-Sohio deal clinched

THE BP-Sohio deal was clinched yesterday when a consent decree removing the US government's anti-trust objections to the merger was filed in Cleveland District Court yesterday.

The decree was, in fact, a final formality following the agreement between British Petroleum and Standard Oil of Ohio on November 17.

## Two killed in Kerala clashes

POLICE killed two and wounded several hundred demonstrators in the Indian state of Kerala yesterday.

The clashes followed rallies led by the 'left' Stalinist tendency, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which after flirting with Peking for a time, has now moved back towards the pro-Moscow Stalinists.

## FRENCH AIR STAFF IN 24-HR STRIKE

TWO THOUSAND French airline stewards and hostesses began a 24-hour strike yesterday, bringing both foreign and domestic services to a halt.

The dispute concerns government allocation of safety certificates to airline personnel.

## Nixon to confront press

PRESIDENT Nixon is to hold a press conference on Vietnam next Monday, it was announced from the White House.

It will be his first confrontation with the US press since September 26.

## 'B'-Specials

FROM PAGE ONE  
sham of bourgeois democracy. This was never more true than in the case of Miss Devlin's role in the debate. She correctly said that the proposed Ulster Defence Regiment will be a continuation of the hated 'B'-Specials. She pointed out that the phrase 'Ulster Defence' is indelibly associated with Protestant organizations, usually right-wing, extremist, anti-Catholic bodies.

But for Miss Devlin the problem is not the repressions in Ulster and the imposition of military rule, in all but name, but that the new Defence Regiment will not attract Catholics to join it!

Miss Devlin proposes to alter that by changing the

## Pensions pipe-dream

A NEW pamphlet published today outlines the Labour government's 'New Pensions Scheme.'

This explains in 'everyday language' the government's proposals for a new earnings-related pension and social security scheme outlined in three White Papers (Cmds. 3883, 4124 & 4195).

Under the proposed new scheme, beginning in April 1972, both contributions and benefits will be based on the earnings of the individual employee.

Contributions will be 6% per cent of earnings. Below about £1,100 a year, weekly contributions will be less than at present. At the 'national average' of £1,250 the increase will be 2s 1d per week.

The Labourites have excelled themselves in producing a scheme for getting a fair deal out of capitalism, completely abstracted from the objective economic and political crisis.

\* 'The New Pensions Scheme', Dept. of Health & Social Security. London: HMSO. Price 1s 0d (5p) net.

## Container ban

FROM PAGE ONE  
announced plans to introduce shift-working in defiance of the union's ban.

A spokesman for the committee said: 'We have an agreement with the men—all members of the union—and we do not anticipate any trouble.'

## We don't want 'strings' with rise

FROM PAGE ONE  
'Just as long as there are thousands of parcels tied up in BRS yards, we're the winners. . . something has got to burst. There's never been a strike like this since nationalization.'

The meeting applauded one

## Less noisy

It is planned to accelerate the electrification of the entire region and to make travel less noisy through the continuous-welded rail programme.

Mr Ibbotson predicted that improved services would bring in another £17 million a year

## Pharmaceutical workers plan wages strike

FOLLOWING the breakdown of wage negotiations, an official strike of Italy's pharmaceutical workers has been called for December 9. They will be joined for the first two days of their unlimited strike by schoolteachers, who are demanding an integrated policy for all of Italy's schools.

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Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

## S. Region modernization will mean more speed-up

BRITISH RAIL'S Southern Region has warned that its modernization plans are in danger if the present investment rate is not increased.

Mr Lance Ibbotson, the region's chairman and general manager, has said that to maintain present standards over the next ten years would cost £140 million.

The present investment rate is equal to £100 million and about £220 million will be needed to fulfil the region's ten-year improvement plan, he warned.

Under this plan, 30 to 40 of the larger stations would be reconstructed or renovated every year, better information would be available about delays in services and trains would be warmer, cleaner and more punctual.

This means that speed-up and redundancy must be an integral part of British Rail's 'modernization' programme. This will go along with big increases in fares and the increasing penetration of private industry into the more lucrative sections of the nationalized railways.

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## Gollan

FROM PAGE ONE  
neither communists nor socialists, but liars, charlatans and apologists for the greatest and vilest murderer of Communists next to Hitler.

We challenge you in public debate to refute this accusation. Come and prove your foul accusation against Trotsky.

That, Mr Gollan, is all we ask!