

What we think  
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Though Lodge gave 'personal reasons' as his excuse for resigning, his position at the talks has been made untenable by the massive anti-war movement at home, the revelations of horrible atrocities in Vietnam, and the continued military successes of the National Liberation Front.

The most decisive factor in precipitating the crisis in Paris, however, is the signs of the emergence of the US working class against the war.

This is the force which US capitalism fears most of all. While Nixon plans to continue the war, big sections of US capitalism now want an end to what is becoming economically and politically an explosive situation for them.

The two moratorium demonstrations brought millions of people onto the streets in opposition to Nixon's war. In the US itself, workers took part for the first time as sections of their class, marching in the demonstrations behind their trade union banners.

This opens up great prospects for the revolutionary movement. The movement of the working class in the US poses the building of the Socialist Party in opposition to the capitalist two-party system, deeply compromised by the Vietnam war and the attacks on living standards.

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THE WORKERS' PRESS

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Cynical The real nature of the 'anti-war' leaders in the two capitalist parties is revealed for all to see in this cynical statement.

The Senator complains that reports of the massacre are undermining the 'credibility' of the US occupation of South Vietnam.

So that the war can be sold

## FUND We need £1,000 by Nov. 30

NOVEMBER 30 is the deadline for this month's £1,000 fighting fund.

Already contributions are coming in and we hope that we shall be home and dry during the next few days.

Our editorial staff are extremely encouraged by the letters of approval and support which are a regular feature in our daily postbag.

In turn no effort is being spared to go on improving Workers Press. £1,000 a month is the very lowest target we can appeal for.

Will you help us immediately by mailing your donation to:

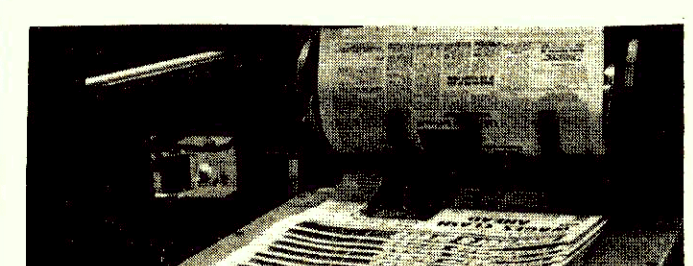
Workers Press Monthly Fund, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

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BY DAVID MAUDE

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## Milan police mutiny report

ACCORDING to reports from Milan, a section of the city's police force mutinied after clashing with workers during last Wednesday's general strike.

News of a policeman's death in the fighting sparked off a mutiny in the central Milan police station.

Shouting 'We are not beasts, we are human too', they ran to their jeeps and with sirens screaming threatened to run down a cordon of officers and drive out of the building.

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By a foreign correspondent

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Extracts from a letter by Piotr Grigorenko to

## 'Historical Problems of the C.P.S.U.'

— a Soviet historical journal

**WHY SHOULD anyone want to maintain the silence about the first months of the Second World War?**

Deborine and Telpukhovsky are trying to convince the reader that by carefully examining the concrete causes of the defeats we suffered at the beginning of the war in 1941, we weaken the scope of our final victory and denigrate the role that our social and state structure played in that final victory over the enemy.

It would be impossible to speak greater untruths.

Just look at the long list of so-called 'mistakes' and 'errors

discover in them confirmation of their own a priori views risk keeping.

The Hitlerites and neofascists have good reason to falsify the truth in this way. But why would we hide the truth of the first months of the war 22 years after it is over?

By becoming silent and minimizing all the weaknesses—whatever they were—which our defence suffered from, and by refusing to analyse boldly and completely the causes of the inadequacies existing in the years 1941-1943, we risk not digging out their roots.

We are leaving a menace to hover over the future security of our country, over the life of our people. That is why in history betrayals and mistakes in the preparation of a country for war have never been forgiven.

the Soviet Union to face a surprise attack. In all the countries which were at war with Hitler's Germany and allied with us, the errors of the pre-war period have more or less been judged.

England removed Chamberlain's government only because it was incapable of preventing war from breaking out in conditions unfavourable for Great Britain; it was removed only for its errors of foreign policy (Munich).

The United States set up a Congressional commission just to investigate the Pearl Harbour surprise attack on the American Pacific fleet by the Japanese Air Force.

France arraigned its government before tribunals for having allowed its army to be beaten, an army very much inferior—above all in arms and equipment—even to the troops of our frontier regions. . . .

And in our country the people paid for the mistakes of our government, mistakes which were terrible betrayals.

The people paid first of all with the fantastic losses sustained at the front. The Germans on the Eastern, Western, Southern and African fronts lost about four million men—four million killed or wounded and then dying from their wounds.

On the German-Russian front alone we lost 13.5 million men, approximately three-and-a-half times as many.

But none of those directly responsible for the paralysis of our country in the face of aggression accepted the least responsibility for these deaths—not even moral responsibility.

### Difficult

This is strange, almost unbelievable. If, however, one considers all that the 20th Congress revealed, it all becomes comprehensive.

But today it is much more difficult to explain the publication of Deborine and Telpukhovsky's article, which not only tries to hide the truth about our defeats, but openly threatens whoever tries to unveil this truth.

'And where are they threatening?'

In the official review of the Marxist-Leninist Institute! For whom and for what does such an article serve? It is hard to believe it appeared on the initiative of its two authors or of you, comrade editor. No, someone ordered this libel.

Forces exist—and they are obviously influential forces—which have an interest in maintaining the silence about the first months of the war.

The article published in

your review is merely an attempt to force the first period of the war into the category of 'taboo' subjects, with no consideration for the fundamental interests of the defence of our country.

A number of disturbing questions are posed in relation to this article:

Whose interests does it serve?

Who is afraid of the truth about the first months of the war?

What are the forces who, to the direct detriment of our country and its defensive potential, are obstinately trying to wipe out this whole period?

These are terrifying forces for our country.

It is time to sound the alarm about this; today, as tension mounts in the entire world, the imperialist aggressors spread their pillage to the four corners of our planet and a new world war knocks at our door. If, under these conditions, the forces who committed what can only be called treason when preparing for the last world war, survive and even extend their influence, we must, at the top

try to imagine how a handful of traitors or even a fairly large and coherent organization could have successfully infiltrated our state machinery.

But this is so preposterous that I cannot even express these ideas. It appears indubitable to me that any organization of this kind would have been unmasked and disarmed very quickly in any country.

However, an enormous betrayal, unprecedented in history, did take place.

### Disarm

And after taking place, it succeeds to this day in hiding itself from the eyes of the people. Only terrible forces are capable of that.

The people cannot live peacefully in this world full of contradiction as long as such forces exist. They must be surrounded and disarmed, and quickly. The needs of the defence of our country require this above all.

It is finally time to say: no more! We have had enough

# Why I will not vote for Kosygin

## —a letter to Moscow electors

ALEXIS KOSYGIN was part of Stalin's government. Then, at Khrushchev's side he occupied the post of First Vice-President of the Council of Ministers.

He therefore shares responsibility for the activities and mistakes of these two governments.

We can allow such deeds to sink into darkness and be forgotten when it is clear that the implicated man has become conscious of his errors and does not intend to repeat them.

Unhappily this is not true in Alexis Kosygin's case. He remains the disciple of Stalin and Khrushchev precisely in the area in which the old leaders failed most seriously: respect for socialist law. Indeed, Kosygin does not think Soviet law concerns him.

I will give several examples of this.

From 1961 I spoke out against the unreasonable and often damaging activities of Khrushchev and his gang.

From that time I became the victim of unlawful reprisals and on February 2, 1964, I was arrested.

I won't discuss the legality or illegality of this arrest here; neither will I dwell on the way the law was twisted in the course of the investigation and judiciary debates.

I will only point out that an appearance of legality was given to the verdict when, on July 17, 1964, the military college of the Supreme Court of the USSR aligned itself with expert opinion on my psychological irresponsibility, shelved my case and decided that I must undergo treatment.

According to the law, the shelving of a case is as good as an acquittal. But the authorities did not look at it this way and from the time of the pronouncement of the verdict I was subjected to harsh administrative reprisals.

Shut up in the psychiatric hospital adjoining the prison, I learned by hearsay that, by decision of the Council of Ministers, I had been reduced from General to second-class soldier, then struck off the army lists and deprived of all my pension rights.

I never received official confirmation of this news at the time, but everything led me to believe that such a decision had been taken at the insistence of Khrushchev.

The illegality of such proceedings government, without wanting to prefer to keep quiet about it. The absurd idea that nothing should be done about the uniform!

But if I wasn't officially in against me, I suffered their consequences. My arrest I haven't received a copy of the pay due to me up to the day list, not to mention the pension pay.

I was refused the pension legislation no document attesting that I'd left of such a document I could not my family, which includes two children, demned to need.

As I could not accept such treatment as soon as I regained my freedom.

At the end of December 1964, my arrest and after long months' pension book in the mail indicated a third of the sum the law gives me.

I therefore protested again.

In February 1966, after a long with the threat of depriving me of out of Moscow and shutting me up for a second time.

Faced with these threats, I wrote I asked him in my letter to tell me of Ministers had actually decided the army.

The head of the government concluded from this that he himself arbitrary action against me and the of the threats of which I was the confidence of the electors. There Kosygin and I call on the electors to

tial. However no one has yet dealt with this problem.

There was, however, a prodigious turnover in the Soviet Party, economic and other organizations. The bootlickers, the slanderers, the informers, the incapable and those unqualified for any leading position, attained key posts.

Careerism and its inevitable corollary, bluff, expanded sumptuously.

Unrestrained flattery reinforced and hardened delirious bureaucracy. Stalin's policy favoured this situation. He poured important appointments—and secrets—on the high functionaries— together with cars, country houses, bonuses, promotions and decorations.

### Undermined

These also weighed heavily on the budget and undermined the capacities of the state machinery. The spirit of initiative succumbed as unbridled servility flourished. Consideration for 'position' was substituted for those interests which were allegedly being served.

This is perhaps what gave birth to phenomena like 'golikovchina', an attitude which consists in sending intelligence information that will please hierarchic superiors. This problem too is still to be studied.

Nekritch is silent on all these problems, but this cannot be held against him. On this ground he is a pioneer and it is good that he has raised even part of the veil covering the secrets hidden from the popular masses for such a long time.

The only complaint that I Golikovchina: comes from Golikov, chief of intelligence on the eve of the war who specialized in false information which would please Stalin.



of our voices, cry danger.

What happened on the eve of the Second World War was terrifying.

It seemed as if someone was waiting with unwavering patience, persistence and understanding to facilitate the victory of the fascists; waiting to put our entire people under their yoke.

When I think about that I

insipid declarations and hollow talk!

The human conscience can no longer compromise with hypocrisy and lies.

We cannot allow anyone to hide behind the deeds of unknown heroes who died through the direct fault of amateurs with pretty phrases about the heroism of others.

We can no longer scoff at the

memory of those who fell on the battlefield by pardoning past and future traitors.

All members of Lenin's party, all conscious citizens must demand a public investigation into the real causes of the defeat we suffered during the first months of the war.

That will increase our country's international authority, reinforce its defensive potential and bring unknown heroes out of the silence; men like Golikov's predecessor as general staff chief of intelligence, Air Force Lieutenant-General Proskurov, who was sent to his death by Stalin and Beria's executioners because he refused to give false information about the enemy in order to please Stalin.

Finally it will serve as an excellent warning to the present and future commanders of the Soviet armed forces.

What has been the result of Nekritch's research?

He reached the conclusions I express in my letter on almost all these problems, but with more form, more diplomacy and more circumlocution.

### Not good

His book doesn't analyse the relationships between forces at the beginning of the war; his description of the evolution of Soviet military theory is not good; he doesn't throw light on the whole of the problem—far from it—of the leading cadres of the Red Army; he never analyses the effect of the massive repressions on the defensive potential of the country.

Previously I have only approached this last problem from a specifically military angle. During the purge years the arrests hit every area of society, shaking and draining all the links in the chain of economic, political and cultural life of the country.

On the eve, and even in the middle of the war, millions of men qualified for combat,



Russian prisoners captured in the early months of Hitler's invasion, were moved in open freight trucks in sub-zero weather. Complained a German officer: 'There is no sense transporting manpower in open unheated cars because we have only corpses to unload'.

of calculation' committed by our leaders. Such an impudent deliverance of a country to the 'fire and iron' of the enemy is unprecedented in history. That our country, under such conditions, was able not only to resist but to triumph surpasses the imagination.

Our bitterest enemies must recognize that this was because of the internal strength of our social and political structure, the force of our people. We can only emphasize this truth forcefully, we can only make it even more evident and more convincing by revealing the terrible trials our people had to surmount—trials brought about by the errors and perhaps the crimes of the leaders responsible for the preparation of the country for war.

### Hinders

On the other hand, to try to cover up the facts is to play the game of those really responsible for our defeats, because it hinders the possibility of preventing the repetition of those terrible trials.

It is above all to play the game of the Nazi falsifiers.

It has been common knowledge for a long time that any country at war tries to magnify the forces of its vanquished adversary in order to increase the value of its victory. Read von Tippelskirch—you won't find any indication of the unprepared state of our army in his work.

If one follows the fundamental thesis of Nekritch's two critics, the work of the German von Tippelskirch is the most objective analysis of the initial period of the war. Generally speaking, according to him, our High Command never made a mistake. We didn't even blow up our fortified old sectors since, according to his work, the valiant German divisions 'broke through the Stalin line'.

This is the illustrious company that those who refuse to study facts and only try to

# A declaration

By Zinaida Grigorenko

To Comrade L. Brezhnev, Central Committee of the CPSU.  
To Comrade Gorkin, Supreme Court of the USSR.  
To Comrade Rudenko, Procurer General of the USSR.  
To Comrade Blokhin, President of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR.

From Zinaida Grigorenko, Party member, 2 Pereulok Komsomol'sky, Apt. 34, telephone G-6-27-37.

DURING the Ginsburg-Galanskov trial my husband, Piotr Grigorenko, was called as a witness by lawyer Kaminskaya. Judge Mironov, president of the tribunal, refused this request and based this refusal on a certificate from psychiatric dispensary number 1 in the Lenin district stating that Grigorenko was mentally irresponsible.

This certification is not genuine.

In December, 1965, by decision of the medical commission, my husband was declared psychologically normal, taken off the psychiatric hospital list and never called back to the hospital.

A certificate proving his good health was moreover presented to the tribunal.

In perfectly good health, Piotr Grigorenko works as a foreman in the SU-2 assembly workshop and leads Party discussions as a Propagandist. The circle he is in includes 20 people; 13 communists and seven non-Party people.

On the one hand my husband leads a political circle and on the other hand it appears he is mentally ill. Could that be a mistake? Not at all, because it is a violation of the law that has lasted for five years.

On February 1, 1964, Major-General Grigorenko, master of sciences, was arrested on suspicion of anti-communist activity. Instead of proceeding with an investigation of his case however, it was referred to the Serbsky Institute, where he was declared irresponsible and sent to Leningrad Prison Hospital for treatment.

When I asked when my husband had lost his reason, as I myself hadn't noticed, the military judges, Lieutenant-Colonel Kuznetsov and Kantorov, explained to me that his political points of view and his persistent dissemination of these views, made him a socially dangerous individual.

They also told me that my husband would be retired as an ill man and keep his rank and his pension.

In Party circles, I learned that a directive ordered the temporary expulsion of the mentally ill, but allowed them to be reinstated in the Party after their cure. What has happened since then?

By Khrushchev's decision of August 29, 1964, my husband was reduced to the rank of private and expelled from the Party as mentally ill.

All the people hospitalized with my husband, except him, received their pensions. The law was strictly observed for murderers; Lieutenant-Colonel Chechenko, who killed his own daughter, and Lieutenant-Colonel Burkovsky, who shot three people, were retired but kept their ranks and pensions.

On April 29, 1965, my husband left hospital with a second category infirmity. Although provided with this certification and wounded in the war, he could not get his pension or work for ten months. He therefore had to take a job as a stevedore.

In December, 1965, by decision of the medical commission of dispensary number 1 in the Lenin district, my husband was declared sane and taken off the psychiatric hospital list.

He was not, however, reintegrated into the Party, his rank was not restored and the pension he had earned after 34 years of faithful military service was not given to him. Wounded several times, he could not even get a certificate stating he is a war invalid. . . .

The story I have told here is a grotesque parody of justice. I think it is only a prelude to new reprisals against my husband.

It fills me with horror—even more so as during the years of the cult of the individual, I lost my first husband, my sister and my brother-in-law, not to mention the repression I myself was subjected to.

As a communist and citizen of the Soviet Union I demand an end to the illegal acts of which my husband and family are victims.

I demand an end to the persecution unleashed against my children and myself. I demand the complete restoration of my husband's rights as a Party member and citizen, and that the rank that was his in the army be returned to him.

January 23, 1968



Towns such as the one above fell quickly to Hitler's invading Panzers. . . . And in our country the people paid for the mistakes of our government, mistakes which were terrible betrayals. . . . On the German-Russian front alone we lost 13.5 million men . . .



BOOK

'P.S.U.'

Historical journal

try to imagine how a handful of traitors or even a fairly large and coherent organization could have successfully infiltrated our state machinery.

Disarm

And after taking place, it succeeds to this day in hiding itself from the eyes of the people. Only terrible forces are capable of that.

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-a letter to Moscow electors By Piotr Grigorenko

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I never received official confirmation of this news at the time, but everything led me to believe that such a decision had been taken at the insistence of Khrushchev.

The illegality of such proceedings is so flagrant that the government, without wanting to rescind the decision, prefers to keep quiet about it. This is no doubt because of the absurd idea that nothing should tarnish the honour of the uniform.

But if I wasn't officially informed of the sanctions against me, I suffered their consequences. From the day of my arrest I haven't received a kopeck.

Nevertheless, according to the law I should receive the pay due to me up to the day I was struck off the army list, not to mention the service pay.

I was refused the pension legally due to me. I received no document attesting that I'd left the military, and deprived of such a document I could not find work.

Accordingly, my family, which includes two invalids, and I were condemned to need.

As I could not accept such arbitrary action I protested as soon as I regained my freedom.

At the end of December 1965, almost two years after my arrest and after long months of waiting, I received a pension book in the mail indicating that I would be paid a third of the sum the law gives me a right to.

I therefore protested again.

In February 1966, after a long silence, I was answered with the threat of depriving me of my pension, sending me out of Moscow and shutting me up in a psychiatric hospital for a second time.

Faced with these threats, I wrote directly to Kosygin. I asked him in my letter to tell me at least if the Council of Ministers had actually decided upon my dismissal from the army.

The head of the government didn't answer me. I concluded from this that he himself was an accomplice in this arbitrary action against me and that he was perfectly aware of the threats of which I was the object.

A man guilty of such conduct does not deserve the confidence of the electors. Therefore I will vote against Kosygin and I call on the electors to do the same.

June 3, 1966

tial. However no one has yet dealt with this problem.

There was, however, a prodigious turnover in the Soviet, Party, economic and other organizations. The bootlickers, the slanderees, the informers, the incapable and those unqualified for any leading position, attained key posts.

Careerism and its inevitable corollary, bluff, expanded sumptuously.

Unrestrained flattery reinforced and hardened delirious bureaucratism. Stalin's policy favoured this situation.

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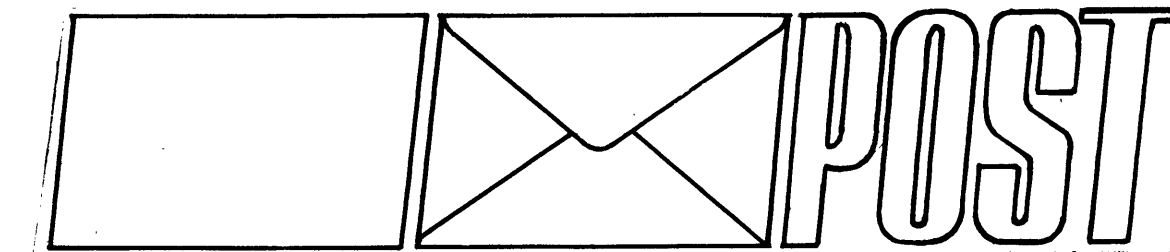
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Review contains misleading passages

DAVE SPOONER'S review of the volume 'Selected Works' of Lenin (November 14) contains a number of misleading passages.

For example he writes: 'The development of imperialism in the late 19th century exerted enormous pressure upon the traditional working-class parties.'

'Kautsky was the major theoretical spearhead of this revisionist trend, which was based on the labour aristocracy which enjoys a privileged position within imperialism.'

Kautsky certainly became, in the period following the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, a bitter opponent of the Russian Revolution and Marxism.

He was a centrist covering up for the right on the basic questions of the struggle against imperialist war and against the German bourgeoisie.

But when Bernstein attacked Marxism in the 1890s and thus 'spearheaded' the revisionist attack, Kautsky was one of his opponents.

The writings of Lenin before 1913 contain many, many acknowledgements of Kautsky's contributions to Marxist analysis, and he replied heatedly to those who at that time suggested that the Bolsheviks were 'a different kind of Marxists' from Kautsky.

Trotsky points out in his 'Permanent Revolution' that both he and Lenin arrived at similar conclusions to Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg on the achievability of the working class achieving power in backward Russia in advance of the rest of Europe.

Comrade Spooner is rightly anxious to point out the unique contribution of Lenin on the building of the revolutionary party, and the fact that this role required the defence of Marxist theory against enemies like Kautsky, but this cannot be properly understood if the actual history is distorted.

To write about the revisionists revising Lenin's characterization of imperialism, and then to quote against them Lenin's article 'Marxism and Revisionism', can only mislead.

The article in question was written some seven years before Lenin even set down his characterization of imperialism.

The danger here is that Marxism is not grasped historically, in its contradictory development, but presented as

ing and valuable; we must learn to appreciate it and support it for, in its absence, it would be hopeless to expect the victory of the proletarian revolution in Great Britain.

At the same time, we must tell them openly and frankly that a state of mind is by itself insufficient for leadership of the masses in a great revolutionary struggle, and that the cause of the revolution may well be harmed by certain errors that people who are most devoted to the cause of the revolution are

about to commit, or are committing.

This puts the criticism in a different perspective. In fact, on the basis of Lenin's advice and the work of the first four congresses of the Communist International, the fight for a change was begun for the British Communist Party to overcome its sectarianism, but this turn to mass work was to fall victim, as Comrade Spooner indicates, to the growth of Stalinism after 1925.

Lenin considered that Sylvia Pankhurst and Willie Gallacher were mistaken in thinking that urging workers to vote Labour was 'a betrayal of communism'. In 1921, as can be seen in the picture, the British CP, heeding Lenin's advice, changed its policy, but this turn to the mass movement was to fall victim to the growth of Stalinism after 1925. Seated (l. to r.): Tom Bell, Albert Inkpin, Arthur MacManus, Willie Gallacher, Fred Peet.

body, the ASTMS leadership refused to back them unless they struck in rotation, one department at a time.

Despite my differences with Trotskyism, I find its contents instructive and informative especially the detailed reporting of the miners' struggle and the opposition in Russia.

Leftists who slate the SLL as 'sectarian', whilst in the same breath belittling the daily, are themselves being sectarian, and are guilty of crying 'sour-grapes'.

Even if the pessimists are proved right and Workers Press has to cut back for financial reasons, this will be a reflection not on the competence or politics of its contributors but on our bourgeois-democratic society in which 'freedom of the press' is open to all—like the Ritz Hotel!

I was pleased to see in your October 23 issue the article headed 'Speed-up proposed for clerical workers'.

As a white-collar worker I have been concerned that over the past 18 months the struggle of such workers, other than the teachers, have gone almost unmentioned in your press.

The major white collar unions—CAWU, DATA and ASTMS—are comparable in size and importance to the Boilermakers' and Blastfurnacemen's unions (to which you give adequate attention).

Such inverted snobbery is a mistake. Automation means that inevitably the technical unions will grow and it is essential that a revolutionary party must take account of them.

In particular, Clive Jenkins, the 'cybernetic centrist', opposes the incomes policy not as an attack on the proletariat, but as against the national economic interest.

His view is that manual workers' wages should be allowed to rise, so that employers find it profitable to replace them by machines.

In other words, he wants to see manual workers price themselves out of the market, industry modernized, and a consequent increase in technical members of his union.

Further, over the Woolwich shutdown negotiations, Jenkins accepted favourable redundancy terms for his members on condition that they co-operate in running down the works, thus aiding Weinstock in splitting manual and technical workers.

Finally, during the GEC dispute in Coventry early this year, when the technicians wanted to strike as a united

DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOVIET PROPOSITION

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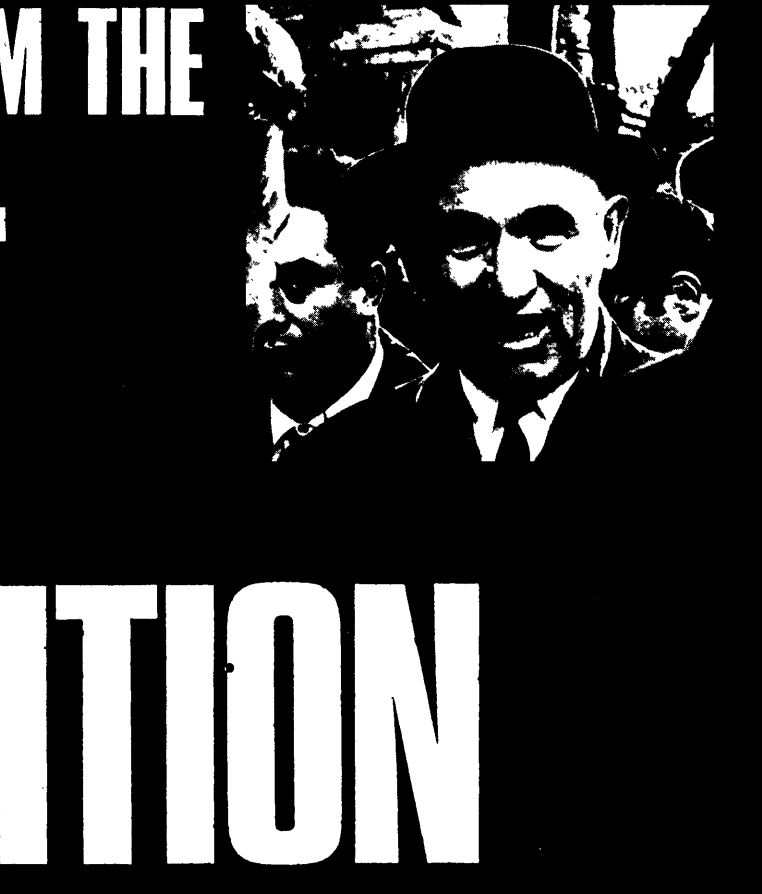
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That will increase our country's international authority, reinforce its defensive potential and bring unknown heroes out of the silence; men like Golikov's predecessor as general staff chief of intelligence, Air Force Lieutenant-General Proskurov, who was sent to his death by Stalin and Beria's executioners because he refused to give false information about the enemy in order to please Stalin.

Finally it will serve as an excellent warning to the present and future commanders of the Soviet armed forces. What has been the result of Nekritch's research? He reached the conclusions I express in my letter on almost all these problems, but with more form, more diplomacy and more circumlocution.

His book doesn't analyse the relationships between forces at the beginning of the war; his description of the evolution of Soviet military theory is not good; he doesn't throw light on the whole of the problem—far from it—of the leading cadres of the Red Army; he never analyses the effect of the massive repressions on the defensive potential of the country. Previously I have only approached this last problem from a specifically military angle. During the purge years the arrests hit every area of society, shaking and draining all the links in the chain of economic, political and cultural life of the country. On the eve, and even in the middle of the war, millions of men qualified for combat,



many of them eminent specialists on the economy, languished in the camps.

Hundreds of thousands of young, robust men who were needed at the front were out of action guarding the 'enemies of the people' behind their barbed wire, although the contingent reserves were exhausted and the need for fresh supporting troops tragically unsatisfied.

These camps and their guards weighed heavily on the country's budget and gravely weakened its defensive potential.

This is perhaps what gave birth to phenomena like 'golikovchina', an attitude which consists in sending intelligence information that will please hierarchic superiors. This problem too is still to be studied.

Nekritch is silent on all these problems, but this cannot be held against him. On this ground he is a pioneer and it is good that he has raised even part of the veil covering the secrets hidden from the popular masses for such a long time.

The only complaint that Golikovchina comes from Golikov, chief of intelligence on the eve of the war who specialized in false information which would please Stalin.

Undermined

These also weighed heavily on the budget and undermined the capacities of the state machinery. The spirit of initiative succumbed as unbridled servility flourished. Consideration for 'position' was substituted for those interests which were allegedly being served.

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They set out to defame Nekritch and terrorize other historians.

I firmly believe that Nekritch and all authentic Marxist historians will have enough courage not to be frightened by the pitiful—and harmful to our country—terrorist incantations of the Deborines, the Telpukhovskys and other propagandists of the lie.

They must pursue their research on the period we have looked at and establish the complete truth in the interests of our country.

As for those who, in the fashion of Deborine and Telpukhovsky, try to oppose the truth, they are committing the greatest crime one can commit against our people and our country.

They should remember the great Cervantes' wise and true warning: Falsifiers of history must be punished just as counterfeiters are punished.

a fixed truth, to be defended from outside attacks. In dealing with Lenin's 'Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder', Comrade Spooner makes similar errors.

Lenin certainly strongly attacked the oversimplified 'no compromise' talk of Gallacher and Pankhurst in Britain and other 'left' communists in Europe.

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Whatever the undoubted influence of middle-class radicalism on Pankhurst's group, that group certainly cannot be equated with the reactionary middle-class protesters of recent days.

On the contrary, Lenin did not direct his criticism against any 'defence of personal ideals'. He considered that 'Sylvia Pankhurst and Gallacher are mistaken in thinking that this [urging the workers to vote Labour] is a betrayal of communism, or a renunciation of the struggle against the social-traitors'.

Of Gallacher's letter to Pankhurst's paper, Lenin says: 'In my opinion, this letter to the editor expresses excellently the temper and point of view of the young communists, of of rank-and-file workers who are only just beginning to accept communism. This temper is highly gratify-

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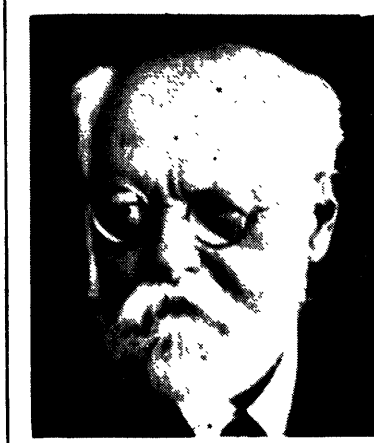
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Despite my differences with Trotskyism, I find its contents instructive and informative especially the detailed reporting of the miners' struggle and the opposition in Russia.

Leftists who slate the SLL as 'sectarian', whilst in the same breath belittling the daily, are themselves being sectarian, and are guilty of crying 'sour-grapes'.



Kautsky: Made important contributions to Marxism before his support of the First World War.

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The major white collar unions—CAWU, DATA and ASTMS—are comparable in size and importance to the Boilermakers' and Blastfurnacemen's unions (to which you give adequate attention).

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His view is that manual workers' wages should be allowed to rise, so that employers find it profitable to replace them by machines.

In other



# Kosygin

## By Piotr Grigorenko

such proceedings is so flagrant that the... wanting to rescind the decision... about it. This is no doubt because of... nothing should 'tarnish the honour

officially informed of the sanctions... their consequences. From the day of... received a kopeck.

According to the law I should receive... up to the day I was struck off the army... the service pay.

The pension legally due to me. I received... that I'd left the military, and deprived... I could not find work. Accordingly,

includes two invalids, and I were con-... accept such arbitrary action I pro-... gressed my freedom.

December 1965, almost two years after... long months of waiting, I received a... mail indicating that I would be paid... law gives me a right to.

rested again. In 1966, after a long silence, I was answered... depriving me of my pension, sending me... shutting me up in a psychiatric hospital

threats, I wrote directly to Kosygin... letter to tell me at least if the Council... usually decided upon my dismissal from

the government didn't answer me. I con-... that he himself was an accomplice in this... that he was perfectly aware of what

such conduct does not deserve the... of the electors to do the same.

June 3, 1966

should be made against him is that he constantly smooths sharp edges.

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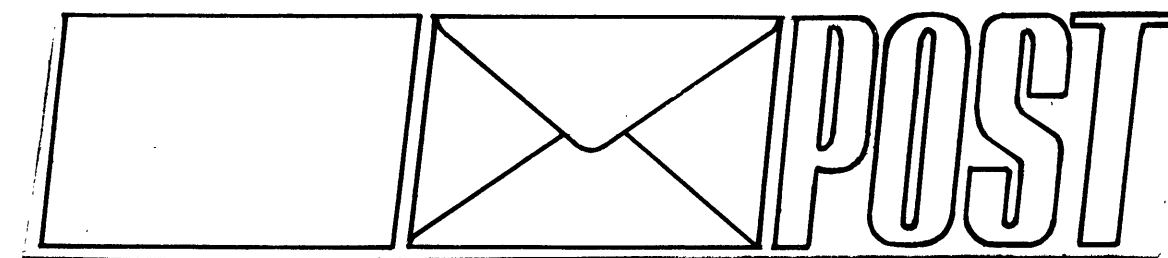
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# Review contains misleading passages

DAVE SPOONER'S review of the volume 'Selected Works' of Lenin (November 14) contains a number of misleading passages.

For example he writes: 'The development of imperialism in the late 19th century exerted enormous pressure upon the traditional working-class parties.'

'Kautsky was the major theoretical spearhead of this revisionist trend, which was based on the labour aristocracy which enjoys a privileged position within imperialism.'

Kautsky certainly became, in the period following the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, a bitter opponent of the Russian Revolution and Marxism.

He was a centrist covering up for the right on the basic questions of the struggle against imperialist war and against the German bourgeoisie.

But when Bernstein attacked Marxism in the 1890s and thus 'spearheaded' the revisionist attack, Kautsky 'was one of his opponents.'

The writings of Lenin before 1913 contain many, many acknowledgements of Kautsky's contributions to Marxist analysis, and he replied headedly to those who at that time suggested that the Bolsheviks were 'a different kind of Marxists' from Kautsky.

Trotsky points out in his 'Permanent Revolution' that both he and Lenin arrived at similar conclusions to Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg on the probability of the working class achieving power in backward Russia in advance of the rest of Europe.

Comrade Spooner is rightly anxious to point out the unique contribution of Lenin on the building of the revolutionary party, and the fact that this role required the defence of Marxist theory against enemies like Kautsky, but this cannot be properly understood if the actual history is distorted.

To write about the revisionists revising Lenin's characterization of imperialism, and then to quote against them Lenin's article 'Marxism and Revisionism', can only mislead.

The article in question was written some seven years before Lenin even set down his characterization of imperialism.

The danger here is that Marxism is not grasped historically, in its contradictory development, but presented as

ing and valuable; we must learn to appreciate it and support it for, in its absence, it would be hopeless to expect the victory of the proletarian revolution in Great Britain.

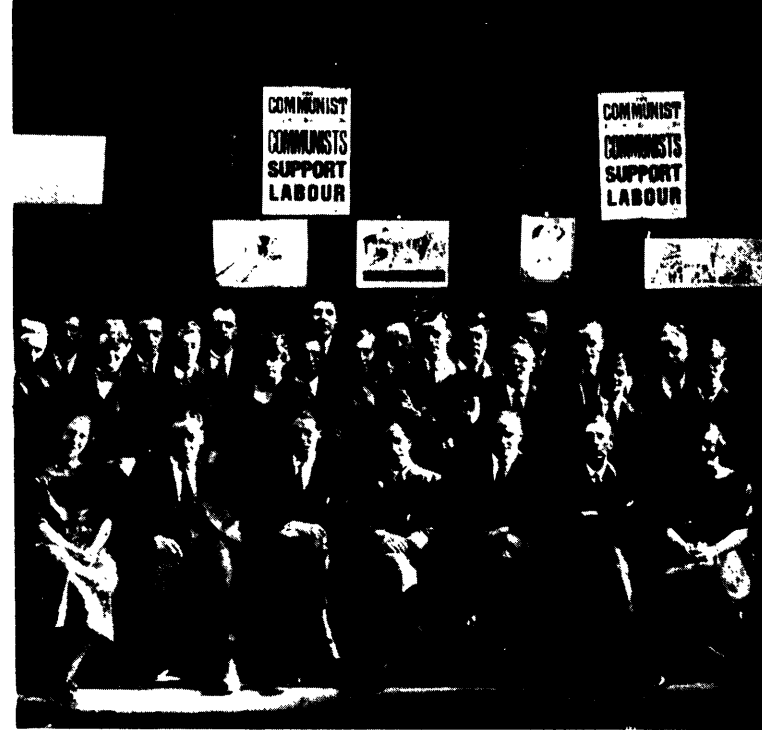
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about to commit, or are committing.'

This puts the criticism in a different perspective.

In fact, on the basis of Lenin's advice and the work of the first four congresses of the Communist International, the fight for a change was begun for the British Communist Party to overcome its sectarianism, but this turn to mass work was to fall victim, as Comrade Spooner indicates, to the growth of Stalinism after 1925.

C.S.



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## Congratulations

CONGRATULATIONS on the excellent technical quality and news coverage of the only daily paper to the left of Stalinism.

body, the ASTMS leadership refused to back them unless they struck in rotation, one department at a time.

A technician

Despite my differences with Trotskyism, I find its contents instructive and informative especially the detailed reporting of the miners' struggle and the opposition in Russia.

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In other words, he wants to see manual workers price themselves out of the market, industry modernized, and a consequent increase in technical members of his union.

Further, over the Woolwich shutdown negotiations, Jenkins accepted favourable redundancy terms for his members on condition that they co-operate in running down the works, thus aiding Weinstein in splitting manual and technical workers.

Finally, during the GEC dispute in Coventry early this year, when the technicians wanted to strike as a united

# A young C.P. member writes:

I AM 22. I've been in the CP for two years and I was in the YCL for a few years before I joined the Party.

I have always tried to remain faithful to the gains of the October Revolution, to the thoughts of Marx, Engels and Lenin and I've always fought for socialism, for freedom, for democracy.

I was shocked by the attitude of the French CP during the General Strike in 1968 but I did believe they were right.

I was shocked by Stalin's crimes and I put a lot of hope in the 'de-Stalinization', until I realized there has never been a de-Stalinization in the

Soviet Union and Brezhnev does not intend to bring one along.

I was also terribly shocked by the military aggression against Czechoslovakia and although I tried to justify it, to understand it from their point of view, I could not agree.

As I cannot agree to the Soviet athletes going to Greece. But as you point out, it is not enough to say 'yes' or 'no' to the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia. One must analyse the facts and find out why they happened.

Doing that I came to the conclusion that not only de-Stalinization was necessary, but also the recognition that

Leon Trotsky was not the 'traitor', the 'fascist agent' we thought he was.

He was only a communist, a Bolshevik, and also a close comrade of Lenin during the decisive days of October 1917.

And the fact that the Socialist Labour League and Workers Press exist should also be admitted by the Party.

The ban on Workers Press was, as far as I think, a shameful action by the Party.

There is plenty more I could say. I thought I'd write a bit to Workers Press because every time I write my worries to the 'Morning Star', they never appear in Readers' Letters.

# Stalin's birthday — then and now

YOUR report of moves to revive the celebration of Stalin's birthday in the Soviet Union makes it appropriate to recall Stalin's reply to birthday greetings from Ribbentrop in 1939.

In acknowledging the message, Stalin referred to the friendship between Russia and Germany which had been 'cemented with blood'.

The blood in question was, of course, that shed in the joint Hitler-Stalin operation against Poland in the previous September.

This callous cynicism of Stalin's was regarded by some at the time as proof of his mastery statesmanship—until the Nazi onslaught on Russia in June 1941, and the terrible losses then suffered as a result of Stalin's 'cleverness', gave them a jolt.

The British Communist Party leadership have remained ever since then acutely embarrassed by this episode of Stalin's quasi-alliance with Hitler in 1939-1941, and have always striven to suppress discussion of it, because of its far-reaching implications.

I remember how when, on returning from the Far East in 1946, I attended a 'political rehabilitation course' at King Street, I was made to feel a proper cad because I tried to question the glossing-over of that period which was attempted by the tutor.

But I did much later have the satisfaction of learning that this tutor had gone to Pollitt and told him that he would not deal with the subject again on any of these courses, it was too embarrassing!

One sometimes achieves more effect by such efforts than is immediately apparent from the brass faces that Party officials are trained to maintain. I mention this to encourage those Communist Party members who may now be struggling to force discussion of 'awkward' questions in their branches, at political education classes, and so on.

Brian Pearce

Editorial footnote: Brian Pearce, as many of our readers will know, was a member of the British Communist Party from 1934 to 1957, and wrote, under the pseudonym of 'Joseph Redman', a number of studies of Communist Party history including 'British Socialists and the Moscow Trials' (available in 'Moscow Trials: Anology' from New Park Publications, 186a Clapham High St., SW4. 12s. 6d.).

B. Russell.

# A regular reader

FOR DECADE upon decade the workers of this country have been in conflict with their employers.

But never for many a year have so many different sections of workers thrown down the gauntlet and locked themselves in battle with their bosses.

The reason for the strikes and sanctions which the workers use at their place of work is simply one, money.

Many workers after working 50 or 60 hours a week take home a wage-packet which should make this government blush with shame.

At this year's Trades Union Congress the Prices and Incomes Board was voted out.

Workers should take their cue from this decision and make every claim a straight-forward one with no strings attached—after all productivity deals are a means of reducing labour and mean the surrendering of conditions which over the years the workers fought very hard to attain.

The millionaire gutter-press as always decries the efforts of the workers to obtain a decent living wage; they take sides with the bosses and make scurrilous attacks on the workers.

It is heartening to see 'The Newsletter' now published as a daily paper with the title of Workers Press and, I may add, it is an appropriate name, for its policy is to defend the workers and put their case in proper perspective.

I am a regular reader of the Workers Press and I shall go on reading it, for it gives me all the information on struggles

that are taking place throughout the country and indeed the world, for no matter which part of the world a strike takes place it is for the same principle—the right to have a decent wage.

This government, and many trade union leaders, have paid too much lip-service to socialism. The workers are now looking for action.

Harry Shult

# One good thing...

ONE GOOD thing about the Workers Press is its freedom from commercial advertising. It's refreshing to read the truth without having to avoid the advertisers' announcements.

Capitalism in decay spreads corruption all over the earth, poisoning fish and birds.

In the same way our minds are constantly assaulted by the varied techniques of sales promotion.

The toddler eats not the most nourishing cereal, but the one with the nicest plastic toy inside and learns his letters from the cornflakes packet.

The lonely old woman cannot get her goods delivered, but receives a steady supply of circulars extolling the supermarket where she would be completely overwhelmed and lost.

Nationalized enterprises are as much tied up with manufacturers' advertising gimmicks as any other business.

When you order a fire you can have a canteen of cutlery 'free'!

Doctors' letter boxes are stuffed with chemists' samples. Tube trains may be packed

Those who think they can flirt with capitalism and still achieve socialism are dishonest. Socialism can never be achieved within the framework of a capitalist society.

Once again I send my best wishes to the Workers Press and look forward to the day on which it will be published six days a week.

# WEEKEND TELEVISION

## SATURDAY

**B.B.C.-1**  
10.00 a.m. Repondez S'il Vous Plait. 10.30-11.00 Wie Bitte? 12 noon Weatherman. 12.05 p.m. Casey Jones. 12.25 Charlie Chaplin in 'The Adventurer'. 12.45 Grandstand. 5.15 Star Trek. 6.05 News and Weather. 6.25 Dixon of Dock Green. 7.00 The Harry Secombe Show. 7.45 High Adventure. 9.15 News and Weather. 9.30 Match Of The Day Special. 11.25 Braden's Week. 12 midnight Weatherman.

**B.B.C.-2**  
3.00-4.30 p.m. Saturday Cinema: 'Left, Right and Centre' starring Ian Carmichael, Alastair Sim and Patricia Breckin. 7.00 News and Sport. 7.15 Gardeners' World. 7.30 Rugby Special: Cheshire v. Yorkshire. 8.15 The Philpott File. 9.05 The Ice Show. 9.45 The First Churchill. 10.30 Review: Alphonse Mucha and Art Nouveau. 11.15 Line Up. 11.40 News Summary. 11.45 Midnight Movie: 'The Tall T' starring Randolph Scott.

**Fiction?** 12.05 p.m. Thunderbirds. 12.55 News From ITN. 1.00 World Of Sport. 1.05 On The Ball. 1.20 They're Off! 3.10 International Sports Special. 4.00 Wrestling. 5.00 Results Service. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.10 News From ITN. 6.15 Parkin's Patch. 6.45 The Saturday Crowd. 7.30 Please Sir! 8.05 'Funny Face' starring Audrey Hepburn and Fred Astaire. 10.10 News From ITN. 10.15 Saturday Night Theatre: 'The Ball Cheddar'. Vivienne Merchant and Daniel Massey. 11.10 Frost On Saturday. 12 midnight All Our Yesterdays. 12.25 a.m. Music From Malinee Peris.

**SOUTHERN:** 12.52 p.m. Regional Weather Forecast. 3.05 Racing Results Round-Up. 3.55 Half-Time Round-Up. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.15 Michael Miller Quiz. 12 midnight Southern News Extra. 12 a.m. Weather Forecast, Question Time.

**WESTWARD:** 12.25 p.m. All Our Yesterdays. 3.55 Half-Time Round-up. 5.15 As Channel. 12.25 p.m. News. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 News. 6.15 Batman. 8.05 The Saturday Film: 'King Of The Roaring Twenties' starring David Janssen and Mickey Rooney. 11.55 Alfred Hitchcock Presents. 12.25 a.m. The Duteous Day Now Closeth.

## SUNDAY

**B.B.C.-1**  
9.00 a.m. Nai Zindagi—Naya Jeevan. 9.30 Repondez S'il Vous Plait. 10.00-10.30 Wie Bitte? 11.00 Seeing and Believing. 11.30 Buying A House. 12.00 noon Know How. 12.30-1.00 p.m. Representing The Union. 1.25-1.50 Farming. 2.00 The Education Programme. 2.25 News Headlines. 2.30 Day Time. 3.05 Film Matinee: 'Behind The Mask'. 4.40 Here's Lucy. 5.10 Special Project Air. 5.55 Clangers. 6.05 News and Weather. 6.15 Malcolm Muggeridge asks The Question Why. 6.50 Songs Of Praise. 7.25 Paul Temple. 8.15 Play Of The Month: Danny La Rue in 'Charley's Aunt'. 9.35 News and Weather. 9.45 Monty Python's Flying Circus. 10.15 Omnibus: a portrait of George Eliot. 11.30 Weatherman.

**B.B.C.-2**  
9.00 a.m. Church Service. 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session. 12.40-1.05 Your Living Body. 1.25 The English Sickness—Fact Or Fiction? 1.55 Out Of Town. 2.15 Sports Arena. 2.45 University Challenge. 3.15 The Big Match. 4.15 The Flaxton Boys. 4.45 The Golden Shot. 5.30 Hark At Barker. 6.00 News From ITN. 6.15 All Creatures Great and Small. 6.35 Tomorrow's Child. 6.55 Appeal Your Money The Lives. 7.00 Stars On Sunday. 7.25 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.20 'Blossoms In The Dust' starring Greer Garson and Walter Pidgeon. 10.10 News From ITN. 10.25 This Is... Tom Jones. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. Music From Malinee Peris.

**SOUTHERN:** 1.05-1.25 p.m. You And Your Child. 1.55 Weather Trends. 2.00 Farming Diary. 2.30 The Baron. 3.25 Parkin's Patch. 3.55 Match Of The Week. 5.30 The Forest Rangers. 6.55 In Our Time. 7.25 Star Movie: 'Father Of The Bride' starring Fred Astaire and Elizabeth Taylor. 9.10 Strange Report. 12.05 a.m. Reflection.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 1.45 p.m. Whiplash. 2.15 Star Soccer. 3.15 'Risks' starring Gary Grant, Jose Ferrer, Paula Raymond. 5.30 The Secret Service. 7.25 The Sunday Feature Film: 'Donovan's Reef' starring John Wayne. Lee Marvin. 9.10 Strange Report. 12.05 a.m. Weather Forecast.

**YORKSHIRE:** 12.15 p.m. Families Talking. 1.05-1.30 You And Your Child. 1.45 All Our Yesterdays. 2.15 Sunday Sport. 3.15 'Lease Of Life' starring Jack Lemmon, Ricky Nelson and John Lund. 12.05 a.m. Weather Forecast, Question Time.

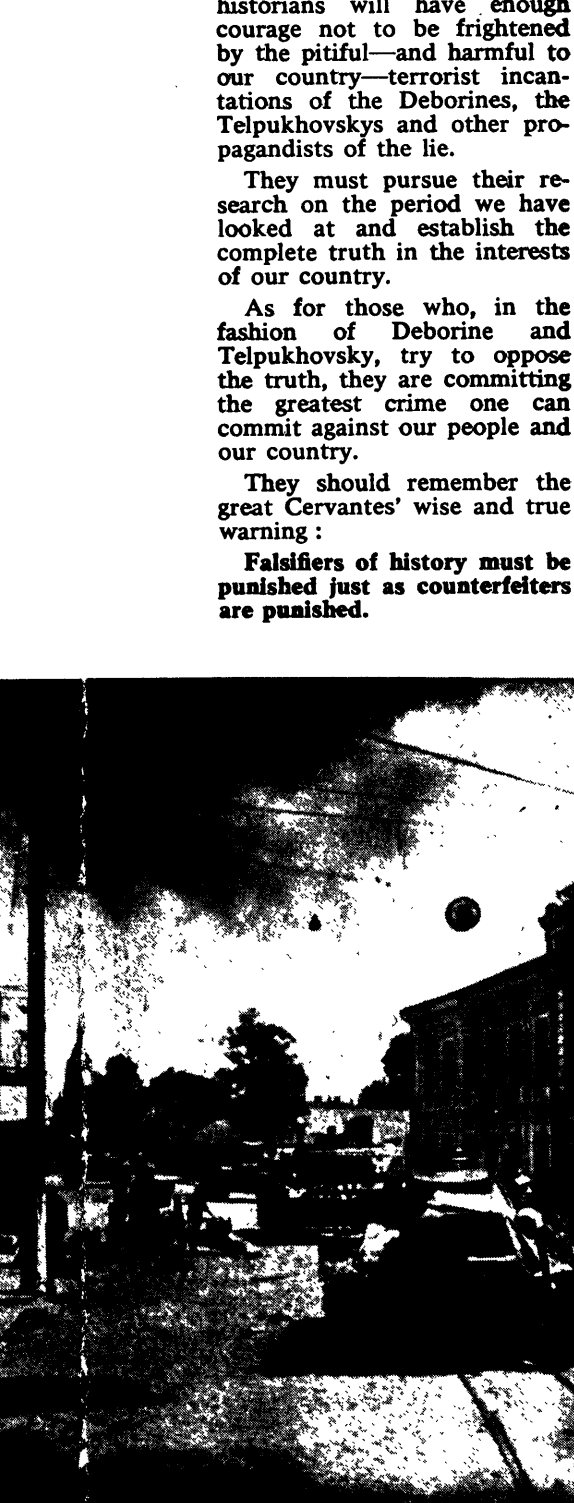
**All regions as BBC-1 except at the following times:**  
Midlands and East Anglia. 11.32 p.m. Weather for Midlands and East Anglia. North of England, South and West. 11.32 p.m. News Summary. Wales. 5.30-5.15 p.m. The Doctors. 3.15-4.00 Rugby Union: Ebbw Vale

**All independent channels as London ITV except at following times:**  
CHANNEL 12.55 p.m. National News. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.15 Wheel Of Fortune. 8.05 The Saturday Film: 'The Internals' starring George S. Irving. 11.30 Weather.

**WESTWARD:** 1.05-1.25 p.m. You And Your Child. 1.55 Weather Trends. 2.00 Farming Diary. 2.30 The Baron. 3.25 Parkin's Patch. 3.55 Match Of The Week. 5.30 The Forest Rangers. 6.55 In Our Time. 7.25 Star Movie: 'Father Of The Bride' starring Fred Astaire and Elizabeth Taylor. 9.10 Strange Report. 12.05 a.m. Reflection.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 1.45 p.m. Whiplash. 2.15 Star Soccer. 3.15 'Risks' starring Gary Grant, Jose Ferrer, Paula Raymond. 5.30 The Secret Service. 7.25 The Sunday Feature Film: 'Donovan's Reef' starring John Wayne. Lee Marvin. 9.10 Strange Report. 12.05 a.m. Weather Forecast.

**YORKSHIRE:** 12.15 p.m. Families Talking. 1.05-1.30 You And Your Child. 1.45 All Our Yesterdays. 2.15 Sunday Sport. 3.15 'Lease Of Life' starring Jack Lemmon, Ricky Nelson and John Lund. 12.05 a.m. Weather Forecast, Question Time.





CEYLON

# Trotskyist youth in conference

THE Ceylon Trotskyist youth organization, Revolutionary Communist Youth, held its highly successful second conference in Colombo on October 24.

## A correspondent writes:

MORE than 200 young workers, unemployed youth and students attended the conference, which showed the rapid expansion of the Trotskyist forces that has taken place during the past year in Ceylon.

The International Resolution adopted at the conference stated its determination to fight for the building of a revolutionary Youth International supporting the Fourth International.

The necessity for an international perspective was firmly accepted by the conference, which saw its work in Ceylon as an integral part of the world struggle by the forces of the International Committee to rebuild the Fourth International as the centralized international leadership of the working class.

The youth conference hammered out perspectives for expanding its activities and for developing into a mass youth movement able to provide the forces for building the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

The intensification of the capitalist crisis—economic and political—has created a real upsurge of the class struggle in Ceylon.

The past two years have seen three massive strike waves involving hundreds and thousands of workers in response to the attacks of the capitalist class on the living standards of the masses.

The betrayals of these struggles by the Stalinists and the Pabloite revisionists emphasise the need for a new revolutionary leadership.

## Growing

The Revolutionary Communist Youth and its parent organization, the Revolutionary Communist League, are growing in this situation, which provides unparalleled opportunities for Marxists.

The conference also noted the birth of neo-fascist movements, notably one led by R. G. Senanayake and calling itself the Sinhalese People's Party, which uses Sinhala communalism to build up a mass base.

The RCY pledged itself to go forward in a ruthless struggle against these forces and to build working-class unity on a socialist programme.

The three Pabloite organizations—the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP)—affiliated to the Pabloite United Secretariat (until 1964), the LSSP(R) of Bala Tampoe (the United Secretariat's present Ceylon section) and the Revolutionary Samasamaja Party (RSP) of Edmund Samarakoddy—are in severe crisis.

Leading members of the LSSP, including MPs, are openly going over to the capitalist United National Party government.

## Dwindled

The LSSP(R) and the RSP have dwindled to little more than nameboards, unable to publish even monthly papers regularly, and are rapidly disintegrating.

The LSSP(R), the section recognized by the United Secretariat today has no more than 30 or 40 members and lacks any base in the youth.

The RSP is even smaller.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office, published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.  
Printed by Flish Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

Delegates voting on the main resolution at the conference.



Dear Sir,

I wish to correct the factual inaccuracies and damaging insinuations made against the Workers Press in your November 9 issue ('Troting Up The Workers', page 44).

Any mystery about the source of funds for the Workers Press is entirely of your own manufacture. The money was collected from members and supporters of the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists and readers of 'The Newsletter'.

The fund was collected in a series of stages, the vast bulk of it at public meetings. The first stage, up to May 30, 1968, brought in £3,000. The fund collection was then halted while £1,000 was collected to send to our comrades in France.

The second stage, in which £12,000 was collected, culminated in a public meeting at Camden Town Hall on November 10, 1968, at which the collection brought the fund to over £14,000.

A further £1,000 was collected over the days following, bringing the total to £15,000.

The next stage, which brought the fund to £25,216 18s. was climaxed by a meeting in the Porchester Hall, London, at which £2,404 15s. was raised to complete a total of over £25,000.

Having thus ensured the publication of the Workers Press, our members and supporters collected a further £4,529 1s. 5d. between May 4 and September 28.

At the inaugural rally for the paper in Brighton's West Pier Theatre on September 28, a collection totalling £1,867 18s. 6d. was taken.

The bulk of the fund for the daily paper was collected in public rallies to which the press were invited. Like most of the other capitalist papers, 'The Observer' did not deign to report any of these events. That gives it still less right to put into circulation lying

rumours about the source of the money.

Thousands of people who attended the rallies witnessed the money being collected. The entire campaign for the Workers Press fund was fully reported in 'The Newsletter', forerunner of the Workers Press.

It is clear that an attempt is being made in collusion with members of the Communist Party—who dare not come out openly with their slanders—to discredit Trotskyism by means of vile insinuation.

The anonymous Communist Party members who are 'hinting darkly' that the money behind the paper comes from 'American millionaire Trotskyists' must know this is a lie.

It is a lie in the worst tradition of Stalinist slanders against Trotskyism.

Even worse is your attempt to represent the Workers Press as 'anti-Soviet'.

Our fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy has always, without exception, been conducted on the basis of the unconditional defence of the USSR.

Unlike the Communist Party who are the foremost defenders of bureaucratic privilege against the Soviet workers and intellectuals, Trotskyism defends the USSR by fighting consistently against the bureaucracy and its privileges, which threaten all the conquests of October.

We do not expect the capitalist publicity machine to back the Workers Press, but we surely have a right to expect even 'The Observer' to check its facts and assertions before retelling the latest Communist Party lies and gossip about our paper.

John Spencer, Assistant Editor.

Dear Mr Spencer,

Thank you for your letter. I've discussed it with Pendennis: we can't find in his piece on the Workers Press the factual inaccuracies and damaging insinuations you mention. You seem to assign to Pendennis responsibility for remarks and opinions which he was simply reporting, correctly, as having been made by 'resentful Communists'.

We thought this piece would provide some possibly useful publicity for the Workers Press.

Pendennis spoke of your paper as 'well-produced' and 'professionally written' and presented it to our readers as a remarkable achievement in the short time since it began. You seem to have misinterpreted his intentions.

Yours sincerely, Charles Davy, Assistant Editor.

# We complain of distortion in 'The Observer'

WE ARE publishing for the information of our readers the full text of the correspondence between ourselves and 'The Observer' concerning the story on the Workers Press which appeared in the Pendennis column of 'The Observer', November 9.

ist Labour League nor the Workers Press receives any of it.

On a par with your retelling of this unfounded Stalinist gossip—all of which could have been checked and found to be baseless—is your repetition of personal attacks on the Socialist Labour League leadership.

Your cheap gibes about 'skinheads', 'tough guys' and 'non-whites' are an open expression of liberal hostility, racialism, and hatred of Marxism.

You seem to be intent on proving you can stoop as low as the Stalinists in attacking Trotskyism and its press.

But you only prove you are politically as bankrupt as they are.

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# Dick Etheridge praises Feather

MR DICK ETHERIDGE, Communist Party executive member, convenor of the Austin motor factory at Longbridge, Birmingham, and AEF delegate at the TUC, is perhaps best known for his private tea-time chat with Prime Minister Wilson during the car-workers' lobby of the Labour Party conference in 1966.

On that occasion, he announced that Wilson would do something for the car workers, and painted up his chat with

BY JOHN SPENCER

Wilson as a major victory.

Three years later, Etheridge is still following out the same opportunist line, this time providing a cover for the manoeuvrings which took place at the TUC Congress in October.

This month's issue of the AEF journal features his article on this year's Congress, which, Etheridge writes, was 'victory all the way' for the AEF.

The TUC Congress, it will be remembered, set the seal on the class-collaboration policies worked out by the Croydun conference of trade union executives in June.

## NO COMMENT

The article, of course, makes no comment on the rotten character of the compromise arrived at during that meeting, where it was decided that the TUC would police the unions against unofficial strikers.

Etheridge instead states 'We unanimously elected a new general secretary, Bro. Vic Feather, and there was a feeling of confidence at the meeting that with a new secretary and new policies, the TUC was a force that no government could afford to ignore'.

The AEF, says Etheridge, 'played an honourable and positive role' in this.

## WARNING

Etheridge's open admission of support for the 'new policies' of the TUC and for a general secretary Feather should be a warning to all car workers.

The Communist Party, which Etheridge represents, is more and more openly lining up with Wilson and the TUC against the working class.

No real defence of the unions can be expected from those who support Feather and the TUC's strike-breaking agreement with Wilson.

There is little doubt that he is speaking on behalf of Gollan, Ramelson and company.

# CENTRAX STRIKERS ANGERED BY PRESS ATTACKS

WORKERS on strike at the Centrax light engineering factories in Exeter, Newton Abbott and Heathfield were incensed on Wednesday by press attacks calling shop stewards 'a bunch of troublemakers and agitators'.

If this is not your intention, you have a simple remedy—to publish my reply to your article, and thus answer the Stalinist rumours and innuendoes contained in 'Troting Up The Workers'.

The signs are that the 1,100 strikers are not prepared to return to work until all their demands have been met.

The management, with the aid of the local newspapers and TV, has been conducting a campaign against the strikers, deliberately distorting their demands.

Some of the lower paid workers go home with as little as £9 10s for 40 hours work. Operators take home a basic £12 plus bonus which does not average more than 30s a week for 40 hours.

# Scanlon defends T.U.C. plan

By a Workers Press correspondent

MR HUGH SCANLON, president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers, speaking at a Warwick University meeting Thursday night, said:

'The antagonism between capital and labour is irreconcilable. However in the [Second World] war the unions voluntarily harnessed themselves to the state and had a no-strike pledge in order to fight fascism. This was right. I broke more strikes than that I ever made in that period.'

Following this clear, open admission, Scanlon vigorously defended his role in helping to vote in the TUC plan of action on strikes against union members who criticized him.

'The unions voluntarily gave this power to the TUC. It was either the TUC plan or penal legislation,' he said.

Dismissing the fact that a general strike would have stopped those penal laws and the TUC sell-out Scanlon said:

'I'm not going to be a general without an army', even though 250,000 workers struck unofficially on May 1.

Scanlon finished up by pleading for new procedures in engineering and company agreements with shop stewards having full responsibility for these and for carrying them out.

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## Barbara Slaughter looks behind a new pay deal

# Measured-Day Work in clothing industry

CLOTHING WORKERS are up in arms about the recently-agreed wages settlement between their union's executive and the Clothing Manufacturer's Federation.

Earlier this year a special report from the Prices and Incomes Board had some damaging things to say about the clothing industry—wages were low, the rate of exploitation was high and there was a lack of organization amongst workers.

When it was published some workers were misled into thinking that something positive would come from it.

But its purpose was to convince them to accept 'modernization' through work study and Measured-Day Work, as a way to improve their earnings.

## New settlement

This new wages settlement flows directly from the report and from the Donovan Report before it.

The employers have had the active support of the union leadership as well as of the government.

Two weeks ago a packed meeting of the Leeds No 2 branch of the Tailor and Garment Workers' Union unanimously passed a resolution rejecting the settlement as 'paltry'.

Calling for the re-opening of negotiations on the basis of a 1s.-an-hour increase for men and women, irrespective of earnings, it demanded the productivity clauses in the present agreement be deleted as being against the best interests of the clothing workers.

If there was any undue delay it was agreed that a national union conference be called to decide further action.

## Series of strikes

The agreement offers 9½d. an hour to workers on minimum rates, 4d. an hour to women and 5d. an hour to men earning above the minimum.

There have already been a series of lightning strikes throughout the North East at Gateshead, Peterlee and South Shields.

Shop stewards are confident that the battle will be taken up in Leeds, which is the centre of the industry.

## Why is it necessary?

Since the last war clothing manufacturers have moved into high unemployment areas in search of cheap labour.

Assisted by big government grants, factories have been set up in Jarrow, South Shields, Peterlee and other places on Tyneside.

Recently they have moved further north into Scotland.

These are areas which do not have a strong clothing industry tradition. In the new factories the employers have introduced new machines and production methods which have enormously intensified exploitation.

This has been done without any opposition from the union leadership.

Machines like the one for fusing canvas to the front of a jacket have cut out thousands of jobs.

The employers are now preparing to go much further with the modernization programme. This means breaking down traditional practices in the long-established clothing centres.

The agreement makes it clear that this is what they propose to do.

## Work-study demand

The employers and the union leadership jointly call for increased production.

They declare that 'work-measurement and method-study are essential for establishing the work content and in installing and regulating payment-by-results schemes. Wherever possible the rate shall be established by work-study'.

They list three types of incentive schemes: piece-work (where earnings increase in the same proportion as output), split incentive or bonus schemes, and Measured-Day Work.

All three systems are acceptable, they say.

It is pointed out that modernization will mean changes in production methods.

Although safeguards are mentioned the agreement also states:

'This should not preclude adjustments being made between rates which have proved too tight or too loose, the object being to provide equal opportunity where in certain instances the opportunities might have become unequal.'

'Where operations are de-skilled by virtue of changes of method or machinery the current earnings of operators must be protected for a reasonable period.'

'However new operators on the de-skilled operations must accept that the yield for the job may be less than that previously paid.'

## Reason for first clause

This is the reason for the first clause in the agreement that the period of learnership should be reduced to two years. The work will be de-skilled and rates will be cut accordingly.

A qualified worker is actually defined in the agreement as someone able to carry out 'the work in hand to satisfactory standards of safety, quantity and quality'.

This means the sack for those who cannot achieve the required standard.

As in the car industry, Measured-Day Work means speed-up in an industry where most workers feel that they are working at maximum speed already.

And all this has been sold by the union leadership for 5d. and 4d. per hour for men and women respectively.

More than this! In the past it has been a legal requirement that all bonus schemes should be based on the national minimum rate or above.

The new agreement states specially that 'where an hourly rate is paid plus an incentive bonus, the hourly rate may be less than the general minimum rate'!

On piece-work the agreement goes further. At present, it is general in the clothing industry that in a piece-work or incentive scheme the yield level for the average worker should be 33 per cent above the starting rate.

The new agreement states the employers can pay a 20 per cent yield level.

## Feeling building up

This agreement has been reached behind the backs of clothing workers. Enormous feeling is building up in the factories that it must be rejected completely.

Like many other sections of lower paid workers they are determined to fight for a substantial increase in wages without productivity strings.

This means taking on not only the clothing employers, but the Labour government and the union leadership.

It means a fight for equal pay for all clothing workers now.

It means a fight for the nationalization of the big monopolies in the industry linked with the nationalization of the banks.

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