

After the Cambodian invasion U.S. aggression against China near?

BY ROBERT BLACK

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As in the days of General MacArthur's march to the Yalu River at the height of the Korean war, the goal of the US military today remains the overthrow of the Chinese People's Republic and the opening up of the country to imperialist domination and exploitation.

Nixon's decision to march against Cambodia cannot be judged solely on the military situation in Indo-China, desperate though it is for the US imperialists.

The main driving force for imperialist war is always generated within the imperialist countries themselves. Never was that more true than in the United States today.

Faced with a falling rate of profit at home and challenged by rival imperialism in its overseas markets, the US ruling class has been driven into an economic corner.

Harsh clashes

To drive up its profits, US capital must declare war on the working class at home, while to hold and win markets in Europe, it must clash harshly with the interests of the major monopolies in the Common Market, Japan and Britain.

But even these measures, drastic though they are, do not answer the problems of the US ruling class. It is not only the ultrarightist and fascist groups in the USA that have been calling for nuclear war on China.

Advocates of such a policy were to be found in the High Command at the time of the Korean war and they are becoming even more vocal and influential today.

China is for the US ruling class an ever-tempting potential super-colony, rich in natural resources and with a population of approaching 800 million.

Powerful whip

Large-scale penetration of US capital investments into China, on the basis of a semi-slave labour force, would serve as a powerful whip to drive back the working class of not only the United States, whose wage levels are the highest in the world, but the whole of Europe and Japan.

Imperialism remains what it was in Lenin's time—a system that is driven to war through the organic crisis of capitalism in its last stage of development.

In the First World War, the main servants of imperialism in the workers' movement were the corrupt and opportunist leaders of the Second International, who in every country, save Russia, rallied the working class behind the banner of national defence and imperialist slaughter.

Since the Second World War, the main work of diverting the working class from the fight against imperialist war and its threat to China has been taken over by the Stalinists.

Reactionary

For more than 40 years, the Soviet bureaucracy has dimmed the reactionary theory of 'peaceful co-existence' into the heads of its supporters in the capitalist world. Today, with a new war danger threatening, the Soviet leaders have to make a turn towards more militant phrases.

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This follows Monday's announcement that the 8,000 workers face redundancy if the yard closes.

TUC leaders meet as print strike nears

THE TUC's General Purposes committee—the so-called 'inner cabinet'—is to meet the national executive of the National Graphical Association today in a last-ditch attempt to stave off the lock-out threatened from Friday by the newspaper employers.

The Newspaper Publishers' Association, has warned that all Fleet Street papers will close down on Friday if a strike planned by machine managers at the 'Daily Mirror' goes ahead.

This would not, of course, affect the Workers Press, which is not part of the employers' association.

Meat up 1s in the £ warning

WARNING of yet further price rises was given yesterday—this time from the Meat and Livestock Commission. Meat and bacon prices are likely to go up by 1s in the £ during the year, it said.

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If today's meeting cannot reach a settlement it is now certain that Mrs Barbara Castle's Department of Employment and Productivity will intervene.

Legal steps

Meanwhile, the other major printing union, the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades, has warned that it will take legal steps against the various national news-

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Pilkington pickets dash D.E.P. hopes

BY DAVID MAUDE

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Other strikers were not so sure.

'The DEP's no good', commented one, 'That'll just be Pilkington's talking.'

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'There's not one cubic foot of glass been produced in St Helens for five weeks,' said sheet works pickets. 'No lorry has gone in or out of here—we've even stopped the milkman.'

MAIN DEMAND

Strikers emphasized that they will not return until at least the rank-and-file committee's demand—that the £5 offered by the company last month is placed on basic rates—is granted.

'Otherwise it's just an "attendance bonus" that can be taken away any time', said those from sheet works. 'We've had that before.'

Pilkington's want to make the £3 a flat rate payment on gross earnings for 40 hours—a payment which would increase with overtime, but which could be cut down if less than 40 hours was worked.

Strikers point out that an increase negotiated by the company's Joint Industrial Council last year, the second

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Employers in the chemical firms, including Faberwerke Hoechst, have refused even to negotiate with the unions.

A joint commission of three trade union and three employers' representatives was formed; it has four weeks to come to an agreement. But it is clear that both sides are intransigent and that no way is open for the unions but to call for a strike in mid-May.

The metalworkers' union, IG-Metall, tried to win a similar contract a few years ago in Ford's Cologne factory.

Participation

The unions demanded that a works' committee should take part in all decisions concerning workers in the factory, such as division of labour and the speed of the assembly lines.

But at that time the negotiations failed because the employers raised legal objections, and the union leaders refused to organize workers against them.

But the battle served to attract many workers into the union at Ford's for the first time.

Legal action

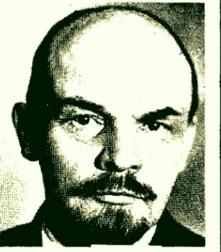
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A strike call by the union would be a reflection of the strength of the German workers, who know that the full employment existing today in Germany places the bosses at a disadvantage.

A 'hot May' in the chemical industry will be a signal for workers throughout the Ruhr industrial region, in mines and power stations, leading up to the wage claim of the four-million-strong engineering workers' union in September.

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What we think

Peter Fryer and the S.L.L.

IN A LETTER to 'The Times' (May 5, 1970) dissociating himself from the S.L.L. Mr Peter Fryer concludes by stating 'I have had no connection with any of Mr Gerry Healy's enterprises'.

The insinuation of this moralistic petit-bourgeois renegade is that the League and the Workers Press are not based on the working class and do not fight for its interests, but are, rather, the patrimony of comrade Healy and an expression of dictatorial power by an individual.

This is a common slander which enemies of and renegades from the Trotskyist movement have dug up from the dustbins of the capitalist class on many occasions.

The purpose of this form of abuse (it can hardly be called argument) is to turn the relationship of leaders and leadership to the working class on its head and, in fact, prevent any theoretical clarification and political direction from being given to the working-class struggle for emancipation.

It presents the working class as an inert and pliable mass which is unscrupulously used by brilliant but evil individuals to further their own Machiavellian ends.

This is the methodological basis of every witch-hunt, including the present one which Mr Fryer, by his silence and insinuation, supports.

This sort of prejudice defends and venerates every form of political backwardness and cultural Philistinism in the working class—sad examples of which are provided by Mr Fryer's recent 'literary' efforts like 'Mrs Grundy' and his support for 'pot smoking'.

The S.L.L.'s history is there for all to see and understand. Its policy, programme and quality of leadership is determined and conditioned—by any honest worker knows—not by the privileges of a corrupt, self-perpetuating bureaucracy, but by the historical interests of the working class in the worldwide struggle for the dictatorship of the working class.

Mr Fryer's insinuation against the League is nothing more than an inverted repetition of the 'leader cult' which he acquired in the Stalinist movement.

Although the Hungarian Revolution shattered his illusions in Stalin, neither the Revolution nor the League were able to cure him of his idealism and his hostility to democratic centralism.

That his hostility should turn to reactionary hatred is a measure of his own political degeneration as well as the rapid change in the political situation.

The S.L.L. leaders are elected, as even Mr Fryer knows, after democratic debate and discussion at the annual Congress of the League.

They are elected to leadership not on the basis of charisma, but because of the quality of their contri-

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Engineers condemn ban on Workers Press

MITCHAM (Surrey) branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers has condemned the exclusion of Workers Press industrial correspondent David Maude from the Labour and Industrial Correspondents' Group.

A resolution passed by



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BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

The machine managers want wage rises to maintain the differential between their pay and that of other machine room workers.

NGA secretary John Bonfield is flying back from France in order to attend today's meeting. Leaders of the other

Meat up is in the £ warning

WARNING of yet further price rises was given yesterday—this time from the Meat and Livestock Commission. Meat and bacon prices are likely to go up by 1s in the £ during the year, it said.

PREPARATIONS for today's meeting were made on Monday night as the TUC leaders sat down to dinner with the directors of the Bank of England. This was the first time the Bank's directors had been formally wined and dined at Congress House, making a significant new secretaryship.

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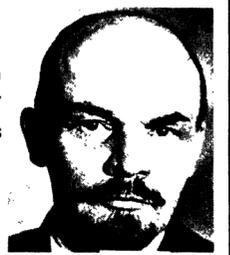
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Lenin's letters DECEMBER 1893—OCTOBER 1917

reviewed by Robert Black

BOOK REVIEW

'LENIN'S COLLECTED WORKS, VOLUME 43' (Correspondence, December 1893-October 1917) Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969. 18s



Lenin in 1917.

THIS SELECTION of Lenin's letters (dating from December 1893 to October 1917) gives a fascinating—and politically highly rewarding—insight into Lenin's methods of work.

The material assembled here is so rich, it is possible to deal only with a few of its many facets—one of them being Lenin's ability to select, train and integrate the most diverse Party workers and sympathizers into a centralized leadership based on the Bolshevik press.

Even before the split from Martov and the group that were to become known as Mensheviks (i.e., 'of the minority') after the second Party Congress in 1903, Lenin was the main political driving force on the editorial board of the central Party organ 'Iskra' ('The Spark').

After the split of 1903 and the defection of Plekhanov to the minority, Lenin had to assemble a new team of writers for his Bolshevik faction.

All the old propagandists and theoreticians of the previous period—Martov, Axelrod, Zasulich, Potresov and Plekhanov—had gone over to Menshevism. And with them—until 1904—had gone the young Trotsky, the most talented of the younger generation of Marxist writers.

Proof of Lenin's regard for Trotsky's powers as a writer at this time is the letter written to Plekhanov, dated March 2, 1903, which because of its great historical and political

now. In general he is working for 'Iskra' most energetically, delivering lectures (and with tremendous success), etc.

'For our department of topical articles and items he will be not only very useful but quite indispensable.

'He is unquestionably a man of more than average ability, convinced, energetic and promising. And he could do a good deal in the sphere of translation and popular literature.

'We must draw in young forces: this will encourage them and prompt them to regard themselves as professional writers. And that we have too few of such is clear—witness 1) the difficulty of finding editors of translations; 2) the shortage of articles reviewing the internal situation, and 3) the shortage of popular literature.

'It is in the sphere of popular literature that "Pero" [Russian for "Pen"] would like to try his hand.

'Possible arguments against: 1) his youth (Trotsky was at this time—1903—only 23); 2) his early (perhaps) return to Russia; 3) a pen (without quotation marks) with traces of feuilleton style, too pretentious, etc.

Party man

'Ad [i.e. in favour] 1) "Pero" is suggested not for an independent post, but for the Board. In it he will gain experience. He undoubtedly has the "intuition" of a Party man, a man of our trend [emphasis added]; as for knowledge and experience these can be acquired. That he is hardworking is likewise unquestionable. It is necessary to co-opt him so as finally to draw him in and encourage him. [Plekhanov in fact blocked Lenin's plan to bring Trotsky on to the 'Iskra' Board.]



Trotsky at the period of his first exile in Siberia. Immediately he escaped, he went to join Lenin in London (October 1902) to write for 'Iskra'.

importance, we reproduce in full:

'(Pero', as a note in the volume points out, was the pseudonym used by Trotsky at that time):

'To G. V. Plekhanov. 2.III.03

'I am submitting to all members of the Editorial Board a proposal to co-opt "Pero" as a full member of the Board. (I believe that for co-optation a majority but a unanimous vote is needed.)

'We are very much in need of a seventh member both because it would simplify voting (six being an even number) and reinforce the Board.

'"Pero" has been writing in every issue for several months

of relationships and voting procedures in the Editorial Board, and to draft precise rules. This is necessary for us and important for the congress [the Second Congress of the Party, due to meet later the same year].

'P.S. I consider it extremely inconvenient and awkward to put off the co-opting, for I can see that "Pero" is already quite annoyed (he has not of course openly said so) with being left hanging "in the air" and treated, so it seems to him, as a "youngster".

'If we do not accept "Pero" at once and he leaves in, say, a month for Russia, I am certain he will take it as a sign that we simply do not want him on the editorial staff. We might lose him, and that would be very bad' (pp. 110-112.) But Lenin did 'lose him'—for 14 years.

Pulled by ties of friendship and misplaced personal loyalty towards the group that Lenin intended to remove from the 'Iskra' board—namely Axelrod, Zasulich and Potresov—Trotsky sided with them and Martov at the Second Congress, and after a year with the Mensheviks, spent the next ten years vainly attempting to bring the two factions together again—the political error that Lenin correctly named as 'conciliationism'.

So in 1904 Lenin was almost alone. He now had to search for and train new writers for his Bolshevik organ, and begin the political and theoretical struggle for the leadership of the Russian working class in battle with the now Menshevik-dominated 'Iskra'.

Much of the material in this volume deals with that fight.

Working against the opportunist stream and all the difficulties imposed by conditions of isolation from the struggle in Russia, Lenin began to assemble the material resources and writers necessary for the launching of a Bolshevik organ.

In a letter to G. D. Leitesen (one of the new Journal's financial benefactors) on December 12, 1904, he was able to report:

'Today we finally, and practically, settled the question of the organ we propose to begin publishing as of January 1-10: the size will be half the old "Iskra" . . . (p. 144.)

(Lenin also asked Leitesen to be the new organ's French correspondent.)

But without deep roots in the Russian movement itself, the journal would remain a commentator on and not an organizer of the fight against the autocracy.

Contacts

Fresh political contacts in Russia were therefore the life blood of the new organ. Lenin's eagerness to seek out and develop them is most evident in his letter to L. B. Kamenev, dated December 14, 1904:

'Many thanks for your letter and the beginning (the end has not yet reached us) of the article "Iskra's Military Campaign". I was especially happy to receive your letter since we so rarely hear from Russia, so rarely do people write us not "in duty bound" but to exchange ideas.'

In Kamenev (shot by the Stalinist bureaucracy after the first, 1936 Moscow Trial) Lenin detected political and literary talent, even on the basis of an unfinished article. The main problem with the modest and often hesitant Kamenev was to give him confidence and encourage him to develop as both a writer for the press and a leader of the movement.

Lenin's many letters to Kamenev throughout the rest of the volume show the founder of the Bolshevik faction

and Party patiently encouraging Kamenev, despite all his weaknesses, vacillations and temporary lapses into total silence and inactivity, to harness his talents to the work of the Party and the struggle of the working class.

And never once did Lenin—as his bitter clashes with Kamenev in the April and October of 1917 prove—make a concession on basic questions.

With Lenin, flexibility was combined with complete intransigence on questions of principle.

Already in this first letter to Kamenev, Lenin is encouraging him to come out of his shell:

'Please write more often and collaborate more closely with our new organ, which we shall begin publishing in the near future . . . I would say that your article is unquestionable evidence of your literary ability, and I ask you not to give up writing . . . (p. 147.)

Lenin's journal ('Vperiyod'—'Forward') could not have been launched at a more auspicious time. On January 9, 1905, the Tsar's troops shot down hundreds of workers demanding reforms—under the leadership of Father Gapon. From petitioning the Tsar, the workers went over to the mass general strike, the Soviets and the first attempt at revolution.

Now Lenin's journal began to attract new talented writers of the same generation as Kamenev—among them Bogdanov and Lunacharsky—who, while the revolution was in the ascendant, developed Bolshevik agitation and propaganda brilliantly through the pages of 'Vperiyod'.

They only began to clash with Lenin—first on tactics, then on matters of Marxist theory and philosophy—when the working class began to be forced back by the reaction and the new situation called for a deep assimilation of all the lessons of the first revolution.

After 1906, Krassin, Bogdanov and Lunacharsky began to move away from Lenin, both on the question of legal Party work (the ultra-left Bolsheviks called for a continuation of the parliamentary boycott after the obvious decline of the revolution in 1907) and the need to defend the Marxist, dialectical materialist world outlook from attacks by idealism.

Assistance

It was in this period of retreat that Kamenev and Zinoviev came forward as Party leaders. They gave Lenin invaluable assistance in his fight to prevent the liquidation of the Party both by the 'left' liquidators (the Bogdanov group) that turned their back on all forms of open Party work in Russia, and the right, Menshevik liquidators, who tried to dilute the Party into a reformist, legal 'labour congress'.

The degree of collaboration between Lenin and Kamenev in this period can be measured by the regularity of their correspondence. Between his break with the ultra-left in 1909 and the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, Lenin wrote to Kamenev no fewer than 35 times.

All but two of these letters are contained in Volume 43. The other two are in another Volume of Lenin correspondence—No. 36.

And, as we have already noted, this collaboration did not exclude principled and comradely criticism. In a letter to Zinoviev (August 27, 1909) he commented:

'I am sending you "Vorwärts" [organ of the German Social-Democratic Party] and Kamenev's article. I believe it must

of dealing with Kamenev paid political dividends. On March 21, 1910, Lenin wrote:

'Dear L.B., The article about Kostov received, read and passed on. . . I liked it very much, I think it turned out quite well . . . (p. 235.)

Another letter to Kamenev—written on April 6 of the same year—is interesting in that it shows Lenin's reluctance to break with Trotsky's journal 'Pravda'.

Even at the height of the faction fight against the liquidators and Trotsky's conciliationism, Lenin wrote to Kamenev:

'Is your withdrawal from "Pravda" essential for us? You seem almost ready to say yes—again being "in haste" to write after the very first conflict with Trotsky . . . (p. 243.)

The break, if it had to come, should be made on questions of principle, and after careful political preparation:

'Your withdrawal from "Pravda"—if it is inevitable—should in my view be arranged with the utmost care (write an article against the liquidators and against "Golos", let Trotsky turn it down!) . . . (p. 244.)

Retrenchment

By this time, both Zinoviev and Kamenev were editing the Bolshevik organ with Lenin. And it was in this vital period of retrenchment, preparation and rearming that another Bolshevik murdered under Stalin came to the fore—A. I. Rykov—to whom Lenin wrote a succession of important letters in 1911.

The real bonds of affection that developed between Lenin and Kamenev come out in many of these letters. For example:

'Dear L.B. First of all hearty

issue of "Neue Zeit" (no. 6, 8, XI) where Kautsky advances purely opportunistic arguments, etc. . . (p. 306.)

These revealing lines were written well over a year before Kautsky's betrayal of the resolution against imperialist war carried at the Basle Congress of the Second International. And Kamenev did in fact go to Basle:

'You are the national secretary. No one but you and Plekhanov has the right to receive admission cards . . . (p. 308.)

After the Congress, Lenin again wrote to Kamenev: 'In my opinion you handled things in Basle—under the circumstances—superbly. It couldn't have been done better.' (p. 310.)

But then the weaker side of Kamenev begins to come out. He is unable to grasp the importance of the decisions arrived at during the Congress, decisions which committed the International to revolutionary action against the threat of imperialist war, and its conversion into a civil war should a clash between the major powers in fact break out.

So in Lenin's next letter to Kamenev we read:

'Shame-Shame-Shame! Not a word for "Pravda" [the daily Bolshevik organ launched earlier the same year] about Basle! What's the matter? You had five aides and not a single letter from Basle to us!—not a single despatch to "Pravda"! (p. 311.)

It rapidly becomes evident that Kamenev had not wanted to make the trip to Basle at all.

Self-effacing to the point of political timidity, he obviously wanted Lenin to take the leading role in all Party work. This episode with Kamenev gives the lie to those anti-communist publicists who attempt to present Lenin as a man motivated only by a lust for personal power.

torted by both bourgeois and Stalinist writers.

Lenin's relations with even his closest comrades—and Kamenev and Zinoviev with whom he shared lodgings for several years while in exile were among his most intimate contacts—were never put above Party principles.

When Zinoviev and Kamenev betrayed the decision of the Bolshevik Party to prepare the uprising—through an article in the non-Party press—Lenin roundly denounced them as strike-breakers and called for their expulsion from the Bolshevik Party.

But after the revolution, Lenin advanced both of them to important Party and state work. Zinoviev was elected Chairman of the Communist International, while Kamenev, apart from serving on the Soviet delegation to the Congresses of the International, headed the Moscow state organization. With all their weaknesses, Lenin sought to encourage them to make their political contribution, while never pulling any punches whenever principled differences arose.

It was in this spirit that Lenin in his famous 'Testament', advised the Party not to hold the 'October mistake' against either Zinoviev or Kamenev, while at the same time not ignoring the political weakness—an organic inclination towards conservatism—that led to their openly opposing the uprising.

Contrast

We should contrast Lenin's approach with that of the Stalinist editors of his works. As we have already noted, Zinoviev and Kamenev played a key role in rebuilding the Party after the defeat of the 1905 revolution. But this historical fact, which proclaims itself in literally scores of letters included in this volume, but turned into its opposite:

'The volume also contains letters criticizing the anti-Marxist views of N. J. Bukharin [shot after the third "Moscow Trial" in 1938] G. L. Pyatakov [shot after the second in 1937] and Yevgenia Bosh. Firmly and consistently upholding the basic principles of Marxism, Lenin combated at the same time the conciliatory position taken by G. Y. Zinoviev.' (p. 34.)

As a matter of fact, the volume contains no fewer than 70 letters written by Lenin to Zinoviev—far and away the most to any one single member of the Party (Stalin has two.)

What the Stalinist falsifiers cannot bring themselves to admit is that Zinoviev stood with Lenin against the imperialist war and endorsed his demand that it must be turned into a civil war. Lenin's constant stream of correspondence with the 'conciliator' Zinoviev bear irrefutable testimony to that. But all the Stalinist editors can find to write about Zinoviev co-founder with Lenin of the Bolshevik group in the anti-war 'Zimmerwald International' is that he 'conciliated'—with whom and on behalf of whom we are not told.

Distortions

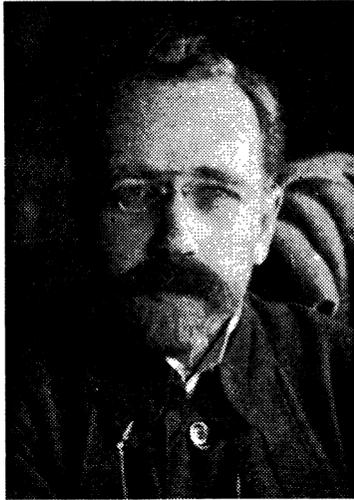
These distortions are taken much further in the biographical notes at the end of the volume, where not only Zinoviev and Kamenev, but every Bolshevik identified with an anti-Stalinist grouping has his record in the Party presented in a completely negative way.

The slanders dredged up against the 'old Bolsheviks' pale, however, in comparison with those used against Trotsky. The same biographical section tells us:

'Trotsky (Bronstein) Lev Davidovich ("Pero") (1879-1940)—joined the RSDLP in 1897 [wrong—there was no Russian Party until its found-



Zinoviev



Kamenev

be printed and without delay. . . It is a pity that Kamenev works carelessly. The subject is a most rewarding one, but he rambles on and on, beating about the bush, unable to get to the heart of the matter properly.' (pp. 216-217.)

But Lenin did not leave the matter there:

'Perhaps we should send the second half back to him for rewriting from this angle . . . I have no great hopes that he will re-do it, but we must keep insisting.'

And in an attempt to involve Kamenev in active Party work, thus helping him to reorient his literary activities, Lenin made the following proposal to Zinoviev:

'There is no point in keeping Kamenev in Arcachon. If he has had a rest, let him return, and under all circumstances he must be sent out to lecture.' (p. 217.)

Lenin's firm but patient way

greetings to all friends, thanks for the telegram and heaps of best wishes! (Never mind the blot) . . . (p. 294.)

Kamenev's stature in the Russian movement by 1912 was such that he represented the Party not only at the German Social-Democratic Party Congress in Chemnitz in the September of that year, but also at the Austrian Party Congress in October. And on November 10, 1912, Lenin wrote to Kamenev:

'I have just learned that the Congress [of the Second International] in Basle will take place, in all probability, on November 24. . . It is possible that I shall not go, and that we shall appoint you. So begin to prepare at once.'

In contrast with Lenin's political confidence in Kamenev at this time, it is highly significant to note his opinion of Kautsky:

' . . . collect all the manifestos against war, get the last

MOSCOW TRIALS ANTHOLOGY

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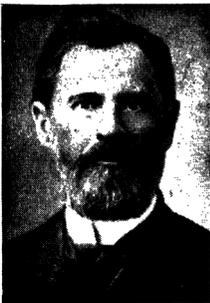
ing Congress at Minsk in 1898), a Menshevik. [Also wrong, Trotsky left the Menshevik faction in 1904.]

'After the Second Congress (1903) [so our editors already have Trotsky a Menshevik before the Congress where the two factions took shape—and even before the formation of the Party itself] opposed the Bolsheviks on all issues involving the theory and practice of socialist revolution. Returned from emigration in 1917, joined the Mezhratonski group with whom he was admitted to membership of the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth Congress.

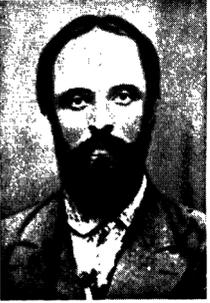
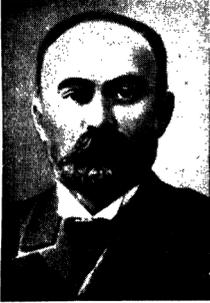
Key posts

'After the October Revolution [in which, according to the testimony of Stalin a year later, he played a decisive part] held a number of key posts. [So despite his being 'opposed [to] the Bolsheviks on all issues involving the theory and practice of socialist revolution', Trotsky was still placed in 'a number of key posts' i.e., Commissar for War, the Praesidium of the Communist International, the Politbureau of the Bolshevik Party etc., etc., etc.]

'Carried on a bitter factional struggle against the Party's general line [so much so that Trotsky drafted all but one of the manifestos for the first five Congresses of the Communist International, together with numerous policy statements and resolutions for the Bolshevik Party while Lenin was alive.] against Lenin's programme for building socialism; argued the impossibility of winning socialism in the USSR. [Trotsky, with Lenin



The editorial board of Iskra, 1900-1903. Left to right, Upper: F. Axelrod, Lenin, Vera Zasulich. Lower: Julius Martov, G. V. Plekhanov, Alexander Potresov and N. Krupskaya (secretary of the board). Right: (top) 'Iskra' first published in 1900 (below) 'Pravda', first issued as a legal Bolshevik daily newspaper in April 1912.



and every other Bolshevik leader up to 1924, insisted that socialism could be built in the Soviet Union, but only in alliance with the workers of the technically more advanced nations of the West. Stalin too held this view until late 1924 when he went over to his theory of 'socialism in one country.'

'Expelled from the Party in 1927, in 1929 deported from the country for anti-Soviet

activity and deprived of Soviet citizenship in 1932. [Trotsky's 'anti-Soviet activity' consisted in fighting to carry through the call of Lenin's Testament: 'Remove Stalin'.]

'Living abroad, he continued his struggle against the Soviet state and the Communist Party, against the international Communist movement.' (p. 774.)

The best refutation of the Stalinist charge that Trotsky remained a Menshevik right through to the Revolution can be found in this same volume. On January 22, 1910, Lenin wrote the following in a letter to an unidentified contact:

'There have been two major trends in the SD [Social Democratic] movement in

1903-1909 — "Menshevik" and "Bolshevik". In "Neue Zeit" you will find articles by representatives of both trends.

'Bibliography: Cherevanin (Menshevik), reviews in "Vorwärts" and "Leipziger Volkszeitung". Trotsky, middle position [emphasis added] Vermittlerstellung ("Russland in Revolution", 1910). I myself belong to the



"Bolshevik" trend.' (p. 231.)

So much for Trotsky's 'Menshevism'!

This volume is best studied alongside the other collections of Lenin's letters covering the same period—to be found in Volumes 34 and 35 of the 'Collected Works'. And, in turn, Lenin's letters—in essence a political 'shorthand' of his whole method and style

of work—should be read in conjunction with his major theoretical writings.

Despite the efforts of his Stalinist 'editors', the real Lenin springs alive from the pages of this splendid volume, and, through the mirror of his own letters, we can catch at least a glimpse of those who, under Stalin, were hounded to their deaths as Hitler's agents.

Culture and Socialism

Towards an Independent Revolutionary Art

Culture and Socialism and a Manifesto
Art and Revolution

An article compiled by the author from a talk he gave to a Moscow club on February 3, 1926, and a number of other addresses.

The Manifesto, appearing in 1938 under the signatures of André Breton and Diego Rivera was in fact drawn up in collaboration with Trotsky.

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tv column

Political play-acting

HAROLD WILSON, statesman and sports-lover, custodian of the nation and man of the people, diligently fostered his image on television last week. And compared to Heath he is certainly expert at it!

First, on Thursday night, he made a rare appearance on 'Sportsnight With Coleman' (BBC-1). Since Heath made his debut on this show, as master yachtsman, rugged

and determined, only a little while ago, it has obviously been a matter of concern to the Labour Party's publicity makers to redress the balance.

So the moment was carefully chosen. The programme was bound to have a big audience since it also carried excerpts from the football match of the previous evening when Manchester City beat Gornik Zabrze in the European Cup Winners' Cup Final.

Sure enough, the show opened with this recording and was followed by some highlights of the week's sport. Then came the big turn, the Prime Minister.

He carefully and skilfully trod his way down the middle of the road on the question of the S African cricket tour.

On the one hand people should be free to demonstrate; on the other they mustn't go too far.

On this side he conceded the cricket authorities every right to do what they liked, on the other he wished they might show themselves as good sports and change their minds about the tour.

☆

Liberally sprinkling sporting metaphors through his finely executed pirouettes, he tried to avoid offence both to the black Commonwealth governments—with whom British capital has so much trade—and to the S African government—with whom British capital also has so much trade.

He told us of his golf handicap, apparently reticently, and with a suitable display of self-deprecating humour, but throughout maintained the grave features of the office he loves so well.

David Coleman provided an excellent foil, giving his usual clipped and efficient performance.

The night was also well chosen because it apparently just happened that Heath was due to appear on commercial television at the same time!

☆

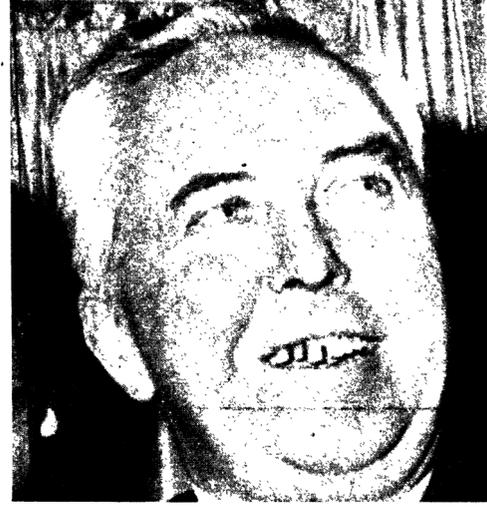
This clever manoeuvring was accommodated by the impartial BBC though and it was arranged that Mr Wilson should finish almost exactly before Mr Heath was to begin.

Dutifully changing channels we then witnessed the considerably less adroit Tory leader doing his public dance with three journalists to provide the 'tough' questions in accompaniment.

Hesitating only micro-seconds before answering he too did his best to create his image of the responsible, compassionate man of affairs.

Neither of these men exactly leave an impression of candour, but being less technically accomplished Heath also appears to be shifty. The open-faced, attentive smile clearly hides the real intentions.

This was highlighted at one



Harold Wilson

point when he requested Paul Foot of 'Private Eye' (now sharing a new respectability as well as the table with 'The Times' and 'The Guardian') not to take the statements of trade union leaders on threatened Tory union 'reform' at their face value.

Quite; that would be extremely foolish. Needless to say no one took up this cynical request.

The News at Ten (ITN) then carried extracts from both performances and next day the papers did their bit too.

Clearly the preparations for the General Election are under way. The use and manipulation of television and the press is an essential part of the build-up of lies, half-truths and deceptions.

As the press pursues a ruthless, no inuendo spared, campaign against the 'Reds', as ITN offers money for information and tries to intimidate by its presence, so they also lend themselves, along with the BBC to more subtle uses.

☆

Offers of facilities to a documentary unit in N Ireland by the Home Office in return for a copy of the film; decisions not to transmit even the mildest programme on Peterloo last autumn because 'This is not an appropriate time to put it out'; banned films at the BBC and elsewhere which deal with 'sensitive areas'; cynical careerism on the part of many researchers, directors and producers who sell their skills to the highest bidder—all this and much more like new appointments and subtle purges add up to the growing attempt at tighter control by the bourgeoisie.

And the very next night we were treated to yet another edition of the Harold Wilson show.

This time he had a different partner in the shape of Alastair Burnet, but the dance was remarkably similar.

'The Prime Minister at Chequers' (LWT May 1) was clearly a recent inspiration of the government's advertising men in that it replaced the publicized programme at quite short notice.

by FRANK CARTWRIGHT

Mary then told us how last year eight Commonwealth Prime Ministers, led by Mr Holyoake of New Zealand, who has such a nice bass voice, sang 'Happy Birthday' to her at her teaparty and Harold affectionately told of Churchill touching up a Reubens.

Far from finding such an act disgusting in its Philistinism, he went on to say that he would never touch up a Reubens 'still less a Reubens touched up by a Churchill'.

☆

We heard of Mr Wilson's good work with paraplegics from Stoke Mandeville hospital, his admiration for 'practically everything Arthur Bryant has written on English history' and we then settled down in the Long Gallery for a series of justifications of Labour policies under the pretext of 'going over some decisions made here'.

He propounded how he became convinced of the necessity of putting our defence effort into Europe and then of going into the Common Market, despite his announced policy at the Election; he explained how British influence has risen in the UN and the Commonwealth (despite his warnings on 'Sportsnight' that the S African tour prejudiced relations with the Commonwealth countries).

Finally he hinted that the future of trade-union legislation was not at all settled.

Suitably the whole thing was produced and directed by the team who do the David Frost and Simon Dee shows.

And all this play-acting came in the same week that the BBC announced a big cut-back in its drama schedule—one of its most exciting and, for a period, stimulating programmes. This will be only one step in the developing collapse.

WEDNESDAY TV

BBC 1	ITV	REGIONAL ITV
<p>9.38 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 12.25 p.m. Nai zindagi-naya jeevan. 1.00 Disc a dawn. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News, weather. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Six Blue Horses: film from France. 5.15 Vision on. 5.44 Parsley. 5.50 News, weather.</p> <p>6.00 London-nationwide. 6.40 The doctors. 7.00 All gas and gaiters 'The Bishop beats the system'.</p> <p>7.30 It's a knock-out! An inter-town contest—Exmouth v Weymouth.</p> <p>8.20 European cup final grandstand Celtic v Feyenoord. 8.45 Main news, weather. 8.55 European cup final continued. 9.45 News. 9.50 European cup final continued. 10.50 24 hours. 11.25 Weather.</p>	<p>11.00 a.m. Schools. 4.17 p.m. Tingha and Tucker club. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Anything you can do. 5.20 Freewheelers. 5.50 News.</p> <p>6.01 European champions cup final (preview).</p> <p>6.08 Today.</p> <p>6.35 This is your life.</p> <p>7.25 Coronation street.</p> <p>7.55 It takes a thief.</p> <p>8.53 News.</p> <p>8.55 European champions cup final Celtic v Feyenoord (Milan).</p> <p>10.45 News.</p> <p>11.15 Wrestling.</p> <p>11.45 What the papers say.</p> <p>12.00 Last programme.</p>	<p>CHANNEL: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.02 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.14 Zing-along. 4.25 Open house. 4.55 London. 6.05 News, weather. 6.10 Link up. 6.30 Crossroads. 6.55 Treasure hunt. 7.25 London. 7.55 The Baron. 8.53 London. 11.40 Epilogue. News, weather in French, weather.</p> <p>WESTWARD: As Channel except: 4.00 News. 4.02 The Gus Honeybun show. 6.05 Diary. 11.45 Faith for life. 11.51 Weather.</p> <p>SOUTHERN: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.00 Housparty. 4.15 London. 6.05 Day by day. Crime desk. 6.25 Doris Day show. 6.55 London. 7.55 Avengers. 8.53 London. 11.45 News. 11.55 Weather. 'Youth Forum'.</p> <p>HARLECH: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.25 Mr Piper. 4.55 Anything you can do. 5.20 Freewheelers. 5.50 London. 6.07 Report. 6.30 Crossroads. 6.55 London. 7.55 Marcus Welby. 8.53 News. 8.55 London. 11.45 Weather.</p> <p>ITV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.07 Y dydd. 6.25 Report—Wales.</p> <p>ANGLIA: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.25 Newsroom. 4.35 Romper room. 4.55 London. 6.05 About Angela. 6.30 Crossroads. 6.55 London. 7.55 Marcus Welby. 8.53 London. 11.45 Reflection.</p> <p>ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.02 Women today. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 Tingha and Tucker club. 4.55 London. 6.05 ATV today. 6.30 Crossroads. 6.55 London. 7.55 Man in a suitcase. 8.53 London. 11.40 Pinpoint. 12.02 Pulse, weather.</p> <p>ULSTER: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Any-</p>

BBC 2 11.00-11.20 a.m. Play school. 7.05 p.m. Square two. 7.30 News, weather. 8.00 Man alive 'Gale is Dead'. The problems of drug addiction. 8.55 Canvas 'The Climax of Venetian Painting'. 9.10 Show of the week Glen Campbell with guest star. 9.55 Europa. 10.30 My world . . . and welcome to it 'The Mea Culpa Bit'. 10.55 News, weather. 11.00 Line-up 2,000th edition.

REGIONAL All regions as BBC-1 except: Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.40 Midlands today. Look East, weather. Nationwide. 11.27 News, weather. North of England: 6.00-6.40 Look North, weather. Nationwide. 11.27 News, weather. Wales: 6.00-6.40 Wales today, weather. Nationwide. 6.40-7.00 Heddiw. Scotland: 6.00-6.40 Reporting Scotland. Nationwide. 11.27 News, weather. Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.40 Scene around six, weather. Nationwide. 11.27 News, weather. South and West: 6.00-6.40 Points West. South today. Spotlight South-West, weather. Nationwide. 11.27 News, weather.

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Speed-up threat to university technicians

TODAY IS the deadline for the university technicians' claim for settlement of their 21 per cent job-evaluation award.

The increase was sanctioned by the Prices and Incomes Board but the Department of Employment and Productivity (DEP) later threw the settlement out.

This cut short the celebrations in the technicians' union, Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS), which had circulated literature proclaiming the 'biggest award ever'.

The lack of any substantial rise for a prolonged period and the total commitment of union officials to productivity has removed many technicians' illusions about the nature of productivity deals.

Job evaluation was introduced on the initiative of the union which saw this as the most convenient way of achieving parity with medical technicians, themselves at present fighting for higher pay.

Heavy fire But the ASTMS leadership will come under increasingly heavy fire as phase three is introduced. This contains the most vicious clauses in the deal.

Some sections of the leadership have expressed reservations about phase three, but consider it would be possible to oppose its implementation after gaining two increments for the first two phases.

Doubly difficult The fight will now be doubly difficult because the ASTMS leadership accepts the principle of productivity.

There is already talk of further industrial action if the latest talks do not produce results.

Warehousemen strike may hit motors FORTY warehousemen at two Wilmot Breeden factories in Birmingham struck over a pay claim yesterday, the second time in a week.

150 workers making door handles were laid off as a result of the stoppage. Wilmot Breeden also made door locks, handles and other parts, and a company spokesman said the strike was 'a serious threat' to the jobs of many more workers in the car industry.

WEATHER London area, S-E, central southern and central northern England, E and W Midlands, Channel Islands: Sunny periods, perhaps outbreaks of thundery rain later.

Wind southerly, moderate or fresh. Warm. Max. 20C (68F). Edinburgh: Mainly dry. Cloudy near East coast, otherwise warm and sunny.

Winds South easterly, moderate or fresh. Rather cold near East coast, otherwise warm. Max. 19C (66F) but 10C (50F) near coast.

S-E and N-W England: Sunny spells, some showers. Wind southerly, fresh or strong. Warm. Max. 18C (64F).

Ireland: Mainly cloudy, rain at times. Wind South easterly, fresh or strong. Warm. Max. 16C (61F).

Outlook for Thursday and Friday: Rather cloudy in Scotland and eastern counties of England, otherwise mainly bright. Dry in most places but thundery outbreaks of rain likely in southern counties of England. Temperatures above or near normal.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

LATE NEWS EUROPEAN SOCCER NOW ON (See this page) A compromise agreement reached with 30 Milan groundstaff.

NEW YORK STOCK MARKET (See page one) After first hour of business Dow Jones index was 712.05—down 2.51 in reaction to Cambodia and campus demonstrations.

PILKINGTON (See page one) The National Executive of the General and Municipal Workers' Union today discussed the unofficial strike at the Pilkington glass plant and ordered an inquiry into its St Helens branch.

FEW AMERICANS LAND Saigon, Tuesday—US troops met with heavy fire and bad weather today that helicopters could land only a fraction of the 6,000 men committed to the third offensive into Cambodia.

Washington, Tuesday—President Nixon and top administration officials gave congressional committees an optimistic report today on the progress of US operations in Cambodia.

Glasgow Tories slash housing

GLASGOW TORIES have launched a vicious two-pronged attack against workers in dire need of homes and against direct labour scheme building workers.

The municipal housing programme is being slashed and 600 building workers face the threat of sackings this summer in a city where the jobless level stands at 4.7 per cent.

Last year, out of a target of 4,500 houses only 1,311 were started. The number of corporation houses completed was only 4,577.

There are 47,000 families on the housing list. This figure was arrived at after drastic pruning of the 1968 list of 80,000.

To qualify for the list, householders must have lived in Glasgow for eight years, and to qualify for a house they must have been on the council waiting list for 15 years. Added to this are the families who have to be re-housed through redevelopment—last year they numbered 5,000.

Deficit Tory policy is to reduce the £7.8 million deficit in the housing revenue account by introducing 'economic rents', the selling of corporation houses, more private enterprise building and more houses for sale.

The proposed cuts in the direct labour force are initially to be in the new building department.

It is claimed that the maintenance section will remain practically unchanged.

At present the direct labour department employs 4,362—2,543 on maintenance and 1,819 on new building.

Consultants The workers themselves claim that over the past two years the labour force has dropped by 1,000. The decision to make further cuts follows a report of P.A. Management Consultants who recommended that the department should have a building target of 800 to 1,000 houses a year, which would require 600 less men.

It is notable that almost simultaneous with the management consultants' report, it was announced that a contract for re-wiring 50,000 corporation houses at a cost of £334,870 had been awarded to a private contractor.

This clearly demonstrates that the building workers' demand that the direct labour department be extended is perfectly valid.

Incensed by the actions of the Tory council, they staged a half-day token stoppage last week and marched to the City

No conflict The Communist Party does not want to conflict with these people and it tailors

Hatred Hatred of such deals is shown by a resolution from Dundee which calls for a £20 minimum wage with no strings attached.

Hull calls for a wage minimum of £30. A clash on wages policy is therefore likely to be a major question.

Glasgow 11B branch has an amendment on the Grange-mouth construction site dispute in which it calls for the rejection of all productivity deals and condemns the union's executive for drawing up a final settlement at Grangemouth which must be amongst the worst ever signed.

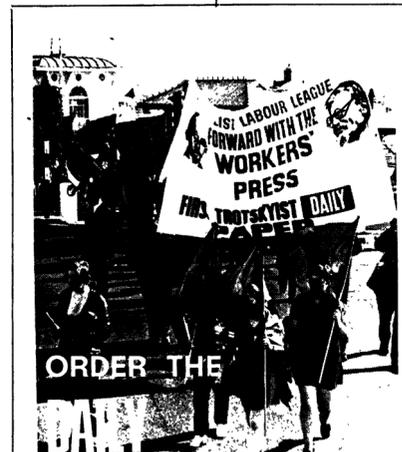
Importance A discussion on the Grangemouth events is of great importance.

Despite the threat of mass sackings from Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and the possible closure of other yards, such as Cammell Lairds, and despite rank-and-file attempts to press for the nationalization of the yards and an all-out strike against sackings, a Grangemouth type deal is being prepared.

Amongst the policy resolutions is one which congratulates 'Tribune' and the 'Morning Star' for their support for boilermakers' struggles.

Lessons The Grangemouth dispute has lessons on this question also.

The 'Stars' Scottish correspondent refused during the strike last year to go near the site, because, he said, it was an inter-union dispute.



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MAY DAY RESOLUTION, 1970

This is the full text of the May Day resolution adopted by the Political Committee of the Socialist Labour League on May 3, 1970, which formed the basis of speeches at the SLL and Young Socialist meeting following our magnificent demonstration last Sunday.

ence and betraying the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese workers. We pledge our support for the workers and peasants of South and Central Africa in their struggle to overthrow the hated racist dictatorships of Vorster and Smith and their native exploiters.

Down with imperialism and Stalinism —ally of Franco and the Greek junta! Like the Vietnamese, the Palestinian people's struggle for self-determination against Zionist oppression demands the support of the European working class and a thorough exposure of the United Nations as a tool of imperialism as well as the attempts of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy to impose a settlement against the wishes of the Arab peoples.

Down with Zionism —long live the unity of Arab and Jewish workers in the struggle for a socialist Palestine! We support the struggles of all colonial or semi-colonial peoples in their struggles against imperialism and capitalist dictatorship and demand the immediate release of Hugo Blanco and all other political prisoners held by the military dictatorships in Peru, Brazil, Argentina and elsewhere.

This meeting further condemns the counter-revolutionary policy of world Stalinism aimed at reconquering the Geneva conference and the building of the revolutionary party and the development of its theory.

On this May Day we dedicate ourselves to this task by calling for international working-class action against the war and by linking this struggle to the building of Trotskyist parties in every country of the world.

We applaud the action of the Liverpool dockers and striking stewards for their actions on May 1. This meeting further condemns the counter-revolutionary policy of world Stalinism aimed at reconquering the Geneva conference and the building of the revolutionary party and the development of its theory.

Mr Fryer hates all this. He tries to hide his love of the status quo, his scepticism towards the working class and his hatred of Marxist theory and democratic centralism by a sneering and untruthful reference to 'Gerry Healy's enterprises'.

Chambers, demanding no redundancies take place and that the housing programme be expanded. But the temper of the demonstrators indicated that many had illusions in the ability of a Labour council to put things right.

It is correct to fight tooth and nail to clear the Tories out, but it would be folly to assume that the re-election of a Labour majority on the council would resolve Glasgow's housing or building programme.

The Labour leadership here has consistently supported the right-wing policies of Wilson on all major questions.

More arms' call as Israel hard-pressed SPEAKING to a recent meeting of the Tel Aviv Israeli-American Society, former US Vice-President Hubert Humphrey called for more arms to be supplied to the Meir government.

Taking a leaf out of Nixon's Cambodia book, Humphrey expressed the hope that the US Administration 'will see to it, without fanfare but with deeds, that the means of Israel's defence are assured'.

But not everything is running smoothly for the Zionists. Following the recent series of military setbacks in the Suez Canal zone comes news of a strike by tugboat and berthing crews at the port of Haifa.

27 freighters are at the moment unable to discharge their cargo—much of it being material vital for the war against the Arabs. The scare about Soviet pilots was obviously designed to win support for more arms deliveries to Israel, whose rulers are now hard pressed both by the liberation movement in the annexed areas and the stirrings of the Israeli working class at home.

European soccer final offside? REPRESENTATIVES of Milan city council, trade unions and the Italian soccer league were meeting yesterday to discuss the possibility of a postponement of today's European Cup final because of strike action by 30 groundstaff.

The workers are expected to join the strike called by Milan's 16,000 municipal workers. A suggestion to call in troops to maintain the pitch was rejected because of the risk of clashes with pickets.

Thousands of fans are converging on Milan from Rotterdam and Glasgow to watch Celtic play Feyenoord. On arrival Celtic's plane was forced to switch airports because of an airport workers' strike.

About turn This follows the bureaucracy's about turn on the

Stock Market crisis FROM PAGE ONE raise spirits on Wall Street either: they made a net loss of over \$10 million in the first quarter of 1970, making a total loss of \$25.7 million since October.

As the rest of the world's Stock Exchanges drift downwards in sympathy with Wall Street, the future of Investors Overseas Services becomes more and more shaky. There is rumour of a possible take-over by a consortium of European banks and IOS shares continue to fall on most exchanges yesterday.

1969 profits, to be announced shortly, are expected to be even worse than was predicted earlier. Allen Cantor, one of IOS's top three men, was in Paris on Monday for talks with Rothschilds. Meanwhile, the West German Federal Banking Commission gave a very cautious report on the investigations of IOS's German activities. While stating that no irregularities had been found, an official of the Economics Ministry told journalists that a further and stricter check was now proceeding.

Stop sales If anything irregular came to light, the government would use its right to stop the sale of shares. When the London Stock Exchange opened yesterday, prices had dropped dramatically. The news of a rise in British gold reserves was ignored by investors.



So-called Vietcong suspects captured inside Cambodia interrogated at a S Vietnam compound.

U.S. aggression

FROM PAGE ONE But the essence of their policy—that of seeking an accommodation with imperialism—remains unchanged.

It was in the name of such a strategy that Stalin opposed the victory of the Chinese Communists from the middle-1920s right through to Mao's triumph in 1949.

Khrushchev simply carried on where Stalin gave off. In the winter of 1962-1963, the Kremlin has been dropping its own demand, and instead pushing up to the anti-US bourgeois in France and Germany by calling for an all-European Security Conference.

Still resting on the property relations established by the Revolution of 1917, the bureaucracy feels the pressure of imperialism building up on the workers' states, as the economic crisis deepens in Europe and the USA.

Trapped between the mounting militancy of the working class—including its own—and the imperialist offensive, the bureaucracy twists and turns in an attempt to adapt to both these pressures, while maintaining its own special position and privileges within the workers' states.

So Henry Ford II is awarded VIP treatment in Moscow one day—and his political and military spokesmen are denounced as imperialist warmongers the next.

The defence of China and the prevention of war cannot be entrusted to this parasitic and essentially conservative force, any more than it can be handed over to the Wilsons and the Brandts.

The May Day strikes in Italy and Liverpool in AS US and S Vietnamese troops pushed forward into Cambodia yesterday on three fronts, orders were given to destroy completely the town of Snoul, some 40 miles from the border.

Napalm, 500-pound bombs and tanks are being used to raze the town to the ground in an effort to trap the elusive 'N Vietnamese troops'.

Even yesterday's 'Guardian' had to admit that 'pro-Communist Cambodian troops' are involved in the fighting. As the US military machine continues to destroy everything in its path, the liberation forces are reported to be within 20 miles of the capital Phnom Penh.

China has announced that it is breaking off all diplomatic relations with the Cambodian regime.

The May Day action would have been all the more powerful had it not been for the treachery of the Stalinists and their 'left' allies in the trade unions and parliament, who have consistently opposed independent working-class industrial action against the Vietnam war.

All along they have argued for more 'pressure' on Wilson and the leaders of US imperialism. Today their policy lies in ruins. It is a reformist fraud.

Pilkington strike

FROM PAGE ONE stage of which fell due on May 2, had the effect of reducing bonus earnings.

RANKLES The experience rankles. Pickets at Ravenhead Works were equally determined.

'We're fighting to earn a living wage in St Helens,' said one young striker.

'What do they earn at Ford's or Vauxhall's or any decent factory—and my basic's £13!'

'They're trying to starve us back,' said another, 'but they're not on.'

UNION CHANGE The attempts of G&MWU officials to obtain a return to the company's terms are a major source of bitterness and it seems likely that many glass workers—one strike leader put the figure as high as 30,000—will leave on the pattern of the 1969 Ford strike and join the T&GWU.

TUC leaders

FROM PAGE ONE papers in defence of its members at this stage can only strengthen the newspaper employers' drive to rationalize the industry at the expense of the workers.

Student shut down demanded THE US National Students' Association, representing about 500 campuses, has demanded a complete shut down of educational establishments, following the killing of four students on Monday by National Guardsmen.

60 campuses have so far answered the call. At the University of Maryland, a state of emergency has been declared by the governor and the National Guard are now enforcing an 8.30 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew.

PLANE WORKERS WANT £5

ABOUT 600 workers at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Bedford, began a work-to-rule yesterday in support of a £5 a week pay claim.

They also gave their unions and the Ministry of Technology two-weeks to reach agreement or face possible strike action.

Beer Strike

BEER delivery men at the Courage (Eastern) Ltd. bottling plant in Park Street, Southwark, London, held a one-day strike yesterday over a pay dispute.