December Fund has been our best so far. Money poured in giving us almost £124 over

By Michael

Banda

Put it right out in front of

What we think

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Bleak reality of Toryism

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BY A WORKERS PRESS

REPORTER

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Despite appeals for 'Christamnesties, firemen continued their 'emergency - calls - only' action throughout the holiday.

Many of them-incensed by the employers' meagre 5½-percent pay offer-are demanding more determined steps to win their claim for a substantial increase in earnings and reduction in hours.

Refused

Four stations in London's 'H' division—Orpington, Sanderstead, Biggin Hill and refusing emergency calls since

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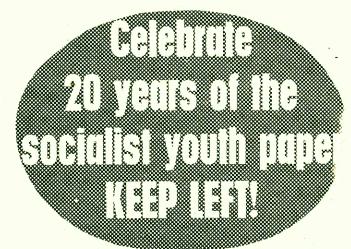
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National **Speaking** Contest

Photo Competition

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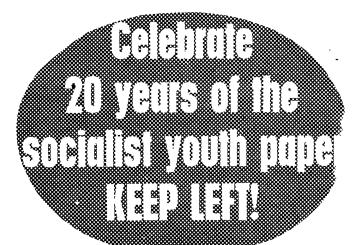
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Tories' plan:

STRAIT-JACKET

LAST WEEK'S House of Commons disclosure that the Tories are looking into the disbursement of student union funds is warning proof that the 'problem' of 'campus unrest' is subject to continuous behind-the-scenes investigation.

Since the aim of these investigations is to curb student militants President Jack Straw's announcement that the National Union of Students will give the government all the help it needs is nothing short of betrayal.

Straw's offer of collaboration came only two months after the report of the joint NUS-National Council for Civil Liberties Commission on Academic Freedom and the Law.

The 18-man Commission was set up in March 1969 more or less at the peak of campus demands for increased student representation on the governing bodies of institutions of further and higher education. The Commission's terms of reference were to investigate the legal relationship between students on the one hand and college authorities

and grant-awarding bodies on the other. Naturally their concern was primarily focused on the legal and other implications of direct action and on the growing use of legal processes by college authorities.

There certainly were good grounds for conducting such an examination. Throughout 1968 and 1969 newspapers were full of stories of student sit-ins, strikes, boycotts and demonstrations many of which were without doubt inspired by the example of events in France in May-June 1968.

As the report noted, the most significant development during this two-year period was the increasing resort by colleges and universities to invoke legal proceedings against students, particularly the law of

By the summer of 1970 another development not emphasized in the report, but of even greater importance, was the general hardening of the authorities' attitudes towards students.

The new tough lineclusively emerged in July 1970 when Mr Justice Melford Stevenson sentenced eight students for their part in the demonstration in Cambridge against the Greek colonels' regime.

Six were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from nine to 18 months and two of these recommended for deportation. Two others were sent to Borstal. The relationship between the Tory election victory on June 18

and the severity of the sentences in July cannot be doubted. As has been noted regarding the government's efforts to deal with the power workers, what prevented a tough line being taken before was simply that the climate of public opinion was

generally hostile. There was plenty of evidence to suggest that college and university authorities would have taken a less flexible line had they not, in doing so, been exposed to public censure for being out of

date and autocratic. Where the tough line was employed, the most notorious cases were Hornsey and Guildford Colleges of Art and at the London School of Economics during the Adams affair.

As the report notes, there were other less publicized examples of the authorities' willingness to attack the student militants at Swansea, Manchester, Kent and

Warwick was of particular interest. A student sit-in at the University incidentally revealed a state of affairs which was found by no means to be an isolated

Lengths

authority was prepared to go and was indeed going to restrain a movement which threatened to go beyond reform.

Students staging a sit-in in the Registry found and read confidential files on the political activities of staff and students.

This type of information will clearly be vital to the ruling class in the coming fight.

It may already have proved useful. There are several examples of lecturers being refused employment, ostensibly for a reason unconnected with their political views, but in fact directly related

The case of Birmingham lecturer Dick Atkinson is a good example. He is still fighting the college authorities over what he regards as victimization for his

political views.

Although the college has, of course, denied his allegations they admit that his part in 'disruptive activities' in 1968 was a significant factor in their decision not to offer him work, even though he once worked there

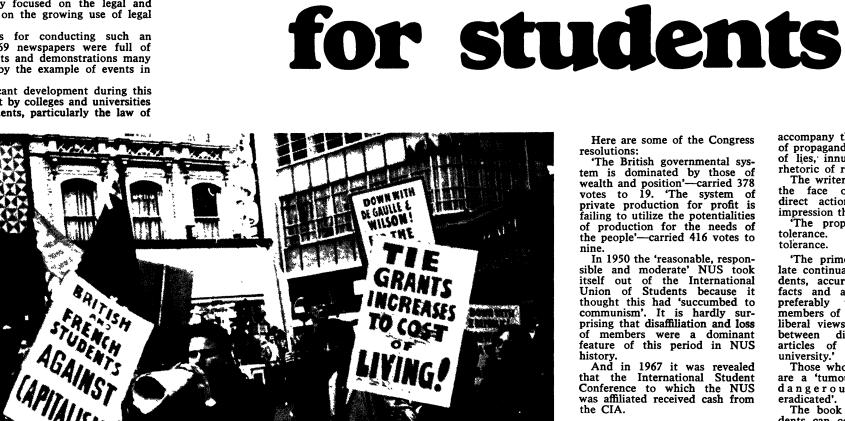
part time. The NUS has condemned the keeping of secret files and sup-ported Atkinson's case.

But these moves should in no way be mistaken for a recogni-tion by the NUS of the threat to 'academic freedom' emerging from the right. Nor should they be mistaken for a willingness to fight this challenge. If one thing concerned the 18

fair-minded social democrats on the NUS-NCCL Commission more than anything else, it was how to head off student protest so that it could be contained within the

status quo.
Their principal recommendation is for legally enforceable contracts between colleges and students.

Since the contract will cover things like disruptive behaviour, they back up their recommendation with a rider positively out-



Students join Young Socialists' demonstration in support of French students, May/June 1968.

lawing activity which disrupts the teaching or study or research of the college and also damage

or defacement of property.

To make sure the scheme works they suggest a new organization is needed to which reforms and grievances can be referred. This was to be called the Higher Education Advisory Board.

Since the entire system is a strait-jacket for student mili-tants and a blanket for reform, it comes as no surprise that the members of the new Board were to be government-appointed. With crass naïvety or wilful

deceit, on page 54 the Commis-

sion report says: 'It is expected that the Board members would be aware of the danger that their activities might jeopardize academic freedom through centralization and the imposition of uniformity.

The Board would, however, be an independent body and aware of the need to preserve what is valuable in the educational traditions of excellence and diversity.

Interference

The statement continues, remarkably: 'The danger of political interference in the work of the Board would be reduced if, as is here suggested, the Minister had no power to alter or amend particular decisions of the Board and no duty to answer for them

in parliament.'
This means a governmentpossibly Tory—Minister would not only appoint the Board members as his placemen, but would also not be answerable to the democratic control of parliament. Like all good jokes the punchline in this one is at the end of

the statement. 'The Board would certainly become subject to the force of informed opinion whenever its activities were seen to be encroaching on academic freedom.' Anyone who thinks that 'informed opinion'—whatever that is—will count during the present period of growing class polariza-tion and antagonism is living well

above cloud nine. There is no doubt that rightwing forces are gathering to try to smash left influence in colleges and universities. The policies of the NUS and the NCCL can only open the door to defeat.

During September and October two books were published which reflect the growing concern about student unrest. The period of militancy over representation has passed, but in a revolutionary situation students will again be active and none of the current research will have been wasted.

The first of these was almost a college administrator's bible. 'The Rise of the Student Estate in Britain' by Sir Eric Ashby and Mary Anderson.

A leading article in the Tory journal 'Education' proclaimed the book should be 'required reading for all who have dealings with students'.

It should also be required reading for all students, because it exposes the reformist politics of the NUS and lists some interesting counter measures to student militancy which the authorities can employ.

The book says that today there are students who have a 'cheap and ignorant contempt' for the NUS which, since it was established in 1921, has achieved 'an honourable partnership with government, the UGC and the Vice-chancellors'.

Bristol students' demonstration, 1968

From the start the hallmark of the NUS has been reform. When the first demand that the NUS should act like a trade union was raised, in the 1930s, it was squashed on the grounds that it would undermine the concept of the university com-

No resolutions

In 1940 the annual congress was swamped with resolutionsmany Marxist in tone — as a result of which the book notes: tive members of the NUS were

distressed by this turn of events.' The reaction from NUS leaders was rapidly to ensure that in future there would be no 'political resolutions'.

The writers note: 'The NUS council had protected themselves from any repetition of the politi-cal fervour of the 1940 congress.'

Here are some of the Congress

'The British governmental system is dominated by those of wealth and position'-carried 378 votes to 19. 'The system of private production for profit is failing to utilize the potentialities of production for the needs of the people'—carried 416 votes to

In 1950 the 'reasonable, responsible and moderate' NUS took itself out of the International Union of Students because it thought this had 'succumbed to communism'. It is hardly sur-prising that disaffiliation and loss of members were a dominant feature of this period in NUS

And in 1967 it was revealed that the International Student Conference to which the NUS was affiliated received cash from the CIA.

Opportunity

The writers note that throughout the 1960s the 'New Left' took every opportunity to discredit the NUS and to drive it towards taking up political issues. The Radical Students' Alliance (RSA) and later the Revolutionary Socialist Students' Federation (RSSF) were formed as ginger groups.

The book says: 'To their credit the NUS have not allowed their movement to be steered into a collision course with the authori-

To head off the revolutionary tides thought to be about to swamp them in 1968 the NUS was forced to seek agreement with the Vice-Chancellors on issues like participation.

This was the only way to keep the following of its constituents and the confidence of the Establishment'. Having traversed the history of

the NUS the writers turn to an hearts. They pat liberal, well meaning,

conscious stricken, 'legitimate activists' on the head and move on to 'student protest', which is 'manipulated by some student groups for ignoble ends'.

These groups are held to be those bent on destruction. Those who typically organize sit-ins and accompany them with 'a cascade

of propaganda' usually 'composed

lies, innuendo and the stale rhetoric of revolt'. The writers advise: 'Silence (in the face of militant student direct action) may create the impression that tolerance is weak. 'The proper response is not lerance. It is aggressive tolerance. tolerance.

> 'The prime tactic is to circulate continually to staff and stu-dents, accurate and uncoloured facts and also frank comment preferably written by young members of staff known to have liberal views, about the relation between disruption and the articles of faith of a liberal university.'

Those who disrupt universities are a 'tumour'—'The tumour is dangerous and must be

The book concludes that students can contribute usefully to university government and should therefore be allowed greater participation.

But the writers warn that participation will never extend to two 'crucial' areas of decision making. 'What is taught and in what directions is knowledge to be advanced?'

Of course these are crucial areas. They are the lifelines of capitalism used to indoctrinate reason and the moral code of liberalism' upon which bourgeois society rests. Not to control these would be to open the door to revolution.

It is interesting — bearing in mind the recommendation of the NUS-NCCL Commission that the instrument of the 'education contract' is much praised as a basis for the growth of the university Sir Eric has been a busy man. In October a second book from appeared containing three lectures which he gave in Canada. The book was called, significantly, 'Masters and Scholars'.

It went over much the same ground except that the 'revolutionary left' was more openly

attacked.
Sir Eric puts the writing unmistakedly on the wall. He says that there 'is only one answer' to the 'politicized revolutionary' and that is to declare that we shall defend the universities, whatever the cost, against his mischief'.

As students discovered at the NUS conference in November there are some who are already following Sir Eric's advice.

Statement

Black Paper editor Professor Brian Cox was revealed to have collected 150 signatures from professors and lecturers at 20 universities to a statement on student rights.

The statement banned violence against persons, disruption of lectures or speeches, damage or theft to university property, obstruction of normal processes and activities, efforts to align the university politically and student the content of their courses.

The phenomenon of the educational right taking up arms is not limited to Britain. It applies wherever capitalist organization has been threatened by student militants.

It was, therefore, not surprising to learn in mid-November that 'scholars from nine countries' had got together in the Inter-national Committee on the

University Emergency to protect institutions embodying 'some of the noblest ideals of man'. Backed by the Tories, right-

wing elements throughout the education system in Britain are flexing their muscles for a showdown. The evidence is clear. So, too, is the evidence that the NUS will not defend its members in the coming struggle.

The preparations we have noted are for a political attack on the students. It will be part of the ruling-class onslaught on the working class and all those elements hostile to capitalism.

The fight can only be won by building a revolutionary socialist leadership. Groups like the RSSF and the International Socialists will not provide such a leader-

The battle in education will be fought not only against dissident students, but also against dissident lecturers and teachers. The right wing anti-strike committees which mushroomed

this year in the wake of the NUT's pay claim point to this. The formation of a council for academic freedom by the NCCL points to this.

Students are not in a world apart. What happens in the universities and colleges has its counterpart in the factories.

The coming fight with the capitalists will only be won on the basis of action by the working class unified behind an uncompromising socialist leadership.

'The Rise of the Student Estate in Britain'. By Ashby and Ander-son. Macmillan. £1. 'Masters and Scholars'. By Ashby. Oxford University Press. 18s. NUS and NCCL report. From them. Price 10s.

BBC 1

panish Hiding School of Vienna. 10.30 Longest drive in the world. 11.20 The silent world of Jacques Cousteau. 12.40 p.m. Golden silents. Mack Sennett. 1.05 Grandstand. 1.30, 2.00 Racing at Kempton Park. 2.30 Racing at Fairyhouse. 2.55 The quiet stars. International ice skating stars of today and tomorrow. 3.45 Jackanory. 4.00 The magic roundabout. 4.05 'A Hard Day's Night'. The Beatles. 5.30 News and weather. 5.40 Tom and Jerry. 5.45 Ask the family.

6.05 THE SPINNERS. With Esther Ofarim. 6.35 NOT IN FRONT OF THE CHILDREN. 'No Man at the Heim'.

7.05 THE COWARD REVUE. Tribute to Noel Coward. 8.00 A YEAR TO REMEMBER? Panorama reviews 1970.

9.00 THE NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather. 9.15 JACK BENNY. Frank Sinatra, Bob Hope and Dinah Shore join in Jack Benny's 20th Anniversary Show.

10.05 MARLON BRANDO. 'On the Waterfront'. With Marlon Brando, Eva Marie Saint, Rod Steiger and Lee J. Cobb. Story of dockland racketeers on New York's docks. 11.50 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

Midlands, E Anglia, North, NW, NE, Cumberland and Westmorland, SW, South, West: 11.52 News, weather. South, West: 11.52 News, weather. Wales: 12.40-12.55 Ar lin mam. 12.55-1.05 Byd yr adar. 5.45-6.00 Wales today, weather. 6.00-6.20 Ask the

family. 6.20-6.30 Tom and Jerry. 6.30-6.35 Newyddion, 6.35-7.05 Fo a fe. 11.52 Weather.

Scotland: 6.05 Reporting Scotland. 6.10-6.35 Se ur beatha. 11.52 News,

N Ireland: 7.30-8.00 Day by night. 11.52 News, weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play school. 5.30 p.m. 'The Alamo'. With John Wayne, Richard Widmark, Laurence Harvey, Richard Boone and Frankie Avalon. The story of the famous battle in 1836 between 180 Texans and 4,000 Mexicans.

6.50 NEWS ON 2 and weather. 7.00 'THE ALAMO', Part two.

8.25 'ROMEO AND JULIET'. The Bolshoi Ballet. 8.45 CALL MY BLUFF.

9.15 HORIZON. 'The Gargantuan Triumph of Science'. 10.05 TOM PAXTON. In concert.

10.35 NEWS ON 2 and weather. 10.40 LINE-UP 70. Review.

ITV

11.00 a.m. Anita in jumbleland. 10.10 Bugs Bunny. 10.30 Flipper. 10.55 Laurel and Hardy. 11.05 Robin Hood. 11.30 The Royal Family. 1.20 Racing from Wolverhampton. 3.10 'Gay Purr-ee'. With the voices of Judy Garland, Robert Goulet, Red Buttons and Hermione Gingold. A country cat goes to Paris. 4.10 'Charlie Brown's Christmas'. What Christmas means to the 'Peanuts' gang. 4.35 Crossroads. 5.00 Worm's Eye View'. With Ronald Shiner, Garry Marsh and Diana Dors. 5.45 News. 6.00 'Worm's Eye View', part two.'

6.45 DAVID NIXON'S MAGIC BOX. 7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 MR DIGBY, DARLING.

8.30 'LORD JIM'. With Peter O'Toole, James Mason, Curt Jurgens, Jack Hawkins, Eli Wallach, Paul Lukas, Daliah Lavi and Akim Tamiroff. Joseph Conrad's novel of adventure in the Far East in the 19th century.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 'LORD JIM'. Part two.

11.50 OUTLOOK 71. Simon Jenkins of the 'Evening Standard' and Hillman of 'The Guardian' discuss what might be done in 1971 to make city life more bearable.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 1.45 London. 3.40 Syd Lawrence Band show. 4.15 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.30 Anita in jum-bleland. 4.45 Forest rangers. 5.10 Timeslip. 5.45 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 International detective.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 10.35 Lone Ranger. 11.00 Airline pilot. 11.45 Film: 'The Singer Not The

SOUTHERN: 11.15 Paulus. 12.30 London. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.25 Best of Lucy. 4.50 Lost in space. 5.45 London. 6.00 Day by day. Complaints box. 6.45 London. 8.00 'Night of the

Song'. With Dirk Bogarde, John Mills and Mylene Demongeot. 4.15 News. 4.17 Gus Honeybun show 6.05 Diary panto. 11.45 Faith for life. 11.50

Demon'. With Dana Andrews, Peggy Cummins and Niall McGinnis. Does black magic exist? 9.30 London. 10.30 'Barnacle Bill'. With Alec Guinness, Irene Browne and Maurice Denham. Ealing comedy about a seaman. 12.05 News. 12.15 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH: 10.30 Captain Scarlet. 11.00 Survival. 11.30 London. 3.10 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased). 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.25 Timeslip. 4.55 'Tarzan's Fight For Life'. 5.45 London. 6.01 'Tarzan'. Part two. 6.45 London. 8.30 'War of the Worlds'. With Gene Barry and Ann Robinson. A Martian machine lands in California. 10.00 London. 10.30 'Tea For Two'. With Doris Day and Gordon MacRae. An heiress loses most of her money. 12.15 Weather.

ANGLIA: 10.15 'Tarzan's Magic Fountain'. With Lex Barker and Brenda Joyce. 11.30 London. 3.10 Captain Scarlet. 3.35 Bugs Bunny. 4.00 Romper room. 4.20 'The World of the Beaver'. Documentary. 5.10 Timeslip. 5.45 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.40 London. 11.50 Farming diary. 12.15 Other faiths.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.05 Paulus. 11.20 Secret service. 11.45 'The Singer Not the Song'. With Dirk Bogarde, John Mills and Mylene Demongeot. A newly appointed priest must face a bandit who terrorizes a town. 1.45 London. 3.40 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.05 Peyton Place. 4.35 Anita in jumbleland. 4.50 Junior showtime. 5.10 Timeslip. 5.45 News, sports. 6.00 ATV today. 6.40 London. 11.48 Object in view, weather.

ULSTER: 11.30 London. 3.10 Fastest man on earth. 4.10 Popeye. 4.25 Rom-per room. 4.45 News. 4.50 Phoenix five. 5.15 Timeslip. 5.45 London. 6.00 five. 5.15 Timeslip. 5.45 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Cartoon treat. 6.15 Mona McCluskey. 6.45 London. 8.30 Film: 'Patterns of Power'. With Van Heflin, Everett Sloane and Ed Begley. 10.00 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Movie: 'The Hound of the Basker-villes'. With Peter Cushing and Christopher Lee. Sherlock Holmes.

YORKSHIRE: 10.00 Anita in jumble-land. 10.15 Phoenix five. 10.45 'Black-beard the Pirate'. With Robert Newton, Linda Darnell, Keith Andes, Torin Thatcher, and William Bendix. The King of England wants to destroy Blackbeard. 12.25 Rovers. 12.50 Timeslip. 1.20 London. 3.10 Fastest man on earth. 4.10 London. 4.40 Cartoon. 4.55 Film: 'Courage of Lassie'. With Elizabeth Taylor, Frank Morgan and Tom Drake. The collie is drafted into the army. 5.45 London. 6.00 Film. Part two. 6.45 London. 12 midnight Reading at Christmas. 12.10 Weather.

GRANADA: 10.00 Thunderbirds. 11.00 Family affair. 11.30 London. 3.10 Fastest man on earth. 4.05 Peyton Place. 4.35 Anita in jumbleland. 4.50 Skippy. 5.10 Timeslip. 5.45 London. 6.01 News. Cartoon time. 6.10 All our yesterdays. 6.40 London.

SCOTTISH: 10.40-11.00 No easy answer. 3.35 Dateline. 3.40 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Anita in jumbleland. 4.20 Castiehaven. 4.50 Captain Scarlet. 5.10 Timeslip. 5.45 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.40 London. 11.50 Late call.

TYNE TEES: 10.15 Diane's magic theatre. 10.30 Mad movies. 11.00 Saint. 11.55 Jokers wild. 12.25 Stingray. 12.50 Timeslip. 1.20 London. 3.10 Fastest man on earth. 4.10 Thunderbirds. 5.50 Felix the cat. 5.15 Ev. 5.45 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.25 Sportstime. 6.45 London. 8.30 'Ruby Gentry'. With Charlton Heston and lennifer Jones. A poor Southern girl falls in love with an aristocrat. 10.00 London. 10.30 Face the press. 11.00 Aquarius. 11.45 News. 12 midnight Reading at Christmas.

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LENIN'S LAST **VOLUME**

SLAMS STALINIST LIES!

REVIEW BY

THIS, the last volume of Lenin's 'Collected Works', was certainly worth waiting for.

For the Stalinist leadership

of the British Communist Party, its publication could not have been worse timed!

It is easy to see why.

Volume 44 (reviewed Workers Press) on October 17) dispelled a number of hoary old Stalinist myths about Trotsky's relations with Lenin in the Civil War period.

This volume does the same for the last fateful years of Lenin's political life—and with even more devastating effect.

Myth

Before we turn to the documents in question, let us disinter the myths they demolish.

Ever since Stalin's faction expelled the Trotskyist 'Left Opposition' from the Soviet Opposition' from the Soviet Communist Party in 1927, the Opposition' legend has run thus:

Throughout Lenin's lifetime, from the foundation of Lenin's party in 1903, to the preparation of the Revolution in 1917, the winning of the Civil War and the first steps towards the construction of socialism, Stalin was his closest collaborator, comrade

This myth has certainly taken some resounding knocks over the years, not the least of them Khrushchev's devastating revelations in his 'Secret Speech' to the March 1956 20th Congress of

But despite the contradictions in official Party history exposed by Khrushchev, both then and five years later at the 22nd Congress, Stalinists all over the world, 'Maoist', 'liberal' and pro-Moscow alike, have manfully fought to preserve the essence of the fictions first propounded under Stalin's rule.

This volume smashes them.

It shows how Lenin fought three major political battles in the last months of his political life. They can be listed as

- Against bureaucracy.
- Against the weakening of state control over
- Against Russian chauvinism. In each case, Lenin was compelled, despite his declining health, to take issue most sharply with leading Party members on questions of basic principles. And each time his main opponent was

Ally

Volume 45 not only proves this to the hilt, it also establishes that, contrary to all the claims of main (and in fact only) ally was . . . Leon Trotsky!

Lenin discovered early in 1922 that a group of Central Committee members favoured a relaxation in the state monopoly

Any weakening of this monopoly would both undermine Soviet industry by allowing far cheaper goods from capitalist countries to flood the market, permit Soviet private exporters to by-pass the state and establish direct relations with world capitalism.

Bukharin — later to become leader of the 'Right Opposition'



TROTSKY

—emerged as the main spokes-man for this group. But also numbered among them was

This can be established by reference to document 807 (pp. 602-603), which is a letter from Lenin to Stalin, which speaks of Stalin's retreat from his former position on this question.

That in itself is damning e n o u g h for our Stalin-worshippers. But the worst is yet

In document 804 (p. 601) dated December 12, 1922, Lenin wrote

to Trotsky: 'Comrade Trotsky:

'I am sending you Krestinsky's letter. Write me as soon as possible whether you agree; at the plenum, I am going to fight for

the monopoly. 'What about you?'

Agreement

Trotsky must have given Lenin his reply at once, for on December 13, Lenin again wrote (Document 805, p. 601):

'Comrade Trotsky:

'I have received your com-ments on Krestinsky's letter and Avanesov's plans [which called the full maintenance of the state foreign trade monoply]. I think that you and I are in maximum agreement...' (Emphasis added.)

Neither was it just a question of a formal agreement between Lenin and Trotsky. The sick

Manoeuvre

Lenin asks Trotsky to fight for

the forthcoming plenum [of the Central Committee] you should

common standpoint on the un-

questionable need to maintain

and consolidate the foreign trade monopoly.' (p. 601.)

As I myself

This was no small question for

Lenin. He was prepared, with

Trotsky, to take the matter to the forthcoming March Party

Congress, and even risk an open

split with the Stalin-Bukharin

'...I believe ... that in the event of our [i.e., Lenin and Trotsky's] defeat on this question we must refer the question

His bloc with Trotsky now secure, Lenin sent a letter to the

remainder of the Central Com-

mittee members, informing them of his agreement with Trotsky

'I am now through with putting

my business in order and am in a

position to leave without worry

[Lenin here refers to his departure—for health reasons—

to the small town of Gorki out-

side Moscow]. I have also come

to an arrangement with Trotsky

to stand up for my views of the

Lenin added a postscript to this letter which requires little

'I am reasonably opposed to

(Document 807, pp. 602-603):

to a Party Congress.'

group:

. . . it is my request that at

their shared position:

This volume contains four notes dictated by Lenin and sent to Trotsky between December 12 and 15. The last of these (document 809, pp. 604-605) again returns to the crisis developing in the Party leadership over the

any delay on this question of the

foreign trade monopoly. If the

idea should arise, for whatever

reason . . . to postpone it until

the next plenum, I should most

resolutely object to this, because I am sure that Trotsky will be

able to stand up for my views just as well as I myself.' (Empha-

The next letter (document 808,

'I consider that we have quite

reached agreement. I ask you to

declare our solidarity at the

Lenin's anxieties on the out-

come of this struggle are expressed not only in his letters

to Trotsky, but in their very

p. 604) is another to Trotsky,

also on December 15:

'If there are any fears that I am being worried by this question and that it could even have an effect on my health. I think that this is absolutely wrong, because I am infinitely more worried by the delay which makes our policy on one of the most basic questions unstable.'

The massive pressure brought to bear by Lenin on the Party leadership, together with support given to him by Trotsky, was sufficient to rout the campaigners against the trade monopoly. For Lenin writes to Trotsky on December 21 (Document 811,

'It looks as though it has been possible to take the position without a single shot, by a simple

A temporary victory had indeed been gained. The Bukharin-Stalin group had backed down from a frontal clash with Lenin and Trotsky on such a funda-mental issue. But Lenin did not relax for an instant. His letter to Trotsky continues:

'I suggest that we should not stop and should continue the offensive, and for that purpose put through a motion to raise at the Party Congress the question of consolidating our foreign

will not object to this and will not refuse to give a report in

Unification

That proved to be the end of the attack on the trade monopoly.

But another, and even more explosive crisis, was brewing at this very moment. This too can be traced through a document in

It is, of course, the so called 'Georgian affair'. An ardent enemy of Russian nationalism, Lenin insisted that the utmost care should be taken over the

unification of Soviet Georgia with the other Soviet Republics.

Stalin ruthlessly trampled on the national sensitivities of the Georgian Communists, and to-wards the end of 1922 became involved in a series of incidents that ended with one of his delegation striking the face of a Georgian Bolshevik leader.

Remove

When Lenin learned of this, he was furious, and at once drafted a postscript to his famous 'Testament', calling on the Party to remove Stalin from his post of General Secretary. He was, said Lenin, too 'rude' and 'disloyal' to hold such a Party post.

(This, and other documents pertaining to the Lenin-Stalin split, are to be found in Volume 36 of the Collected Works.)

Volume 45 has only one letter on the Georgian question. But it is quite enough:

'Dear Comrade Trotsky:

'It is my earnest request that you should undertake the defence of the Georgian case in the Party CC. This case is now under "persecution" by Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Quite to the contrary. I would feel at ease if you agreed to undertake its

'If you should refuse to do so for any reason, return the whole case to me. I shall consider it a sign that you do not accept.

'With best comradely greetings

(Document 812, p. 607.)

This is followed by the most sensational letter of all, one that was quoted by Khrushchev in his secret speech, but never before so much as acknowledged, let alone published, in an English edition of Lenin's works:

'Dear Comrade Stalin:

'You have been so summon my wife to the tele-phone and use bad language. Although she has told you that she was prepared to forget this, the fact nevertheless became known through her to Zinoviev and Kamenev [both later shot after the 1936 Moscow 'Show Trial' on framed-up charges of terrorism. They have never been officially 'rehabilitated' by the Soviet government and Communist Party].

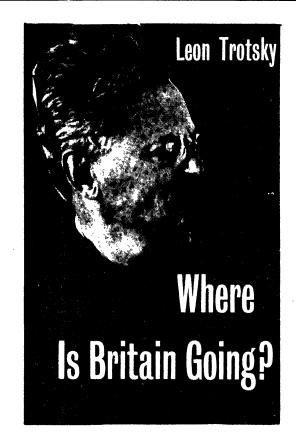
Against me

'I have no intention of for-getting so easily what has been done against me, and it goes without saying that what has been done against my wife I consider having been done against me as

to withdraw what you have said and make your apologies, or whether you prefer that relations between us should be broken off.' (Document 813, pp.

'I ask you, therefore, to think it over whether you are prepared

Important reading



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This was almost Lenin's last letter. It exposes for all time the lie, cultivated by Stalinists and anti-communists alike, that Stalin was a loyal executor of Lenin's cause, or, as the grave-digger of the Bolshevik Party put it himself a 'worthy pupil of

Lenin's final political document follows this denunciation of Stalin. It too, burns with hatred for the future leader of the counter-revolutionary bureau-

'To Comrades Mdivani, Makharadze and others [to the leaders of the Georgian Bolshevik Party]. Copy to Comrades Trotsky and Kamenev:

'Dear Comrades:

'I am following your case with all my heart. I am indignant over Orjonikidze's rudeness [it was he who struck the Georgian Bolshevik] and the connivance of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, I am preparing for you notes and a speech.' (Document 814, p. 608.)

This, then, is how the last letter of the last volume of Lenin's works ends—with Lenin preparing, alongside Trotsky, a fight to the end against Stalin

Refute these

How fitting that this volume, establishing beyond any doubt the real political relations existing between Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin in the last weeks of the Bolshevik leader's political career, should be published at this moment, when Stalinism plunges into its deepest-ever crisis.

We challenge the leaders of the British Communist Party—refute these writings of Lenin if

Just try to deny that it was Trotsky and not Stalin, to whom Lenin turned for support in his

fight for basic Marxist principles, against their perversion by nationalism, bureaucracy and sheer disloyalty. Nothing will ever erase these

truths, truths that were defended by Trotsky and his comrades against counter-revolutionary Stalinism in the teeth of world reaction and the most terrible purges, slanders and lies.

In a formal, literary sense Lenin's 'Collected Works' end with this volume. But his real collected works, a life-time devoted to the building of a party, based on Marxist theory, to lead the working class to power all over the world, a struggle which we find reflected in his stupendous literary output,

Heritage

Not in the Fabian-style plati-tudes of the British Stalinist 'Morning Star', with its cringing appeals to the Tories to 'change heir minds' about anti-union legislation.

Not in the tanks sent to crush the revolutionary struggles of the E German, Hungarian, Czech and now Polish workers, nor in the hounding, baiting, jailing and mental torture of Soviet intellectuals struggling to find a road back to Leninism.

Lenin's life and works, from his great philosophical writings down to drafts for the smallest strike leaflet, lives on only where communists fearlessly tell the whole truth to the working class, about its history, its defeats as well as its victories, and struggle to arm it politically for power in the future.

Lenin's heritage therefore belongs to those who fight to build the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky, Lenin's comrade and ally in his last fight against Stalin and his bureaucracy.

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THE CHARTER **OF BASIC RIGHTS**

THIS IS the full text of the Charter of Basic Rights which was voted on at the December 19 conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance after several hours' discussion, which had been preceded by several months' discussion on the Draft Charter in the labour movement and pages of the working class. See page one story.

A HANDFUL of bankers, financiers, big businessmen and property millionaires directly represented by the Tory government has launched an onslaught on the basic rights which the British working class has established after centuries of struggle.

They are rushing to save themselves from the world economic crisis into which their system of society is plunging. They intend to solve this crisis at the expense of the working class.

 $_{\rm 10}$ do this they must destroy all the basic rights won by the people, which allow them $_{\rm to}$ defend and improve their conditions.

We call on the working class to defend these rights:

1. The right of every worker to a job

FULL EMPLOYMENT is not a privilege, but a basic necessity of life, an elementary right. Unemployment is being deliberately created to divide the working class and weaken them.

We are not against new technology-we int to eliminate dangerous and unnecessary obs. But every worker's right to comparable nd continuous employment must be pro-.ected.

in the fight for higher wages we fight for the basic right to a living wage, for the right to improve our living standards. Only this consistent struggle establishes the right of the worker to the fruits of his labour.

Every wage settlement linked to a productivity deal means loss of jobs. We must

- No Measured-Day Work, no intensification of working conditions.
- Full support for any group of workers
- No sackings; any firm which cannot give security to its workers must be nationalized without compensation and under workers' control.
- Women must have equal pay as a right.
- We oppose racialism. Every worker has the right to live and work in the country of his choice.

2. The democratic right to strike and organize

THE STANDARD of living and everything the working class has is based on the right to strike and organize.

Sydney, Dec. 16 - A 6 per

cent increase in the national

basic wage granted by the

Arbitration Commission has

brought veiled threats and

dire warnings for the future

of the country from the em-

The Commission sits an-

nually to consider claims from

unions for wage increases—

and what amount to pleas

from representatives of the

employers that they are much

An increase to those on the

minimum wage (\$46 to \$47

[£21 to £21 18s] depending on the state) of a flat \$4

on the state) of a flat 34 (£1 17s) has also been granted.

increase by the Commission is well below the \$9 (£4 4s)

LATE NEWS

SUEZ CEASEFIRE

WARNING

Moslem foreign ministers

yesterday ended a debate on the Middle East at their three-

day conference in Karachi. The ministers represent 23

countries, with Iraq, Syria and S Yemen as notable

Some delegations warned

that Israel sought an indefinite

extension of the Suez cease-

fire, and declared this would

absentees.

The rise, considered a 'just'

too poor to give anything.

ploying class.

Conciliation and

No employer ever gave anything away, he sets out only to make the maximum profit. Without the right to force out of him what they are entitled to the working class have

The Tory anti-union Bill aims to destroy the unions and leave the working class defenceless. It threatens the independent trade union and political activity of the working class which is basic in their struggle.

The working class must never give up these rights, they must not allow the Tories to take the road of Hitler and Mussolini.

We must force the trade union leaders and the TUC General Council to mobilize the whole movement to defeat the anti-union laws. An Emergency Conference of the TUC must be called immediately, to organize a General Strike to defeat the laws.

3. The right of the working class to retain the gains they have made

THE TORIES are hell bent on taking away the gains of the past and the improved standard of living that the working class has

The working class has an absolute right to maintain these gains.

The power of the working class and modern industry have the capacity of providing continuously rising standards of living. We cannot accept that living standards can be driven down simply because the system of private ownership—capitalism—is breaking up in deep crisis and cannot harness the forces of production for the benefit of mankind. Only a socialist society can solve the crisis.

4. The right to a higher standard of living

WE CANNOT stand aside while prices, rents and fares are allowed to rocket in order to The trade unions were formed to win a greater share of the wealth produced in capitalist society for the working class. It is through this struggle that the living standards of all working people can be

raised, including those of pensioners, the chronic sick and the poorly organized.

Wage agreements which accept the status include productivity deals are a betrayal of this principle and lead to greater exploitation and worsened conditions for the

whole working class.

We call for trade unions to confront the employers and government in their attack against our living standards with straight wage demands, without the acceptance of any restrictive strings and conditions.

Agreements must also contain clauses which increase wages automatically in line with rising prices, in order that gains once achieved are not eroded by price increases. Trade unions must campaign for an immediate 50-per-cent increase in all pensions, and also for pensions to increase in line with any increase in the cost of living.



conference.

5. The right to welfare benefits

THE TORY government has taken the milk away from our children; they are threatening the right to a hospital bed when you are ill and the medicine you may need.

As a result of their action children will be less healthy and the working class will have to put up with ill health, bad teeth and eyesight, unless they can pay the price.

Any government which attacks these rights as the Tories are doing, endangering the health and life of children and bring death to old people, must be destroyed.

The Tory government has set out to deprive workers of their right to unemployment and supplementary benefits, which they have already paid for, and to income tax rebates, in order to weaken their struggle. These rights must not be surrendered.

The attacks of the Tories on school spending, on comprehensive education and on student grants are intended to deprive the children of the working class of the right of free higher education, and must be resisted

6. The right to decent housing

PROPER HOUSING is not a luxury—it is a basic necessity. People have a right to proper housing at a reasonable rent.

Working people have fought for this and paid for it many times over. Who builds the houses anyway? Who creates all the wealth And these Tories have the audacity to take away the right to a house unless you can pay a colossal rent. They must be driven out. The working class must not allow this to

Every trade union, every factory, mine and building site, all workers in privately-owned

or nationalized or public industries and public services must organize in a united struggle to defend these rights. Around the organizations of the working class we must rally the housewives, the young

workers and students, the pensioners, and the middle-class and professional people who are being squeezed to death by the banks and the monopolies. The working class must drive this govern-

ment out. It has the power to do so, only the hesitation of their leaders stands in the It is not enough to protest against this government, the working-class movement has every right to organize to force it to resign. There can be no question of leaving the

Tories to run their full term, merely recording only a few protests. We have the right to bring them down.

Every trade unionist must fight to force the unions and the Parliamentary Labour Party to mobilize the entire workers' movement into a general strike to defend the right for which the trade unions were founded.

The answer to unemployment is the sit-in and occupation of factories threatened with closure, leading to expropriation of the redundant employers.

Nationalization of the major industries, without compensation and under workers' control is the only answer to the crisis!

We call on all workers to campaign for this charter of rights and fight for an alternative revolutionary leadership in the trade unions.

Bureaucracy has to deal through strike committee

THE EMERGENCE of a strike committee in the Baltic port of Szczecin holds important political lessons for the working-class struggle against Stalinism throughout E Europe and the Soviet Union.

Broadcasts from the town of 310,000 people admit the workers elected their own committees independently of the bureaucracy and presented their demands to the regime through these new bodies.

'We inform listeners that the communiqué broadcast by the Polish Radio concerning the talks between the strike committee and the Party, administrative and trade union authorities of Szczecin has not yet been finally agreed upon.

'... As we are informed by the strike committee of the Szczecin shipyards and of other enterprises, discussions between committees and representatives of factory staff in solidarity with the shipyard workers continue. . . .'

COMMUNIQUE

Last Monday, Szczecin Radio broadcast the text of the communique issued after talks between the strike committee and the local bureau-cracy had ended:

'Problems of wages and prices, the causes and course of the disturbances, trade union activities with regard to the concern for the material conditions of workers [in these talks, the strike leaders were on one side, the 'union officials on the other] . were discussed.

'These problems', the broadcast communiqué went on, were also widely discussed recently by the staff of other work establishments. Szczecin authorities have passed on all those matters whose settlement was not within their terms of reference to the central authorities in requesting Warsaw, support.'

But support against whom? Obviously, the city's strikers and their committee. So much for the new regime's 'dialogue' with the working class!

Just as in 1956, the Polish workers are attempting to create their own organs of struggle against the bureau-cracy, formulating demands and compelling the regime to negotiate.

CLASSICAL

This is a classical feature of the political revolution against the bureaucracy—democratically elected workers' committees, without which there can be no development towards socialism in Poland or anywhere else.

The danger facing Szczecin workers and workers from other areas involved in the strike movement is a massive counter-blow by the new regime, backed up with the full weight of the Kremlin's armour and the political solidarity of world imperialism and Stalinism.
In 1956, Gomulka also

came to power riding on the shoulders of a mass movement for workers' democracy which

And equally important, will they speak out against all Stalinist repressions in the Soviet Union, Poland and the rest of E Europe?

which does not base itself on these class, internationalist principles is a fraud. British CP members should insist that their leaders speak and act now, before

Any statement or campaign

censor

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

established its councils in Poland's main industrial centres. But today, an even deeper and much more explosive movement has ejected him, with no other 'liberal' Stalinist available to come forward as

its leader. DISCREDITED

The entire regime is discredited in the eyes of the working class. Not even Gierek and Moczar's closest friends would try to present them as in anyway sympathetic to the movement that has emerged in Szczecin.

The new regime has already offered its hand to the imperialist government of Brandt in Bonn, but it will refuse to 'peacefully co-exist' with its own working class. There is no other way out for Gierek and Moczar other than to crush the independent class in its most embryonic

demagogic promises made by Poland's new rulers are only a cover for further repressions against the working class. They-and

must remain on guard. The key question facing the Polish workers is the building of a revolutionary leadership which can take the movement on to the complete overthrow of the bureaucracy, the establishment of a genuine workers' democracy and, together with workers all over Europe, creation of a united socialist states of Europe.

Arab resistance fights Mid-East settlement

ARAB GUERRILLAS have blown up Israeli Ministry of the Interior offices in the occupied city of Gaza, causing extensive damage to files of the civilian administration in charge of the Arab population in the area.

Israeli security forces, for some time unable to keep 'order' in the Gaza strip, immediately cordoned off the building, but were unable to

Arab and Palestinian resistance to Zionist rule cuts across the plans of the Egyptian Jordanian governments, backed by the Kremlin Stalinists, for a peaceful settlement

make any arrests.

Opened fire

troops opened fire on Palestinian guerrillas' positions at Al-Salt and Um Jouza, to the West of the Jordanian capital, Despite the retreats of the guerrilla leaders, this reaction-

ary butcher presses on with provocations and shootings designed to weaken the guerrilla movement to the point where he can impose a be-trayal of the rights of the Palestinian people. The Egyptian leadership is

busy covering up for Hussein. Vice-president Aly Sabry, returning to Cairo yesterday after a week of talks with top Soviet leaders Brezhnev, Kosy-gin and Podgorny, declared that he had Hussein's assurance that he would not conclude a separate settlement with the Zionists. (If this is so, it is only because the Egyptian govern-

ment firmly intends to equal Hussein's treachery to the Arab revolution.) He also backed Hussein's

denial that he had held secret talks with Israeli deputy premier Yigal Allon, despite the fact that a debate on the talks in the Knesset (Israeli parliament) is known to have been censored in an attempt to keep the news secret.

'Settle problems' Of the fighting in Jordan, Sabry said he hoped 'the problems between the two sides would be settled'. Plans for a 'settlement' now hinge on the extension of the

BY A WORKERS PRESS FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT Suez canal cease fire when it expires on February 5.

The Egyptian leaders have said they will not resume the talks under UN mediator Gunnar Jarring unless Israel withdraws from the occupied territories.

But there are reports that Sabry secretly met Jarring (who is also Swedish Ambassador in Moscow) during his On Christmas Day Hussein's visit with the Soviet leaders.

Burgos

FROM PAGE ONE

including Foreign Minister Lopez Bravo, in charge of Franco's relations with Stalinist governments-would prefer to present a more 'lenient' face to the world.

Herr Eugen Beihl, the W German Consul in San Sebastian, was released on Christ-mas Eve by the Basque nationalists who were holding him hostage for the Burgos 16. They announced that they now considered that no death sentences would be passed in the Burgos trial.

Back-towork

• FROM PAGE ONE tionary document and, as one

worker described it, the 'Magna Carta' of the working class, because it openly proclaims the inescapable necessity and duty of workers to defend their rights with all means necessary. The working class must

drive this government out. It has the power to do so, only the hesitation of its leaders stands in the way.
'It is not enough to protest

against this government, the working-class movement has every right to organize to force it to resign. There can be no question of having the Tories to their full term, merely recording a few protests.
'We have the right to bring

them down.' We urge all militant workers

to study this Charter and propagate its ideas not only for the revolutionary audacity, but for the political vision which alone will help build the new leadership and liberate the working class from the tyranny of Tory oppression and dictatorship.

WEATHER

within the British labour the shootings are carried movement? Ceylon appoints a

coalition in Ceylon has appointed a government censor to prevent publication of views which are

To appoint the censor the coalition—which is an amalgam of renegade Trotskyists, Stalinists and Mrs Bandaranaike's bourgeois-radical SLFP — mobilized emergency powers under a

appointed authority prevent publication of any offending article, but he can also seal a newspaper or periodical which does so for a specified time—a move clearly aimed at the leftwing press.

Arrests ition government

THE BANDARANAIKE

'harmful' to national security or likely to encourage civil unrest.

government public security Not only can the

This move by the coal-

of trade unionists for distributing leaflets in Nuwara Eliya attacking extreme rightists in the country. After their arrest and questioning by the police the men were released but their houses were later raided by police who searched through private

It is believed that the raids were made under special orders from Bandaranaike and the Inspector General of police. It is further understood

documents without a war-

that they were influenced in their move by a member the rightist United National Party which was defeated in the last general election by the coalition

This is the latest in a series of reactionary and repressive measures by this

Recently police shot two plantation workers on the Keenakalay tea estate and arrested other militant workers following a 100,000 strong strike against the shooting. Now the coalition is

so-called 'leftist' regime.

challenging the basic right of left-wing groups and parties to distribute propaganda and attempt organize the masses.

Witch-hunt

The government is in fact acting in the spirit of the ex-UNP regime which launched a witch-hunt against militants in the latter part of its rule. The only difference is not the Bandaranaike that the government is carrying out this same policy on a wider

and more open scale.

OVER Scotland and N Ireland there will be showers of rain or sleet, with snow on high ground. The showers will be more frequent in exposed E distriets, but there will be clear or sunny intervals in most places.

England and Wales will be generally cloudy with occasional snow, mostly slight, but moderate falls may occur over E england and the Midlands and on high ground. There will be clear or sunny intervals in W districts. There is a possibility of more continuous snow over southern England in the evening.

It will continue very cold with persistant frost in many places in the S and rather cold with night frost in the N.

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

Australian

unions, and far short of the 16 per cent claimed by representatives

Nevertheless it has set the nation on the skids to infla-James, who said:

'I think we can't last an-

tionary disaster-according to the director of the Oueensland Employers' Federation, Mr J

> vious glances in the direction of Britain where Heath and company are carefully cultivating the noxious weeds of anti-union legislation. Federal Treasurer Leslie Bury made it clear that now workers had received such a 'large' increase they were

of restraint being imposed

we come to a precipice.'

. we've got to go on until

Exactly what Mr James con-

siders to be the precipice he

doesn't say, but one can have

a pretty accurate guess at

what he means by restraint.

He is no doubt considering

wage freezes, and casting en-

increase productivity and restrain themselves from making wage demands. Backing him up is Minister for Labour and National Service, Mr William Snedden

who explained that:

expected to be good boys and

'Productivity is **not** just working harder . . more effectively too'. He feels that the time has arrived for 'responsible trade union leadership to give strength of leadership in moderating this loss'. Echoes of Westminster?

Recognizable echoes are also likely to come from Austra-lia's version of the TUC, the Australian Council of Trade



of society? The working class.



Its secretary, H Souter said the decision to pay the increase recognizes that wages have been eroded by climb-ing prices and '. . should also be adjusted by improve-

With statements like this can mass productivity deals

ments in productivity'.

After being told by the Australian press about the wicked work-to-rule by power workers in Britain — their action, we were told, resulted in motorway smashes, old ladies freezing to death, and sick people dying in hos-pital—it is now the turn of Sydney postal workers to be

They too are employing a work-to-rule over a pay dispute, and the press jumped in to tell everyone how terrible would be for people no to receive cards and parcels in time for Christmas.

'right' to hold on to cer-

A savage

crimes, the British CP supported a call by Italian CP leader Togliatti for the ending of the death penalty in the Soviet Union. But after the savage repression of the Hungarian revolution

later the same year, and the

subsequent cold - blooded murder of Imre Nagy, British Stalinists relapsed back into silence. The introduction of the death penalty for so-called 'eco-nomic crimes' in 1961 met with no opposition by the British CP, despite the fact that the main victims of the new law were Jews,

selected, as under the Tsars,

as scapegoats of the regime's

unpopular policies. The Leningrad verdict raises important questions of prin-

Socialists must separate them-

selves completely from the crocodile tears of the anti-Soviet brigade, who care nothing for the plight of Soviet Jewry, but use the trial to stir up hostility against the Soviet Union. Any condemnation of the trial which panders to imperialism and its Zionist

agencies simply plays into the hands of the bureau-

cracy, which can then pre-

sent its repressions as being

necessary for the defence of British Stalinist leaders have consistently defended the Zionist state of Israel. The industrial organizer, Bert Ramelson, even makes a case for the Zionist's

tain Arab territories an-

nexed after the June 1967

Will they now condemn the

Leningrad trial in terms that demarcate the CP from

the apologists of Zionism

parallel to its recent arrest