

A programme for 'law and order' Birch, cane, hang & electrocute 'em

What
we
think

Fleet Street hots up the witch- hunt

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Hot-foot from hounding Rosemary Whipple at Bromborough, Fleet St turned its attention to the Liverpool docks, where they tried once again to fire 'reds under the bed'. Then the same 'struggle' of the 'like' workers was given all gutter treatment. Not a single stone is being left unturned.

Even the two 'Portland spies', Harry Houghton and Ethel Gee, are being relentlessly pilloried by a horde of prying press-men after nine years in jail. There can be no doubt about the identity of the real conspirators as the nauseating orchestra of class hatred works up towards its crescendo.

The press campaign has already sickened not only hundreds of thousands of workers, but many decent Fleet St journalists, some of whom have contacted Workers Press to express their disgust. The Tories want at all costs to poison the election atmosphere and frighten the middle class into voting for their anti-union, anti-immigrant, programme. This is their answer to the wave of hatred for their boss-class policies which has swept through the working class and threatens to crush them at the polls. As might be expected, the Labour leaders and their 'left' parliamentary supporters remain criminally silent while the witch-hunt builds up.

Where is the voice of such MPs as Eric Heffer and Michael Foot? 'Left' MP Hugh Jenkins protests that the Labour Party's 'mamkin' election gimmick is hitting the Tories below the parliamentary belt, but raises not a peep about the systematic press pillorying of militant workers.

Their silence is matched only by the sealed lips of the trade union leaders. Not a single one of the much-vaunted union 'lefts', who enjoy such intimate ties with the industrial correspondents of Fleet St, has ventured even the mildest criticism of the Tory campaign. Once again, the Labour leaders and the union chiefs, left and right, are opening the road for the class enemy.

But despite their silence, the working class can and must drive the witch-hunt back. We say: Close the ranks! No concession to the witch-hunt! Vote Labour and keep the Tories out!

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One woman in the Tory 'law-and-order' debate suggested that male sexual offenders should be rendered impotent, while a man proposed that prisoners be used as target markers on the range. In a burst of pre-election fervour calculated to win them the wholehearted support of every Tory, Adolf Eichmann in the country, the conference called on the next Tory government to introduce longer sentences for carrying offensive weapons and demanded the introduction of hard work to make prison sentences tougher. Only one delegate voted against the resolution under discussion, which laid out a four-point policy for 'protecting citizens against violent crimes'. This is Toryism with the mask off.

The hypocritical mask of boom-time 'moderate' Toryism is torn aside to reveal the medieval barbarism underneath. The torturers of the Nazi death camps, who actually carried out practice the inhuman atrocities advocated at this savage Tory gathering, would have given the sentiments a standing ovation.

Hatred
The Tories' hatred of the working class and their desire to ruthlessly destroy all the gains won in struggle by that class, find their most pointed expression in this debate. The murderous enthusiasm of the Scottish Tories is the other side of their plans for the trade unions—behind the polite formulas of 'binding contracts' and 'reform of industrial relations' lies the threat of forced labour and the concentration camps.

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deplored**

The council of the Students' Union at Imperial College, London, has unanimously passed the following resolution protesting at the Labour and Industrial Correspondents' Group's ban on our industrial correspondent David Maude: 'Imperial College Union Council condemns the ban on Workers Press Correspondent David Maude from the Industrial Correspondents' Lobby and calls for his immediate reinstatement.'

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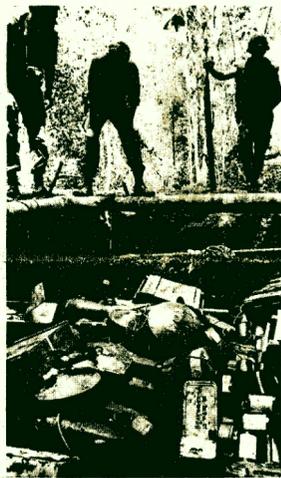
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Pinpoint
From his vantage point in Singapore, Mr Ward was able to pinpoint the NLF hideout down to the nearest mile—something that his editors were not prepared to do from the more remote terrain of Fleet Street. Everything hung on the discovery and destruction of the NLF headquarters from the fate of the 'free world' to Mr Nixon's (and the 'Daily Telegraph's') prestige.



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BY ROBERT BLACK

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No announcement concerning the participants in the financing, nor detailed changes in the board of directors can be expected for the next few weeks, the statement added. This points to the fact that King has been unable to secure any solid support from leading European bankers. But without such support, there is little prospect of a successful rescue operation.

Uncertain

So IOS's state of health seems uncertain, to say the least. And similar speculation surrounds that of Mr King, IOS's would be rescuer.

While 'The Times' Business News (May 14) could confidently report King's arrival in London to set up final details of his take-over bid, the 'Daily Telegraph's' Robert Hutchinson, from Geneva, indicated that King was in fact down with 'flu and unable to make the trip in Cornfeld's personal executive jet'.

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There certainly is a strong resemblance. While US spokesmen continue to talk of the withdrawal of American forces by the end of June, S Vietnamese and US troops continue to press on into Cambodian territory. 'There is no sign that they will leave, except by being driven out. The real character of US imperialism's drive into Cambodia is also illuminated by the revelation by Arthur Goldberg, US United Nations ambassador under Johnson, that he had opposed a plan to invade Cambodia in 1966. This had been urged by the US ambassador to Saigon and the Commander

of US military forces in Vietnam. S Vietnamese land forces on Wednesday linked up with Marines who had come up the Mekong river. Their commander, General Do Cao Tri, told reporters that they were opening up the Saigon-Phnom Penh road. To 'respect Cambodian sovereignty', the task force would not go within three miles of Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital. 'The Cambodian army isn't fighting', said the General. 'It seems more afraid of us than of the Vietcong. They don't seem sure of our motives.'

William Shirer's point is made more clear by US Secretary of State Rogers' promise on Wednesday that all American ground forces would be out of combat in Vietnam by the middle of next year. He added that 'the US did not want S Vietnamese forces to become bogged down in Cambodia, and jeopardize "Vietnamization"'. This is the process under which S Vietnamese forces take over the duties of US troops. The invading forces in Cambodia are now meeting much stiffer resistance. A five-hour battle was fought on Wednesday morning, when American infantrymen had to withstand a fierce attack by young Vietcong guerrillas on their base in the 'Fish Hook' area. Meanwhile, in Phnom Penh, thousands of Vietnamese are being put onto S Vietnamese Navy vessels and taken down the Mekong to the Vietnamese border. The pogrom of the Vietnamese minority in Cambodia continues. One of the victims was a S Vietnamese Army corporal, who was beaten to death by a band of right-wing students.

Glass strike Doubts about inquiry

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St Helens, Thursday

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This move will strengthen the strikers' suspicions that the inquiry—now opened to all and sundry, including those retelling the allegations of 'terror tactics'—will be used by the Tory press to continue their witch-hunt against the strike. Strike committee treasurer John Potts, a St Helens Labour councillor, cast doubts on the inquiry's impartiality at yesterday's mass meeting with a series of questions about its appointed chairman.

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The ending of the NAS&D shiftwork ban removed one of the major obstacles to the second stage of this speed-up agreement.

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Points system

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The report states that trade union head George Lowthian said there would have to be 'counter-productive concessions' from the employers, but did not say what these would be.

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BY ROBERT BLACK

The 'Telegraph' editorial of the same day proclaimed Nixon 'a courageous President' as he and his Pentagon allies planned the slaughter of thousands of workers and peasants 6,000 miles away from the well-protected White House comforts.

Always willing to support its stable companion in an anti-communist crusade, the 'Sunday Telegraph' of May 3 narrowed down the NLF quarry:

'US reaches Communist HQ zone.' And yet not quite.

Still searching

After noting that 'American troops, led by tanks, reached the headquarters zone of the Communist command yesterday... the Telegraph' cautiously added 'But they were still searching for the underground headquarters itself.'

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THE CHANGES which took place in the Kremlin after Stalin's death posed difficult problems for the French Communist Party leadership. It had for many years proudly proclaimed its unswerving fidelity to Stalin and Thorez had moulded himself in Stalin's image.

From the Cominform meeting in July 1953, at least its inner core was aware that the new Soviet leadership would be obliged to 'reveal' and repudiate many of Stalin's crimes.

Thorez and Duclos must also have been aware of the in-fighting taking place in the leadership of the Soviet Party.

Unwilling to break with their old habits or to face the Party crisis which would result when the 'revelations' became known, they continued to play for time as long as they could. As late as March, 1956, Duclos indulged in a public apology for Stalin.

After listing Stalin's contributions he summed up:

'Nobody can forget the role played by Stalin in the training and development of the Communist parties. Comrade Stalin's merits are inscribed in history; they are part of the heritage of the international workers' movement.'

Needless to say the Party press scarcely, if ever, mentions Stalin today.

At this stage in 1956 — the Party leaders were dragging their feet even in relation to the public sessions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. This tendency lasted for so long, and the adaptation after the publication of the 'secret speech' of Khrushchev was made with such reluctance, that it is clear that they were not yet sure that the faction in the Kremlin which they favoured, the 'hard-liners' like Molotov, would not come back into power.

Meanwhile the Party was wallowing in a new phase of opportunism presented by the existence of Mollet's government and seeking a closer understanding with the Socialist Party.

This line, which included the vote of special powers in Algeria, was coming under fire in the Party. The calling into question of the role of Stalin threatened to strengthen the critical tendencies. Thorez temporized, tried to create diversions (such as a discussion on birth control) and even indulged in some mild self-criticism in which he condemned the formula 'the party of Maurice Thorez'—and then denied responsibility for it!

Ferment

However, by April 1956 the ferment had engulfed the world Stalinist movement and statements about Stalin and the 'personality cult' were coming from many parties, including the Chinese. By June, Khrushchev's speech had become public property, denouncing Stalin and specifying his crimes in some detail. A Party crisis could no longer be avoided.

However, in the months which followed, when the revolt in Poland and the Hungarian Revolution aggravated the situation, the leadership was both able to keep the situation inside the Party under control and to adjust itself to the changes in the Kremlin. For the latter purpose a delegation visited Moscow at the end of June and returned to proclaim 'the complete harmony of view of the two parties'.

The 14th Congress which opened shortly afterwards was kept strictly in hand. The controversies in the international movement were referred to in muted terms to suggest that there was nothing wrong in the French Party. The hope clearly was that the sound and fury would soon die down and that the less said the better.

In fact the difficulties were only just beginning. The upheavals in Europe imposed strains of a kind which had never had to be faced before.

The tactic of Thorez was basically simple and merely a continuation of that used by Stalin. Rather than expressing an individual view, like Togliatti, with all the risks that implied, he followed with tight-lipped fidelity the line of Moscow. True the Khrushchev leadership had demoted Stalin, but, in the circumstances, Thorez saw nowhere else to turn.

Support for the Soviet Union against its imperialist foes had always been a strong point with the Party membership which had been reinforced by the Red Army's victories and by the Cold War of the 1950s. The Party apparatus and a large proportion of the membership was convinced that the Soviet Union could do no wrong. Thorez was thus able to base himself upon this sentiment.

In the case of Hungary in particular the Party press and its official statements faithfully

echoed Pravda' and loudly applauded the suppression of the workers' uprising.

As in similar crises, the appeal was for the Party to close its ranks against the enemy. Critics and oppositionists could thus be designated as agents of the bourgeoisie or at least as victims of its propaganda.

The opposition currents which openly expressed themselves in 1956 and the immediately succeeding years were almost exclusively confined to intellectuals.

That is not to say that workers were unaffected by the crisis, but many workers had drifted away from the Party since 1947, mainly as a result of its betrayals. Intellectuals, whose separation from worker-members was virtually complete, had been little affected by the aspects of Party policy which represented class-collaboration: they may even have applauded them.



MAURICE THOREZ, 1900-1964: Perfectly suited to Stalin's needs in the Comintern.

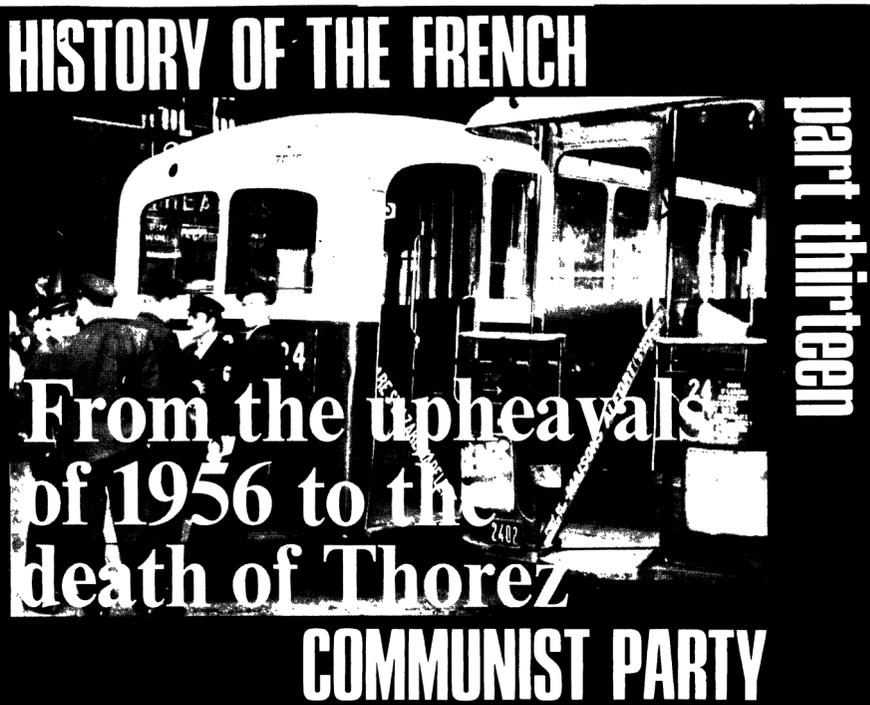
The issues which now affected intellectuals were regarded by many workers who remained in the Party or had joined it in the previous years as being a result of anti-Soviet propaganda. If the critics succumbed to it, they were only displaying their weaknesses.

The opposition journals and groups which were formed in 1956-1958 thus found it difficult to obtain much audience from workers in the Party, nor did they make this their main object—which would require the putting forward of an alternative programme for the building of a revolutionary party.

Although a number of prominent intellectuals broke with the Party after 1956 or were expelled because of their part in the opposition groups, no break took place in the leadership nor were inroads made into the bulk of the rank and file.

By adaptations and manoeuvres the Thorez leadership was able to weather the storm and isolate and discredit the dissidents.

The more serious problem which confronted it was the leadership's relationship with the Soviet bureaucracy and the attitude to adopt towards the new situation in the international movement.



Practically all workers in Paris struck work on April 24, 1961, in protest against the military coup in Algeria. The right-wing nationalist generals attempted to oust de Gaulle because of his proposed settlement which would give Algeria independence. Above: Bus crews on strike in the centre of Paris.

50 years since the founding of the French Communist Party

Here again Thorez manoeuvred with some skill so that he did not commit the Party irrevocably to any one of the tendencies now forming. He was cautiously opposed to Togliatti and sought to win and retain Moscow's approval against the Italian leader. He took cover behind the Chinese, but again without committing himself—one of the major Chinese theoretical broadsides in 1960 was to be directed against him as a proxy for the Soviet leadership.

Meanwhile, in French politics the Party sought to win its way back to respectability at a time when the development of the Algerian war was

can institutions', while preventing the intervention of the working class as an independent force into the struggle for power.

The Communist Party appears to have been overtaken by a crisis which had been blowing up for some months in an atmosphere of plot and counter-plot.

It then saw an opportunity to draw closer to the Socialist Party and the left bourgeois parties, i.e. to form a new Popular Front in conditions quite different from those of 1936. So in the critical days following May 13 the Party deputies gave full support to the Pflimlin government.

Reporting that the Communist deputies had voted the government's emergency powers, 'L'Humanité' of May 17 carried the banner headline:

'Mighty anti-fascist wave throughout the country—Vigilance, Action, Unity. To Break the conspiracy of General de Gaulle and his accomplices.'

In fact the majority of the deputies, faced with the threat of a military take-over, were seeking some way to capitulate to de Gaulle. All the Communist Party could do was to vote with this majority—even when it passed votes in support of the army—and confuse and disarm the working class. It cultivated the illusion that the Socialist Party was prepared to resist de Gaulle.

Illusions

The Party extended these illusions to President Coty, who was preparing to open the door for de Gaulle. His order to the army, declared Duclos in the Chamber, the order to obey the government, should be hung up in every army barracks:

'French justice should stop condoning the behaviour of rebellious generals and seditious deputies, and the radio should stop making propaganda for de Gaulle.'

Who was to hang up the orders and do the stopping was never made clear.

Never had the parliamentary cretinism of French Stalinism been more obviously shown. Nothing was more calculated to cause demoralization and dismay in the working class.

To make matters worse the Party militants were put on alert to defend their premises and kept keyed up with persistent rumours of paratroop landings and other army movements.

The keynote was defence of parliament and the regime. Nothing was done to mobilize the working class, because such a mobilization could only be against the regime with which the Party had closely identified itself ever since the onset of the crisis.

While giving the impression of being ready to fight, and thus saving face with Party militants, it failed to rouse the working class for action.

What was the Party's game? To join up with the other parties in a broad front for the defence of 'republican institutions'.

'Without the people standing behind the Communist Party', declared Duclos to his parliamentary colleagues, 'you cannot effectively resist the

rebel onslaught against republican institutions.'

A few days later they voted overwhelmingly for de Gaulle. It was left to the CP and the other lefts to organize the funeral march of the Fourth Republic on May 28.

The Party had failed to use the dual threat of army rebellion and a demand for power from de Gaulle in order to gain access to a coalition government. In the eyes of many workers it therefore shared the discredit which had overtaken parliamentary institutions and it contributed to the political apathy which set in.

In the referendum which followed, 80 per cent voted for de Gaulle's constitution.

In other words, many Communist voters had gone with the majority. In the legislative elections at the end of November the Party lost over 14 million votes, giving it only some 19 per cent of the votes cast.

The victory of de Gaulle, the refusal of the Party to lead any real struggle in May and its electoral defeats in the referendum and for the new Assembly sharpened the internal crisis.

There were a number of expulsions. Critical statements circulated and the opposition tendencies were given a new lease of life.

These manifestations of discontent had no more success than those of 1956 in building up an effective opposition to the Party leadership or creating an alternative pole of attraction.

The leadership meanwhile pursued its way almost as though nothing had happened. Verbal opposition to de Gaulle and claims that the Gaullist regime expressed the interests of big monopoly capital cannot disguise the fact that it had decided to peacefully co-exist inside its bosom.

Referring to the new Bonapartist constitution Thorez himself said: 'We shall take into account the fact that it exists. We will not let ourselves be turned away from our theses of 1946, confirmed ten years later by our 14th Congress, on the possibility of peaceful roads toward socialism, or on the role that a true parliament can play, a true expression of popular sovereignty, based on the masses.'

Socialism

He appealed to all republicans to recognize socialism as a 'legitimate ambition'—to be realized in the dim and distant future by means of parliament.

There is plenty of material in the writings of Thorez to make some apt comparisons with Kautsky and other revisionists and reformists. The Chinese were to take full advantage of this a year or two later.

In fact, the Soviet bureaucracy was not displeased with the outcome of the French crisis. They feared either a strong government with a Western, pro-American orientation or a struggle for power which would bring a workers' and peasants' government onto the scene.

De Gaulle was known to have his own ambitions and to be seeking a more independent policy in conformity with French interests. The

bureaucracy could do a deal with the General or use him as a bridge to the USA.

During the 1960s, therefore, the French Communist Party more or less openly approved de Gaulle's foreign policy and, by continuing to hold back the working class, became one of the pillars upon which the Bonapartist regime was built.

Party policy, in other particulars, underwent no fundamental change. It adapted to the situation, contributing to saving de Gaulle during the barricades affair in Algeria and the attempted military coup in 1961.

At the same time, as the regime began to show its face, many of the Party's electors and supporters began to return to it. The working class had suffered a setback, but not a defeat, and it soon began to regain its combativity. This process was completed by the time of the 1963 miners' strike.



The Hungarian Revolution (above) and its brutal suppression aggravated the crisis in the Party which had developed with the death of Stalin and Khrushchev's speech to the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

Under the Fifth Republic the Communist Party was able to resume its old forms of work. It retained its apparatus and although, in Thorez's closing years, a number of leading figures were cleared out of the Party or silenced, there were no splits in the leadership.

He was able to steer the Party clear of the dangers represented by the Sino-Soviet dispute and the changes in the Soviet bureaucracy itself with the same skill as in the late 1950s.

It might have been expected that the Party would be so discredited as a result of its position in 1958, its conciliation with de Gaulle and its attitude towards the Algerian war that it would go into decline and tend to lose its influence with the working class. In fact these tendencies were counteracted by others such as the growing unpopularity of Gaullism, the absence of any alternative pole of attraction and the revival of class struggle in the 1960s.

The Party held on by virtue of an extensive bureaucracy, the roots which it had put down in the institutions of bourgeois society and its continued capacity—deriving from the Russian Revolution—to attract workers, youth and students coming into politics afresh.

It had to retain its grip in the factories and in the working-class areas.

It needed to fight against, try to discredit and if necessary use physical force against those other left tendencies which challenged its hold. All the old Stalinist methods remained fully in force.

The Party was able to retain its support in what were often privileged and conservative strata of the working class organized in the CGT unions. It paid little attention to the new recruits to the working class, whether from the French peasantry or from immigrants from Algeria and other colonies or the less developed areas of Europe.

In fact, then, the Party's decline during the 1950s, which had seemed bound to accelerate after 1958, was arrested.

According to Party figures of cards issued, membership declined until 1963 and then began to revive. As membership turnover was high, many of those in the Party by the mid-1960s knew nothing firsthand of the Stalin period or of the effect of the Khrushchev report and the Hungarian Revolution. These were known about only in the form permitted to the Party press or as referred to in Party classes and schools.

Blockage

The Communist Party remained, as the principal Party based on the working class, the main blockage on the road to the development of the consciousness of the class. It determined the policy of the CGT, which remained the main national trade union centre.

Despite the defection or expulsion of many intellectuals in and after 1956 it could still claim a considerable following in such circles, though these were still the most 'unreliable' from the leadership's point of view.

Despite what Thorez had said in 1956, the Party was still very much 'his'. He had built it up from a declining Party of 30,000 into a great mass Party of the working class. He was closely identified with every stage in its history and with the policies it had proclaimed—the Popular Front and the French Front, the 'outstretched hand' to the Catholics, the French road to socialism, the nationalism of the war and post-war period, even the appeal to the intellectuals like Picasso and Aragon.

While undoubtedly a man of the apparatus, Stalin's choice and a reluctant 'de-Stalinizer', Thorez had given the French Party a style which bore a personal stamp.

In the last decade or so of his rule he (and his wife

of the oncoming generations such as Lecoeur, Servin, Casanova and a number of Party intellectuals.

The legacy of Maurice Thorez was therefore a colourless leadership of apparatus men schooled in the politics of opportunism and essentially activist in their outlook.

A strict division of labour was preserved between the intellectual/theoretician with their own groups, journals and institutes and the worker-leaders who directed the Party apparatus and its work in the factories and the CGT. The result in theoretical terms was a general impoverishment.

Control

The important thing for the leadership was control over the working class, its use as a power base for carrying on political manoeuvring aimed at establishing a government able to pursue a policy in line with the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

When the Party was not tacitly supporting de Gaulle's government because of its own foreign policy of 'friendship' with the Soviet Union and Europe it was seeking an alliance of all 'left' parties for electoral purposes.

Its political aims were summed up first as 'renovated democracy', then as 'advanced democracy'—in both cases what was meant was a bourgeois republican regime based on parliamentary forms within which, presumably, the peaceful road to socialism could be pursued.

The Party's life was thus geared to elections for local or national office within the constitutional framework of the Fifth (Gaullist-Bonapartist) Republic. The search for allies and determined hostility to any revolutionary alternative were natural corollaries of this.

Marxist revisionism had become second nature to the French Communists from Maurice Thorez downwards. The language of Marxism and lip service to Leninism (Stalin was, of course, no longer mentioned) served demagogically to conceal class collaboration.

The practical side of this was the Party's ability to hold the working class in check and to fragment its struggles in such a way as to wear down its willingness to fight.

The CP and the CGT in the years before 1968 became adept at this technique.

There were partial struggles in one factory or one part of a factory, for one hour or half a day. When a large section of workers broke away from the control of the bureaucracy, as did the miners in 1963, the tactic was to isolate this struggle while giving it minimal support, all the time limiting the extent of the struggle.

The French Communist Party had long since passed definitively to the side of the defence of the bourgeois social order.

Nothing demonstrated this more clearly than its policy in May 1958 or than its relationship with the Gaullist regime.

Nevertheless, it still purported to be a revolutionary party and it was on this ground that it recruited and held its most active militants, especially from the youth.

Lip-service

It was necessary to pay lip-service to the revolutionary goal and the ultimate achievement of socialism as the parties of the Second International had done.

But such a revolution had to be 'peaceful', achieved by parliamentary means. It was never clear how this could be done in the face of the Gaullist police state.

Let Maurice Thorez himself sum up the position as he did in an article in 1962:

'The working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard want a bloodless revolution. This would accord with the interests of the economy, and with the subjective desire of the working people. A non-violent revolution is possible when the preponderance of forces is on the side of the working class and its allies and when the big bourgeoisie are forced to make concessions. The whole policy of the anti-monopoly alliance is aimed at bringing about a situation of exactly this kind.'

Subservience

That suited Khrushchev, too. Though his personal opinions about Thorez are not known, his subservience had always been counted upon by the Soviet bureaucracy. That was the price Thorez paid for being master in his own house.

The death of Thorez in July 1964, besides severing a tie with the past, opened up a crisis of leadership in the French Party which remains unresolved. This was part of his own making.

The list of capable cadres he had expelled or demoted is a long one consisting as it does not only of old-timers, like Marty and Tillon, but many

Refraining from too close an examination of the nonsensical aspect of this statement—what are 'the interests of the economy'?—what 'concessions' do the big bourgeoisie make in the course of a revolution?—what about the teachings of Lenin in 'State and Revolution'?

In fact, within a few years, the most essential of Thorez's conditions, 'the preponderance of forces on the side of the working class and its allies' was to be as complete as it had ever been. What it did under these conditions, in May 1968, provides a fitting commentary and conclusion in this 50th year of the Party's history.

IN 1956 the Hungarian Revolution had thrown out the Stalinist bureaucracy, and Imre Nagy, as the new Prime Minister, appointed as his Minister of Culture a survivor of the first Hungarian Soviet government (1919).

This man, although exiled in the Soviet Union during the 1930s had escaped the purges to become Professor at the University of Budapest.

Unlike Nagy, who was executed by the Russians after they had retaken Hungary for the bureaucracy, Lukács was merely deprived of his Communist Party membership and exiled to Rumania for a year.

Now he lives quietly in Budapest at work on a Marxist aesthetic, a living monument to the 'liberality' of the Hungarian bureaucracy.

Lukács was born in Hungary in 1885. Precociously gifted, he had written his first book, a study of tragedy, at the age of 23.

His career falls into three distinct periods, his work in each being closely related to the specific historical character of the time.

Between 1908 and 1919, Lukács was a philosophical idealist, and in his early writings, 'The Soul and the Forms', 'The Sociology of Modern Drama', and the 'Theory of the Novel', literary genres (tragedy, drama, novel) are seen largely as timeless, historical essences and only in his study of drama does he directly link literature with class structure.

These writings show Lukács to be anti-bourgeois, but also to see man in tragic terms, as alienated from himself and his community, striving to invest his life with value and meaning.

Vision

This bleak, idealist vision ends with the Russian Revolution: the Bolshevik victory moved Lukács away from despair to Marxism.

In 1918 Lukács had joined the Hungarian Communist Party; in March 1919 he became Commissar of Education in Bela Kun's short-lived government and in August, with the Revolution defeated, he left Hungary for Vienna.

Although the working class had suffered defeat in Hungary, the revolutionary potential of the European working class was still undiminished. In 'History and Class Consciousness' (1923) Lukács reflects this revolutionary optimism.

'History and Class Consciousness' was Lukács' first specific Marxist work. Like Gramsci and Karl Korsch, he attacked the mechanical Marxism which had characterized the theory of the Second International (Kautsky, Plekhanov, La Fargue), arguing for the strong Hegelian roots of Marxism.

Mechanical 'Marxism', Lukács argued, was scientism, the belief that progressive change was inevitable since capitalism was governed by inexorable external laws; the

BOOK REVIEW



IMRE NAGY BELA KUN

'GEORGE LUKÁCS: THE MAN, HIS WORK AND HIS IDEAS'
 Edited by G. H. R. Parkinson
 Weidenfeld and Nicolson 63s

Essays minimize Lukács' Stalinism

BY BILL WOODS

element of consciousness, the subjective factor, of man intervening in the historical process through knowledge of the real relations of capitalism was minimized and virtually eliminated.

Critical

'Orthodox' Marxism, Lukács argued, was a method, not a set of dogmatic truths; it was the critical consciousness of the revolutionary proletariat, with the Communist Party in a living, organic relation with this class.

The book was greeted with hostility by sections of the Comintern, and at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International (1924) Bukharin denounced Lukács for 'relapses into the old Hegelianism', while Zinoviev urged the Congress to repudiate 'this extreme left tendency' and to prevent it from 'spreading and becoming an international phenomenon'.

These onslaughts were clearly political: by 1924 Stalin had formed his bloc with Zinoviev and the policy of building socialism in one country was in the process of replacing internationalism and permanent revolution.

In this situation mechanical 'Marxism' reasserted itself.

Reflection

Stalinist 'theory' had no place for consciousness as an active force, but saw it as a mere reflection of the social situation. And since, according to Stalin, western capitalism was now 'stable', revolutionary consciousness was stable too: there would be no question of developing consciousness within the proletariat or of conscious intervention. Mechanism replaced the dialectical conception of consciousness which Lukács had stressed.

In 1933 Lukács publicly denounced his own work as idealist, theoretically false and practically dangerous.

He linked himself abjectly with 'comrade Stalin' to struggle for 'iron ideological implacability and refusal to compromise with all deviations from Marxism-Leninism'.

In practical terms Lukács was now prepared to compromise with Stalinism and to concentrate almost exclusively on literature and philosophy and to more or less ignore political and historical analysis.

According to his own testimony this was a deliberate decision to accept the purges in order to spread his ideas on

Left Opposition. Presumably they were mere sectarians and 'Utopians'. Lukács, not Trotsky, was the 'realist'.

Originally given as lectures at Reading University, the essays evince both a strong desire for peaceful co-existence and a certain lack of critical acumen.

There is no attempt to situate Lukács' work historically and concretely. Vague remarks are made from time to time on 'pressures' from above but these are assumed to be mere incidentals to the real task of critical evaluation.

Thus in their discussion of the 'Historical Novel', Pascal, Craig and Lehmann concentrate on Lukács' interpretation of Walter Scott, but fail to connect this with his later discussion of mediocre historical novelists such as Romain Rolland and Heinrich Mann whom he regarded as continuing the Scott tradition (the novel of 'democratic humanism').

Popular-Front ideology demanded the elevation of these 'optimistic' writers over the more 'pessimistic' Proust, Joyce, Kafka.



BUKHARIN

The essays are silent, too, on Lukács' continuing 'critical' acceptance of Stalinism. In his essay on Solzhenitsyn ('Socialist Register', 1965) Lukács wrote of the urgent need for a 'critical appraisal of the Stalin era' arguing that 'One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich' constituted the beginnings of an overall and total view of contemporary Soviet society.

Eve

The socialist world, he went on, was on the eve of a 'renaissance of Marxism',—yet today Solzhenitsyn and other writers are either in Soviet jails, exiled, and their work banned.

Lukács fails to apply his Marxism to society and reserves his critical edge for other times.

In his 'Reflections on the Cult of Stalin' ('Survey', April 1963) Lukács shows quite clearly what Marxism means for him.

Stalin was a 'notable and far-seeing statesman' whose concept of 'socialism in one country' embodied the 'salvation of the Soviet form of development'.

art and literature. Exiled in Russia in the 1930s Lukács wrote 'The Historical Novel', 'Studies in European Realism', 'Goethe and His Age', and his study of Hegel, 'The Young Hegel'.

In his memoirs, Victor Serge relates how one day he met Lukács in Moscow. As a known oppositionist, Serge was not surprised that Lukács, who was working at the Marx-Engels Institute, had no desire to shake his hand.

Serge had met Lukács for the first time in the 1920s in Vienna and he tells of Lukács' hostility to opposing the Stalinist bureaucracy:

'The times are bad,' he said, 'and we are at a dark crossroad. Let us reserve our strength: history will summon us in its time.'

A clear contradiction of his earlier emphasis on the subjective element in Marxism, Lukács' remark points to the way in which he developed the other strand of Hegel's thought to accommodate himself to the bureaucracy: history on these terms possesses a logic all of its own, Hegel's 'cunning of reason' that works out its contradictions independently of those individuals who carry out the historically specific activities.

Like Deutscher, Lukács returns to a pre-Marxist, idealist Hegelian conception to show that Stalinism was a necessary historical stage of the proletarian revolution.

Unswerving

Lukács survived in Russia in the 1930s because he gave unswerving support to the bureaucracy, and although he now writes of Stalin's 'errors' and 'excesses', arguing that they were 'unfortunate and inexcusable', the fact remains of his support in the 1930s and today for the policy of 'socialism in one country'.

This has been Lukács' justification for his silence on the 'excesses' of the Stalinist bureaucracy. To build socialism in Russia, proletarian democracy and internationalism were 'unfortunately' damaged; but this was a necessary price to pay and Stalin's policy was the correct one.

The contributors to Parkinson's book tend to accept uncritically Lukács' position as he has stated it and there is no mention of Trotsky and the

History, he goes on, has long ago 'refuted' Trotsky, and on the 'decisive strategic problems of the time Stalin was absolutely right.'

'Socialism in one country' is Leninism, and Stalin is Lenin's legitimate heir. Lukács characterizes the struggle between Trotsky and Lenin in wholly personal terms and fails to grasp the underlying social currents in Russia during the 1920s which led to Stalinism.

As for the purges, Lukács is significantly silent.

He is far happier writing of the late 18th and early 19th century, on bourgeois society and bourgeois literature: Goethe, Hegel, Schiller, Balzac, Stendhal.

The result is that although his analysis of this classic period of bourgeois culture has undoubtedly deepened our understanding of it (especially his reading of Hegel in terms of 18th century political economy), Lukács' Marxism tends to be academic.

He finds great difficulty in analysing modern literature.

Trotsky, for example, could praise a novel like Céline's 'Journey to the End of the Night' (1934) for its vigorous portrayal of the emptiness of life in France between the wars even though the book was pessimistic.

Decadence

Lukács would probably see in Céline's failure to create 'lasting human types' a mere reflection of an amoral, bourgeois decadence.

Engels had written that realistic literature should aim to create typical characters under typical circumstances: Lukács, in defining this general statement as the dominant criteria of literary merit turns a remark (in a letter) relating to a specific historical period, the 19th century, and a certain type of presentation, realism, into a dogma.

The Parkinson symposium singularly fails to discuss this aspect of Lukács' literary doctrine.

For the Stalinist Lukács, Marxism is mere scholasticism.

It is not the practice of a revolutionary class which aims to change the world, but simply a device which allows us to understand and appreciate great bourgeois literature.

The dialectical relationship



ZINOVIEV

between consciousness, practice and the world, which Lukács had emphasized in 1923, turns into its opposite in the later writings.

Thus in the chapter on the dialectic, Mézszáros shows how Lukács is forced to postulate moral solutions to practical political problems.

'Problems'

For Lukács, the 'problems' of Soviet society can be solved only from above, by a moral decision. Mézszáros' argument that here Lukács is merely continuing a train of thought within his early, idealist writings, thus fails to grasp the specific historical basis for the revisionism which exists between 'History and Class Consciousness' and the Stalinist period.

Lukács has long abandoned his belief in the revolutionary proletariat as the only possible agent of change, and is thus forced to postulate his moral injunctions.

As a whole the book is disappointing.

It does contain some useful information on Lukács' work and life, but there is too much repetition, a failure to grasp his ideas and development historically, and to ignore or minimize his Stalinist background.

A more complete evaluation is clearly the task for Marxists who will situate him precisely in his historical context, and show the close relationship which exists between his ideas, the conflict between Stalin and Trotsky, the Popular Front and the ideology of peaceful co-existence.

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FRIDAY TV

BBC 1

9.40-11.45 a.m. Schools. 12.55 p.m. Dechrau canu dechrau canmol. 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 Banana splits. 5.35 Junior points of view. 5.44 Parsley. 5.50 News and weather. 6.00 Entertaining with Kerr. 6.25 Television top of the form. The Virginian. 'Jacob Was A Plain Man'. 7.55 The Culture Vultures. Leslie Phillips in 'Practical Demonstrations'. 8.25 The Dick Emery show. 8.50 News and weather. 9.10 The Forsyte Saga. 'No Retreat'. 10.00 Margaret Lockwood's cinema. Talk with Michael Aspel. 10.30 24 hours. 11.05 'Something to Hide'. Trilogy of plays by Arden Winch. The first play is 'The First Floor' and deals with the tenants in a house where a young girl is found murdered in the bath tub. 11.35 Weather.

REGIONAL

All regions as BBC 1 except:
 Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.25 Midlands today. Look East, weather. 11.37 News, weather. Weekend prospects for anglers. Road works report.
 North of England: 6.00-6.25 Look North, weather. 11.37 News, weather. Wales: 1.30-1.45 Ar lin mam. 6.00-6.25 Wales today, weather. 6.45 Heddiw. 7.05 Dyna wali. 7.30-8.25 Week in week out. 10.00-10.30 Pan ddiol mai. 11.37 Weather.
 Scotland: 6.00-6.25 Reporting Scotland. 8.25-8.50 Current account. 11.37 News, weather.
 Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 Scene around six. weather. 11.37 News, weather.
 South and West: 6.00-6.25 Points West. South today. Spotlight South-West. weather. 11.37 News, weather. Weekend road works report.

ITV

11.00 a.m. Schools. 3.00 p.m. Racing from Lingfield. 4.20 The anatomy of first aid. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Atom ant. 5.20 Tom Grattan's war. 5.50 News. 6.03 Today. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 Wheel of fortune. 7.30 Gunsmoke. 'Dead Man's Law'. 8.30 Doctor in the house. 'Put Your Hand On That'. 9.00 Manhunt. 'Machine'. 10.00 News. 10.30 Two shot golf introduced by Sean Connery. Harold Henning (S Africa) v Doug Sanders (US). 11.00 The Stables Theatre Company. 'Dear Mr Welfare'. 12.00 midnight 20th century thinkers.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play school. 7.05 p.m. Heritage. 'Water, Water Everywhere...'. 7.30 News and weather. 8.00 Wheelbase. 'Cheaper insurance?'. 8.25 The spoils of Poynton. 'Trial of Strength'. 9.10 In search of paradise. Film about European gardens and their history. 10.00 An evening with Dame Sybil Thorndike and Sir Hugh Casson. 10.55 News and weather. 11.00 Line-up.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 11.00-4.00 London. 4.02 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.13 Diane's magic theatre. 4.20 Ghost and Mrs Muir. 4.55 Captain Scarlet. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Channel report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon time. 7.05 Dr in the house. 7.35 Movie: 'The Love War' with Joyce Bridges and Angie Dickinson. 9.00 London. 10.30 Funder's seekers. 11.00 London. 11.55 News, weather in French, weather.
 WESTWARD: As Channel except: 4.00 News. 4.02 Guinness show. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 11.57 Faith for life. 12.03 Weather.
 SOUTHERN: 11.00 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Zingalong. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene South-East. 6.40 Out of town. 7.00 London. 7.30 Dr in the house. 8.00 Hawaii five-0. 8.55 Weekend. 9.00 Labour MP 10.30 NYPD. 11.00 London. 12 midnight News. 1.10 Weather. Feed the minds.
 HARLECH: 11.00-4.00 London. 4.20 Wind in the willows. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report. 6.10 Bug Bunny. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 film: 'The Hucksters' with Clark Gable and Deborah Kerr. 9.00 London. 10.30 Funny you should ask. 11.00 London. 12 midnight Weather.
 HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 11.00 p.m. Y dydd. 11.30 Hyd a lled.
 HTV (Cyprus/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.01 Y dydd. 6.30-6.35 Report-Wales.
 ANGLIA: 10.58 London. 4.25 Newsroom. 4.35 Romper room. 4.55 London. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.30 London. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 News. Lookaround. 7.35 Bracken's world. 8.30 Dear mother, love Albert. 9.00 London. 10.30 Two-shot golf. 11.00 London. 12 midnight News, weather.
 ATY MIDLANDS: 11.00 London. 4.02 Women today. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 The champions. 8.30 London. 12 midnight Midlands. 8.30 London. 10.30 conference report. 11.00 Small Heath, Birmingham. Weather.
 ULSTER: 11.00-2.00 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cinema: 'The Safe-cracker' with Ray Milland and Barry Jones. 8.30 London. 10.30 Sportscast. 10.55 Friday night. 11.00 London. 12 midnight Living and growing.
 YORKSHIRE: 11.00 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Zingalong. 4.30 Matinee. 4.55 Rainbow country. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.30 Wheel of fortune. 7.00 'The Yellow Rolls Royce' with Ingrid Bergman, Rex Harrison, Omar Sharif and Shirley Maclaine. 9.00 London. 10.30 Yorkshire. 11.00 London. 12 midnight Royal Windsor House Show. 12.30 Weather.
 GRANADA: 11.00 London. 4.15 News. 4.17 Zingalong. 4.25 Shortstory. 5.15 Woodbine—animal doctor. 5.50 London. 6.00 Newsview. 6.05 Songs from the Two Brewers. 6.30 Gilligan's island. 7.00 Saint. 7.55 Dr in the house. 8.25 Branded. 8.50 Put it in writing. 9.00 London. 10.30 Stables Theatre Company. 11.30 Whiplash.
 TYNE TEES: 11.00-4.00 London. 4.10 Newsroom. 4.12 Better driving. 4.40 London. 4.55 Cowboy in Africa. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 7.30 Dr in the house. 8.00 It takes a thief. 9.00 London. 10.30 Stables Theatre Company. 11.30 Movie: 'Night Creatures' with Peter Cushing and Yvonne Romain. 12.55 News.
 BORDER: 2.00 London. 4.00 News. 4.02 Houseparty. 4.15 Judo. 4.40 London. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.30 London. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 News. Lookaround. 7.35 Bracken's world. 8.30 Dear mother, love Albert. 9.00 London. 10.30 Two-shot golf. 11.00 London. 12 midnight News, weather.
 SCOTTISH: 11.00-4.00 London. 4.20 Scotland early. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Phoenix eye. 5.25 Lone Ranger. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Bracken's world. 8.30 Dear mother, love Albert. 9.00 London. 10.30 Name o' the game. 9.00 London. 10.30 Unionist Party conference report. 11.00 London. 12 midnight Late call.
 GRAMPAN: 10.58 London. 4.25 Survival. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Bracken's world. 8.30 Dear mother, love Albert. 9.00 London. 10.30 Epitoge.

Leon Trotsky

Where Is Britain Going?

Available from New Park Publications Ltd, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

GLASGOW 'Against shipyard sackings! Keep the Tories out!' Saturday, May 16 10.30 a.m.

SWINDON 'Productivity Deals and the Tories' Sunday, May 17, 8 p.m.

SE LONDON 'Fight the Tories in the unions! Build a socialist alternative!' Sunday, May 17, 3 p.m.

PETERHEAD (near Aberdeen) 'The Crosse and Blackwell strike - Fight the Tories' Monday, May 18, 8 p.m.

WEATHER London, SE, central southern and SW England, E and W Midlands, Channel Islands: Rather cloudy.

LEBANON GUERRILLAS FIGHT ON

THE response to Israel's attack on Lebanon this week has not been the one intended. Four attacks were launched by Arab guerrilla forces yesterday morning near the Lebanese border.

LATE NEWS

NO RECOGNITION RUSSIAN recognition of Prince Sihanouk's Cambodian government is still being withheld. Kossigin's telegram to Sihanouk on Monday referred to 'full support'.

C.A.V. (Acton) men fear a tele-control sell-out

MANY WORKERS at CAV's Acton, London, factory fear that the shop stewards' committee meeting due to be held next Tuesday will accept tele-control onto the site for what one steward described as 'the proverbial 30 pieces of silver'.

As we reported earlier this year, stewards voted at the beginning of March to accept the 'big brother' production monitoring system into two departments on a trial basis, provided suitable terms on money and labour guarantees were forthcoming from the management.

Price This rise would work out at an average of 10s a worker a week. Together with the £1 interim rise won recently, the price of tele-control would average 30s a week.

Untrue

Some of the factory leadership also state that the 'big brother' system has already been accepted in the rest of the group. This is not true. Despite a year of management efforts to introduce the system at the Fazakerley works in Liverpool, workers there have reiterated their continued opposition and have backed maintenance workers who were disciplined for refusing to install or connect up the apparatus.

Unite

Certain stewards delude themselves that there is a middle course: that they can return to the free-for-all of departmental claims, but this is clearly not an answer. The fight for the claim can unite all sections of the Acton factory—particularly the women workers—for higher wages without strings, and to keep 'big brother' out of Acton.

Doubts

FROM PAGE ONE The TUC has asked the General and Municipal Workers' Union to meet the finance and General Purposes Committee—the TUC inner cabinet—on Monday to discuss the strike.

Ottery St Marys mill workers stay out

WORKERS at the Otter Mills electrical factory, Ottery St Mary, Devon, voted unanimously at a mass meeting on Wednesday to continue their two-week-old strike for substantial pay rises and union recognition.

Dunlop strike continues

1,500 engineers at Dunlop's Birmingham factory yesterday voted to continue their two-week-old strike in support of their demand for a £6 increase with no strings.

I.O.S.

FROM PAGE ONE And on Wall Street, \$2.6 a share were wiped off King Resources. Far from gaining any new backers, King (or his representatives) were locked in battle in London with the chief underwriters of last September's IOS share issue at the time when Cornfield went public.

Bonus strike

PAINTERS and joiners at the Clydebank division of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders yesterday returned to work for a short time after beginning a strike on Wednesday but later continued their action after being joined by several hundred electricians.

Rail engineers reject deal

MEMBERS of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers (AEF) at the British Railways Swindon workshops earlier this week passed an amendment to their stewards' resolution to reject the pay and efficiency deal.

FRANCE Anti-working class laws go to Senate

THE law proposed by Pompidou's government to establish collective criminal and civil liability for all who participate in or organize 'illicit' demonstrations goes to the Senate next week, having already been passed by the National Assembly.



UNE, the French students' union, was excluded by the CP from the campaign against the laws.

Tory press covers up

FROM PAGE ONE Combining English empiricism with more than a little imagination, John Draw in Saigon had concluded that since the headquarters had never been actually seen, it must therefore be 'underground'.

Not liked

The original idea was that King should make available a \$40 million credit for IOS for three years. But this is not to the liking of the leading banks. No doubt concerned with King's intimate ties with Cornfield's empire and similar interests in the mutual trust field, they are not prepared to see the Denver financier remain in control.

Czech police threaten theatre

THE CZECHOSLOVAK Ministry of Culture has re-established its central control on the productions put on in a Czech theatre as it was until 1968, according to an announcement earlier this week in the Prague paper 'Prace'.

Over-valued

There is concern that some of IOS assets may have been seriously over-valued and inadequate allowance made for bad debts in a period of intensifying credit squeeze in Europe and America.

Spokesmen

Present on the platform were spokesmen for the main trade unions, the Communist, Socialist, Unified Socialist and Radical Parties, and assorted democratic organizations. 'Leftists', including the French Trotskyists, were excluded from the campaign at the insistence of the Stalinists, who amplified their campaign against it with a public meeting in Paris called with only two days' notice.

Confidence

In the course of that week they regained their confidence. Why? The main action called from the meeting of April 23 was a 'day of action' on April 29, with demonstrations, lobbying and factory meetings of 'protest' up and down the country.

Full square

With all their reservations about Nixon's crude methods, the entire capitalist press stands full square with US—and British—imperialism as it fights for its very existence in SE Asia and at home.

Not intention

In the end, however, it became clear that the Stalinist and reformists never had any intention to mobilize the move against the law. In effect the May Day demonstration in Paris, policed with an iron hand by the CGT to keep the students away from the main body of the demonstration, sanctioned the law.

Dissipation

This dissipation of forces put new heart into the representatives of 'law and order'. The law now moves to the Senate. The Stalinists and reformists announced this week that May 21 is to be a day of nationwide lobbying against the law. The announcement scarcely served to provide a fig-leaf for the retreat.

Painful

Abandoning the defence of what the working class has gained and holds, they look for painful 'stimuli' to boot the working class into action. On this argument the Colonels' regime in Greece has the 'advantage' of illuminating the class character of the regime!