

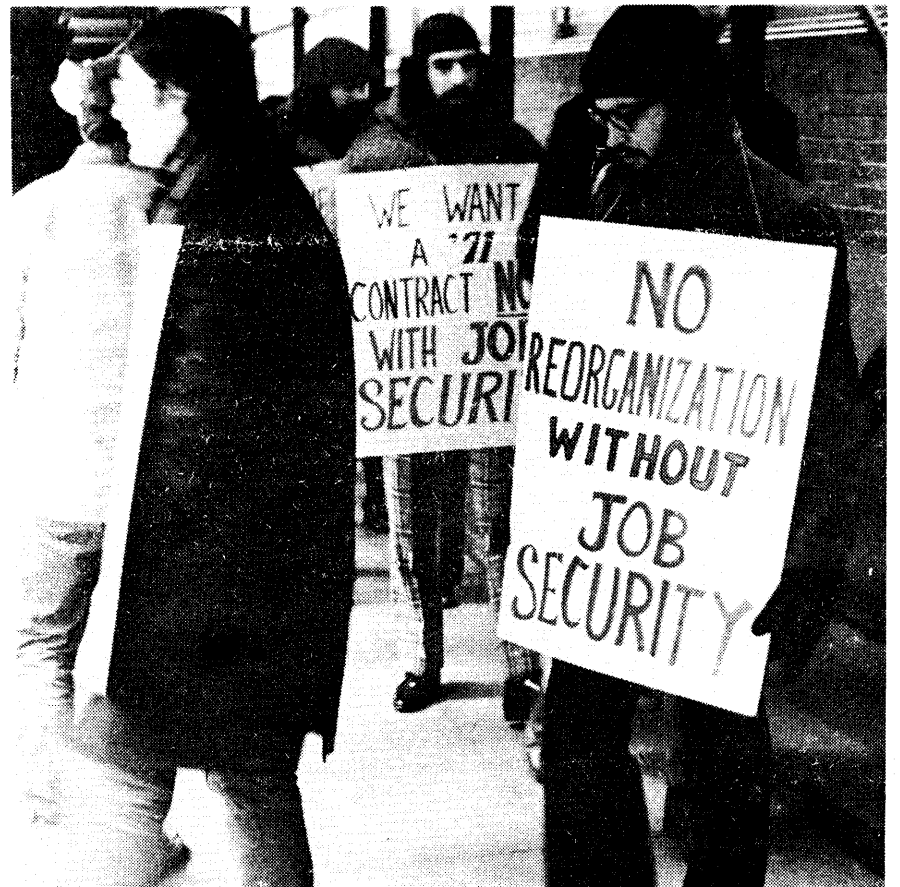
**Bulletin**  
 weekly organ of the workers league  
 VOL. 7 NO. 18-178 JANUARY 11, 1971 103 TEN CENTS

**YSA Convention--  
 Turn To The Right**



Workers League 4th National Conference

**1971-THE NEW STAGE  
 IN THE INTERNATIONAL  
 CLASS STRUGGLE**



1970 was a year of massive upsurge: Above left: N.Y. City workers demonstrate against attacks on jobs; below left: Huey Newton of the Panthers calls for a turn to dialectics; below: Polish workers rise against Stalinism. Above: Workers League National Conference ends with the "Internationale". The task posed for 1971 is that of building an international Marxist leadership to take the working class to power.





Participants from all over the country here vote unanimously for resolution. This conference marks new development of Workers League and American Trotskyism.

#### BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Over 100 workers and youth gathered here January 1-3 for the Fourth National Conference of the Workers League. From beginning to end the conference centered on the new stage in the international crisis and the necessity for a development of theory to confront the tasks posed by these changes.

The conference opened with greetings from the Socialist Labour League delivered by Dany Sylveire. It then proceeded to the international question with a report by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League.

Comrade Wohlforth pointed out that the recent events in Poland and Spain point up the extreme sharpness of the international crisis. In Poland the bureaucracy was forced to back down on some of its economic attacks on the workers but at the same time strengthened its hand in the state apparatus, preparing for a time when it can seek to take these gains away from the workers. In Spain the upsurge of the working class internationally forced the fascist regime to back down on the death penalty for the six Basques. While similar trials in years past ended in student protests followed by execution, this one resulted in international working class action, followed by commutation of the sentence.

What this all means is that as the working class surges forward internationally in response to attacks upon it, the ruling class is forced into an even more impossible position. It prepares at each moment for civil war against the working class. This is the

meaning of Heath's speech before the United Nations, seeing the 70s as the era of civil war.

The danger in the situation is that the working class moves with its old methods of thought and political ways in a period in which at any moment a situation of civil war can take place requiring a revolutionary leadership guided by a revolutionary method and theory, dialectical materialism. In fact the surface movement of the class forward can actually strengthen illusions in the class that these old methods of struggle work, while their impact on capitalism is such as to force the ruling class into creating a whole new situation with unemployment, racism and conditions of civil war.

#### PREPARE

Our movement must prepare for this new situation by basing itself on the underlying movement, on the deep contradictions of the class struggle and this requires a theoretical development through a new turn towards philosophy.

Wohlforth stressed that key to an understanding of the international situation is an understanding of the interrelationship of Europe and America. The period since World War I has been marked by the decline of Europe and the rise of

## Juan Farinas Defense Plans Demonstration On Jan. 29

#### BY BULLETIN REPORTER

Juan Farinas, the young trade unionist who was charged on three frameup counts of violating the Selective Service Act, was found guilty on December 11, 1970. He will be sentenced on Friday, January 29, at the U.S. Courthouse in Manhattan, and faces a possible five years in jail and \$10,000 fine on each count.

The conviction of Farinas is part of the blatant political attack of the U.S. government which includes the persecution of the Panthers, Angela Davis, the New York prison inmates, the jailing of Caesar Chavez without trial, and the repression of workers, minority groups, and youth who defy its system or policies.

#### MASSIVE

In the light of the government's attack, the Juan Farinas Defense Committee is building a massive national offensive to beat back this attack. The Committee is mobilizing forces of workers, youth and minority peoples around this campaign because it is of the utmost urgency that we concretely show the U.S. government that its repression and witch-hunting policies will and must be stopped now.

In New York on Friday, January 29th, the day that Juan Farinas will be sentenced, a mass demonstration will be held in his support in front of the U.S. Courthouse at Foley Square (near Chambers Street) from 9am to 1pm.

Meetings are scheduled for campuses in New York City and at Stony Brook in defense of Farinas.

Juan Farinas' fight is not isolated, but is part of the fight which must be waged to break up the government's attacks. We

urge all readers of the Bulletin, supporters of the Defense Committee, all workers and youth to join this demonstration in solidarity against the government's vicious policies. The struggle of the workers and youth in Spain in defense of the Basque prisoners shows the way forward in this fight.

If you wish to work with the Defense Committee please contact: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., 6th Fl., New York, N.Y., 10011, (212) 924-0852.

New sponsors of the Committee include:

Orrie Chambers, Organizer, New Jersey Federation of Teachers; Fred Punch, President, Local 1199E, Baltimore; Robert Moore, Treasurer, Local 1199E, Baltimore; Lulu White, New Haven Federation of Teachers, Local 933; Paul C. Hayner, Treasurer, United Professors of California, AFT; Tom Bauza, Toolmaker, International Harvester; Lou Pardo, Tool and Diemakers Lodge #113, IAM; Nuno Cotto, Local 233, IUE, Bridgeport; Young Lords, Philadelphia; Pearce-Connolly Socialist Club, New School; Labor Committee, Stony Brook branch; Cineaste Magazine; Democratic Radical Union of Maryland; Prof. Bertell Ollman, Politics Dept., New York University; Dorothy Healey, Communist Party, California.

# Workers League Prepares

America, but under conditions of the general decline of world capital. This means that the United States is forced to take into itself all the weaknesses of European capital. Under these conditions the development of the crisis in Europe and America is extremely closely intertwined.

This relationship is more than an economic one in the sense that the underlying economic situation forces a political relationship forward more and more forcefully each day. Today American workers are learning from European developments. This was especially true of May-June 1968 in France, but it is also true for recent events in Poland and Spain.

While one can refer in a sense to the "Americanization" of Europe in the 1950s in the form of the development there of American technique, economic penetration, and a certain degree of prosperity, today we have a "Europeanization" of America. This takes the form of the development of political consciousness not only from European experience but from the development of the crisis simultaneously in Europe and America, and the common actions of the ruling class in Europe and America.

The development of the revolution in the United States may take place more unevenly than in Europe, but it will in no sense be less explosive, probably more, nor will it necessarily follow Europe. At the very moment of revolutionary situation in Europe, the American working class will be itself involved in great class battles.

#### CONDITIONS

There are specific conditions, Comrade Wohlforth noted, which both require and

can lead to a real development of theory in the United States. The pragmatic anti-political character of the American working class and population in general is rooted in conditions which today turn into their opposite, laying a basis for theoretical development. Pragmatism, as Trotsky noted, was based on the growth of capital on virgin American soil. The crisis of capital internationally makes the pragmatic method unworkable. Nothing can any longer just be patched up. At the same time the development of capital—which laid the basis for its crisis and decay—also produced a massive and highly educated and cultured working class living in the most technologically advanced society man has known. These conditions now lay a basis for a great leap in theory in the United States.

In addition the unevenness of development in the United States, which has its origins particularly in early slavery and the Civil War period, creates a very contradictory development of American workers which is not to be simply accepted and deepened with the method of the SWP-YSA, but requires and in turn can lead to the real development of dialectics.

The working class as a whole moving through the trade unions joins its European brothers in a wage offensive political in implications, revolutionary in what it does to capitalism, but still conducted with the conservative trade union thinking of a former period. At the same time sections of working class youth, particularly black and other minority youth, begin as revolutionaries, in fact with a belief in the need for armed struggle against a repressive system which will not when threatened permit anything else. But this section of youth does not, at the beginning, have the under-

## Dany Sylveire Delivers Greetings From Socialist Labour League

The following is the text of the greetings brought to the Workers League National Conference by Dany Sylveire from the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League.

I am delegated by the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League to bring the warmest fraternal greetings to the Workers League on the occasion of its fourth National Conference.

There never was a time in history when the revolutionary co-thinkers of Leon Trotsky needed to work and fight together in the struggle to develop revolutionary Marxism as today. This we all understand can only be carried out in the continuous fight against our class enemy whose revisionist, reformist and Stalinist agencies constantly threaten to destroy the revolutionary vanguard.

For ten years the leadership of the Workers League and the Socialist Labour League have continuously upheld the principles of the Fourth International. Since the occasion of my last visit to the United States there have been considerable changes on the international scene. The coming to power of the Tory Government in Britain last June tended, just as the election of Nixon in November 1968, to strengthen the forces of international capitalism.

But this has been more than offset by the revolutionary determination of the working class both in Britain and the United States to resist the encroachment of capital on their wages and working conditions. To state a few examples: the postmen's strike in New York and the victorious Council workers strike in Britain recently.

Although the capitalist class have been able to push workers slightly backwards in a number of cases this has been mainly due to the treachery of the reformist trade union leaders. But neither in Britain nor the United States have the capitalists been able to inflict a serious defeat on the working class. This is a source of great encouragement for the Trotskyist movement. We are turned entirely towards the working class.

We consider that the development of Marxism can only be carried out through such an orientation. But this does not mean that we tail-end the working class and pay pious tributes to its militancy. This is what the revisionists do but it is not our job. As Marxists we understand the movement of the working class as something which requires us to plunge ever more deeply into the historical back-

ground of this movement, in order to understand philosophically the particular characteristics arising from the movement of the working class.

Our two movements have been engaged over the past year in a serious study of dialectical materialism. This is no accident. The movement of the working class impels us to use dialectical materialism as a method of thinking—what comrade Trotsky described as the main-spring in the building of the revolutionary party. For the first time since his last historical fight we are now in a position to fully appreciate the advice which he gave in that fight: that the American Trotskyist movement must concentrate on teaching dialectical materialism to its members in a way in which they would be able to enrich and develop the party and at the same time consciously raise their own theoretical understanding.

The more the working class moves in the direction of revolution, the more we must put into practice what Trotsky advised. This is what the Socialist Labour League has concentrated on in England with some significant results. Not only have we been able to publish and maintain the *Workers Press* six days a week. We have over the past three months concentrated on a program of mass theoretical work. The result is most gratifying. Not only have we raised the political level of our members but we are penetrating deeper and deeper into the working class and into important sections of the middle class.

The *Workers Press* and the expansion of your weekly *Bulletin* have dealt powerful blows against the revisionists, especially since your paper and ours deal seriously with the political issues that are posed while the revisionists in their opportunist ways are notorious for their evasions of such matters.

The year of 1971 promises to be the most important year in the history of Bolshevism since 1917. Enormous class forces are at work, changing the face of the world. We are beginning to feel the first strength from these massive developments. Your conference meets at a time of great opportunity. It is therefore a very great pleasure for me to convey greetings from the Socialist Labour League to you.

# At Conference For New Stage In Class Struggle

standing of the importance of class struggle, of the trade unions.

Yes, the youth, particularly the minority youth, will be in the vanguard—but the vanguard of the class. The theoretical task we face is to fight for these youth to fight to lead this class as a whole, confronting all the difficulties posed by its development and not just theirs, and fight to move this massive force in a revolutionary way against capitalism. This is above all a theoretical task and it will be through this challenge that theory develops.

Wohlforth explained the special pressures upon our movement at this time, created under conditions of boom, assembled essentially in an idealist way, made up largely of middle class elements or elements of the working class closest to the radical middle class. These pressures are particularly acute under present conditions when the crisis spreads panic and fear through sections of the middle class. The revisionists bow to this and are stamped by it while our party consciously fights this with dialectics. Our party, created in one period, must fight to meet the challenges of a different period. This means, he stressed, we must constantly seek to bring the party and its members beyond the level of theoretical development possible at this stage of the development of the class. Only by pressing against the limits of an historical period can one prepare for the new period. Without this preparation revolution is impossible.

## REVISIONISM

Wohlforth particularly stressed the role of revisionism, stating that the great theoretical capital of the Workers League lay in its fight against revisionism and the fight of the International Com-

mittee as a whole for a long, long period against revisionism. Within this light he analyzed the recent YSA convention, emphasizing that the sharp turn to the right at this convention had its roots in the abandonment of the struggle for dialectics in the SWP decades earlier. In confronting the question of revisionism, he stressed, one is not simply confronting something external to our party, but a critical part of its history, and a method which constantly finds its reflection in our movement.

The Panthers were discussed particularly in relation to Huey Newton's recent call for a turn toward dialectics. In the early part of the century when out of the working class arose Eugene V. Debs, Debs turned toward socialist politics in an extremely primitive and anti-theoretical way. Today, a vanguard section of the class, through its own experiences, is forced to try a more advanced theory, because the old methods did not "work". Newton's turn is thus in sharp contrast to Debs and reflects the great changes taking place now that the very center of decaying world imperialism is in the United States.

The central struggle in the coming period will be between Trotskyism and Stalinism, for capitalism cannot survive without the aid of Stalinism within radical sections of workers and youth. But to be able to have a real confrontation with Stalinism, a struggle with Pabloite revisionism is critical.

## LABOR PARTY

Wohlforth ended on the question of the labor party. He noted that the sharpening of the whole international crisis and its deeper expression in the United States since our resolution on the question in 1967 made this demand more



Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of Workers League presents International Report at National Convention, stressing need to prepare theoretically for sharpening situation.

urgent than ever. All strikes today are political in the sense that they directly threaten capitalism's existence and demand from the capitalists hardened resistance and political attacks. This is why the labor party demand, which poses the question of power, must be more forcefully fought for in the unions and among the youth. But at the same time we must develop our transitional program in relation to the labor party if we are to bring forward the masses of the youth in the fight to break the trade unions from the capitalist parties and capitalism itself. This will require above all a theoretical fight.

The conference discussion centered on these questions and particularly on bringing out sharply the opposites within the Workers League, forcing the party to face up to the sharpness of the crisis and take a stand in this crisis through a real fight for leadership of the working class. This meant above all a development of dialectics within the party, enabling the party to penetrate into the unions and particularly among the youth.

The other major report at the conference was on the question of the youth. A youth resolution was presented by Pat Connolly. She noted that in the past the Workers League had sought to develop a youth movement independently of the real development of youth. Thus we had essentially abstained from the whole SDS experience of student youth. For a whole period the development of the youth went through the student movement and SDS was very much the center of it. While today the students are still extremely important there are two new developments which must be noted.

First with the Kent State shootings the protest stage of the student movement came to an end never to be seriously resurrected by the YSA's pious wishes or anything else. This does not mean that struggle will not take place among student youth, but that it will have a different character particularly open to our efforts to fight for a working class program and working class leadership of the struggle.

## YOUTH

Secondly while the student struggle still remains important there are now new developments among youth which while touching the student youth go way beyond them into working class youth. This is particularly true of minority youth as reflected through the Panthers, the Young Lords and Chicano youth.

The development today of a youth movement requires particular attention to the question of revisionism and a theoretical struggle against it. It requires the construction of clubs and other activities among students dedicated to a working class program and the task of building the revolutionary party. But it also demands a penetration of those layers of working class youth now coming on the political arena, many times partially through a nationalist kind of program, but already reaching beyond nationalist and reformist limitations. These are of

## Ceylon Trotskyists Send Greetings To Conference

Dear Comrades,

It is with great pleasure that the Revolutionary Communist League sends fraternal communist greetings to the National Conference of the Workers League.

The great movement within the American proletariat which has expressed itself in the struggles of the postal, auto and railway workers, is preparing the stage for a leap in the consciousness of millions of workers who have hitherto followed the two capitalist parties. The Workers League, fighting for a labor party in opposition to both capitalist parties, is putting forward the only way forward for the working class, in the best traditions of the international Trotskyist movement.

It is because you have taken up this class fight against imperialism that capitalist repression now hits at you. The Revolutionary Communist League wishes to particularly solidarize ourselves with the valiant struggle of comrade Juan Farinas and pledges itself to do all it can here in Ceylon to fight for solidarity action.

We are certain that the Workers League will show itself equal to its great historic responsibilities and will go forward to build the mass proletarian Trotskyist party in the U.S., learning from both the development and the degeneration of the SWP. Your struggle inside the bastion of world imperialism is of the greatest importance in the rebuilding of the Fourth International, the indispensable instrument for the victory of the world proletarian revolution.

Comrades, allow us to express our confidence that this national conference would mark a new and higher stage in the development of American Trotskyism, coming as it does in the midst of the great class battles that are now beginning in the U.S.A.

On behalf of the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League,  
K. Balasuriya,  
General Secretary

course different aspects of the same process and through such a struggle with youth and for youth, a movement can be built which can give real leadership to the millions of the working class assembled in the trade unions.

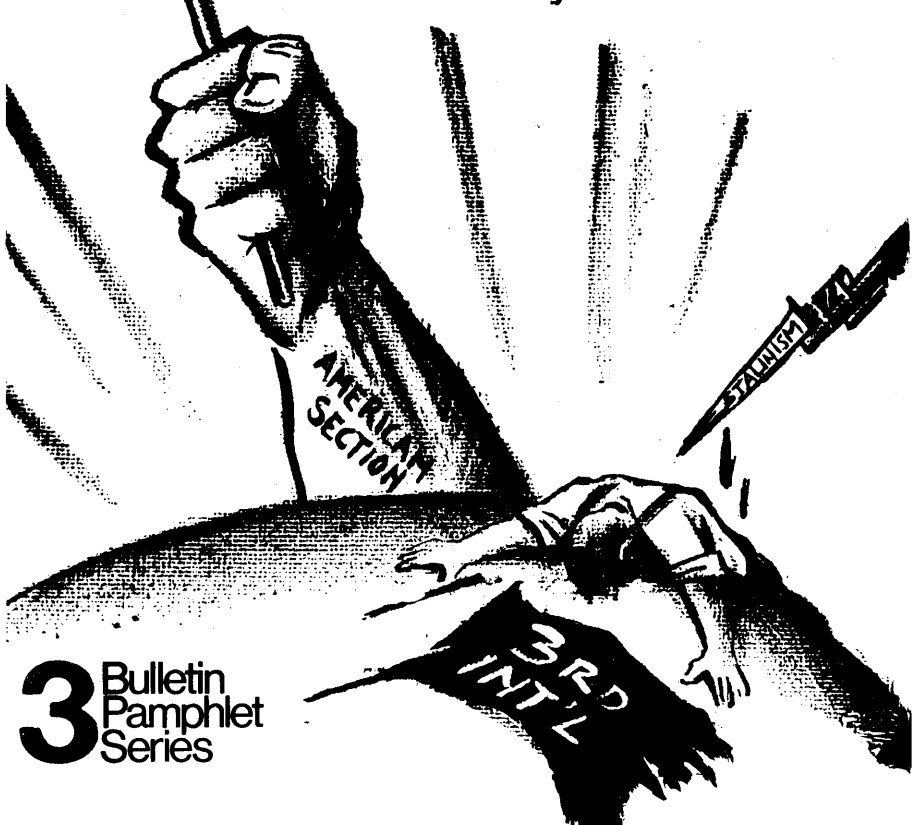
The conference represented a new stage in the development of the Workers League as politically part of the Fourth International. With a sharpened struggle for theory, the movement can make tremendous strides in the coming period while all the revisionist groups are shaken by the movement forward of the working class.

## Just Off The Press!

# Stalinism & Trotskyism in the USA

4TH  
INTERNATIONAL

by Fred Mueller



3 Bulletin  
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## Government Covers Murder Of Coal Miners

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

A public hearing to investigate the causes of the mine explosion that killed 38 Kentucky coal miners is to be held this week at the Leslie County, Kentucky Courthouse.

Regardless of whatever details the investigation brings to light—the basic and fundamental cause of this mine disaster and of the explosion in 1968 that killed 78 miners at Farmington, West Virginia is the capitalist system itself, which owns and operates these mines for one reason, and one reason alone, private profit.

The murderers are not only the mine owners, but the government is Washington, particularly the bureaucrats that run the U.S. Bureau of Mines. They knowingly allowed this mine to continue to operate since March with 34 violations which every day endangered the lives of the miners. The mine was cited for "imminent danger" in November, and the violations were to be removed by December 22nd. This was never done, and the mine was never inspected again.

The passage one year ago of a Congressional mine safety bill does no more than cover up for the mine bosses while they continue to place profits before safety. While the U.S. government spends billions of dollars to protect capitalism in Indochina, the Bureau of Mines itself admits that it only has 499 inspectors although it requires 750. There has not been one penny of fines levied on the 2,300 citations issued by the Bureau since the Congressional bill.

The miners and their families cannot afford any more disasters. The corrupt leadership of the United Mine Workers Union up to now has literally allowed the government and bosses to get away with murder. This must be ended once and for all. The ranks must immediately demand that the UMW set up its own investigation—a workers' court to bring the real murderers to justice. The Finley mine where the explosion occurred and all the other scab mines should be immediately organized by the UMW. The AFL-CIO and all other unions must assist this organization.

### NATIONALIZATION

The responsibility for the mine safety and inspection procedure must now be taken over by the union itself, under the direction of rank and file workers committees. This is the first step toward the urgent task of nationalization of the entire coal mining industry without compensation to the profiteers who now own them. Only then can the mines be operated in the interests of the miners and all of society.

## St. Louis Union Electric Ranks Wage Bitter Strike

BY JIM HAYS

St. Louis—Tension has been growing in the strike of Union Electric Company employees here since the ranks overwhelmingly rejected their leadership's recommendation to return to work two weeks ago.

The strike began when a control technician refused to do maintenance work which would be in violation of Operating Engineers Local 184 contract agreements.

Union Electric workers in Missouri, Illinois and Iowa walked off their jobs when this worker was disciplined. Two workers in a power plant in Illinois were also suspended when they were accused of cutting power in solidarity with the walkout which began when the first worker was disciplined. The overwhelming majority of the membership refused to go back to work until the suspensions were also lifted from these workers who were acting in class solidarity with their brothers.

Despite the hostile attitude of the capitalist press and the lack of paychecks at Christmas time, the strike has remained solid and workers representing other Union Electric employees have honored the Operating Engineers'

# Frame-up Trial Of Angela Begins



Angela Davis at arraignment on frame-up charges in San Rafael court room.

BY MELODY FARROW

This week the trial of Angela Davis on frameup charges of having supplied the guns in the Marin County Courthouse escape attempt will begin. Her defense is now the most urgent question facing American trade unionists and youth.

Nixon and the capitalist class are not out to murder Angela Davis simply because she is an individual militant. Nixon is preparing the groundwork for a war on workers and youth themselves, to drive down their wages and push them onto the unemployment lines.

Nixon knows that the working class is going to fight back as it already is in the wave of strikes sweeping the country. Nixon seeks to behead this movement of its leadership.

But Nixon does not face this trial with confidence. Rather than strengthening his attacks the victory of Angela Davis can be a tremendous blow against them. The commuting of the death sentences in the trial of the Burgos 16 in Spain shows the way forward in this fight. The seemingly impenetrable power of the fascist Franco regime was dealt a blow because of the tremendous mobilization of the Spanish working class and youth which brought Spain to the brink of civil war.

This is what Nixon fears above all. This is why he has invited 14 Russian scientists who appealed to Nixon to free Angela Davis to attend the trial as observers. The defense of Angela Davis is becoming the cause of workers and youth all over the world. Nixon's invitation is an attempt to gloss the trial with judicial impartiality but this plan will not succeed.

The defense of Angela Davis is beginning to be taken up in key sections of the labor movement. A Detroit Labor Committee to Defend Angela Davis has been formed and is getting a big response from auto workers. Local 1199 the hospital workers union in New York is supporting the case.

However it will not be enough to rely on the formal support and token protest of the labor leaders. What these leaders refuse to do is mobilize their ranks in mass demonstrations all over the country and go on the offensive against the Nixon government.

### ACTION

If there is one lesson of the whole extradition proceedings it is that protest and appeals to her constitutional rights will not win her freedom. Only the action of the working class and youth can drive back this attack. Every trade unionist must take the initiative in fighting for support and action by his union in defense of Angela Davis. With this perspective we can do here what was done in Spain.

## Militant Clerks Deliver Setback To Northwest

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS—Over 3,400 members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) ended a difficult and prolonged strike at Northwest Orient Airlines, over five months in duration, on December 13.

What was significant in this strike is that a predominantly lower-paid section of workers, mainly young workers with little trade union experience, for five months successfully defied all the attempts of Northwest Airlines president Donald Nyrop to smash their union, and forced Northwest management to grant improvements in benefits and work rules.

The determination, militancy and solidarity of the clerks dealt a big setback to Nyrop's method of running his airline along the lines of a pre-Civil War southern plantation. What had been considered the weakest union at Northwest had shown that its ranks meant business, that they intended to carry forward the offensive that the working class as a whole has been on in the present period.

Although making few gains on the company's "final offer" prior to the beginning of the strike on July 8, the clerks got back to work agreement that

prohibits new hiring in each job category until every striker has been called back. Members of the Machinists and Transport Workers, who had honored BRAC picket lines got similar back to work agreements.

This settlement was a partial victory for the clerks, in the sense that they were able to achieve this much despite their leadership—and in many cases, their lack of leadership.

Nyrop had used, by letter, by word of mouth and by newspaper ads, every imaginable appeal and provocation to get the clerks to scab and quit the union.

Northwest management had expected the clerks union to collapse on the first day of the strike. When this failed, they sought aid from the courts, which limited the number of pickets and banned picketing of Northwest construction sites.

The Metropolitan Airports Com-

mission then followed up by placing pickets at the Twin Cities airport under surveillance from Minneapolis, St. Paul and Airports Commission police forces.

These were among the major obstacles faced by the clerks during the strike.

The top leadership of BRAC, especially international president C.L. Dennis, did everything they could to restrain and sabotage the Northwest strike. With a railway strike deadline coming up, Dennis knew that a victory at Northwest would bolster the militancy of the railway clerks. And this would mean the break-up of the cozy relationships between the railway union leaders and the federal government built up over the last fifty years.

Unable to force through a sellout package on November 11, Dennis then cut off the Northwest clerks' strike funds. But they held out for another month.

### RAILWAY

Finally, on December 10, Dennis found himself forced to lead a national railway strike, which he called off as soon as he could find an excuse, after eighteen hours. The railway clerks came very close to going beyond Dennis and striking in defiance of both him and Nixon. Only the type of leadership necessary to carry this forward had been lacking.

And it was only in the aftermath of the retreat from strike action on the railways that a settlement was pushed through at Northwest.

To avoid being put on the spot, the leadership of BRAC at Northwest refused to speak for or against the contract offer, on the grounds that they did not want to prejudice the vote. It was on the basis of this lack of leadership, and the lack of any alternative, that caused most clerks to accept this contract.

### LEADERSHIP

It is only by building a new leadership in the union that the struggle of the Northwest strikers will be taken forward. At Northwest itself, the next steps will include forcing management to abide by its back to work agreement; preventing the introduction of speedup techniques, especially on the loading and unloading of passengers and baggage on the new 747's; and stopping any attempt to discipline or discharge union militants.

picket lines. On Christmas day, hundreds of workers' wives and their children marched on the company president's house.

### PROVOKED

Union Electric workers are particularly bitter against the regime of the company's current president. He openly states that he is out to "cut costs" by laying off large numbers of employees. Even the union leadership states that the current strike was provoked by the company in order to "break the union" through nullification of the gains made by the union on work rules.

The attempt of the company to make a control technician replace a glass viewing screen is no small matter as the press claims. Instead of calling on maintenance men who were on duty at the time, the company insisted that the control technician in effect do two jobs. If carried to its logical conclusion, this can only lead to permanent layoffs of maintenance workers and speedups for operating engineers.

The sharpness of the struggle is posed in the incident on one night when several holes were shot into an electric transformer in Mitchell, Illinois. The transformer burned up when the oil drained out.

### DEMONSTRATION

Meanwhile, Operating Engineers Local 2 workers for the Missouri State Highway Department have stated that they will

refuse to remove snow from the highways this winter unless they get the kind of pay raise promised them earlier.

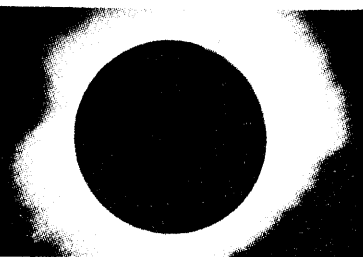
This only reflects the growing fiscal crisis of state and local governments. A number of school districts in Missouri have closed due to lack of funds and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees recently held a demonstration of state workers in Jefferson City demanding a fifty dollar raise for state welfare and mental health employees. The union released information showing that some of its employees earn such low wages that they are forced to apply for welfare benefits to supplement their incomes.

The developments in St. Louis, one of the major industrial areas of the country, shows the determination of labor to beat back the attempts of the employers to drive back wages and take back gains on job security and working conditions. They also pose the urgency of building a new leadership in the labor movement.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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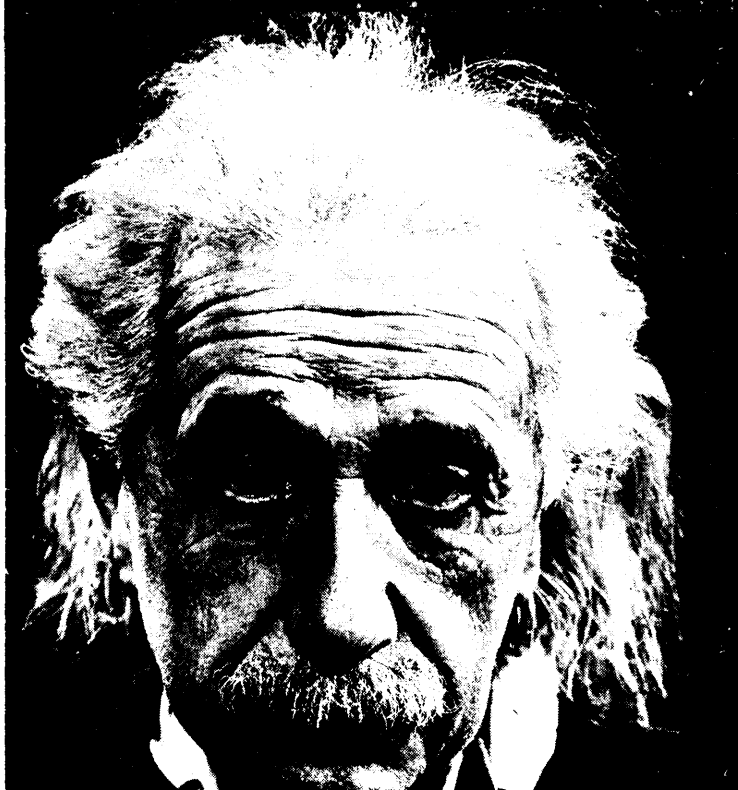
# SCIENTIFIC WORLD



## Materialism versus idealism: Einstein's relativity

PART TWO

BY MARTIN ZARROP



Albert Einstein

**LET US** suppose that you awake one morning and find yourself inside a closed box. In order to gain information about the motion of the box, you perform a simple experiment.

Take two coins (of different denominations) from your pocket, hold them apart at arm's length and release them.

If the coins remain motionless, what conclusions can be drawn?

The most obvious one—probably brought to mind by seeing TV pictures of the Apollo astronauts—is that the box has been transported to some region of outer space, far distant from any massive object.

In other words, we may conclude that gravity is absent and that the coins, therefore, continue to 'float'.

However, we may alternatively draw the conclusion that the box and its contents are falling freely in a gravitational field. As all objects fall with the same acceleration, the simple experiment that our observer has performed would yield the same result.

Therefore the principle of equivalence does not allow the observer to differentiate immediately between 'free fall' under gravity and no gravity at all.

We have to add the word 'immediately' for the following reason.

If the box was falling in the earth's gravitational field, then the coins would move towards each other as the earth's centre approached.

This is because the 'vertical' lines traced out by falling bodies converge at the centre.

Such an effect would not appear for our 'outer-space' observer (except a negligible one due to small gravitational attraction of the coins for each other).

Therefore the free-falling

observer only 'eliminates' the gravitational field 'locally'—but the field itself maintains a real existence, gravity is a real force.

We can draw a parallel with our 'everyday' view of the earth itself. We can assume for most purposes that the surface in our immediate vicinity is flat, wherever we may be. However, we know that, overall, the earth is (approximately) spherical.

In other words, we can only 'eliminate' gravity locally, just as we can only 'eliminate' the curvature of the earth locally. Neither the 'roundness' of a sphere nor gravity are illusory.

Let us now return to our 'general' observer, enjoying his ride on the big dipper.

If he is completely enclosed and unable to watch the scenery go by or feel the wind, he may interpret his sensations in terms of a changing force of gravity.

At the top of a loop he feels lighter, at the bottom he feels heavier.

As he travels round a bend, gravity appears to change direction. Close your eyes next time you are on a big dipper and try it!

Here we have the box experiment in reverse—instead of 'eliminating' gravity, we appear to 'create' it.

We have therefore reached the position at which we can say that an observer executing the most complex acrobatics can be considered equivalent to a stationary observer being influenced by some complex gravitational force.

To take a simple case: it has been proposed by space scientists to construct space stations in the form of rotating wheels.

The rotation creates a 'force' and all bodies, including the astronauts, are held to the rim of the wheel as if it were motionless and a real gravitational field existed. For the astronauts, 'down' is 'away from the hub'.

The equivalence principle has therefore eliminated the need for special observers. In fact, every observer can be considered 'special' if we are

allowed to 'manipulate' gravity.

Einstein's general theory of relativity expresses this mathematically—if there are no special observers, then the form of the laws of nature must be the same for every observer.

In this way, the equivalence principle is built into natural law from the start and therefore so is gravity.

For Einstein this was the strength of his theory:

'The possibility of explaining the numerical equality of inertia and gravitation by the unity of their nature gives to the general theory of relativity, according to my conviction, such a superiority over the conceptions of classical [i.e. Newtonian] mechanics, that all the difficulties encountered in development must be considered as small in comparison.' ('Meaning of Relativity', p. 57.)

Difficulties there certainly were. Einstein's equations are complex and their solution involves lengthy mathematical calculations in the few cases where they can be solved.

However, two things were essential.

Firstly that, where the gravitational field is weak, we must be able to get back (as an approximation) to Newton's theory of gravitation and, secondly, that the new theory should predict new qualities of matter, detectable in practice.

Einstein himself verified that his theory 'contained' that of Newton and also 'transcended' it. It reveals a real unity of inertia and motivity.

Whereas Newton has to express quite separately the force of gravity and the motion of matter acted on by gravity, they appear as inseparable in Einstein's theory.

His experimental predictions are far more difficult to check. Quantitative differences with Newton are infinitesimally small and require highly refined techniques to detect.

Probably the most famous prediction concerned the planet Mercury, the nearest to the sun. Astronomers could not account completely for Mercury's orbit even when the disturbances caused by the

gravitational fields of all the known planets were included.

The discrepancy was extremely small but detectable. The orbit of Mercury was slowly rotating round the sun, taking about three million years for each revolution.

Perhaps some unknown planet, situated between Mercury and the sun was the cause? Calculations were made and the necessary properties of such a body were estimated, but the astronomers could detect nothing. Vulcan, the new planet, didn't exist.

Einstein's theory, applied to the movement of a planet round the sun, predicted the rotation as a new quality of planetary motion.

The 'discrepancy' was a necessary part of Mercury's motion. Quantitatively, the agreement between observation and theoretical prediction was almost 100 per cent!

Only two other predictions have been checkable experimentally, with satisfactory results for Einstein.

The regions where Einstein's theory will be decisively tested and its limits discovered will probably be where the most powerful gravitational fields occur—the interior of stars—unless we are able to create such fields in the laboratory.

For a theory so little tested in the laboratory, its persistence over 55 years stands as a tribute to its firm theoretical foundations.

**ON AN astronomical scale, gravity is the dominant force.**

Although it is extremely weak in comparison with those forces which come into play within the atom (and is therefore neglected in fundamental particle theory), it far 'outdistances' the atomic forces.

While the latter are effective over distances of about a millionth of a centimetre, the gravitational pull of a

planet such as the Earth can be considered to extend millions of miles into space and, in fact, never vanishes completely.

It decides whether or not a body can 'hold' an atmosphere (the moon can't), just as surely as it governs the motion of the planets round the sun at distances of thousands of millions of miles.

Astronomical observation also supports the conclusion that gravitational attraction is responsible for the rotation of certain neighbouring stars around each other and that, therefore, gravity is not something peculiar to our small corner of the universe.

The gravitational field is an all-pervading form of 'matter in motion', which suggests that any theory of gravitation, including both Einstein's and Newton's, should lead us to certain conclusions about the structure of the physical universe as a whole.

However, we must insist that Einstein's general relativity is not a final, all-embracing theory that can tell us 'everything' about the universe, all the 'fine detail'.

## 'Holes'

In fact, being a theory of gravitation, even solid matter, as well as the electromagnetic field, can be taken into account only as 'external' factors, introduced artificially. Solid matter, insofar as it appears naturally, does so as 'holes' in the gravitational field, the content of the 'holes' being open to conjecture, as far as relativity is concerned.

Astronomical observation, particularly with the use of the radio-telescope, has given us a fairly detailed picture of the observable universe.

On this scale, the distances involved are so immense that it is necessary to deal in light-years rather than miles.

As light travels about six million million miles in a year, we can begin to grasp the 'smallness' of our own solar system.

The moon is a mere one-and-a-third light-seconds away while a trifling distance of eight light-minutes separates us from the sun.

At the speed of light you can be out of the solar system in 5½ hours!

The nearest star (not visible from the northern hemisphere) is Proxima Centauri and at a distance of 4.2 light-years (l.y.) it is about a million times further away from us than the nearest planet.

However, looking up into the sky, it is apparent that the stars do not form a uniform pattern.

On a clear moonless night, the Milky Way—a great belt of mainly faint stars—is seen to stretch from horizon to horizon.

In fact, it forms part of a complete circle dividing the sky into two equal halves.

It has been concluded that our sun is part of a system of 200 billion stars—the galaxy—shaped like a disk or a watch.

The disk is about 20,000 l.y. across and 1,000 l.y. thick.

When we gaze at the Milky Way, we are seeing the galaxy 'edge-on'.

It has been calculated that our sun is very close to the central plane of the galaxy and about halfway from its centre to the rim.

What lies outside the galaxy?

If by this we mean concentrations of solid matter, then we will have to travel 1½ million l.y. until we reach . . . another galaxy.

In fact, galaxies (extragalactic nebulae) appear at fairly regular intervals in space at approximately this distance between neighbours.

Astronomers have observed millions of such star-systems with optical and radio telescopes that can 'see' hundreds of millions of light-years into space.

It is useful to use a scale model in order to grasp the relative magnitudes of the tremendous distances involved.

The earth, travelling 1,200 times faster than an express train, makes a journey of 600 million miles around the sun every year.

Let us represent this journey by a pin-head one-sixteenth of an inch in diameter.

This fixes the scale of our model and shrinks the sun to a speck of dust less than a three-thousandth of an inch in diameter!

The nearest star in the sky must be placed 225 yards away and to contain even the hundred stars nearest to our sun, we must build our model a distance of a mile in every direction.

## Encompass

To encompass our galaxy we need to cover an area considerably larger than the continent of Asia and then travel about 30,000 miles to reach the next galactic system.

Even on this scale, therefore, we would still have to go some millions of miles to reach the edge of the observable universe.

The total number of stars in our model would be comparable to the number of specks of dust in London.

However, to scale, we need to put the specks about a quarter of a mile apart.

This gives some idea of how empty space is of solid matter—about equivalent to six specks of dust in Waterloo Station, evenly spaced out!

It is so low 'on the average' that if we take a sphere whose radius stretches from here to the nearest star and fill it with matter at the average density, the total mass of its contents would equal that of only 100 gallons of water, approximately.

This picture is, of course, simplified.

The 'gaps' between the stars and the galaxies contain regions of gas as well as gravitational fields, electromagnetic fields and other radiation.

One of the problems, for example, which has not yet been resolved is where 'cosmic rays' come from—showers of high-energy particles which originate in outer space and find their way to Earth.

It has also been discovered that the Earth is continually bombarded with intense beams of fundamental particles called neutinos, which are so penetrating and interact so weakly with solid matter that they pass right through the earth without being stopped.

It requires several light-years of solid lead to stop a neutrino beam!

This then is the overall picture of the universe as revealed by experiment; 'matter in motion' taking many different forms.

This raises a number of problems.

## Valid

Why should we assume that Einstein's theory is valid over such vast distances?

Firstly, because of the long-range nature of the gravitational force and, secondly, because of Mach's Principle.

If we are convinced that the inertial properties of a

body in the solar system are not determined by 'absolute space', but by a necessary interaction with other matter, then we are forced to consider the system of galaxies 'as a whole'.

Why? Suppose that inertia was determined only by the distribution of matter in our own galaxy.

Because the galaxy is disk-shaped and not spherical, we would expect to find different 'resistances' to moving a body in the plane of the galaxy from moving it out of this plane.

No such effect has been detected and we must therefore go further afield—to the system of galaxies, fairly evenly distributed throughout space.



Nebula NGC 891 in Andromeda, seen edge-on. If this were our own galaxy, the cross would be the approximate position of the sun.

There is one important property of this system that we haven't mentioned.

The universe appears to be expanding, in the sense that the galaxies are moving away from each other.

Our nearest 'neighbours' are receding at about 150 miles per second and the velocity increases with distance.

If we take a galaxy which is five times further away, it recedes five times as fast and so on.

## Static

The main difficulty with the attempts at developing a model of the universe during the 19th century was the assumption that the universe was static.

In particular, this led to the astounding conclusion that if the stars were evenly spread out over the whole of space then, instead of seeing a dark sky at night, we should observe the entire sky burning with the intensity of a star's surface!

This 'paradox' (due to Olbers, 1826) is resolved once the expansion is taken into account and this was verified experimentally in the 1920s by Hubble and his co-workers.

However, Newtonian theories of the universe (cosmologies) are merely of academic interest, in the sense it is assumed today that Einstein's work has superseded them.

However, once we try and build an Einsteinian model of the universe we seem to get rather strange results.

For instance, Einstein's original static model turned out to be both infinite yet bounded.

If an observer travelled far enough he could return to his starting point!

Straight lines somehow become loops—all the assumptions that we hold as 'obvious' about geometry are challenged.

**THE WORD 'geometry'**—at least for those who can recall their school-

days—usually conjures up the memory of sitting for long hours, poring over incomprehensible tangles of lines and attempting to prove various theorems which appeared to have little to do with anything.

The theorems themselves follow from a small number of assumptions (axioms) which were laid down by the Greek mathematician Euclid and form a logically consistent system.

For the modern geometer (or any pure mathematician) the question of whether these assumptions, or the conclusions that can be drawn from them, have any connection with the real world is unimportant.

However, Euclid's work in geometry (literally, 'earth measurement') attempted to establish certain 'truths' about the structure of the universe.

For our purpose, the main conclusions of Euclidean geometry are that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points and that two parallel lines never meet.

Until the advent of Einstein's general theory of relativity, these truths about the real world were never challenged, even though Lobachevsky in 1826 showed that it was possible to construct other 'geometries' by omitting certain of Euclid's axioms.

Certainly, Newton took it as read that we live in a 'three-dimensional Euclidean space' and, as with his theories of mechanics and gravitation, this assumption holds good providing we remain within certain limits, which we have already discussed.

We reject absolute space apart from matter and consider space as the quantitative aspect of matter's extension.

## Fields

Between material bodies, there exist physical fields (gravitational, electromagnetic, nuclear, etc.) and when we talk about the structure of 'space', we are in fact discussing the structure of these fields.

In other words, we replace Newton's statement that 'absolute space is three-dimensional Euclidean space' by 'within certain limits, 3-D Euclidean geometry is an accurate approximation to the structure of real, physical fields'.

Cosmic space—the space of Einstein's general theory—is the quantitative aspect of the gravitational field's extension.

It is in this way that geometry and gravitation become linked.

Space and geometry are no longer part of a fixed background against which matter moves, acted on, by disembodied forces. There is a continuous interaction between material bodies and the gravitational field and Einstein had to develop a geometry which reflected the field's structure.

Einstein found it necessary to develop his theory mathematically through a geometry originally developed by Riemann. Because of the intimate connection between space and time (see part I) this geometry is four-dimensional, by which we mean that any point is fixed by four co-ordinates—three for space and one for time.

Einstein calls such a point an 'event'. Minkowski showed in 1908 how 4-D geometry could be used as a framework for the special theory.

'Nobody has ever noticed a place except at a time,' he said, 'or a time except at a place'.

In Minkowski's mathematical world, the universe is stripped to the limit of its physical qualities. All that remains is a space-time skeleton, the four-dimensional bones.

Einstein takes over Minkowski's method in his general theory. It is at this point that the mathematical vultures descend and, aided by a multitude of god-fearing physicists, attempt to confuse the issue.

## Reality

The mathematical model becomes the reality and the real world vanishes. The physicist Hermann Weyl refers to 'the constructive mathematical method of our modern physics, which repudiates "qualities"'. In other words, it is the mathematical symbols (expressing quantities) which are real, while the qualitative aspects of processes are illusory!

Sir James Jeans is even more explicit. He tells us: 'The theory of relativity washes away the ether. . . . The so-called electric and magnetic forces, then, are not physical realities. . . . They are not even objective, but are subjective mental constructs' i.e. abstract symbols reflecting . . . nothing! They are 'waves of knowledge'!

Here we have the usual idealist confusion between the theoretical reflection of reality and reality itself.

An architect may design a house by drawing its plan and elevation on a (two-dimensional) sheet of paper, but this cannot replace the real, three-dimensional dwelling!

In Einstein's theory, the mathematical model gives us a picture of the real world as a projection into 3-D of a 4-D structure, similar to the relation between the house and the architect's plan. In this case, it is the 'plan' which is real.

In order to get an idea of what the 4-D picture tells us, consider the surface of a sphere. Suppose that a flat, two-dimensional creature lives on it and has no conception of motion other than along the surface.

His 'world' would be far different from Newton's and his 'geometry' would bear little resemblance to Euclid's.

If he moved in a 'straight line', he would in fact trace out part of a circle. This is the shortest distance between two points (or geodesic) on a sphere. If he continued along this path, he would return to his starting point!

## Unbounded

Secondly, parallel lines meet. If two of the flatmen start at the 'equator' and move 'northwards' (i.e. in parallel directions) along 'straight lines', then their paths intersect at the 'north pole'!

Finally, the surface of a sphere is finite but unbounded. It has a measurable area, but our creatures can travel forever without coming to an edge.

This gives an idea of some of the models of the universe put forward and derived from relativity theory. If we suppose that our sphere is a balloon which is being inflated and represent the galaxies as ink spots evenly spaced on its surface, then our observer (without occupying a special position in his universe) sees the galaxies as receding away from him.

This appears to be close to



our own view of the universe.

However, the limits of the 4-D models are open to experimental investigation and it is early days yet.

The limitations of Einstein's theory have already been discussed. It describes the gravitational field alone and in its original form solid matter and electromagnetism had to be introduced artificially.

In 'The Meaning of Relativity', Einstein says:

'The starting point of the theory was the recognition of the unity of gravitation and inertia (principle of equivalence). . . . The principle of

equivalence, however, does not give any clue as to what may be 'the more comprehensive mathematical structure on which to base the treatment of the total field comprising the entire physical reality. . . . The first problem is: how can the field structure be generalized in a natural way?' (pp. 127-128.)

This search for the 'Unified Field Theory' preoccupied Einstein for most of his life—how to generalize his theory so that physical fields, other than the gravitational field, would be included in a 'natural' way.

However, Einstein admits

that (as yet) no physical principle like the equivalence principle is forthcoming on which to base such a generalized theory and that therefore he is looking for a 'natural' mathematical extension.

### Weakness

This is the basic weakness of all such attempts that have been made. Mathematicians and physicists have constructed models of five (and even more) dimensions to no avail.

What we have attempted to show throughout these articles is that space, time, mass and energy are quantitative aspects

of four mutually related modes of existence of matter—extension, motion, inertia and motivity.

Insofar as Einstein based his work on this approach, he made giant steps forward.

His attempts to generalize his theory to include all phenomena came to a dead end.

The fragmentation of science in the 20th century, together with the uneven development of scientific research, made his attempts all the more futile.

Billions of dollars have been spent on lines of research, particularly into fundamental particles, in the drive for new

forms of energy and more powerful weapons. Gravitational theory has remained for the most part of academic interest.

'If it works use it'—this empirical thinking coupled with massive funds has yielded results up to a point, but now runs into immense difficulties.

Einstein stands out as the last great theoretical physicist of his generation. Insofar as he proceeded from materialist conceptions—although he was never a Marxist—it is necessary to defend his work against all those who have attempted to obscure this essential core of his earlier theories.



# Stalinism perverts science: THE CASE OF LYSENKO

The second of two articles  
by MARTIN ZARROP

materialism and on the revolutionary principle of changing nature for the benefit of the people(!)'.  
As explained in our last article (December 18, 1969), the environment of a living organism does not enter directly into hereditary change, but indirectly, through natural selection of random genetic mutations.

Let us emphasize that this describes the main features of the process, to be made more precise and filled out in the light of research. This does exclude the possibility of discovering the laws of development of a single gene or the mechanism behind the 'random' mutations.

Neither does it exclude the possibility of some weak, direct interaction between the environment and the genetic material.

The investigation of such processes has to await a further refinement of the techniques of genetic engineering.

### ACCEPTANCE

Certainly, an acceptance of the main features of the hereditary process, described above, as a final theory has to be rejected as idealist and leads to the concept of the gene as an 'unmoved mover'. Any possibility of explaining the mutation mechanism would then have to be dismissed.

However, in attacking such a mechanistic interpretation of genetics, Lysenko and his followers throw out the baby with the bath water and denounce the gene as metaphysical!

LYSENKO emerged from the 1939 conference on genetics with his position considerably strengthened. However, in spite of this, research into neo-Mendelian genetics was still proceeding in various institutes.

As late as 1945-1946, the Academy of Sciences was considering whether the best way of dealing with the controversy would be to create a new Institute of the Academy, under the neo-Mendelian Dubinin, in addition to the Institute of Genetics, which had come under the control of Lysenko.

The bureaucracy had other plans.

The devastation wrought by the invasion of Hitler's armies, reinforcing the catastrophic effects of Stalin's turn to forced collectivization, now made it imperative to find some short-cut solution to the problems facing Soviet agriculture.

Lysenko's work seemed to offer a solution which fitted the Soviet bureaucracy's every requirement.

His theory could be summed up in the following statements by Michurin:

'We cannot wait for favours from Nature; we must wrest them from her. . . . It is possible, with man's intervention, to force any form of animal or plant to change more quickly and in a direction desirable to man'.

This was integrated with the theory of 'socialism in one

country' in its most ultranationalist phase and became synonymous with the statement:

'For Russian biological science, nothing is impossible.'

To suggest otherwise—in particular, to believe that neo-Mendelian genetics was anything other than a foreign conspiracy—was unpatriotic and tantamount to treason.

The stage was therefore set to destroy neo-Mendelism once and for all.

In 1948, the neo-Mendelians were invited to express their views in the columns of the Moscow Literary Gazette. Several took the opportunity of restating the case for genetics and were attacked by Lysenko and the philosopher Prezent.

Having brought the neo-Mendelians 'into the open', a special session of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences was called to deliver the coup de grace.

Academician B. M. Zavadovsky's contribution to the discussion on Lysenko's opening report indicates the nature of the 'debate':

'I think that the conditions under which the session has been organized have not been quite normal, for all those deservedly placed—and particularly those undeservedly placed—in the category of Weismannist-Mendelists have not been given adequate facilities to prepare themselves and to give free and full expression to their views . . . only on July 30 [the day before the opening sitting] did I receive official intimation that this session

was to take place' (Proceedings, p. 335).

Thus, from the beginning of the session, the neo-Mendelians were put on the defensive and for eight days were the subject of a blistering attack, which spared nothing in distortion and abuse. The main attack on neo-Mendelism was outlined in Lysenko's opening address:

'Socialist agriculture, the collective and state farming, has given rise to a Soviet biological science, founded by Michurin—a science new in principle [i.e. not reflecting objective reality!—developing in close union with agronomical practice . . . Morgan's feeble metaphysical "science" . . . can stand no comparison with our effective Michurinist agrobiological science' (Proceedings, p. 18. Our emphasis).

The insistence on scientific theory having an immediate, direct link with scientific practice (completely at variance with the historical development of science) leads to a completely pragmatic approach to problems and a rejection of theory. The following interchange reveals this clearly.

'G. A. Babajanyan: . . . Who wants what by their very nature are useless Drosophilas [fruit flies used in breeding experiments]?

'J. A. Rapoport: But there are useful mutations, and many of them. Why do you shut your eyes to them?

'G. A. B.: Firstly, because they are useful mutations for a useless object. (Applause)' (Proceedings, p. 163).

Throughout, 'the unity of theory and practice' is used to reject science in favour of 'what is useful'.

In the long run, Stalinist

wishful thinking could not change the nature of objective reality one iota, let alone resolve the problem of developing 'socialist agriculture' within the context of 'socialism in one country'.

Of course, claiming to be the heirs of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Lysenkoists had to condemn neo-Mendelism as idealist as against 'Michurin's materialist direction in biology . . . based on dialectical



Stalin's policy of 'forced collectivization' was at the root of the crisis in Soviet agriculture—Stalin thought Lysenko's theory would solve this chronic crisis.

\* 'The Situation in Biological Science'. Proceedings of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences of the USSR. Session: July 31-August 7, 1948, p. 34.

**Prezent:** 'Nobody will be led astray by the Morganists' false analogies between the invisible atom and the invisible gene. Far closer would be an analogy between the invisible gene and the invisible spirit' (p. 602).

**Lysenko:** 'In general, living nature appears to the Morganists as a medley of fortuitous, isolated phenomena, without any necessary connections and subject to no laws.

'Chance reigns supreme . . . they reduce biological science to mere statistics. . . . This "science" therefore . . . condemns practical workers to fruitless waiting. There is no effectiveness in such science. With such a science it is impossible to plan, to work toward a definite goal; it rules out scientific prediction' (p. 615).

This is nonsense from beginning to end.

The existence of random processes at the genetic level by no means rules out 'scientific prediction'.

Mendel's laws are not 'mere statistics' but the working out at a particular level of real processes taking place at the genetic level.

Lysenko's position is equivalent to rejecting the laws of chemical reaction because the laws governing the motion of the fundamental particles (quantum theory) are probabilistic.

Similarly, it is possible for insurance companies to calculate life expectancy, despite the fact that it is impossible to predict the time or manner of death of a particular human being.

In rejecting neo-Mendelism as a starting-point for further development, Lysenko retreats completely into idealism by trying to fit 'the facts' into a formalized pseudo-Marxist scheme.

The hereditary process has to be a function of the organism 'as a whole'; the organism and its environment have to be taken as a unity.

The interaction process remains mysterious. Why bother about such problems when 'Michurin teaching . . . elucidates profound (!) theoretical problems by solving important problems of socialist agriculture' (p. 616)?

The 1948 conference went on its nightmarish way and reached the inevitable conclusion.

In summing up the 'discussion', Lysenko begins:

'Comrades, before I pass to my concluding remarks, I consider it my duty to make the following statement. The question is asked in one of the notes handed to me [how opportune!]: What is the attitude of the Central Committee of the Party to my report? I answer: The Central Committee of the Party examined my report and approved it. (Stormy applause. Ovation. All rise.)' (p. 605).

The bureaucracy had spoken. The stamp of approval had been given to the main lines of Lysenko's report even before the session had begun and any illusion that the participants had been involved in a discussion on genetics was finally shattered.

Nothing was left but the expected recantations and a torrent of praise for 'the great friend and protagonist of science, our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin'.

Following Lysenko's closing speech, three of the participants, Academician P. M. Zhukovsky, S. I. Alikhanian and I. M. Polyakov, confessed their sins and pledged themselves to fight for Michurinism.

A letter to 'the great Stalin, the leader of the people and coryphaeus of progressive science', followed by a resolution calling for all biological work to be reorganized in line with Michurinism finally



Despite Soviet propaganda claims of rich harvests, the application of Lysenko's theories to Soviet agriculture ended in failure, culminating in the disaster of the 'virgin land' programme.

brought this obscene charade to an end.

## PROPOSALS

The proposals for the reorganization of all work in the biological sciences were immediately implemented. On August 26, 1948, the Praesidium of the Academy of Sciences met and passed 12 resolutions to the effect that:

- The cell-research laboratory, headed by N. P. Dubinin, shall be abolished as unscientific and useless.

- The Bureau of the Division of Biological Sciences shall be charged with the preparation of plans for scientific research for the years 1948-1950. In this the Bureau shall be guided by Michurin's teaching and shall adjust the scientific research work of biological institutes to the needs of the national economy.

- The composition of Scientists' Councils at biological institutes and editorial boards of biological publications shall be checked with the object of removing from them the partisans of neo-Mendelism and of replacing them by supporters of progressive Michurinite biology.

- The Division of History and Philosophy shall be charged with inclusion in its programme of popularization of the achievements of Michurinism and of the critical exposure of pseudo-scientific neo-Mendelism.

- The Bureau of the Division of Biological Sciences shall revise the syllabuses of biological institutes, bearing in mind the interests of Michurinism.

In other words, the complete liquidation of genetics and its adherents was proposed and rapidly carried through with traditional Stalinist barbarity and thoroughness.

Many western scientists, by no means unsympathetic towards the Soviet Union, were repelled by the events surrounding the genetics controversy.

The eminent geneticist, Julian Huxley, in his book 'Soviet Genetics and World Science' (1949) says:

'I have been very appreciative of the efforts and achievements of the USSR,

especially since my first visit to the country in 1932.

'But appreciation does not exclude criticism; and as a scientist and a believer in internationalism, I cannot help being critical of many aspects of the genetics controversy' (p. x) ' . . . such suppression is in the long run disastrous' (p. 224).

However, no criticism could be tolerated and the Stalinist parties of the west were in the forefront of the defence of Lysenko and the first to condemn his critics as agents of US imperialism.

Two books, in particular, published by Lawrence and Wishart, gave full and unconditional support to Lysenko and attacked the 'scholasticism' of genetics.

James Fyfe in his book 'Lysenko is Right' (1950) repeats the Michurinist arguments against neo-Mendelism and adds:

'Heredity for the farmer is "the property of a living body to require definite conditions for its life, its development and to react definitely to various conditions" and this is T. D. Lysenko's definition of heredity (1946). If an agriculturist is asked to venture an opinion on what the potential value of a new variety or strain or even species is likely to be, he will not ask "What genes has it?" but "What is its history?"' (p. 6).

And again: 'Here we see that the Michurinist view fits hand-in-glove with the approach of the practical worker' (p. 7. Our emphasis).

Note how joyfully the English empiricist embraces the Stalinist 'grass roots' approach!

Fyfe emphasises that Michurin was not alone in his conclusions:

'The American fruit breeder, Luther Burbank, although his breeding methods were very different from Michurin's, summed it up in the following words: "My own studies have led me to be assured that heredity is . . . the sum of all past environments . . ." (Howard, 1945-1946)' (pp. 13-14).

Expressed so precisely, Lysenko's conclusions give everything to the theoreticians

of the fascist counter-revolution. This does not escape Huxley:

'If the effects of the environment are imprinted on or assimilated by heredity, then centuries of poverty, ignorance, disease and oppression should have engrained a most undesirable heredity upon the vast majority of the human species, and engrained it so firmly that a few generations of improved conditions could not be expected to effect much amelioration' ('Soviet Genetics and World Science', p. 187).

The reactionary nature of the philosophy behind 'progressive Michurinism' went 'unnoticed' by Lysenko's apologists, in line with their 'suspension of critical faculties' over the liquidation and deportation of Soviet national minorities and the anti-Semitic abuse surrounding the post-war purges. There could be no examination of the consequences of 'socialism in one country'.

In fact Fyfe justifies this theory as best he can, using the crudest arguments:

'There is a very close parallel between the idea of genes in biology and the political idea of an elite, a "chosen" ruling class . . . The two errors have a common origin—contempt of labour . . . Any sixth-form schoolboy can correctly explain that Greek science came to an end because it developed in a slave society in which manual labour was held in contempt (!) . . . The converse is true. A science which recognizes labour as the ultimate source of all progress can never end in sterility and must come closer to the truth' (pp.38-39).

The building of socialism as an international task of the proletariat, based on the highest development of the productive forces achieved under capitalism, is here degraded and turned inside out to fit in with the national requirements of the Soviet bureaucracy. Perhaps Greek science would have continued to flourish, given the efforts of a battalion of Stakhanovites!

Fyfe's book was quickly followed by Dr A. G. Morton's 'Soviet Genetics' (1951).

Morton takes up the scientific and philosophical questions in some detail and in developing Lysenkoism sticks his neck out:

'Indeed, to speak of the self-reproduction of the gene betrays an extraordinary confusion of thought. For a molecule of nucleoprotein can no more reproduce itself than can a molecule of water. The reproduction of specific substances is a property of living systems and not of nucleoprotein . . .' (p. 52).

Here it is Morton who betrays an extraordinary confusion of thought, for if reproduction is a property of 'living systems' alone, the questions concerning the detailed processes within such systems and how life arose from inorganic matter cannot be answered, except in a circular way or by an appeal to 'spontaneous generation'.

## VITAL FORCE

In any case, Morton comes close to the 'vital force' which, he says, 'finds its last refuge in the gene' (p. 52).

Moreover, in order to avoid the problems of cell structure, Morton tries to make out a case for no persistent structure at all.

Briefly, he argues (pp. 128-130) that structure appears when cells are interfered with or damaged. It suffices to say that the fifties and sixties have yielded a wealth of knowledge concerning both cell-structure and the finest details of the reproductive process (see Workers Press, December 4), without the aid of Michurinism.

ism.

Stalin's Fabian friends could, of course, be relied upon to back Lysenko. In 1949, Bernard Shaw wrote an article supporting the action of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

In it he states that 'no criminal militant reactionary can be excused on the ground that his actions are not his own . . . The real issue is between the claim of the scientific profession to be exempted from all legal restraint in the pursuit of knowledge, and the duty of the state to control it in the general interest as it controls all other pursuits'.

As usual, the generalizations thinly conceal the most abject grovelling before the vilest excesses of the bureaucracy, which remains the hallmark of the official 'left' today.

Not every Party scientist could bring himself to toe the official line.

The geneticist, J. B. S. Haldane, in the 'Modern Quarterly' (Vol. 4, No. 3), came down unequivocally on the side of neo-Mendelism:

'I am a Mendelist-Morganist . . . Morgan and his colleagues made the very great advance of showing that heredity has a material and not a metaphysical basis . . . a Marxist can no more deny a material basis for heredity than for sensation or thought'.

Professor J. D. Bernal, on the other hand, in an accompanying article, evades the issue and says that 'genetics seem due for a change' being in a state of 'most unsatisfactory confusion'.

Bernal, undoubtedly a brilliant physicist, has trimmed his apologies to the prevailing wind with the passing years.

In the 1954 edition of his 'Science in History', Bernal gives Lysenko an eight-page boost and tells us that the controversy involved '15 years of debate (!)' (p. 669).

Just in case we might have misunderstood the first time, the 1969 Penguin edition emphasises the point.

The genetics controversy is condensed into two paragraphs and Bernal states:

'It would be absurd, however, to wait for the unravelling of these [reproductive] mechanisms and to give up attempts to alter heredity by more empirical approaches to its control by varying environmental factors. This apparent contradiction, which is essentially one of emphasis, was the basis for the opposition in the Soviet Union, for instance, of [Michurinism] to Mendelian genetics' (p. 957. Our emphasis).

And again:

'At its height the contestants were mostly talking at cross-purposes' (p. 957).

Yes, it was all a big misunderstanding! Perhaps Prof. Bernal would include the Moscow Trials, the purges and the betrayals of the 'Popular Front' period in the same category?

After all, they fall within the '15 years of debate'—a 'debate' carried out with the labour camp and the firing squad, as Prof. Bernal well knows.

The application of Lysenko's theories to Soviet agriculture ended in failure, culminating in the disaster of Khrushchev's 'virgin land' programme.

With the fall of Khrushchev, Lysenko receded into the background, the crisis of Soviet agriculture remaining unresolved.

After 40 years of collectivization, there can be no solution within the context of 'socialism in one country', whatever pseudo-science may be brought to its defence.



## ATUA Answers Tory's Attacks On British Workers

# Charter Of Basic Rights Adopted

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The Second Annual Conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance, which took place in Birmingham on December 19th, answered the vicious attacks of the six month old Tory government with the 'Charter of Basic Rights' which it adopted as its basis of struggle.

This Tory government, which prepares as Heath stated, "to change the course of history" and for the era of "civil wars," is at present forcing through not only laws to dismantle the trade unions but is taking away every basic right and gain made over the past 200 years in struggle by the working class.

The Tory government proceeds in these attacks with the collaboration of all the traditional reformist leaders in the workers movement aided by the Stalinists and revisionists.

Only the All Trades Unions Alliance and Socialist Labour League demand that the labor and trade union leaders force the Tories to resign through calling a general strike and the call for the election of a Labor government with socialist policies to restore these rights.

The Conference, which had been prepared by discussions in all parts of the country among trade unionists on the Charter of Basic Rights, showed how rapidly the Charter could become a widely popular fighting program for all sections of workers. The 700 delegates and visitors attending the Conference representing almost every industry engaged in a discussion on the nature of the situation since the election of the Tory government, the experiences and the lessons of the working class in that period and the tasks facing them in the building of a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions to prepare to take the power and establish socialism.

The Tory government cannot carry through its program without a major confrontation with the working class. Only revolutionary measures can defend the basic rights of the working class through the mobilization of the mass of the working class around this charter in the struggle to bring down the Tory government.

### CHARTER

The following is the text of the Charter:

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.

To do this they must destroy all the basic rights won by the people, which allow them 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 want to eliminate dangerous and unnecessary jobs. But every worker's right to comparable and continuous employment must be protected.

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 labor.

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

- No Measured-day Work, no intensification of working conditions.
- Full support for any group of workers engaged in wages struggles.
- 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.

Without the right to force out of him what they are entitled to, the working class have nothing.

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 to their struggle.



Delegates vote for Charter of Basic Rights at December 19 All Trades Unions Alliance meeting. Charter maps basis for fight to force the Tories to resign.

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 won in struggle.

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 maintain luxury living for a selected few.

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,

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 to the end.

#### 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 of society? The working class.

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 happen.

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 government out. It has the power to do so, only the hesitation of their leaders stands in the way of this.

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 unionists must fight to force the unions and the Parliamentary Labor 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.

## Montreal Workers League Members Held In Prison

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Montreal—On Thursday, Dec. 17, three members of the Montreal Branch of the Workers League were arrested while handing out leaflets against the settlement of the Canadian GM strike.

Workers had gathered in the Paul Sauve Arena to ratify the new contract. This contract was a clear sellout by the UAW bureaucrats. The chief demand of the workers—parity with U.S. workers—was not obtained. Instead of taking forward the fight to gain this demand, the union gave Canadian workers even less than U.S. workers obtained. Considering that the workers had fought and obtained parity in the 1967 contract, this was one of the most blatant sellouts the UAW bureaucrats have perpetrated on their rank and file in many years.

All across Canada, about 40% of the

workers stayed away from the ratification vote. In some centers, notably Oshawa, the heartland of the Canadian auto industry, militant workers stood and booed the UAW bureaucrats. In Montreal, over one thousand out of a total of 2,300 workers at the Ste. Therese plant stayed away during a heavy snowstorm. Of those that came, 10% voted against the contract.

Workers League members had gone to hand out leaflets as workers filed into the center where the vote was being held, encouraging workers to vote down the contract. After only a few minutes, union goons came out and attacked those handing out leaflets; the members were shoved around and their literature seized, and were threatened with beating if they didn't leave the area within ten minutes. Two of the thugs went into the arena and brought out two detectives from the Montreal police department who arrested the Workers League members. They were held for six hours in prison without being charged and then questioned

by members of the Surete (the Quebec equivalent of the F.B.I.)

The meaning of this is clear! It is for precisely this kind of repression that the War Measures Act was passed. It is designed to stop all opposition to the reign of bourgeoisie in Canada. The War Measures Act, now called the Public Order Act (Temporary Measures), is being used to smash the working class. One member of the Surete told the arrested Workers League members that had the Workers League leaflet contained any reference to the F.L.Q. the Workers League members would have been held in jail without being charged, without being tried, without having recourse to bail, for 21 days.

This kind of terror is being and will be unleashed on the working class and on all those who try to lead the working class in its fight against Trudeau and the bosses' government. These are political attacks, class attacks, and they must be fought in a political way. All workers out to end martial law!

# YSA Convention Makes Sharp Turn

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK, Jan. 1—At its National Conference held here this week, the Young Socialist Alliance made an extremely sharp turn to the right.

The conference took place here, in a city where for the past weeks the government has been threatening to bring in troops if municipal workers strike. It followed by only days the upsurge of the Polish workers against the Stalinist bureaucracy, and it followed the post office strike, the General Electric strike and the auto strike.

The conference made virtually no assessment of the massive movement forward of the working class internationally and in the United States. Although in one of the main resolutions the statement is made that "The May student strike revealed more clearly than ever before the increased social weight and power of the student movement in today's neo-capitalist society," there is no serious assessment even of the meaning of Kent State.

The new motion that is seen developing since the last YSA convention in 1968 is the Gay Liberation movement which was endorsed in the political report, while both the document and report on the Black Struggle made sharp attacks on the Black Panthers, precisely at a time when the Panthers make a turn toward dialectics.

The convention opened with an Interna-

tional Report by Susan LaMont, which stated that the YSA is an internationalist organization, and listed the co-thinkers of the SWP-YSA in France, New Zealand, India and other countries. The "international radicalization of youth" and the student movement was seen as the "backbone" of the movement, developing from the French May-June 1968 events where "students detonated" the massive General Strike.

## NATIONALISM

Along with student power, nationalism was seen as the prime moving force in revolutionary developments internationally and in the United States. The outbreaks in Northern Ireland, Canada, Spain and the Middle East were all seen as "national liberation struggles", with no mention of the international crisis of capitalism and the massive movement forward of the working class in Europe and America. The YSA's policy of fighting to "deepen nationalist consciousness" was at the center of its "International Report," while the fight of the international working class against capitalism was completely absent. Even the fight against the war in Vietnam was not seen

as part of the class struggle internationally, but as a protest movement for self determination.

The Report had been opened with the announcement that Hugo Blanco, a Peruvian revolutionary who has been imprisoned for eight years had just been set free. It went on to cite the YSA's support for the Cuban revolution as an indication of its international perspectives. That Blanco himself had severely criticized Castro for his support to the reactionary military dictatorship in Peru which imprisons socialists and Trotskyists could not be brought up in the convention.

The Report ended with the speaker explaining the origins of the SWP-YSA in the fight by Trotsky against the Stalinist bureaucracy and its policies of peaceful co-existence. But the report itself was a caricature of internationalism and the fight for Marxism which is at the heart of Trotskyism.

The meaning of the fight to "deepen nationalist consciousness" is made clear by the YSA's vicious attacks on the Panthers who while they are under heavy government attack turn to the questions of dialectical materialism and Marxism, fighting to go beyond nationalism.

The International Report was followed directly by the Political Report given by Frank Boehm, which outlined the history and perspectives of the YSA.

Like the previous one, the Political

Report saw the student movement as the "backbone" of revolutionary developments in the U.S. both in the preceding period and in the future.

As the capitalist class openly prepares for taking on the working class in a life or death struggle, as the Tory government in England speaks openly of the prospect of civil war, and as massive workers' demonstrations throughout Europe save Basque prisoners from death through a class fight, the Political Report sought to prepare for battle on the basis of "student movement."

All the theories about the "increased social weight of students in neo-capitalist society" serve only as a cover for the YSA to remain in and adapt to the movement within the middle class, from women's liberation to gay liberation.

The sharpening of the class struggle in the United States, with the whole campaign of repression and the movement of the working class expressed in the 1970 strike wave and rebellions among the youth, throws the YSA into tremendous crisis. They cannot assess the meaning of the Kent State murders and what they must mean for the student movement. This whole development, where a protest demonstration can only lead to death at the hands of the National Guard, signals the break up of protest politics. The movement of the working class onto the scene means that whole sections of

## WL Meeting On World Crisis Takes Up Theoretical Struggle With YSA



Dany Sylveire of SLL speaks on Tory government and new situation for working class. Discussion centered on YSA convention and theoretical struggle on nationalism.

### SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

NEW YORK—Over 100 persons came to a public meeting here on December 29th to hear Dany Sylveire of the British Socialist Labour League and to discuss the meaning of the recent YSA convention.

The meeting, sponsored by the Workers League, featured a speech on "The Tory Government and the New Situation Facing the Working Class." "The Tory Government aided by the Labour and trade union leaders has decided to smash the working class through its anti-union laws," Comrade Sylveire stated. "In doing so it has thrust one of the most conservative working classes in the world along the road of social revolution."

Comrade Sylveire emphasized that this is of the greatest significance for the working class all over the world and in the United States. The Tory Government is acting in concert with the ruling classes of the world and its policies are theirs. Conservative Prime Minister Heath stated their perspective in a speech before the United Nations: "It may be that in the 1970s, civil war, not war between nations will be the main danger we face." It is for this civil war that the bourgeoisie is now preparing and for which we must prepare, she stated.

"It is in this climate of growing class struggle that my organization, the Socialist Labour League, wages a continuous struggle to provide revolutionary leadership for the working class. We were the first revolutionary movement in the world to launch a daily Trotskyist paper on the basis of the money received from working class supporters. We believe that the implications of this great step forward are

very important for the revolutionary forces in the U.S. The more we prepare ourselves theoretically to provide leadership for the working class the more we will be able to find material means to do so."

In conclusion she stated: "As the decks are cleared internationally for a struggle

between the two major classes in society—the middle class movements of the 1960s crumble and the working class comes forward undefeated as a powerful force onto the offensive. The revisionists of Marxism move sharply to the right and are thrown into crisis. So our struggle for principles, for dialectical materialism today becomes a decisive question in the struggle of the working class."

In his introductory remarks at the beginning of the meeting, Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, noted the sharp move to the right on the part of the YSA and saw this as a reflection of the middle class pressure upon that movement under conditions of deepening class struggle. "The SWP and YSA are pushed by these pressures," Wohlforth explained, "because they have abandoned the struggle for dialectical materialism to which Trotsky devoted his life. They have failed to absorb and implement the lessons of Trotsky's last great struggle in 1940 against petty bourgeois pragmatism."

The discussion at the meeting centered on the question of the YSA conference and in particular the position of the YSA on the Black question. A number of the YSA members at the meeting presented the position that Black nationalism was progressive and must be supported. In addition they maintained that the Black Panthers were wrong to break from nationalism and the Workers League was wrong to see anything progressive or even important in Huey Newton's call for dialectical materialism.

This was expressed most clearly by one of the participants who stated that the questions was one of combined and uneven development. While it is true that the main contradiction is one between the ruling class and the working class there are contradictions within the class, particularly racial ones. Since the white working class is not moving it is necessary at this point to develop a Black movement on a Black nationalist basis, he concluded.

Workers League members answered by pointing out that the question was not to adapt to the unevenness of the development on a surface level with the pragmatic method but to penetrate the surface to the essential class level fighting against the divisions within the class. The positions of the YSA is not only to accept but to seek to reinforce these divisions and to deny the crisis and the class struggle which is actually taking place in the United States. They seek to impose a Black nationalist position on the mass of the Blacks precisely in order to avoid the leadership responsibilities posed by this crisis. This is a direct aid to the ruling class.

### FILM

Workers League members pointed out that the YSA strongly attacks the Panthers precisely at the point when the Panthers, through their long experience, reject nationalism and they attack them for their strengths and not their weaknesses. The call of Huey Newton for dialectical materialism is of historic significance because it expresses in a vanguard section of the class a turn towards theory which the class as a whole must make in the coming period as it goes through similar experiences. Above all it points up our responsibilities in fighting for theory as part of the construction of a revolutionary leadership of the class.

The first United States showing of the British Young Socialists film "1970—Year of Lenin and Trotsky" also took place. This film expressed the international scope of the revolutionary movement of youth which requires the development of theory.

## Class Action Gains Freedom For Hugo Blanco

BY MARTY JONAS

On December 22 the Peruvian military dictatorship released 100 political prisoners who had been jailed for their roles in peasant uprisings. Among them was Hugo Blanco, the revolutionary peasant leader who had been serving a 25 year sentence.

The release of Hugo Blanco is a victory for the international working class. It was the culmination of a worldwide campaign for his freedom and was spearheaded by recent actions on his behalf by the trade union movement in Peru. The threat of further actions by the working class forced the generals to grant amnesty to Blanco and the others.

The recent release of Regis Debray as well from a 30 year sentence in a Bol-

ivian prison was only due to the pressure of the working class on the Bolivian junta.

### ANGER

The anger and hostility of millions of workers throughout Europe, especially expressed in the unprecedented strikes in Spain and Italy, forced fascist dictator Franco to commute the death sentences of the six Basque nationalists.

Throughout the world many revolutionaries and militants face rotting in jail or death at the hands of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Angela Davis and the Panthers in New Haven are being railroaded to the gas chamber and the electric chair. In the Soviet Union Grigorenko, Sinyavsky, Amalrik, and other courageous dissidents are being held in asylums or work camps. In Canada the repression of Quebec nationalists as well as socialists and trade

unionists sharpens with each day. Hundreds of workers and youth are still in jail in Poland for their part in last month's uprising against the bureaucracy. In the United States, Workers League supporter Juan Farinas was recently convicted and faces 15 years in jail and \$30,000 fine for trying to bring the fight against the Vietnam war into the U.S. Army.

The release of Hugo Blanco and Regis Debray and the commutations for the Burgos Six show the way forward for the defense of victims of the class struggle. Only campaigns built on the upsurge of the working class can defend these victims and gain their freedom. This offensive of the workers is what terrified the Peruvian generals, the Bolivian generals, and dictator Franco.

The fight for the defense of political prisoners must immediately be brought into the labor movement and the youth.

Free All Political Prisoners!



# Toward The Right

students along with other youth can only come forward with the struggles of the working class.

In the Political Report at this conference, the YSA as it has in the past, was forced to distort its own history in order to explain their open hostility to the working class and youth, and the right wing character of the convention.

Boehm explained that the founding members of the YSA came out of the Social Democratic youth movement, and that through a long struggle built up the Young Socialist paper, and in 1960 officially founded the YSA on the basis of "Where We Stand", a document passed at the founding convention.

## SPLIT

He later went on to explain the split which took place internationally in the Trotskyist movement on the basis that those who founded the YSA "reverted to social democracy" and opposed the Cuban revolution "under the pressure of bourgeois public opinion." Then, Boehm says, "Wohlforth and Robertson formed small sectarian ultraleft grouplets."

What he cannot explain, what he must distort is the origin and development of the Workers League as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International. He cannot explain that in 1958, at the conference where supporters of the Young Socialist newspaper were organized into Young Socialist Supporters clubs, a ten point motion of basic editorial policy was passed, and that this statement, written by Tim Wohlforth, editor of the Young Socialist was incorporated in "Where We Stand" in 1960.

The very first point in this statement was "1. For a labor party by the trade union movement." The seventh point was: "Against further nuclear tests and the buildup of the US war machine. The success of the struggle against the capitalist war danger and for world peace depends upon the success of the struggle for international socialism."

The content of this statement itself makes clear why the YSA cannot go beyond a superficial explanation of "Cuba" as the cause of the split in the international Trotskyist movement.

Since the split which took place in the YSA itself, the YSA has stood upon a repudiation of the basic principles expressed in this document, principles based upon Trotskyism.

The principled fight for dialectical materialism and Marxist theory that was taken up in the SWP by Trotsky in 1940 and carried forward in 1953 through 1963, and today in the fight against Pabloite revisionism, the fight against the pressure of bourgeois ideology within the Marxist movement which is so sharply expressed in this conference, was at the heart of the split in the SWP-YSA.

Masquerading behind the empty lying phrases of "small sectarian grouplet," the YSA today cannot explain the growth and development of either the Workers League or the International Committee of the Fourth International. They cannot explain the development of the Workers Press, the first Trotskyist daily paper in the world; they cannot explain where they stand on their own founding documents. This is why they find it so difficult, when forced by the development of the Workers League to go into their own history, to give a truthful account of that history. To do so would expose every betrayal of the YSA: that they see the fight against imperialist war as middle class protest, not as the class struggle against capitalism; that they see the surface movement of students as the "backbone" of the movement, not the fight for the political independence of the working class for power expressed in the demand for a labor party.

After these reports, the conference was opened for discussion from delegates only. At this point, from all over the country open opposition to the policies of the YSA leadership came to the surface.

One delegate from Long Island raised the question of unemployment, which is very high in that area as well as across the country. She asked if the YSA's policy will be to continue to ignore this question, and pointed out that unemployment and attacks on the working class do not simply "radicalize" workers, but pose great dangers. In Europe in the 1930s, she said, where there were huge attacks on the working class, and where there was no revolutionary leadership, "there were concentration camps from Spain to Russia."

Others, from Chicago, Wisconsin, Bos-

ton, California and other areas raised the question of the working class and the trade union movement and whether the YSA was a student organization or a youth organization.

One delegate from Berkeley posed the question very clearly when he agreed that students are a "detonator" as shown in May-June in France. "But a detonator of what?" he asked, stating that students must fight to be a conscious detonator of the working class, and that the YSA must consciously orient toward the working class, pointing out the upsurge in strikes in the US in the past year.

Throughout the conference, on every issue, the question of the working class came to the surface. Precisely as the situation among GIs in the army begins to explode, the YSA proposed a retreat from work in the army. This was met by opposition from GIs and ex-GIs at the conference who wanted to fight to take the struggle in the army forward. One GI speaker raised the potential for GIs making links with the labor movement in the fight against the war.

## DEMAGOGY

In workshops and panels on the Middle East, delegates and speakers raised the necessity for the construction of a Marxist-Leninist party and the fight for a socialist Middle East, taking up sharply the questions of Zionism and Stalinism. At one point as a delegate spoke on Stalinism and on the role of Al Fatah, the YSA leadership attempted to cut him off, but he won a time extension to complete his presentation, showing that despite the leadership, there was a tremendous interest in this question.

The whole upsurge in the working class and the sharpening situation brings these questions to the fore, and they were not answered by the demagoguery of either Peter

Camejo or Joseph Hansen, both of whom gave speeches at the convention. In their attempts to cover up the sharp rightward swing of the YSA-SWP, Camejo and Hansen's demagoguery only exposed all the more sharply this swing to the right.

Camejo launched into a completely reactionary and idealist talk totally removed from developments in the working class and the objective situation. The

The following is an interview with Army Private Ed Jurenas stationed at Fort Polk in Louisiana. Jurenas was drafted five months ago. He just finished his training and has orders to go to Vietnam on January 5th. Jurenas was interviewed at the recent conference of the Young Socialist Alliance where he spoke on the fight of the GIs against the war.

**Bulletin:** What is the situation in the Army today in relation to GI opposition to the war?

Jurenas: You cannot find a single GI in favor of the war. This is true of all GIs whether they are college graduates or working class youth. Right now the opposition is unorganized. It is expressed through vocal opposition and feelings of helplessness. Morale is very low especially in relation to the thought of going to Vietnam.

While most of the GIs do not have a political consciousness about the war, their feelings against it are manifested in different ways in a rebellious spirit and defiance. There is a spontaneous upsurge of hostility to military authority. There are weekly disturbances on the base. Time after time they have to mobilize the internal guard on the base to put down these disturbances. There are increasing numbers of AWOLs and desertions.

**Bulletin:** How is the brass dealing with this opposition?

Jurenas: They are very much afraid of it. The day before I left the base on leave, one GI got drunk and started arguing with one of the officers. He called the officer an s.o.b. He was fined \$25. This shows the change in the situation. A few years ago he would have been thrown in the stockade and court-martialed. Now they are afraid to take such



Hostility to the working class and sharp right turn at YSA convention exposed the real crisis of revisionism as the class struggle deepens in the U.S. and internationally.

skyist movement after World War II under Pablo.

This is what lies behind the split which the Political Report in the conference had to take up. In 1963 the SWP reunified with the Pabloites, refusing a discussion on the fundamental questions of principle and theory within the international movement. It is the International Committee which probed to the roots of Pabloism, preparing itself theoretically through this struggle for the great movement of the working class today and the building of a leadership of this class.

This fall the Socialist Labour League proposed that discussions take place between the Unified Secretariat and the International Committee. The Unified Secretariat rejected this proposal. When the Workers League proposed to the SWP that joint meetings be held commemorating the death of Trotsky as a common blow against the Stalinists, the SWP-YSA again refused.

The sharp right turn by the YSA at this conference is inextricably tied to the refusal to hold these discussions. But this discussion can no longer be avoided.

The developments within this conference, from the open hostility to Marxism and the working class, to the opposition raised from the floor, expose the fundamental crisis of revisionism. At the heart of this crisis is the failure of the Socialist Workers Party to take up the fight launched by Trotsky in 1940 for the development of dialectics. The SWP refused to face up to the questions involved in the degeneration in the Trot-

an action because things might explode.

## GI Speaks Out On Rebellion In Army

**Bulletin:** What is the reaction among the GIs that are being sent to Vietnam now?

Jurenas: They all say they will avoid contact over there. They are not going to be aggressive or kill. They just want to survive. You hear a lot of talk among the soldiers about how if the lifers over there give them any "static", they will "blow their heads off."

**Bulletin:** There are reports coming out in the press now about the refusal of GIs in Vietnam to fight and about the deterioration of the discipline in the Army. They are attempting to isolate the new men in Vietnam by putting them in guarded camps. Clearly this is not going to solve the problem since the GIs are just as much opposed to the war before they go to Vietnam.

Jurenas: Yes, it's very explosive. I have talked with a number of ex-GIs who are at this conference. One told me that he heard a report about one company that had in one way or another communicated with the Vietcong. An understanding was developed by which the company avoided action and the Vietcong let them know they understood what they were doing and let them alone.

This report appears to be accurate since this company only had 30 casualties for the year which is virtually unheard of.

**Bulletin:** What have you been able to do in relation to organizing GIs against the war?

Jurenas: The GIs are very receptive to discussions and material opposing the war. They read the GI and radical newspapers. Sometimes one copy is passed around from soldier to soldier. There is what you might call a friendliness towards socialism and curiosity about it.

One big change is that among all the GIs there is a sympathy for those who do not want to go into the army.

I organized my platoon to go to Austin, Texas for the October 31st demonstration. But we were confined to the post for the weekend in an obvious attempt to prevent us from participating.

Another time myself and some other squad leaders were planning to pull an antiwar activity and were going to put out a leaflet when we were sent out on a maneuver.

**Bulletin:** Has there been any attempt to witchhunt you?

Jurenas: They watch all politicals. They have sent around an Army Intelligence agent. He interviewed three of the men I have been working with, asking them questions about me. I also have gotten a lot of static from my drill sergeant.

Originally I had orders to go to clerk school. But these were changed and now I am being sent to Vietnam.

**Bulletin:** How do the GIs feel about the Vietcong?

Jurenas: There are still some die-hard anti-communists, but many GIs say that communists are human beings and agree that the Vietnamese should have self determination.

Of course there are also companies that have gone over and are fighting with the Viet Cong.

**Bulletin:** Do the men make the connection between the war and the unemployment and inflation at home?

Jurenas: As yet they do not make this connection. Many of the men who are drafted come into the army after having been unemployed.

**Bulletin:** What is the main center of the struggle against the war in the army?

Jurenas: At this point it mostly revolves around the coffeehouses and GI newspapers. It is primarily a question of individual resistance. I feel this fight has to be a collective one, of organizing GIs to march on demonstrations. It is also necessary to give political content to GI dissent.

**Bulletin:** You said when you spoke at the conference here that you felt a different strategy might be required if there was the development of a labor party or the trade unions opened their doors to all those who refused to go into the army.

Jurenas: Yes, this would be the best situation. The fight now to organize GIs is very important because the opposition is massive.



# Lindsay Invokes Taylor Law Against Firemen's Job Action

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—The showdown between Mayor Lindsay and the mass of New York City employees whose contracts expired on January 1 has only temporarily been averted. Despite every effort of President Michael Maye of the firemen's union (UFA) to reach a sellout agreement in the face of the most obvious efforts by Lindsay to draw blood, a massive confrontation is still threatened.

The City's current efforts under the State's Taylor Law to smash the firemen's limited "job action" is at the center of the developing storm. The City—with Rockefeller and Nixon standing solidly behind—intends to use the Taylor Law as a warning to the Sanitationmen, the rest of City labor and to the entire union movement that they must accept a wage freeze and intensified speedup.

But these efforts can just as easily backfire as the frustration of the rank and file firemen boils over as more and more firemen demand strike action. Behind the firemen are the sanitationmen and thousands of other city workers whose patience is also wearing thin as their leaders refuse the threat of a strike or even of job action.

Lindsay, together with state and federal authorities is ready with more than the Taylor Law. He has drawn up "contingency plans" involving the use of troops and martial law should there be a strike of any of the uniformed services.

### RETALIATION

On the other side, New York Central Labor Council Chief Harry Van Arsdale has threatened to call a general strike of the New York unions in retaliation.

The approach of the labor bureaucrats has been to try and contain the ranks while they plead with Lindsay for crumbs. Van Arsdale, who likes to talk out of both sides of his mouth, is now asking firemen to call off their job action in anticipation of the injunction by the State Supreme Court against the firemen. While rejecting this appeal, UFA President Maye still refuses to fight. Instead, he too has gone into court under the provisions of the Taylor Law to get the City to "bargain in good faith," while he pleads with Lindsay for some "meaningful gesture" in the negotiations.

Delury, head of the sanitationmen's union, and Gotbaum, head of DC 37, are sitting it out watching the developments with the firemen and refusing to mobilize their ranks. This serves only to divide the power of city labor.

Lindsay is only offering one thing—a

wage offer of less than 3% and a demand for more "productivity". Firemen already answer two or three times the number of calls they used to. Lindsay is getting ready for civil war before he makes any real concessions in the direction of the firemen's demand for 10% annual wage hike and retirement on full pension after 25 years.

The stand of the firemen together with the rest of the city labor movement against Lindsay is a challenge to every city and state government and the federal government as well. They are all pleading "poverty" and attempting to make the workers pay for the economic crisis. While Lindsay prepares for martial law, Nixon vetoes a bill granting federal employees a piddling 4% increase.

Lindsay's and Nixon's actions are aimed at the entire union movement. Nixon's "inflation alert" following the GM strike set the goal of pushing back wage gains to the rate of productivity gains—to 3%. Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns quickly followed this up with a program to bring this about by reducing wages of federally employed construction workers, reducing the minimum wage for teenagers and introducing compulsory arbitration to break strikes.

The firemen are not only in the position of a fight with Lindsay, but pose the first challenge to Nixon's new "inflation alert" attack on the wages and conditions of American workers.

### BREAK

The use of the Taylor Law against the firemen demands first of all that the attack on the unions whose contracts have expired demand a sharp break with the conciliatory policy of all their leaders—Maye, DeLury, Gotbaum, and prepare for immediate strike action—calling for "no contract, no work".

This, together with the call for a mass mobilization of the entire New York trade union movement against the Taylor Law and in defense of the city workers is the only strategy that can force Lindsay back.



City workers in SSEU-371 demonstrate demanding a new contract and an end to attacks by city. As Lindsay pushes uniformed services, he intends to crush SSEU.

## City Out To Smash SSEU—Ranks Must Prepare Strike

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK—At the last negotiating meeting before the Social Service Employees contract deadline, the City offered the union a paltry 3% per year increase starting next July, and a three year contract. Further, it stated that this increase would be contingent on the elimination of overwork adjustment pay and out-of-title work differentials. The City stated that any increase above that could only be given on the basis of an increase in productivity—meaning a cut in staff.

Although Lindsay is taking a hard line with the uniformed services, he is obviously out to destroy the SSEU.

While Mayor Lindsay is pushing the firefighters into a corner by taking their leader, Michael Maye, to court for calling an action on January 1, he is pushing the SSEU beyond all limits. Without previous negotiation, the City is quickly moving on its plans to reorganize three centers each six weeks, so that full reorganization can be completed by July. With the union leadership's refusal to stop this, it is in effect allowing the City to implement its own version of the 1971-72 contract. Workers are in effect taking a pay cut as of January 1 because they are working on excess caseloads for which they have no guarantee of financial compensation.

The task posed to the ranks of this union now is to throw back this offensive. That means carrying through a meaning-

ful job action which will tell the City that the workers are not about to take it. This means that the present non-"work action" will have to be greatly escalated, and that workers dump all cases down to 60, and uncovered caseloads and do no work, including emergencies, on them.

Further, all workers presently in or slated for training for reorganization should refuse training until such time as the workload limitations and manning scales demanded in the present contractual bargaining are agreed to by the City.

There should be no further reorganization until an 80:1 case to worker ratio has been agreed upon with the City, as this will be the only way to really insure job security to the membership. All present contracting out of work, as is being done with the homemaking section also must be stopped.

Lindsay must be answered with a real counter-offensive. The SSEU can pose the way forward for the ranks of all the other City unions coming under attack. It can gain strength through a joint fight with other sections of City labor, as well as lead the struggle for municipal workers to break from the stranglehold of their union leaderships and win a real victory this winter.

Unless the City halts these attacks on the SSEU and begins to negotiate seriously, the union must call a strike and make an appeal to all other municipal unions to join it.

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## Seamen's Defense Committee Plans Action Against Layups On Jan. 14

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—The Seamen's Defense Committee, led by men active in the Committee for NMU Democracy, is planning demonstrations for January 14th in New York port to mobilize the National Maritime Union against the layups of six Prudential-Grace Lines ships.

One leader of the Defense Committee stated:

"We are mailing out four resolutions to all fourteen Prudential-Grace Lines ships. We are asking them to pass the four resolutions and to support the Seamen's Defense Committee and leave the ships for a demonstration January 14. I have talked to the crew of the Santa Paula here in New York and they will be ready to demonstrate at the Grace Lines pier in New York and at the NMU hall on January 14. We want Curran to move. If he doesn't call a strike by the 14th, we will urge the members to strike themselves. The National Office is dead scared. That's why they adjourned the last meeting (in the Port of New York) on phony motions."

The Seamen's Defense Committee program contained in the four resolutions calls for a strike to stop the layups; nationalization of the lines to be run without profit and under trade union conditions and wages if the companies can not make a profit; limitation of the NMU President's salary to \$30,000 annually; cutting down on the union bureau-

cracy; the payment of all pensions due NMU members whether the ships are laid up or not.

The Seamen's Defense Committee plans to spread their fight in the unions. "I have urged men I know on Farrell Lines and U.S. Lines to pass the resolutions," one leader stated. "We want Curran to act. If he won't, we will take drastic action. Later on if we don't succeed we will take the fight to the whole of the union and go to war against Curran."

"When we formed the Seamen's Defense Committee in early December, they (the National Office) never told us the results of the phony meeting they had on December 8 with members of other unions, supposedly to do something about the layups. We waited patiently. They did nothing, so we came out with a leaflet. Then five days later, Curran came out with a phony newsletter saying the union was going to sue Moore-McCormack, Prudential-Grace and other companies to save the ships. But he is to blame for these layups. He has to take action and forget about the courts. I don't think the courts are going to do anything anyway."

Curran's proposal for action in the courts, and New York Port Agent Labaczewski's proposal for a rank and file lobby in Washington, are nothing but diversions designed to give a "militant" cover to the bureaucrats.

Every ship and every port must pass the Seamen's Defense Committee program. All Prudential-Grace Lines ships must be struck on January 14 if the layups go through. The entire union must be mobilized at the January port meeting to vote in favor of an official strike by the entire NMU to stop the layups.