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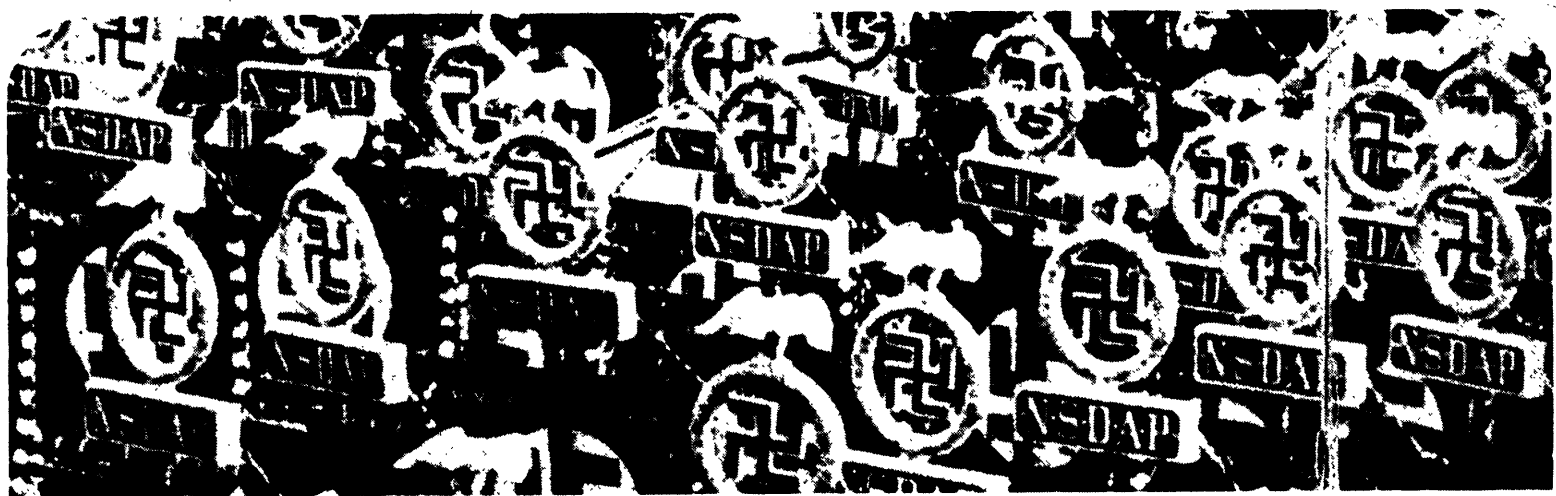
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IN THE February/March issue of 'International Socialism', there is a review article entitled 'The Problem of Fascism', by Peter Sedgwick, a member of the IS editorial board. Here John Crawford analyses this article and where it indicates IS is going.



The 'International Socialists' re-appraise fascism

by JOHN CRAWFORD

THE GROUP calling itself 'International Socialism' has been the subject of careful analysis in a number of articles in Workers Press.

Behind its 'Marxist' phrases, IS is a middle-class group not merely in its social composition, but in its hostility to the struggle for Marxist theory and leadership.

While it is not averse to describing itself as 'Trotskyist' when it can gain some prestige from the name, IS declares that the USSR, the countries of E Europe, China and N Vietnam are 'state capitalist' countries, in opposition to everything Trotsky fought for.

IS opposes the Leninist conception of the revolutionary party.

Theoreticians

Its 'theoreticians' argue that the 'permanent arms economy' has allowed capitalism to expand without fear of a crisis of over-production. Imperialism, they declare, is not the last stage of capitalism, but will be succeeded by 'state capitalism'.

Despite all its very revolutionary words, IS is an expression of English middle-class radicalism.

But the sharpening economic crisis, the movements of the European working class and the strengthening of the struggle for Marxism in recent years, have thrown such groups into disarray.

Accustomed to playing freely with left words, under the protection of the bourgeois democratic establishment and its bureaucratic agencies, they become more and more immersed in ideological convulsions by the tremors of the revolutionary crisis.

IS is increasingly disoriented in this situation. The question is raised: where are they going?

In the February-March issue of their journal 'International Socialism' (42), Peter Sedgwick contributes a review article about some sociological writings on fascism. Entitled 'The Problem of Fascism', it gives some indication of the future evolution of elements within this group.

This article displays the consequences of the anti-Marxism of IS more clearly than ever before. Coming out openly in opposition to materialism, Sedgwick ends up by praising the 'sincerity' of the Nazis and drawing parallels between Nazism and Bolshevism.

'Literary'

Whatever 'literary' excuses may be presented for it, the article represents a new and most dangerous stage in the history of this group.

It must be stressed that, although it is now three months since the article appeared, not a word of criticism of it has been published in any IS journal.

Sedgwick's first concern is to see if the findings of bourgeois sociology support the conclusions of Marxism. In fact, his method of thinking is no different from that of the university 'social scientists'.

These gentlemen usually start with an ideal, abstract 'model' of what a 'normal' society ought

to be like, and then look at some 'facts' to see how far they fit into it.

Even when it is not stated openly, they generally base themselves on the old liberal-democratic picture of independent 'citizens', rationally furthering their interests.

World capitalism in its death agony, and in particular the rise of fascism, poses insoluble problems for this outlook. The actions of the Nazi leaders and the workers cannot be understood in terms of 'reason' or 'common sense'.

Radek once described fascism as the 'iron hoop with which the ruling class tries to hold together the rotten barrel of capitalism'. But even this clever simile does not fully express the relationship between fascism and the despair and corruption of the dying world order.

Trotsky, writing in 1934, after only one year of Nazi rule, says:

'Fascism has opened up the depths of society for politics. Today, not only in peasant homes but also in the city skyscrapers there lives alongside of the 20th century the 19th or 13th. A hundred million people use electricity and still believe in the magic power of signs and exorcism. What inexhaustible reserves they possess of darkness, ignorance and savagery! Despair has raised them to their feet, fascism has given them the banner. Everything that should have been eliminated from the national organism in the course of the unhindered development of society comes out today gushing from the throat; capitalist society is puking up the undigested barbarism. Such is the physiology of National Socialism.'

It is worth noting that a few months before Sedgwick's article appeared, 'International Socialism' itself reprinted this passage, together with other extracts from Trotsky's writings on Germany.

Opposition

Sedgwick sits on the Editorial Board of IS, but his complete opposition to everything Trotsky has to say about fascism does not worry him or them in the slightest.

Sedgwick does not consider fascism in class terms at all. This view would lead him towards the line followed by the Stalinists in their 'People's Front' days. Fascism is merely an attack on 'democracy', according to this account, and can be fought by uniting all those well-meaning people who want to defend democracy.

The chief author of this treacherous policy was Stalin.

No wonder that Sedgwick never mentions the role of Stalinism in betraying the German workers into the hands of fascism.

He even recommends, as 'the best text on the subject', a pamphlet by the British Stalinist Piratin. But he goes much further than this.

Trotsky analysed the development of fascism in terms of the contradictory movements of classes and their leaderships. Betrayed by the bureaucratized parties of the Second and Third Internationals, Social Democracy and Stalinism, the working class was paralysed in the face of the onslaught of the monopolies.

Driven to despair by the economic crisis and repelled by the impotence of the labour leaders, the middle class fell victim to the demagogic ranting of the Nazis.

Once in power, the Nazi regimes carried out the wishes of their big business backers

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by smashing the workers' movement completely. While it often acted in opposition to the immediate needs of certain individual banks and monopolies, the Nazi state rested on private ownership of industry, and remained the servant, however disobedient, of capital.

Writing of the Bonapartist predecessors of Hitler, Trotsky wrote:

'To be sure, such a government does not cease to be the clerk of the property-owners. Yet the clerk sits on the back of the boss, rubs his neck raw and does not hesitate at times to dig his heels into his face.'

All of this is rejected by Sedgwick. While paying lip-service to the idea that fascist regimes governed capitalist countries, he tries to adapt it to his sociological outlook. The outcome, as we shall see, is highly indicative of the direction he is moving.

'What made the fascist economies distinctive,' he says, 'was not so much their structures—there is no case, and never was, for classing them as "bureaucratic collectivist" or even "state capitalist" in the Russian sense—as their aims. The economic goals of the fascists were totally dissimilar from any private capitalist system before or since, in that they deliberately pulled out of the world trading network and tried to build a closed economy based on a self-sufficient nation.'

'Criterion'

(Incidentally, Sedgwick's 'criterion' for fascism—the aims of the leaders to build a closed economy—means that he would classify the USSR under the same heading. When, in the Czechoslovakia crisis in 1968, IS marched with anti-communists describing the Soviet invasion as equivalent to Nazism, Sedgwick's friends got very upset with the idea of a 'closed economy' attributed to them. Now, presumably, they will openly admit to it. On the other hand, however, Sedgwick's definition makes Czechoslovakia a fascist country too!)

Sedgwick has replaced Marx's materialist conception of the social relations of production with the criterion of the 'goals' or 'aims' subjectively followed by individuals.

Sedgwick's idealism, and its reactionary implications, become still clearer later on when he says:

'Actually, of course, Nazi autarchy, with its expanding borders, its swift annexation of industrial capacity and its planned arms drive, proved to be, at least in the short term, a highly efficient means for the realization of a dynamic economy. Thus far, Nazi ideology, with its prescriptions for foreign conquest and plunder, appears as a rationally comprehensible and inwardly rational exercise along one route of capitalist political economy.'

'German society was never more "progressive" (in the cynical-Marxist sense of developing the forces of production) than at the height of the war: in the face of savage Anglo-American bombing and stalemate or defeat on the eastern front, heavy production kept expanding (with the output of tanks, for example, multiplying five-fold between 1942 and 1944).'

Of course, people like Sedgwick do not have to worry too

declined from 59.8 per cent to 52.2 per cent. In the same period, the share of profits went up from 19.1 to 28 per cent.

In 1932, the average wage paid to German workers was 86.6 pfennigs; in 1936, it was 67.5.

What does Sedgwick think Nazism was for?

But he is not worried with such questions. His central interest is what the Nazi leaders thought of themselves, not their relationship with the class struggle, what they really were.

Useful

'It is useful, then,' says Sedgwick, 'useful for what?' To look at Nazi Germany as a capitalist economy in which the capitalists as such are demoted and subordinated. The principal unit of 'capital' is not the firm or the cartel, but the nation; above this level, in the international relations, competition of the most cut-throat variety leads to the system's ruin.'

Why is the word 'capital' in inverted commas? Is it the same as capital without any adornment? Sedgwick imagines that capital is defined in terms of the wishes or interests of the capitalists.

Standpoint

In his book 'Capital' Marx makes his position clear:

'My standpoint, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them.'

In the epoch of imperialist decay, the social relations drive society into economic crisis, world war and mass murder.

Sedgwick, whose method is as far from Marxism as the moon, is incapable of grasping that such barbarism is a necessary result of capitalist decline.

'The utility of even a revised Marxist analysis break down, however, in the face of the gas-chambers,' he says.

'If the necessity which stoked the Auschwitz crematories was not economic and was not political (in the sense of pursuing rational policy objectives in the public arena) but else can it have been but psychological?'

Now every pretence at Marxism is discarded. Look at the result.

'For, despite the programma-

tic timidity and opportunism of all wings of Nazism, from Hitler to the so-called "left Nazis" like the "Strassers, the Socialism" of "National Socialism" has to be taken very seriously.

'All the militancy and sacrifice, all the hatred of privilege and corruption, all the determination to make a better and cleaner world, [1] which among revolutionary socialists is attached to a class perspective upon society, was present among the Nazi pioneers, only linked to a racial vision. Demagoguery and conscious deception were practised constantly and consciously, but within the limits of a terrible sincerity. Corruptio optimi pessima: the worst vices come through the corruption of the noblest instincts—and the worst cruelties through the deflection of class-

TV

BBC 1

8.00-9.00 a.m. Good morning, Mexico. 9.38-11.15 Schools. 12 noon World Cup grandstand. Czechoslovakia v Brazil, Morocco v W Germany, Sweden v Italy, Belgium v El Salvador. 1.45 p.m.-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jack-an-boys. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Hector's house. 5.25 Abbott and Costello. 5.30 London. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 WORLD CUP GRANDSTAND. Czechoslovakia v Brazil, Morocco v W Germany, Sweden v Italy, Belgium v El Salvador.

7.00 THE DOCTORS. 7.20 TOP OF THE POPS.

8.00 THE PHILPOTT FILE. 'The Yellow Terrors'. 8.50 News and weather.

9.10 THE PHILPOTT FILE. 'The File on Cannonball Selby—coach driver'.

10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party. 10.10 24 HOURS.

10.55 NAIRN'S EUROPE. Inverness—Lulea (Sweden). 11.25 Weather.

11.27 SOMETHING TO SAY. Readings in literature old and new.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Midlands and E Anglia: 5.30-5.50 Midlands today. Look East, weather. 11.57 News, weather.

North of England: 5.30-5.50 Look North, weather. 11.57 News, weather.

Wales: 2.30-2.50 Gwlad a thref. 3.10-4.20 Cricket. Glamorgan v Somerset. 5.30-5.50 Wales today. 7.00-7.29 Heddiw. 10.55-11.25 Llydys y geniois.

Scotland: 5.30-5.50 Reporting Scotland. 10.55 Scotland. 11.25 Scottish viewpoint. 11.41 Something to say. 12.15 News, weather.

N Ireland: 3.00-4.00 British amateur open golf championship. 5.30-5.50 Scene sound six. 10.55-11.25 British amateur open golf championship. 11.57 News, weather.

South and West: 5.30-5.50 Points West. South today. Spotlight South-West, weather. 11.57 News, weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL.

7.05 p.m. MAN IN SOCIETY. 'The Real World?' 7.30 NEWS and weather.

8.00 NOT A WORD. New word game. 8.30 THE MONEY PROGRAMME.

9.10 W. SOMERSET NAUGHAM. 'The Closed Shop'. With Charles Gray as the Storyteller.

10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party.

10.10 JAZZ SCENE. Ronnie Scott Club. Including Guitar Workshop, May Lou Williams, the Robert Paterson Singers and the Clarke-Boland Big Band. 10.55 News.

11.00 LINE-UP.

ITV

11.00 a.m. Schools. 2.28 p.m. Racing from Epsom. 3.55. Origami. 4.10 Crossroads. 4.35 Flipper. 5.00 Magpie. 5.30 Mad movies. 5.45 News. 5.55 WORLD CUP 1970.

6.30 PEYTON PLACE. 6.55 NEAREST AND DEAREST.

7.25 ACTION FILM: 'Westward the Women'. With Robert Taylor, Denise Larcel, Henry Nakamura, Lenore Lonergan and John McIntyre. 100 men working on Roy Whitman's California ranch want him to go to Chicago to recruit wives for them.

9.30 THIS WEEK.

10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party. 10.10 News.

11.00 WORLD CUP 1970.

12.10 a.m. LAST PROGRAMMES. 'Miscellany'.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 11.00-3.25 London. 3.42 Puffin's birthday greetings. 3.52 London. 4.05 Wendy and me. 4.35 King Kong. 5.00 London. 5.30 Houseparty. 5.45 London. 5.55 Police file. 6.00 Sports roundup. 6.20 News, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Kim'. dearest. 9.30 London. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 10.10 London. Midnight news, weather in French, weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00-3.50 London. 3.55 Puffin's birthday greetings. 3.52 London. 4.05 Wendy and me. 4.35 King Kong. 5.00 London. 5.30 Houseparty. 5.45 London. 5.55 Police file. 6.00 Sports roundup. 6.20 News, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Kim'. dearest. 9.30 London. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 10.10 London. Midnight news, weather in French, weather.

HARLECH: 11.00-4.00 London. 4.04 Mad movies. 4.30 Forest rangers. 5.00 London. 5.45 Report extra. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Odongo' with Rhonda Fleming and MacDonald Carey. A trapper's wild

animals, intended for sale to a circus owner, are stampered from their pens. 8.30 In the house. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. Midnight weather.

HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above except:

4.04 News. 5.30-5.45 Peter. 5.55-6.35 Scene range.

HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except:

4.04-4.30 Tins a tel.

HTV (Central) black and white service as above except:

4.04-4.30 Tins a tel. 5.30 Y dyd. 5.40-5.45 News.

ANGLIA: 10.58 London. 4.00 Newsroom. 4.10 Romper room. 4.00 News. 4.30 Flipper. 5.00 London. 5.25 About Anglia. 5.45 Crossroads. 7.00 'Pony Express' with Charlton Heston and Rhonda Fleming. Buffalo Bill Cody and Wild Bill Hickok try to establish relay stations for the Pony Express. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. Midnight reflection.

ATV MIDLAND: 11.00 London. 3.55 Peter. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Stingray. 5.00 London. 5.25 Women today. 5.45 London. 6.30 ATV today. 6.30 Crossroads. 7.00 News. 'Sinbad the Sailor' with Douglas Fairbanks Jr and Maureen O'Hara. The story of Sinbad's exploits amid Hollywood's sand dunes. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London.

ULSTER: 11.00-3.55 London. 4.10 Romper room. 4.10 News. 4.35 Floris. 5.00 London. 5.30 Summer season. 5.45 London today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Annie Get Your Gun' with Betty Hutton and Howard Keel. The story of Annie Oakley, a woman who shoots a gun remarkably well. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Orikami. 4.30 Phoenix. 5.00 London. 5.30 Calendar. 5.45 London. 5.55 News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Seventh Cross'. In the house. 8.00 Manna. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. Midnight weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 London. 3.55 London. 4.05 Short story. 4.35 Forest rangers. 5.00 London. 5.25 Newsview. 5.45 London. 6.20 News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Go with the Wind'. Three unsuccessful crooks plan to rob a bank. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London.

TYNE TEES: 11.00-3.55 London. 4.16 Newsroom. 4.18 Sara and Hoppity. 4.30 Richard the Lionheart. 5.00 London. 5.45 London today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Police call. 6.35 Finders seekers. 7.00 Love American style. 8.00 Invaders. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. 12.10 News. 12.27 Opportunity knocks for Hughie Green.

BORDER: 1.40 London. 4.05 Houseparty. 4.18 News. 4.20 Enchanted house. 4.35 Forest rangers. 5.00 London. 5.45 London today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Wheel of fortune. 7.30 Dr in the house. 8.00 Strange report. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. Midnight news, weather.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-3.55 London. 4.00 Scotland today. 4.10 London. 4.35 Crossroads. 5.00 News. 5.45 London. 6.30 High in the house. 7.00 Film: 'The Seventh Cross' with Spencer Tracy and Signe Hasso. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. 12.20 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58-12 noon London. 1.38 London. 4.05 Fruit on foot. 4.30 Mad movies. 5.00 London. 5.30 London. 5.45 Report extra. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'None But the Brave'. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. Midnight epilogue.

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Inquiry reveals pre-launch defects in Apollo-13

THE APOLLO-13 space craft was launched with a damaged oxygen tank.

This is the conclusion of the Board of Inquiry investigating the explosion that endangered the lives of the three US astronauts last month.

In a preliminary statement, Board chairman Mr Edward Cortright, said that the launch team found that they were unable to drain liquid oxygen from the tank in the normal way after it had been filled during a rehearsal.

'We do not know precisely why they were unable to drain the tank,' a NASA spokesman said.

However, the special procedures they had to use 'probably resulted in major damage to the wiring insulation' inside the tank.

Culminated

This started the chain of events that culminated in the explosion when Lovell, Haise and Swigert were over 200,000 miles out from earth.

Two switches designed to protect the tank's heaters from overheating are believed to have failed producing temperatures of 1,000 deg. F and causing short circuits in the heater wires.

The resulting fire would have raised pressure in the tank so rapidly as to render the safety valves ineffective and to produce the explosion.

Question

Although the Board's final report on the abortive mission is not due until June 8 and will probably contain further details, Cortright's statement raises the question:

Why weren't these defects remedied before Apollo-13 left the ground?

This is especially relevant as the main Apollo contractor—North American Rockwell—has come under sharp criticism in the past for the poor quality of its products.

Sloppiness

What the latest statement reveals is more of what the 'Economist' recently called 'the familiar, avoidable sloppiness' which has increasingly been the hallmark of NASA's work as massive cutbacks have taken place in the space agency's budget.

The economic squeeze and the fact that two out of three of NASA's workers have either already been sacked or are on their way out in the near future has created a mood of demoralization which all the cheerful comments of Nixon and NASA chief Dr Paine have been unable to dispel.

Under these conditions, 'accidents' are bound to happen, particularly during the hasty preparations which took place immediately before the Apollo-13 launch.

Events

Here are a number of events that took place:

- The main rocket had been in storage for three years and spent a month longer than usual on the launch pad itself, increasing the dangers of deterioration.
- Swigert and Lovell both left behind equipment for the flight.
- A fault developed in the helium tank a few days before the flight but 'corrected' itself. Flight engineers insisted that a final check take place after the launch.
- At launch, one of the five second-stage engines packed up two minutes early.
- The malfunction that finally led to the explosion was detected 15 hours previously at Mission Control, but at no time did a warning light flash on in the space craft.
- The oxygen tank had been dropped in 1968 while the craft was under construction.

Under these conditions, why did the launch take place at all?

Perhaps, Mr Cortright and his colleagues will throw some more light on these questions on June 8.

Meanwhile, the Apollo-14 mission which will attempt to complete the journey to Fra Mauro has suffered a further postponement to 1971 and the future of the US space programme is looking extremely bleak.

Intellectuals and workers both affected by capitalism's crisis

POSING the common problems of the working class and the intellectuals in the present world crisis of capitalism, the London area Young Socialists' school in Eastbourne last weekend was the scene of intense and thoughtful discussion by 250 YS members.

Taking the tasks facing a working class now increasingly on the offensive—yet tied to the traditions and limitations of trade union struggle—and intellectuals caught in the strait-jacket of today's films, theatre and television, the school poses the concrete solution of the struggle to understand and develop revolutionary theory.

This year the Young Socialists celebrate 1970 as the 'Year of Lenin and Trotsky'.

Into the centre of all YS activities is brought the fight for Leninism, the vital role of theory in the workers' movement and its continuity in the struggle for Trotsky's Fourth International.

The weekend school provided the basis for understanding this concept in relation to both the working class and the intellectual, as both being a part of and affected by capitalism's crisis and not separate from each other.

Well-known

PLAYWRIGHT David Mercer, well-known for his plays in the theatre and television and a contributor to Workers Press, introduced Saturday's discussion on 'Culture, Theatre and Socialism'.

He was followed on Sunday by Cliff Slaughter, Central Com-

mittee member of the Socialist Labour League who spoke on 'The Significance of Leninism today'.

Explaining the dilemma which faces the artist David Mercer said that a play becomes a consumer product and is bought and sold like meat.

In television there was more and more stultification of original work, he said.

Unions

People who worked in films had to take up a struggle in their unions against conditions where artists could not produce their own work because of prohibitive costs.

Talking about his own experiences in getting his plays televised, he said there had been minor censorship in some cases and that on one occasion the 'high-ups' had not wanted a particular play to go out because it might 'disturb people'.

In the case of 'In Two Minds' he described how he had posed the problem of children who, on coming into conflict with their parents, find themselves in fact coming into conflict with values which are imposed by capitalist society.

His play showed the case of a schizophrenic girl and the enormous pressure applied on her to 'conform' to what were regarded as 'normal' standards of behaviour.

Explaining why the television film of the play ended as it did on a note of despair, Mercer explained that it was designed precisely to prod people into questioning and acting. This was the point of conflict for those who watched the play and the basis for change.

Talking about his trilogy, 'On the Eve of Publication', 'The

Cellar and the Almond Tree' and 'Emma's Time', he said he had examined aspects of Stalinism from the standpoint of a left-wing intellectual who had been paralysed by the revelations of the 1950s.

It was necessary to reveal Stalinism for what it was.

'I am under an obligation to do the best I can. The fact that I have been driven into pessimism and despair in some of my conclusions is not itself a reason for despair. It is what I have to fight with.'

'A work of art cannot by itself provide the answers. Revolution is the means of transferring power. A work of art may enrich consciousness and it will enrich future society.'

Lenin's theory

THIS FIGHT for revolution, said Cliff Slaughter on Sunday, can only be realized on the basis of a fight for Lenin's theory and principles.

Such a struggle was an internationalist one. The war in Vietnam was not a small, localized skirmish, its implications were felt right round from the US to Cambodia.

The revolutionary movement could not be built separate from the world. It was necessary to understand that Lenin was above all a Marxist.

What was required was a struggle to understand the movement and change and development of reality, to understand the laws of development and change in society.

With the present development of the world economic crisis American capitalism could no longer guarantee even democratic freedom.

The dilemma facing capitalism today was that it must take on the working class, when, in a period of 25 years, it had been unable to defeat colonial revolution.

This crisis of capitalism had its reflection in the severe crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and E Europe.

In Britain the bringing forward of the General Election date was a manifestation of the magnitude of the problem facing world capitalism in a period where working class through its trade union struggle was driving up wages.

It was extremely important for the working class in Britain to realize that in order to take them on the capitalist class wanted the Tories back with a programme of extreme reaction.

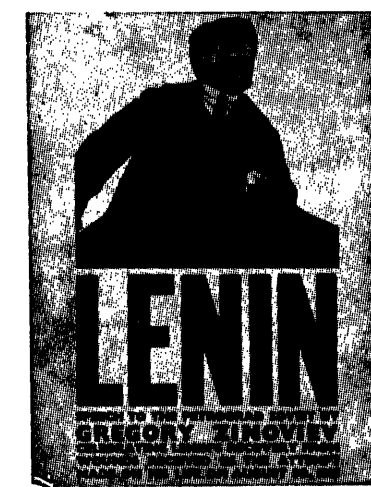
The working class had to be taken through the experience of voting against the Tories to return a Labour government and take up a struggle, through the leadership of the Leninist party, to break with the illusions of reformism.

This was the only way that a preparation for the working class to take power could be carried out.

This was what was meant by building the revolutionary party in the traditions of Leninism by going through to the heart of the working class and all its experiences and preparing it to take power and defeat Stalinism.

LENIN: Speech to the Petrograd Soviet, 1918
3s. 0d.

By G. Zinoviev



Illustrated with many photographs, this was a speech delivered by one of Lenin's closest associates on the occasion of his recovery from wounds received in an attempt on his life. It gives a remarkably clear picture of Lenin and what is required to be a revolutionary.

THE SMITH in S Rhodesia is both an embarrassment and a convenience for Britain.

On the one hand Smith is a 'naughty' boy who broke the rules and Britain was pushed into the unwanted position of having to be criticized by her own African 'independent' agents for not using force against Smith.

On the other hand, the Smith regime is a whipping boy who is blamed for all the anti-African discrimination which he inherited from Britain and which Britain was responsible for.

The same is true of Britain in relation to S Africa, whose entire Nazi apartheid policy was 99.9 per cent British-made and which British propaganda has always blamed upon Britain's political agents in S Africa—the 'Boers'.

An interesting recent side-light to the question 'Who is boss in S Africa?' was provided



Peter Hain carried off by police during an Oxford v. Springbok rugby match last November.

by Vorster in mid-May when he sacked de Wet Nel from his Cabinet position for having been rude during the recent election towards the Anglo-S African financial magnate, Harry Oppenheimer.

If Smith were seriously to offend giant concerns like the British Lon Rho group, the Oppenheimer interests in S Rhodesia and the British banks there, British imperialism would soon enough have him out on his ear.

At the moment there is no urgency for Wilson to do this job for his masters, so Smith remains cock-o-the-walk in Salisbury.

RHODESIA and British political hypocrisy

It remains sheer political hypocrisy for Wilson and company to make anti-apartheid and anti-Smith gestures.

This government has Vorster and Smith to thank for the very opportunity to assume such 'progressive' postures, whether it be over the trade embargo in S Rhodesia or the Springbok African semi-colonialism.

In the same way Alabama's Wallace made Johnson and Kennedy look like liberals and not as the administrators and executives of the same anti-Negro discrimination, known as 'de-segregation', which is one of the plagues of the world today.

So successful has this sort of camouflage been that it has become unacceptable to speak of the British Empire, even in 'left' circles.

The British imperialist propaganda machine has been largely successful in moving even the term from the vocabulary of anti-imperialists and learned leftists in Fabian and Stalinist circles raise an eyebrow when one talks of the British Empire, as if it no longer existed and talk of it is outmoded and 'old hat'.

Slaves

For hundreds of millions of semi-colonial slaves of British imperialism the British Empire is a reality, as it is, too, for those who live off the super-profits wrung out of cheap African, Asian and central and S African semi-colonial labour.

In the case of S Rhodesia, figures have been given in this column concerning this reality in terms of land, labour, education and political rights. These figures are, however, only abstract generalizations of the daily reality of life and death under Britain's rule, Smith or before Smith.

University

An example of British apartheid, long before Smith, is the

Salisbury University College. Suddenly, seven years after Smith's UDI, the University of London has, in 1970, severed its connection with this university, which it helped to found.

Why? Because of Smith's apartheid policy? This is hardly possible, because from 1957, when Britain first set up this institution, it was run on apartheid lines, starting with 63 'white students', with full facilities, and eight Africans, with little or no proper facilities.

It was not Smith, but the British government which at first segregated the African students at Salisbury College into a separate hostel.

It was not Smith, but Britain who banned Dr Clenze from Smith's UDI, the University of London has, in 1970, severed its connection with this university, which it helped to found.

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The reason was something entirely different—namely the 'affront' to the British Royal Family (the Queen Mother is Chancellor of the University) afforded by Smith's declaration of a Republic in 1970.

Transmutation of matter

part 3

SCIENTIFIC WORLD

IF WE CONSIDER each atom to be like a miniature solar system, we get a very crude idea of how some chemical reactions take place. There is an infinitesimal chance that some other star with a retinue of planets will approach our own solar system.

However, if this were to happen, it is quite possible that the two systems would exchange matter so that—if we survived to make the observations—we might find that the sun has either lost or gained a planet.

Taking an even more unlikely eventuality, we might end up with the two suns orbiting each other and sharing common planets.

Here we have stretched the analogy to its utmost limit in order to approach what happens when a chemical compound is formed—a process in which the outcome is the sharing of electrons by the atoms of two or more different elements.

What actually happens? It was the physicist Nils Bohr who first suggested that electrons circle round the nucleus like planets round the sun.

Although this theory was based on experiments, like those of Rutherford, and provided explanations for other observed facts, it ran into difficulties when chemists began to consider atoms heavier than hydrogen (which has only one electron).

It soon became evident that it was impossible to import the laws governing large masses into the minute realm of the atom. When particles are sufficiently small they do not simply become smaller versions of large bodies, but a qualitative change takes place.

Other laws—the laws of quantum mechanics—become applicable in this domain and we can no longer even consider our minute particles as acting like small billiard balls any more.

Another big difference between the solar system and an atom is the highly-structured nature of the latter. Whereas man can put satellites into countless different orbits round the earth, depending purely on the velocity and angle of launch, the whereabouts of an electron is restricted.

It is as if the space surrounding the nucleus is divided into

By MARTIN ZARROP

dominant role in a chemical reaction of the element with another. Once the shell has its full quota, it is virtually impervious to other atoms—there is no crack in its armour.

This explains the 'inertness' of the gases helium, neon, argon, krypton and xenon. Their electronic patterns are, respectively: 2, 2, 8, 2, 8, 8; 2, 8, 18, 8; 2, 8, 18, 18, 8. Originally discovered at the end of the last century, it was not until 1962 that a compound of xenon was formed.

Conversely, we would expect that the smaller the number of electrons in the outermost shell, the more reactive the element should be. Those with only one electron in this shell fall into group 1 in the Periodic Table and this includes the reactive metals lithium, sodium, potassium, etc.

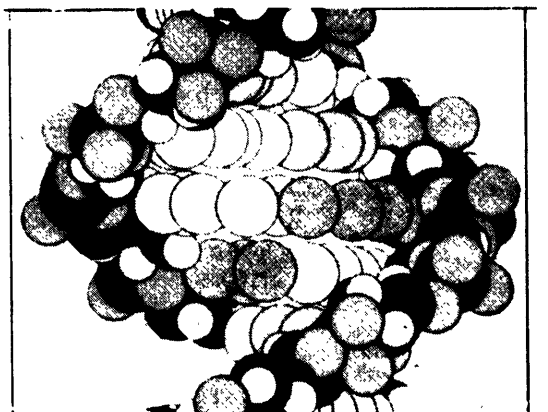
The Periodic Table, therefore, can be described as a two-dimensional picture of a series of 3-d structures and reflects the qualitative changes that take place as we complete shell after shell.

What happens when a compound is formed? Let us take the example of common salt, a compound of sodium and chlorine.

The sodium atom has one electron in its outermost shell, the chlorine atom has seven. When salt (sodium chloride) is formed, the sodium atom loses one electron which the chlorine atom packs away to complete its outer shell. But now the two atoms are held together by electrical forces.

In losing the electron, which has a negative charge, one of the sodium atom's positive charges is no longer neutralized. Meanwhile, the negative electron goes to the chlorine, and positive attracts negative.

This is one way in which a compound can be formed.



A model of the DNA molecule, a vital part of the chemistry of living cells.

'air corridors' like the sky over a busy airport.

Just as aircraft have to remain within these corridors so as to avoid collision, so the electrons are most likely to be found within these atomic corridors, known as orbitals.

There is therefore much more order in an atom than in a solar system. Electrons are to be found in various spherical 'shells' surrounding the nucleus, each of which contains a number of corridors.

Let us imagine an atom with all its orbitals empty, so that we just have a nucleus. (This, in fact, can happen at high temperatures when the electrons can achieve enough energy to escape.) We now form the different elements by introducing the appropriate number of electrons: one for hydrogen, two for helium... 92 for uranium.

We can imagine passengers getting on to a double-decker bus and sitting down. They will first of all try to get a seat downstairs, on their own if possible. When every seat downstairs is occupied by a single passenger, those following have the choice of sharing a seat or going upstairs.

Similarly, the first electron to choose an empty orbital will go into the one at the lowest energy level. The next one will have the choice of sharing this orbital or going into the next lowest energy orbital and so on.

The laws of atomic physics tell us how many electrons are allowed in each shell. No more than two are allowed in the innermost, so that lithium—the element with atomic number three—has its third electron in the next shell up.

When we get to uranium 92, we have seven shells containing 2, 8, 18, 32, 21, 9 and 2 electrons respectively.

What is important is that the outermost shell cannot contain more than eight electrons and this is the shell which plays the

simple. When we mix two chemicals together, we do not necessarily get a compound. We are dealing with billions of atoms which are undergoing large numbers of collisions, only some of which result in 'link-ups'.

If we simply mix two parts of hydrogen with one part of water in a container, we will have to wait hundreds of years before any detectable amounts of water are formed 'naturally'.

However, as any schoolboy will tell you, an electrical spark will accomplish the job in a split second.

Atoms bonded together in this way are called molecules and we can say that what the chemical industry does on a gigantic scale today is to produce these to order by combining the correct elements under controlled external conditions.

Today it is possible to build up artificially huge structures (polymers) out of basic molecules and to produce the synthetic materials with which we are familiar, like bakelite, nylon, terylene and many others.

In probing the nature of life itself, scientists study the huge molecules known as protein which can comprise up to 50,000 atoms strung out along a chain and can be several million times the weight of a hydrogen atom.

In each case, the number of atoms and their structural relationship in the molecules lead to qualitatively different products and different fields of study.

The work of Mendeleev a century ago was an important part of these developments. Although he remained an idealist and a political reactionary to his dying day, both Engels and Trotsky vigorously defended his scientific work in order to enrich Marxist dialectics as the theoretical reflection of an unconscious material process.

In this, the development of chemistry—the transmutation of matter—forms an integral part.

Another work-study scheme

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

A NEW work-study system which, it is claimed, may be acceptable to office workers who might otherwise resist time-and-motion methods, has been devised by PE Management Consultants.

The system is called clerical work evaluation (CWE) and aims at reducing clerical costs with a minimum of outlay.

Where consultants find serious opposition to work study they usually attempt to get round this by dividing its introduction into stages with the least disruptive of the new measures being brought in first.

CWE is a system that can be used as a preparation for the introduction of method study and organization and methods (O&M) which, in turn, lead to the use of time study.

Application

Its application is made by the client firms' own staff after training by PE consultants.

In the short term, this system, which is little more than a pre-method study re-organization, is said to enable savings of between 15 and 30 per cent.

This particular system is also regarded by the consultants as suitable for use with laboratory and warehouse workers as well as with clerical staff.

Awake

Workers who have expressed open hostility to the use of time-and-motion methods must at all times be awake to a management attempt to introduce their new systems by backdoor methods.

They are represented as simply an extension of traditional working practices or by claiming that they involve 'minor reorganization' which will make working easier, but which will in any way reduce the number of jobs.

CP election programme A reformist pipe-dream

THE COMMUNIST PARTY is to stand 58 candidates, at a total cost in deposits alone of more than £8,000 in the General Election.

BY JOHN SPENCER

The main reason for standing so many—to judge from the pre-election press conference given by general secretary John Gollan and other leading functionaries—is to enable the Party to get time on television, for which 50 candidates are required.

The demand for more television time is, in fact, one of the main planks of the Party's platform—it works out at about £30 a second in deposits alone!

The Party's election manifesto 'People Before Profits' reveals its leadership's total adherence to reformism and its complete inability to pose a socialist alternative to the Wilson leadership of the Labour Party.

The first three lines of the programme reveal just what the Party intends by its intervention:

'Two aims need to be achieved in this General Election.

Threadbare

'One is to prevent a Tory return to power. The other is to strengthen the movement fighting for a change to the left in the Labour government's policy.'

That is why Gollan could say at his press conference, that the Indo-China war was an 'obstacle' to this agreement.

The revolutionary struggle of the working class in Asia stands in the way of this anti-working-class pact!

The 'domestic' demands—for a national minimum wage (the princely sum of £17 a week is suggested), for the implementation of the Plowden report in education, for crash housing programmes and so on, differ little from the kind of promises the Labour Party made in 1964.

Not a single one of these demands can be achieved without revolutionary struggle to prepare the overthrow of capitalism, and yet the CP is careful not to point this out.

There is no call for the removal of immigration control, only for the repeal of the Immigration Acts of 1962 and 1968. Immigration control, it appears, is only objectionable when it discrimin-

ates against coloured people. The most striking feature of this document is its extreme tediousness.

There is not an ounce of fire in the Communist Party's present campaign.

The May local elections, in which the CP's overall vote was halved, demonstrated the futility of the Party's electoral perspective to many hundreds of CP members.

The dreary parliamentary cretinism of the Manifesto contrasts markedly with the growing class polarization which characterizes this election.

At a time when workers are turning towards a class vote for Labour in order to keep the Tories out, the CP's intervention can only introduce confusion and side-track sections of workers.

Its programme is a fraudulent reformist sham. Workers must vote Labour against the candidates of this Party and participate in the real movement of their class to keep the Tories out.

Steel worker-directors prepare speed-up and the sack

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

FOLLOWING the appointment of three more 'workers' to the divisional boards of the British Steel Corporation, the appointment of an Ebbw Vale steel worker to the main BSC board indicates the key role that 'employee-directors' are to play in the industry's present rationalization.

They are to be used to do the dirty work in preparing for a cutback of 50,000 in the industry's 250,000 work force in conjunction with the change-over to the modern basic oxygen steelmaking system.

The BSC is aiming to derive two-thirds of its steel-making from this process by 1975 compared with under one-third in 1969.

The 'employee-directors' are also expected to play a major role in smoothing the path for the introduction of the productivity working methods of the notorious 'Green Book' wherever it is in operation.

Steelmen struck against the 'Green Book' proposals last year. These include breaking down all demarcation between jobs and eventually eliminating altogether the concept of individual trades.

They involve also the introduction of the most advanced work-study system, methods-time measurement (MTM) which rationalizes all human action into basic movements and gives instructions on how each task should be carried out in terms of these movements and the 'correct' times in which they must be made.

It is reported that the Ebbw Vale man's particular responsibilities will be for 're-training and re-settlement of men in the BSC', which will probably be involved in the discussions over modernization at Ebbw Vale which is to include the spending of £46 million and the overall loss of 2,000 of the 9,000 jobs at the works.

Container equipment shown in London

BY BERNARD FRANKS

SOME of the latest developments in containers and container-handling equipment which dockers are likely to be facing are on view (trade only) at the International Container Exhibition, Olympia, London this week.

One exhibit is a portable radio-telephone system which includes a central station the size of a briefcase and five pocket radio phones.

Said by its makers STC to be the smallest system of its type in the world, it enables management and supervisors to keep in touch at all times and to keep a close control of all working operations.

Another development is an electrically-driven conveyor-belt system which can be extended inside a container for direct filling or emptying.

Continuous research is being carried out into further refinements of containerization—computer control of all operations, simplification of paper work, use of work-study methods—which can lead to still more cutbacks in the number of workers involved in port operations.

Also on show are collapsible containers which enable empties to be returned packed flat in a very small space and huge plastic bags which fill out to fit the inside of a standard container and which enable emptying of powders and granulated materials by a pneumatic system instead of by manual methods.

Another invention—'Auto Perch'—uses special carrier frames to fit up to five cars into one 40-foot container as compared to only three with the conventional methods.

The reduction in the number of portworkers which is being associated with dock modernization is not seen by

Sharing out the I.O.S. ruins

By John Crawford

WITH THE announcement that the asset values of mutual funds owned by Investors Overseas Services dropped by \$300 million during May, the IOS crisis takes a fresh turn for the worse.

The long-awaited 1969 accounts will have to appear soon and are unlikely to cheer anyone up.

IOS is registered in Canada, and under Canadian law the full accounts must be in the post by June 14, in time for the June 30 shareholders' meeting.

Meanwhile after the collapse of John King's attempted salvage operation, the air is thick with rumours of large banks riding to the rescue.

The problem for those people who entrusted their savings to Bernie Cornfeld to invest for them is: who will rescue them from the resellers?

The sag in share prices on the world's exchanges has reduced the value of the IOS funds and this had started a run of redemptions by clients feeling unsure of the future of the \$2 billion company.

On Monday, Paul Vincent, director-general of the Paris Banque Rothschild, confirmed that his bank was organizing a consortium, which would have to include US banks.

However, King has put \$8 million into IOS and will still nominate three directors of a new board.

In Munich, IOS spokesmen had said earlier this week that talks were in progress with several leading German banks, which have now denied this.

In New York, Cornfeld, founder of IOS, has been discussing with the Wall St brokers Drexel Harriman Ripley, who headed the underwriters issuing IOS shares last year.

All these moves look rather like the activities of international financial scrap merchants searching for bargains.

Sovex strikers dig in

ENGINEERS from the Sovex elevator and conveyor plant at Erith, Kent, have unanimously decided to continue their strike against a vicious productivity deal.

Intervention by the Engineering Employers' Federation—the dispute was discussed during an emergency meeting of the federation earlier this week—has strengthened their determination to win, stewards said yesterday.

Head down

FROM PAGE ONE

On the Common Market, he apologised for his opposition by pointing out that many Tory and Liberal MPs were worried about it as well. The last thing the 'lefts' intend to do, in fact, is fight the election on a basis of principled opposition to the governmental betrayals.

Time to get the gloves off —say glass men

PILKINGTON'S 8,500 St Helens glassworkers seethed with indignation yesterday as leaders of their rank-and-file committee returned from a double snub by union chiefs in London.

On top of the General and Municipal Workers' 11th-hour refusal to meet the committee on Tuesday night had come the threatened redundancy notices for 260 workers at the key Triplex safety-glass works.

Workers say that not only do the redundancies breach the 'first in, last out' principle which has previously operated—'blacklegs' jobs have been

guaranteed—but the inclusion of three rank-and-file committee members among those to be sacked is a direct provocation.

Having spent close on £100 on travel expenses for both themselves and three of the sacked 'truckers' from Pilkington's Pontypool factory, the committee was told at 6.15 p.m. on Tuesday night that the G&MWU leaders were refusing to attend.

This was 15 minutes before the meeting, arranged by Trades Union Congress general secretary Victor Feather, was due to begin.

G&MWU general secretary Lord Cooper told an obviously-embarrassed Feather in a last-minute message that the union would not be attending because

● The committee would not stop attacking the union

● The strike was over and the committee should disband.

Incessant, the committee decided to submit their 7,000 contracting-out forms to the management as soon as they could be photostated.

It's time to get the gloves off,' committee minutes secretary Mick Tracey told the Workers' Press later. 'Workers from all over the country must now come to our aid.'

'European unity' theme in Gromyko's Paris talks

SOVIET FOREIGN Minister Andrei Gromyko's five-day visit to France has seen the Pompidou government reverting to the style and phrases of the Gaullist decade.

BY ROBERT BLACK

Greeted on Monday as 'an old friend' of the French government, Gromyko emerged on Wednesday from a series of secret talks with Pompidou to attend a state banquet held in his honour.

Taking as his theme the problems of 'European unity', President Pompidou proposed a toast to his Stalinist guest: 'Franco-Soviet co-operation must be an essential element in European stability and peace, and a far from negligible factor in world peace...'

Pompidou, who visited the Soviet Union in July 1967 as de Gaulle's Prime Minister, and again late last year as President, stated that his October visit would cement relations still firmer.

and laws of a semi-police state to 'solve' the problem of the working class and left-wing students.

LINKED

The French Stalinists' refusal to defend hounded students and others is obviously linked directly to the 'traditional' bonds and natural sympathy built up between the French Gaullists and the Soviet bureaucracy over the last decade and now highlighted by Gromyko's visit.

The 'law-and-order' campaign of both Gromyko and Pompidou is the combined answer of Stalinism and capitalism to the rising militancy in the European working class.

Powell meeting

FROM PAGE ONE

What emerged clearly from Powell's two appearances is the strength of his support within the Tory Party.

Loud applause greeted the chairman's statements in which Powell was proclaimed 'one of the most original thinkers of the day', a prophet of things to come in many spheres, 'a wonderful man' and compared to Winston Churchill, who also languished in the 'political wilderness' before being called to greater things.

'The party needs you', implored the Dudley chairman, 'The country needs you.' (Frenzied clapping.)

Mr Heath didn't get a look in and suffered a further twist of the knife when Don Williams followed Powell to the rostrum.

'You have been privileged to have listened to a speech by a man with the finest intelligence in the House of Commons', he announced.

'I warn those who are only fit to shift garbage and rubbish not to match minds with such a man.'

Faction

Williams then spoke briefly on policy with his idol nodding vigorously beside him.

That Powell now has a strong faction within the Tory Party willing to challenge Heath for leadership is indisputable, whatever the outcome of the election.

His policies—reactionary and anti-working class to the core—already dominate the party and are making the electoral running.

When Powell says that there are 'enormous dangers inherent in this election... the question is "Who is master?"', the working class ignores this challenge at its peril.

WEATHER

London area, E Midlands: Sunny, Wind South East, light. Hot. Max. 24C (75F).

SE, SW, and central southern England, Channel Islands, Edinburgh: Sunny, Wind South to South East, light or moderate. Hot. Max. 24C (75F), but cooler near coast.

NW England: Sunny, Wind South Easterly, moderate. Very hot. Max. 26C (79F), but cooler near coast.

W Midlands, central northern England: Sunny, Wind South Easterly, light. Very hot. Max. 26C (79F).

Glasgow area, N Ireland: Sunny, Wind southerly, moderate or fresh. Hot. Max. 24C (75F), but cooler near coast. Friday and Saturday: Dry, hot in most places. Perhaps some rain in W Scotland on Saturday.

IRAQI C.P. MEMBERS TORTURED

THE BA'ATHIST regime in Iraq has recently launched a massive campaign of repression against the Communist Party in Iraq, according to the latest issue of the Party's paper, 'Tariq el Chaab'.

The arrests, interrogations and use of torture have increased rapidly in the period since the agreement in March to give the Kurds—inhabitants of the frontier region between Iraq and Iran—a degree of national independence.

Political prisoners are incarcerated in the notorious 'El Nihaya' ('The End') fortress.

As well as communists, their sympathizers and a number of democrats have been arrested.

The Iraqi regime—nationalist and reactionary—has been forced to support the struggle for the liberation of Palestine and to take certain steps against the oil monopolies.

But it remains bitterly hostile to the forces of the labour movement in the Arab revolution.

The latest wave of repression is undoubtedly connected with fears that the Kurds will make common cause with the Iraqi labour movement and left wing against the Ba'athists.

Kurdish volunteers are fighting side by side with Palestinian guerrillas against Zionism in the Jordan valley.

The report in 'Tariq el Chaab' is confirmed in the Libyan Communist Party paper 'An Nida', which states that over 270 communists have been arrested in the past few weeks.

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LATE NEWS

MELLISH WARNS ON HOUSING

Local councils would have to prove their house-building ability if Labour were returned to power, Mr Robert Mellish, the newly-appointed Minister of Housing, warned yesterday.

Speaking to workers at a factory meeting in Halifax, he said he intended to publish a 'league table' giving the results of the various councils' housing records.

He would set realistic targets for council programmes and 'if they don't reach the target I set them it will not be the Minister of Housing who will be screaming at them, but the people of their own town', he said.

PAPERS STOPPED

A walk-out by print workers yesterday stopped publication of the London evening newspapers, the 'Evening News' and the 'Evening Standard'.

VORSTER FOR LISBON
Lisbon, Wednesday—S African premier John Vorster is expected in Lisbon tomorrow for a semi-official visit, his first to a European country since becoming prime minister four years ago.

OTHER CHILDREN KILLED
Amman, Wednesday—Waves of Israeli jets today struck against what were described by a Jordanian military spokesman as civilian targets in N Jordan, killing two children and wounding nine other civilians.

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