What think

Voroshilov

British Communist Party's response to the death of Voroshilov was in the real Stalin tradi-

Beneath a picture of the old Stalinist butcher and bung-ler (peering out from behind a stockade of medals and gold braid), yesterday's mourning 'Star' headlined the following lie:

'Voroshilov, top Communist and Soldier, dead.' Only the first and last words

ployers got down to con-

No. 1 docks group's ban.

timber and plywood supplies.

Its highly-mechanized Til-

Many dockers will regard Seaboard's statement. like that of OCL-ACT, as an ob-

Anxious

However T&GWU negotia-

tors do not think the same

way. They are more and more

anxious to get the ban lifted.

During Wednesday's meeting of the enclosed docks

modernization committee, officials apparently spent their

element of the offer so as to

give the appearance that some

differentials were being main-

It is this which the em-

ployers are now thinking over.

These proposals must be re-jected by dockers with the

same contempt they reserve for the threats of the em-

A campaign to build up support around the policies advocated by the Workers Press and the All Trades Unions Alliance is now an

Unity of all ports against the Devlin scheme!

substantial increase in pay

No redundancies!

2 P.M.

• For an immediate and

No collaboration with-

out full nationalization of the

docks under the control of

those who work in them.

No compensation to the old

urgent question.

without 'strings'!

tive arrangements.'

vious bluff.

berths.

are correct. Sam Russell's Stalinist tribute gives an accurate guide to the way the wind is blowing in King Street, headquarters of the British Communist

Party:
'One of the most famous leaders of the Red Army from the early years after the Russian Revolution in 1917 to World War II, Marshal Voroshilov died in Moscow yesterday at the age of 88. . . . In London [in 1907] he first met Stalin, with whom he worked very closely until Stalin's death.' But what was this 'work' that

Voroshilov carried out 'very closely' with Stalin? Everybody knows, most of all Russell, that Voroshilov helped Stalin to murder three of the Red Army's five Marshals, and with them around 80 per cent of top military command in

the Soviet Armed forces. Yesterday we reproduced a section of a speech at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU which gave details of the murder of Yakir, in which not only Stalin, but Voroshilov, was complicit.

Russell, as Foreign Editor of the 'Star', also knows that it was Voroshilov who headed the court martial which 'tried' and executed Yakir, Tukhachevsky and the other Red Army leaders shot in June 1937 on trumped-up charges of conspiring with Hitler to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

He also know that it was Voroshilov who signed the death warrants of the mur-

dered Red Army men. Russell was Foreign Editor of the 'Daily Worker' (the forerunner of the present Stalinist daily the 'Morning 22nd Congress of the CSPU

At this Congress, Khrushchev made the following com-ment on the Red Army

'Such prominent army leaders as Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich, Kork, Yegorov, Eideman and others were victims of the repressions. They were military men who had had great services to their credit. . . . '('Documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU', p. 346.)

Despite their 'great services', Russell's hero had them all shot for treason. Perhaps Russell has also conveniently forgotten another section of the same Krush-

chev speech, where he refers to the activities of the 'anti-Party group' during the purges: 'Comrade delegates, I wish to inform the Congress of the reaction of the anti-Party

group to the proposal to discuss at the 20th Congress the question of the abuses of power in the period of the personality cult. 'Molotov, Kaganovich, Malen-kov, Voroshilov and others

raised categorical objections they did their utmost to hamper an investigation of the abuses of power, fearing that their role as accomplices in mass repressions would be revealed.' (Ibid, pp. 342-343. Emphasis added.)

In the same speech, Krush-chev includes Voroshilov in the conspiracy that surrounded the death of Kirov in December 1934, the assassination that provided the pretext for the subsequent purges and the three 'Moscow Trials':

'There is another very strange fact. When the chief of Kirov's bodyguard was being taken for interrogation

he was to have been interrogated by Stalin,

Molotov and Voroshilov an accident was deliberately staged on the way, as the driver of the car afterwards said, by those who should have taken the guard chief for interrogation.

'They then reported that the

● PAGE 4 COL. 3 →

Second firm threatens to pull out

Lying eulogy of ANOTHER TILBURY CONTAINER BLUFF?

A SECOND cargo-handling consortium yesterday threatened to pull out of Tilbury docks in London.

By our industrial reporter



Students out in Sheffield in support of the teachers—see page four story.

Teachers blast back at Powell

ANOTHER union officially joined the teachers' strikes vesterday as teachers re plied angrily to Enoch Powell's widely-publicized attack on their action.

time advising the employers The executive committee how to make terms for the second phase of Lord Devlin's the Association docks 'modernization' Teachers in Technical Institutions has given branches the go-ahead to join in local half-day and look more acceptable. Since it is thought that much of the opposition to Phase Two comes from Lonone-day strikes in support of the campaign for a £135don's higher-paid dockers, they are believed to have asked the employers to cona-vear increase in pay. increasing the bonus

A national ballot showed more than 150 branches in favour of this action. More than 5,000 members

Tube men

stay out

LONDON trade unionists

have been invited to a rally

The strikers yesterday voted overwhelmingly to con-

tinue their action until the

agrees to reinstate an 11-year-old agreement about the re-

Auspices Young Socialists

London Transport

cruitment of craftsmen

workshops.

STOP WILSON'S WASHINGTON

VISIT!

FOR THE DEFEAT OF US

IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM!

DEMONSTRATION

SUNDAY JAN. 11

ASSEMBLE: Speakers' Corner (Marble Arch),

MARCH: via Oxford Street, Regent Street,

Trafalgar Square past Downing Street.

MEETING: Lyceum Ballroom, near Aldwych,

By our education correspondent

of the union, from assistant lecturers right up to college principals, have already been involved in of one kind or action

Leaders of all three have attacked unions Powell's claim, made at a Tory banquet on Wednesday night, that by striking the teachers had 'deliber-ately undertaken to set and example of lawlessness, illfaith and indifference to

Big Lucas-C.A.V. petition signed

SIXTY-FIVE workers at the Liverpool CAV factory, in-cluding 17 shop stewards, three senior stewards and three members of the AEF district committee, have signed the following petition:

'WE, the undersigned trade unionists, employed in Lucas-CAV factories in Fazakerley, Liverpool, express our anger and disgust in condemnation of the atrocities committed by American troops in Vietnam. 'We demand the withdrawal of all US troops now. We demand that the Labour government break with American

'THE Bexley Trades Council condemns US imperialism's namese people. We demand that the Prime Minister Harold Wilson cancel his intended visit to Washington in Janu-

Thirteen workers on the day shift at Stepney Power Station have signed a petition Executive Committee of the Labour Party to demand that Wilson's visit to Washington should not take place and

Dozens of resolutions

have been passed by many

union branches and thous-

ands of signatures have been

collected on petition forms

Wilson and Brown are hoping that people will soon forget about the atrocities and

that the anger at the war will

be dissipated by the phoney investigations and the 'soul-

searching' going on within

capitalist-class circles in the USA.

They are helped as usual by

already.

have the means and the will to victory, but also because of the growing solidarity of the American workers and in-tellectuals with the Vietnamese and the groundswell of opposition to the war in the US—and in Vietnam. The whole world knows the names of Lieut. Calley and Capt. Medina and the crimes committed by US soldiers in My Lai-but there is another

Stop Wilson's visit

to Nixon campaign

Off to a

good start

THE CAMPAIGN to stop Wilson's visit to

Washington has got off to a very encouraging

start-in fact it has proved to be one of the

most popular campaigns we have launched.

the silence and inactivity of the Stalinists and revisionists

who, together with the 'lefts'

in parliament, give aid and comfort to Nixon and his war

Contrast

contemptible lies and slander

of Trotsky, and you can see

how close to imperialism these

leaders we are confident that the heroic Vietnamese people

will eventually defeat Ameri-

can imperialism - no matter

how many atrocities are per-

We say this not only be-

cause the Vietnamese people

Dissent

Evacuation Hospital at Pleiku

refused the traditional turkey

dinner on Thanksgiving Day

and instead went on a silent

Their real feelings were expressed by Capt. Donald Van

'... after days and days of seeing men with arms and

Nimwegen, a doctor:

● PAGE 4 COL. 4 →

petrated by the US forces.

Unlike these wretched

people stand.

Contrast this with Gollan's

their refusal to fight

side to the war which the press is very reluctant publicize.

Because this is the most important aspect of the war. We refer to the opposition and dissent among US forces in Vietnam which is growing daily. Let us quote one example. According to 'Newsweek' (December 8, 1969) 100 officers and GIs at the 71st

Stewards retreat, but . . .

Stokes keeps up the attack

BY DAVID MAUDE

DISGUST and confusion was expressed by many British-Leyland workers yesterday at the outcome of Wednesday's Birmingham one-day conference of senior shop stewards.

There was disgust at their failure to carry two important resolutions.

As reported in yesterday's Workers Press, proposals for a permanent strike fund were rejected and a resolution condemning the lack of official support for Merseyside's Standard-Triumph strikers was withdrawn from the agenda. Confusion was created by the reports of the meeting

given out on television and in most of the press. Wednesday's meeting took place in an atmosphere of considerable tension.

Critical

Militants bitterly criticized the retreats of Stalinist and right-wing Labour stewards in the face of attacks from the

employers.
And these attacks continued even as the meeting took place. Speaking to the Institute

of Production Engineers on Wednesday night British-Leyland chairman Lord Stokes directed heavy fire against the lack of covernment action on trade union reform, unofficial strikes and restrictive practices.

'Are we going to run the industrial activities of the country like a business or like a circus-cum-charity—and, if the latter, who is going to

pay?' he asked. that charity-or rather, business-begins at home, British-Leyland tried to make certain that it would be their workers who would pay by making new proposals for a job-evalu-ation scheme at BMC Service,

Wider pattern

Although this was immediately rejected by the stewards, it forms only part of a much wider pattern. We have already reported attempts to introduce jobevaluation at Birmingham's Longbridge Austin plant and Oxford's Morris Motors.

What is the reply of the Communist Party and their friends of the Labour rightwing to this challenge?
The recent announcement

that Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers president Hugh Scanlon is to chair Mrs Barbara Castle's brainchild-a national union-employer council to prevent motor industry strikes—jointly with Leyland's Lord Stokes did not prevent ● PAGE 4 COL. 9 →

Briefly

VIETNAM TRUCES: President Thieu announced yester-day that South Vietnam would observe two 24-hour truces 'for humanitarian purposes'— one at Christmas and the other at the New Year.

The truces will also be observed by the US forces in

BLACK PANTHER ARRESTED: David Hilliard, the Black Panther leader, was arrested yesterday on charges of threatening the life of President Nixon.

Secret service agents made the arrest after a Federal Grand Jury met in secret session and indicted him.

The charges against Hilliard stem from a speech he made three weeks ago to more than 100,000 anti - Vietnam - war demonstrators in California.

A conviction could mean up to five years in prison and a £400 fine.

US VIETNAM CASUALTIES: Since January 1, 1961, there have been 300,829 US casualties — 39,642 killed, 259,828 wounded and 1,359 reported missing or captured in Vietnam, the US military command announced yesterday. 70 US soldiers were killed

last week, the lowest figure for two months and 60 fewer than the previous week.

ITALIAN STRIKES: Traffic in Rome was brought to a halt yesterday by a demonstration of 2,000 bank workers through the city to mark the start of

work contract. In Milan thousands of metal workers marched to the city

their 48-hour strike for a new

Yesterday was also the last day of the theory of trike by half a million public employees.

CONFERENCE: NATO Foreign and Defence ministers from the 15 NATO countries are today attending the second in Brussels which is discussing the Kremlin proposals for a tion'

Kremlin - suggested security conference in Hel-sinki during the first half of next year will mark a further stage in the ever more open co-operation of the Soviet bureaucracy with imperialism against the resurgence of the working class both in eastern and western Europe.

BOEING 707 CRASH: All 62 people on board an Air France Boeing 707 were killed yesterday morning when their air-craft exploded just after takeoff from Caracas, Venezuela

The wreckage fell into the sea five miles off the Venezuelan coast, but rescue amongst the floating debris. The airliner had made a stop-over in Caracas during a flight from Santiago in Chile

GREET **WORKERS PRESS**



at public meetings

See the film of the first issue being prepared and printed and the film 'Young Socialists, 1969'

CANTERBURY

Monday, December 8, 8 p.m. The Cornwallis Building University of Canterbury

LIVERPOOL

Sunday, December 14, 7.30 p.m. Shaftesbury Hotel, Mount Pleasant Speakers at Liverpool and Canterbury will be: MIKE BANDA (Editor of Workers' Press) SHEILA TORRANCE (National Secretary of the Young Socialists)

Bring Gaullist thugs to justice

---say French workers at Westminster's Central Halls on Monday in support

AT A packed Paris meeting on Wednesday of the ten-week-old strike night, Gérard Bloch of the Trotskyist Organizaof maintenance engineers tion for the Reconstruction of the Fourth Interfrom the Acton railway national told 5,000 workers and students the fight for justice, the fight for liberty, is inseparable from the fight for socialism'. The meeting in the

Mutualité was part of a campaign initiated by the Speller received to his letter French Trotskyists to demand the trial of the Gaullist thugs who brutally attacked Jean-Pierre Speller and two other young trade unionists on the night of April 26, 1969, the eve of the referendum which defeated de Gaulle.

Witnesses have stated that two of the 20 attackers were sons of a Gaullist Cabinet Minister.

Comrade Speller, a 23-yearold printer, was beaten with iron pipes and attacked by a

In an open letter to the Minister of Justice he said that as 'the son of a militant worker who has fought for years for respect liberties and justice, for the liberation of the working class,

Nothing done

The only answer Comrade

fighters in the workers' move-

● PAGE 4 COL. 4 →

By Liza Cartwright

was that the case was being investigated. Seven months have

by and nothing has been done. Comrade Speller spent a month in hospital after the attack and lost the sight of his left eye. He has been unable to return to his printing job because of his physical and psychological injuries. He told the Workers Press that the bourgeoisie resorts to

fascist methods of this kind in dealing with workers when the traditional Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies can no longer control the work-The only answer to these methods', he said, 'is a mass answer like that which de-

feated de Gaulle in the referendum. The meeting was addressed by a broad spectrum of trade unionists, representatives of left-wing political groups and

Militant resolutions

policy in Vietnam and that the visit of Wilson to Washington be cancelled. 'We call on the Labour MP for this constituency - Eric

Heffer - to demand in the Parliamentary Labour Party the removal of Wilson and Brown and all leaders who support the American government in their brutal and vicious war against the Vietnamese people."

A copy of the following resolution passed by Bexley Trades Council is being sent to Harold Wilson:

brutal war against the Vietary, which we feel would be an act of association with the alleged atrocities.'

urging the leaderships of the trade unions and the National calling on the Labour cabinet to cancel Wilson's visit im-

N.L.F. denounces Nixon South Vietnam.

DINH BA THI, acting leader of the National Liberation Front delegation at the Paris Vietnam talks charged vesterday that Nixon was stepping the 'burn all, kill all, destroy all policy' started by the Johnson administration in

He said: 'The Son My mass slaughter is neither an isolated event nor a case of alleged violation of US rules of war by some US servicemen. It is but one among thousands of barbarous crimes.

WEATHER

for Saturday and Sunday: Continuing rather cold with wintry showers in eastern districts.
TODAY:

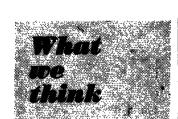
southern England, E Midlands: Dry with frost at first. Becoming cloudy with spreading from the NW perhaps falling as snow over high ground at first. Clearer weather will spread to all areas by midnight. Wind NW, moderate. Maximum 8C (46F). Channel Islands: Dry and bright at first, a little rain later. Moderate NW wind. Maximum 10C (50F).

London area, SE, and central

W. Midlands, SW, NW and central Northern England: Cloudy with some rain and drizzle, clearing from the north during the afternoon, followed by clear periods and scattered showers. Moderate or fresh NW winds. Maximum 8C (46F).

Edinburgh and Glasgow area, N. Ireland: Cloudy with rain at first and snow over hills. clearing from the north, followed by bright periods and occasional showers, falling as snow over high ground. Moderate or fresh NW winds. Maximum 7C (45F).

The daily organ of the



Lying LYIIIG eulogy of **Voroshilov**

British Communist Party's response to the death of Voroshilov was in the real Stalin tradi-

Beneath a picture of the old Stalinist butcher and bungler (peering out from behind a stockade of medals and gold braid), yesterday's mourning 'Star' headlined the following lie:

'Voroshilov, top Communist and Soldier, dead.' Only the first and last words are correct. Sam Russell's Stalinist tribute

gives an accurate guide to the way the wind is blowing in King Street, headquarters of the British Communist

Party:

'One of the most famous leaders of the Red Army from the early years after the Russian Revolution in 1917 to World War II, Marshal Voroshilov died in Moscow yesterday at the age of 88. . . . In London [in 1907] he first met Stalin, with whom he worked very closely until Stalin's death.' But what was this 'work' that Voroshilov carried out 'very

closely' with Stalin? Everybody knows, most of all Russell, that Voroshilov helped Stalin to murder three of the Red Army's five Marshals, and with them around 80 per cent of top military command in the Soviet Armed forces.

Yesterday we reproduced a section of a speech at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU which gave details of the murder of Yakir, in which see the Stellie but Work not only Stalin, but Voro-shilov, was complicit. Russell, as Foreign Editor of

the 'Star', also knows that it was Voroshilov who headed the court martial executed Yakir, Tukhachevsky and the other Red Army leaders shot in June 1937 on trumped-up charges of conspiring with Hitler to recapitalism in the

Soviet Union. He also know that it was Voroshilov who signed the death warrants of the murdered Red Army men.

Russell was Foreign Editor of the 'Daily Worker' (the forerunner of the present Stalinist daily the 'Morning Star') at the time of the 22nd Congress of the CSPU

At this Congress, Khrushchev made the following com-ment on the Red Army

'Such prominent army leaders as Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich, Kork, Yegorov, Eideman and others were victims of the repressions. They were military men who had had great services to their credit. . . . ('Documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU', p. 346.)
Despite their 'great services'

Russell's hero had them all shot for treason. Perhaps Russell has also conveniently forgotten another section of the same Krushchev speech, where he refers to the activities of the 'anti-Party group' during

the purges: 'Comrade delegates, I wish to inform the Congress of the reaction of the anti-Party group to the proposal to discuss at the 20th Congress the question of the abuses of power in the period of the personality cult.

'Molotov, Kaganovich, Malen-kov, Voroshilov and others raised categorical objections . . . they did their utmost to hamper an investigation the abuses of power, fearing that their role as accomplices in mass repressions would be revealed.'
(Ibid, pp. 342-343. Emphasis added.)

In the same speech, Krushchev includes Voroshilov in the conspiracy that surrounded the death of Kirov in December 1934, the assassination that provided the pretext for the subsequent purges and the three 'Moscow Trials':

'There is another very strange fact. When the chief of Kirov's bodyguard was being taken for interrogation —he was to have been interrogated by Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilov an accident was deliberately driver of the car afterwards said, by those who should have taken the guard chief for interrogation.

'They then reported that the ● PAGE 4 COL. 3 ->

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • PUBLISHED FROM TUESDAY TO SATURDAY • NUMBER 50 • FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1969

Second firm threatens to pull out

ANOTHER TILBURY CONTAINER BLUFF?

A SECOND cargo-handling consortium yesterday threatened to pull out of Tilbury docks in London.

This was announced as

London's other port em-

ployers got down to con-

sidering new union propo-

sals for ending the ban

there on working new unit-

load and containership

Like OCL-ACT, Seaboard Pioneer Terminals—a partner-ship of Seaboard Shipping

Services and the Reed paper group—has invested £2.5 mil-lion at Tilbury, but has been

unable to use its berth since

February because of the Trans-

port and General Workers' No. 1 docks group's ban.

yesterday, 'has forced us to start thinking about alterna-

tive arrangements.

vious bluff.

modernization

'The ban', said a spokesman

Since February, Seaboard

has been using a nearby Til-bury berth and other ports to

bring in its bulk pulp, paper,

Its highly-mechanized Til-bury berth was specially de-

signed to carry out this work

with the minimum amount of

Many dockers will regard Seaboard's statement. like that of OCL-ACT, as an ob-

Anxious

However T&GWU negotia-

tors do not think the same

way. They are more and more

anxious to get the ban lifted. During Wednesday's meet-

ing of the enclosed docks

officials apparently spent their

It is this which the em-

These proposals must be re-

ployers are now thinking over.

jected by dockers with the

same contempt they reserve for the threats of the em-

Unions Alliance is now an

Unity of all ports

• For an immediate and

No collaboration with-

out full nationalization of the

docks under the control of

those who work in them.

No compensation to the old

against the Devlin scheme!

substantial increase in pay

No redundancies!

ployers.

urgent question.

without 'strings'!

committee.

timber and plywood supplies.

By our industrial reporter



Students out in Sheffield in support of the teachers—see page four story.

By our education

correspondent

of the union, from assist-

ant lecturers right up to

college principals, have al-

Leaders of all three

have

Powell's claim, made at a

Tory banquet on Wednes-day night, that by striking

ately undertaken to set and

example of lawlessness, ill-

faith and indifference to

The meeting in the

Mutualité was part of a

campaign initiated by the

French Trotskyists to de-

mand the trial of the Gaul-

list thugs who brutally

attacked Jean-Pierre Speller

and two other young trade

unionists on the night of

April 26, 1969, the eve of

the referendum which de-

Witnesses have stated that

two of the 20 attackers were

sons of a Gaullist Cabinet

Comrade Speller, a 23-year-

old printer, was beaten with

iron pipes and attacked by a

Nothing done

In an open letter to the Minister of Justice he said

that as 'the son of a militant

worker who has fought for

liberties and justice, for the

liberation of the working class,

years for respect for

feated de Gaulle.

teachers had 'deliber-

been involved in

of one kind or

attacked

Bring Gaullist

thugs to justice

AT A packed Paris meeting on Wednesday

night, Gérard Bloch of the Trotskyist Organiza-

tion for the Reconstruction of the Fourth Inter-

national told 5,000 workers and students

the fight for justice, the fight for liberty, is

inseparable from the fight for socialism'.

-say French workers

Teachers blast back at Powell

ready

unions

ANOTHER union officially joined the teachers' strikes yesterday as teachers replied angrily to Enoch Powell's widely-publicized attack on their action.

how to make terms for the The executive committee second phase of Lord Devlin's the Association docks 'modernization' Teachers in Technical Inlook more acceptable. stitutions has given branches the go-ahead to join in local half-day and Since it is thought that of the opposition to one-day strikes in support Phase Two comes from London's higher-paid dockers, of the campaign for a £135are believed to have a-vear increase in pay. asked the employers to con-

A national ballot showed more than 150 branches in sider increasing the bonus element of the offer so as to favour of this action. give the appearance that some More than 5,000 members

Tube men stay out

A campaign to build up support around the policies advocated by the Workers Press and the All Trades LONDON trade unionists have been invited to a rally at Westminster's Central Halls on Monday in support of the ten-week-old strike of maintenance engineers from the Acton railway

> workshops. The strikers yesterday voted overwhelmingly to continue their action until the London Transport Board agrees to reinstate an 11-yearold agreement about the recruitment of craftsmen.

STOP WILSON'S WASHINGTON VISIT!

FOR THE DEFEAT OF US IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM!

DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY JAN. 11

ASSEMBLE: Speakers' Corner (Marble Arch), 2 P.M.

MARCH: via Oxford Street, Regent Street, Trafalgar Square past Downing Street.

MEETING: Lyceum Ballroom, near Aldwych,

Auspices Young Socialists

They are helped as usual by Big Lucas-C.A.V.

Liverpool CAV factory, in-cluding 17 shop stewards, three senior stewards and three members of the AEF district committee, have

signed the following petition: 'WE, the undersigned trade unionists, employed in Lucas-CAV factories in Fazakerley, Liverpool, express our anger and disgust in condemnation of the atrocities committed by American troops in Vietnam. 'We demand the withdrawal

By Liza Cartwright

Speller received to his letter

investigated.

endum.'

The only answer Comrade PAGE 4 COL. 4

was that the case was being

Seven months have gone

Comrade Speller spent a

by and nothing has been done.

month in hospital after the

attack and lost the sight of his left eye. He has been un-

able to return to his printing

job because of his physical and psychological injuries.

that the bourgeoisie resorts to

fascist methods of this kind in

dealing with workers when the traditional Stalinist and

reformist bureaucracies can

no longer control the work-

ing class.
The only answer to these

methods', he said, 'is a mass answer like that which de-

feated de Gaulle in the refer-

The meeting was addressed

by a broad spectrum of trade

unionists, representatives of

left-wing political groups and

fighters in the workers' move-

Militant resolutions

told the Workers Press

namese people of all US troops now. We demand that the Labour gov-

'THE Bexley Trades Council condemns US imperialism's brutal war against the Vietnamese people. We demand that the Prime Minister Harold Wilson cancel his intended visit to Washington in January, which we feel would be an act of association with the alleged atrocities.'

Thirteen workers on the day shift at Stepney Power Station have signed a petition urging the leaderships of the trade unions and the National Labour Party to demand that Wilson's visit to Washington calling on the Labour cabinet to cancel Wilson's visit im-

petition signed policy in Vietnam and that the visit of Wilson to Wash-

ington be cancelled. 'We call on the Labour MP for this constituency — Eric Heffer — to demand in the Parliamentary Labour Party the removal of Wilson and Brown and all leaders who support the American government in their brutal and vicious war against the Viet-

A copy of the following resolution passed by Bexley Trades Council is being sent to Harold Wilson:

Executive Committee of the should not take place and

Stop Wilson's visit to Nixon campaign

Off to a good start

THE CAMPAIGN to stop Wilson's visit to Washington has got off to a very encouraging start—in fact it has proved to be one of the most popular campaigns we have launched.

Dozens of resolutions have been passed by many union branches and thousands of signatures have been collected on petition forms already.

Wilson and Brown are hoping that people will soon forget about the atrocities and that the anger at the war will be dissipated by the phoney investigations and the 'soulsearching' going on within capitalist-class circles in the

the silence and inactivity of the Stalinists and revisionists who, together with the 'lefts' in parliament, give aid and comfort to Nixon and his war their refusal to fight

- Contrast Contrast this with Gollan's contemptible lies and slander

of Trotsky, and you can see how close to imperialism these people stand. Unlike these wretched

leaders we are confident that the heroic Vietnamese people will eventually defeat American imperialism - no matter how many atrocities are perpetrated by the US forces. We say this not only be-

cause the Vietnamese people have the means and the will to victory, but also because of the growing solidarity of the American workers and in-tellectuals with the Vietnamese and the groundswell of opposition to the war in the US—and in Vietnam.

The whole world knows the names of Lieut. Calley and Capt. Medina and the crimes committed by US soldiers in My Lai—but there is another side to the war which the is very reluctant to publicize.

Dissent

Because this is the most important aspect of the war. We refer to the opposition and dissent among US forces in Vietnam which is growing daily. Let us quote one example.

According to 'Newsweek' (December 8, 1969) 100 officers and GIs at the 71st Evacuation Hospital at Pleiku refused the traditional turkey dinner on Thanksgiving Day and instead went on a silent

Their real feelings were expressed by Capt. Donald Van Nimwegen, a doctor "... after days and days of seeing men with arms and ● PAGE 4 COL. 4 →

N.L.F. denounces Nixon

DINH BA THI, acting leader of the National Liberation Front delegation at the Paris Vietnam talks charged yesterday that Nixon was stepping up the 'burn all, kill all, destroy all policy' started by the Johnson administration

He said: 'The Son My mass slaughter is neither an isolated event nor a case of alleged violation of US rules of war by some US servicemen. It is but one among thousands of

WEATHER

Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Continuing rather cold with wintry showers in TODAY:

London area, SE, and central southern England, E Midlands: Dry with frost at first. Becoming cloudy with rain spreading from the NW perhaps falling as snow over high ground at first. Clearer weather will spread to all areas by midnight. Wind NW, moderate. Maximum 8C (46F). Channel Islands: Dry and bright at first, a little rain later. Moderate NV Maximum 10C (50F).

W. Midlands, SW, NW and central Northern England: Cloudy with some rain and drizzle, clearing from the north during the afternoon, followed by clear periods and scattered showers. Moderate or fresh NW winds. Maximum 8C (46F).

Edinburgh and Glasgow area. N. Ireland: Cloudy with rain at first and snow over hills clearing from the north, followed by bright periods and occasional showers, falling as snow over high ground. Moderate or fresh NW winds. Maximum 7C (45F).

Stewards retreat, but . . .

Stokes keeps up the attack

BY DAVID MAUDE

DISGUST and confusion was expressed by many British-Leyland workers yesterday at the outcome of Wednesday's Birmingham one-day conference of senior shop stewards.

There was disgust at their failure to carry two important resolutions.

As reported in yesterday's Workers Press, proposals for a permanent strike fund were rejected and a resolution con-demning the lack of official support for Merseyside's Standard-Triumph strikers was

withdrawn from the agenda.
Confusion was created by
the reports of the meeting
given out on television and
in most of the press. Wednesday's meeting took place in an atmosphere of considerable tension.

Critical Militants bitterly criticized the retreats of Stalinist and right-wing Labour stewards in the face of attacks from the

employers.
And these attacks continued even as the meeting took place.

Speaking to the Institute Production Engineers on

Wednesday night British-Leyland chairman Lord Stokes directed heavy fire against the lack of covernment action on trade union reform, unofficial strikes and restrictive prac-'Are we going to run the industrial activities of the

country like a business or like a circus-cum-charity—and, if the latter, who is going to pay?' he asked. Operating the old maxim

that charity-or rather, business-begins at home, British-Leyland tried to make certain that it would be their workers who would pay by making new proposals for a job-evaluation scheme at BMC Service,

Wider pattern

Although this was immediately rejected by the stew-ards, it forms only part of a We have already reported attempts to introduce job-

Longbridge Austin plant and Oxford's Morris Motors. What is the reply of the Communist Party and their friends of the Labour rightwing to this challenge?

The recent announcement

that Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers president Hugh Scanlon is to chair Mrs Barbara Castle's brainchild—a national union-employer council to prevent motor industry -jointly with Leyland's Lord Stokes did not prevent ● PAGE 4 COL. 9 →

Briefly

VIETNAM TRUCES: President Thieu announced yester-day that South Vietnam would observe two 24-hour truces 'for humanitarian purposes'—one at Christmas and the other at the New Year.

The truces will also be observed by the US forces in Vietnam.

BLACK PANTHER ARRESTED: David Hilliard, the Black Panther leader, was arrested yesterday on charges of threatening the life of President Nixon.

Secret service agents made the arrest after a Federal Grand Jury met in secret session and indicted him.

The charges against Hilliard stem from a speech he made three weeks ago to more than 100,000 anti - Vietnam - war demonstrators in California.

A conviction could mean up to five years in prison and a £400 fine.

US VIETNAM CASUALTIES: Since January 1, 1961, there have been 300,829 US casual-ties — 39,642 killed, 259,828 wounded and 1,359 reported

missing or captured in Viet-nam, the US military com-mand announced yesterday. 70 US soldiers were killed last week, the lowest figure for two months and 60 fewer than the previous week.

ITALIAN STRIKES: Traffic in Rome was brought to a halt yesterday by a demonstration of 2,000 bank workers through the city to mark the start of their 48-hour strike for a new

work contract. In Milan thousands of metal workers marched to the city centre.

Yesterday was also the last day of the throughly strike by half a million public employees.

NATO **CONFERENCE:** Foreign and Defence ministers from the 15 NATO countries day of their two-day meeting in Brussels which is discussing the Kremlin proposals for a tion'.

Kremlin - suggested security conference in Hel-sinki during the first half of next year will mark a further stage in the ever more open co-operation of the Soviet bureaucracy with imperialism against the resurgence of the working class both in eastern and western Europe.

BOEING 707 CRASH: All 62 people on board an Air France Boeing 707 were killed yesterday morning when their air-craft exploded just after takeoff from Caracas, Venezuela, The wreckage fell into the sea five miles off the Venezuelan coast, but rescue

amongst the floating debris. The airliner had made a stop-over in Caracas during a flight from Santiago in Chile

GREET **WORKERS PRESS**



at public meetings

See the film of the first issue being prepared and printed and the film 'Young Socialists, 1969'

CANTERBURY

Monday, December 8, 8 p.m. The Cornwallis Building **University of Canterbury**

LIVERPOOL

Sunday, December 14, 7.30 p.m. Shaftesbury Hotel, Mount Pleasant

Speakers at Liverpool and Canterbury will be: MIKE BANDA (Editor of Workers' Press) SHEILA TORRANCE (National Secretary of the Young Socialists)

TWO EVENTS dwarfed all others in the year following the 12th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in March 1923. The first was the defeat of the German Revolution in the autumn of 1923, the second the death of Lenin in January 1924.

The Bolshevik Party could possibly have withstood either of these blows. But their particular combination broke the back of the Party and the International.

Lenin's death and the defeat of the German Revolution cast a shadow over the world class struggle for at least two decades.

The death of Lenin was not simply the loss of a great Communist leader.

Lenin embodied at an unprecedented level the entire continuity of the Russian revolutionary movement, from his break with his brother's Narodnism, through the bitter factional struggles against revisionism to the final split from the Menshevism of Martov and Plekhanov, culminating in the Russian Revolution and the founding of the Third, Communist International.

In that deeper, historical sense, Lenin was Bolshevism. In periods of deep political crisis, the Bolshevik Party leadership without Lenin revealed definite shadings and tendencies that were not always visible at other times.

Under the stress of new political problems and developments, either a rigid 'orthodoxy' or pragmatic improvization became the substitute for the development and enrichment of Marxist theory that Lenin always fought for at such times.

With Lenin still in exile. March 1917 found the Russianbased 'old Bolsheviks' supporting the Provisional government of Prince L'vov.

Lenin's return, followed by his struggle for the 'April Theses' and the overthrow of the still-imperialist Provisional government, drove Stalin and Kamenev back to the left.

Revealed

But only days before the October insurrection nine months later, Zinoviev and Kamenev revealed through the non-Party press the preparations of the Party for the uprising.

And though not involved in this action, Stalin shared their opposition to the revolution As in March, under the

pressure of historic tasks, 'old Bolshevism' became a brake on the development of the Party and the working class. Only the pressure of the working class struggling for power, combined with the political authority and struggle waged by Lenin within the Central Committee, drove the

power. 'Old Bolshevism' died hard, and Lenin knew it. After his illness and death, it was to become the receptacle not simply for a centrist vacillation, but for the buréaucratic degeneration and eventual de-

Party on to the conquest of

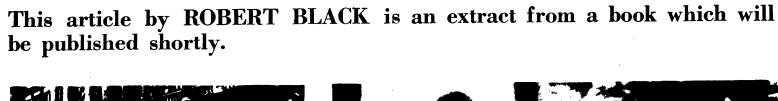
struction of the Leninist Bolshevik Party. The termination of Lenin's political activity after March 1923 now permitted 'Old Bolshevism' to raise its head

as never before.

The uneven development of the Bolshevik leadership. which in the past had provided an enormous theoretical challenge and stimulus to the development of Marxist theory by Lenin, now became an even bigger handicap.

Fused as it was with the defeat of the German Revolution, it became a gigantic obstacle.

Throughout his life, as even with his death, Lenin and the German Revolution were always linked.





Spartacist prisoners being led off after the defeat of the German Revolution in 1918-1919. Lenin saw this defeat as a bitter blow to the Russian Revolution.



Lenin's death in 1924 was a severe blow to the Bolshevik Party as he embodied the entire development of the Russian revolutionary movement.

Nepman.

pressure.

the Bolshevik Party.

cards before March 1917.

only helped to increase this

After the German defeat,

After Lenin's death, they

the bureaucracy began to sit

more securely in the saddle.

seized, through Stalin, the

Party reins and began to steer

the Party and the state into

uncharted territory, free at last from the lash of Lenin's

Stupendous

Bureaucratic conservatism

and 'Old Bolshevism' at the

top now merged with prole-

tarian exhaustion and peasant

acquisitiveness below. By 1924,

the objective political weight

of this nationalist, petty-

bourgeois offensive was

through could reverse it. Only

the most developed Marxists

in the Party could understand

Inevitably, this hostile class pressure, fed into the Party

through the bureaucracy,

mounted its attack on the pro-

gramme of the Party and the

It disguised its attack on

Bolshevism in the name of the

strictest 'Leninist' orthodoxy.

revision of Bolshevism with

the adoption of Stalin's 'Social-

ism in One Country', the open-

ing shots in the faction fight

The first grouping in the Party to fight for Lenin's pro-

gramme of struggle against

bureaucracy were the signator-

ies to the 'Platform of the 46'.

opposition groupings in the

Party (such as the syndicalist

began with a defence of Bol-

shevik methods and principles

against their revision by the

based itself on a sober analysis

The 'Platform of the 46'

'If extensive, well-considered,

planned and energetic

measures are not taken forth-

with, if the present absence of

leadership continues, we face

the possibility of an extremely

acute economic breakdown,

which will inevitably involve

internal political complications

and a complete paralysis of

our external effectiveness and

capacity for action. And this

last, as everyone knows, is

more necessary to us now than

ever; on it depends the fate

of the world revolution and

the working class of all coun-

These were indeed prophetic

words, anticipating the future

interplay between the degener-

ation of the internal Soviet

and Party regime and the

leadership given by the Com-

tries. . . .'

clique of 'Old Bolsheviks'.

of economic problems:

'Workers' Opposition') the '46'

As distinct from previous

But well before this open

Only an international break-

theoretical whip.

stupendous.

and withstand it.

International.

had been fired.

From his earliest days as a Marxist, Lenin grasped that the Russian and German Revolutions were a single

And after the Russian Revolution, he stated more than once that the Bolshevik Party had to be prepared even to risk losing state power in Russia to ensure the triumph of the German Revolution.

While opposing the advocates of 'revolutionary war' in early 1918. Lenin still insisted that the interests of the Russian Revolution had to be subordinated to the overall development of the world revolution.

But while there was no immediate prospect of revolution in Germany, Lenin argued that at that stage the world revolution was best served by the preservation of Soviet power at any price, including even the loss of the Ukraine (The 'Brest-Litovsk Peace').

But the development of the German and West European revolution would demand a rapid change of tactics, as Lenin pointed out:

'It is quite conceivable that, given these premises, it would be not only expedient . . . but a downright duty to accept the possibility of defeat and the possibility of the loss of Soviet power . . .' (Vol. 27, Collected Works p.72.)

In May 1918, Lenin returned to the same theme, this time from a new angle:

'In 1918, Germany and Russia have become the most striking embodiment of the material realization of the economic, the productive and the socio-economic conditions for socialism on the one hand and the political conditions on

'A successful proletarian revolution in Germany would immediately and very easily smash any shell of imperialism . . . and would bring about the victory of world socialism for certain . . . (Vol. 27, p.

Bitter blow

The defeat of the German Revolution of 1918-1919 was therefore a bitter blow to Lenin and the Russian Revolution, softened only by the foundation and rapid growth of the German Communist

Party. Through his position of leadership in the Communist International, Lenin constantly assisted in the political development of the German Communist Party, because it, above all other parties, held the key to the European revolution.

Lenin's 'Left-Wing Communism' proved decisive in overcoming much of the German Party's ultra-leftist approach to the reformistinfluenced workers.

Through the use of the United Front tactic after 1921, the Party began to split the rank and file away from their Social-Democratic leaders.

By the summer of 1923, the bulk of the working masses were broken from the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party, which was now visibly disintegrating. With the inflationary crisis reaching its peak, the road opened up for the conquest of power.

But faced with this sudden change in the character of the struggle, the Party leadership clung to the now-outdated tactic of the United Front, converting it from a tactic into a fetish.

Instead of emerging as the vanguard of the entire working class and poor peasantry, the German Communist Party became the tail of the left Social-Democrats.

There was no active preparation for power, merely evasions and postponements.

What had been a minority opportunist grouping on the Bolshevik Central Committee on the eve of the October insurrection now became, six years later, in the German Party leadership, an overwhelming majority.

The revolutionary situation matured—and then passed by. The forces of reaction re-

'If today in Germany the power, so to speak, falls, and the Communists seize hold of it, they will fall with a crash . . .' [This was also the Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev line prior to the Russian October

Revolution of 1917]. 'Of course, the fascists are not asleep, but it is to our advantage that they attack first . . .' [A decade later, this was again to be Stalin's slogan for Germany: 'After Hitler, our turn . . .'].

'In my opinion the Germans must be curbed and not spurred on . .

Over the next 20 years and more, the workers, not merely of Germany or even the Soviet Union, but the whole world, were to pay with their blood for this 'curbing' of the German Revolution. Fascism and the Second World War were the bitter fruits of that historic reverse.

The events in Germanv. coupled with the continued decline in Lenin's health, gave



The ban on factions imposed at the 10th Congress of the Bolshevik Party (above), after the Kronstadt revolt, became a cudgel in the hands of the Party bureaucracy. Some delegates can be seen with bandaged wounds received at Kronstadt.

grouped and passed over to the offensive. Weeks later the Nazis staged their 'Munich Putsch'. The whole class balance in Germany tipped over to the right.

Even in 1923, the bureaucratic virus infecting the Bolshevik Party had already spread, via the apparatus of the Communist International in Moscow, to its other sections.

In a letter to Zinoviev (Stalin's ally against Trotsky and chairman of the International) Stalin recommended the following course of action in Germany:

'Should the Communists strive to seize power without the Social-Democrats?' [Stalin presumably believed that the Party which crushed the Spartakist Revolution and murdered Luxemburg and Liebknecht was still capable of revolutionary action].

a tremendous boost to the privileged social layers that were already crystallizing into the Soviet bureaucracy.

For just as the approach of the German Revolution pumped new energy into the Soviet working class and raised it to a level of revolutionary fervour not experienced since the Civil War, its failure swung the class pendulum hard over to the right, as it had done in Germany.

The perspectives of rapid industrialization and swift progress towards collective farming now faded with the consolidation of the Stresemann regime in Germany.

German heavy industry remained tied to the fortunes of the capitalist world market and the drive for profit, condemning the Soviet economy to continued isolation and distortions.

Suddenly, the pressure was

munist International to the struggles of the working class in Western Europe and China. The 'Platform' then turned

GRANADA: 4.15 p.m. News Headlines, Hatty Town. 4.25 The Short Story. 5.00 Rocket Robin Hood. 5.20 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 Newsiew. 6.05 The Beverly Hillbillies. 6.30 All Our Yesterdays. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Curry and Chips. 8.00 The Friday Film: "Donovan's Reef" with John Wayne, Lee Marvin and Dorothy Lamour. Comedy adventure on a South Sea Island.

TYNE TEES: 4.08 p.m. North East Newsroom. 4.53 North East Newsroom. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Curry and Chips. 8.00 The Untouchables. 9.00 Hadleigh. 11.15 Your World On Friday. 11.45 Late News Extra. 12 midnight The Name Of The Game.

GRAMPIAN: 4.15 p.m. News Headlines. 4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 Castle Haven. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 6.00 Grampian News. 6.10 Why On Earth? 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 The Avengers. 8.00 The Dave King Show. 9.00 It Takes A Thief. 11.15 Points North, Road Report.

to the internal Party regime, where the contradictions were at their most acute:

'Beneath the external form of official unity we have in practice a one-sided recruitment of individuals, and a direction of affairs which is one-sided and adapted to the views and sympathies of a

'As a result of a Party leadership distorted by such considerations, Party is to a considerable extent ceasing to be that living independent collectivity which sensitively seizes living reality because it is bound to this reality with a thousand

The Platform bluntly faced up to the vexed question of factions, resolved only temporarily by the ban imposed at the 10th Congress of the Party in 1921: 'The position which has

been created is explained by the fact that the regime of the dictatorship of a fraction within the Party, which was in lifted from the 'Kulak' and the fact created after the 10th Congress, has outlived itself. All the pressure of bureau-Many of us consciously accracy and peasant conservacepted submission to such a tism bore down on the tiny regime. The turn of policy in (relatively speaking) forces of the year 1921, and after the illness of comrade Lenin, de-In 1924, only 1 per cent of its members had held Party manded in the opinion of some of us a dictatorship within the Party as a temporary measure. The dilution of its ranks

'Other comrades from the very beginning adopted a sceptical attitude towards it. . By the time of the 11th Congress of the Party this regime had outlived itself. . . . Links with the Party began to weaken. The Party began to

die away. . . .'
Those who doubted the correctness of the 1921 ban on Party factions were right.

Instead of serving as a weapon in the fight against the petty-bourgeois pressures dramatized by the Kronstadt revolt and legalized by the New Economic Policy (NEP) the ban became a cudgel in the hands of the Party bureaucracy (following the illness of Lenin) against Marxist criticism and initiative from the

Even at the time of its imposition, Lenin fought against those who interpreted the ban on factions as ending minority or tendency rights within the

We cannot deprive the Party and members of the Central Committee of the right to appeal to the Party in the event of disagreement on fundamental issues. I cannot imagine how we can do such a thing. [Stalin was to do just than within five years.]

'The present Congress cannot in any way bind the elecdetach the leaders from the masses, to bring them to concentrate their attention solely upon questions of administration, of appointments and transfers, of narrowing their horizon, of weakening their revolutionary spirit, that is of provoking a more or less opportunistic degeneration of the Old Guard, or at the very least, of a considerable part of it. Such processes develop slowly and almost imperceptibly, but reveal themselves

'To see this warning, based upon objective Marxian foresight, as an "outrage", an "assault" etc., really requires the skittish susceptibility and arrogance of bureaucrats . . . With such a degeneration of the leadership, the principal superiority of the Party, its multiple collective experience, retires to the background. Leadership takes on a purely

organizational character and

frequently degenerates into

abruptly.

order-giving and meddling . . ('The New Course', pp. 16-24.) Stung by the double barb of 'The New Course' and the 'Platform of the 46', Stalin attacked Trotsky personally at the 13th Party Conference held just after the death of Lenin. Already the future gravedigger of Bolshevism was flex-

ing his muscles.

The Party Congress which followed in May was not a Bolshevik gathering. Its delegates had been handpicked by Stalin through his control of the apparatus.

Selected not for their loyalty to the principles of Bolshevism, but personal lovalty to Stalin and the requirements of his machine to which they owed their advancement, this careerist layer hardened into a solid caste that rallied to Stalin as their political patron and spokesman.

It was after this Congress

and conservative social layer within the Soviet Union. Retreating from the Leninist programme of world revolution as the only long-term salvation of the Russian Revolution, the Stalinist faction disguised its opportunism (even, in its early stages, from itself) behind the slogan of consolidation and

From 1925 onwards, acceptance of the theory of 'socialism in one country' became a con-

dition of Party membership.

More than 40 years on, the Reids, Gollans, Rothsteins and Iohnstones still cling to and defend this reactionary 'theory' as best they can.

They know that the whole of Stalinism hangs on it.

They will give up anything rather than surrender on that single question. Johnstone 'condemns' the Moscow Trials and post-war purges (20 years too late) but he will not budge on 'socialism in one country'. Neither will Reid:

'It is necessary to comment upon the Trotskyist claim that the revelations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU have shown the Trotskyist opposition to Stalin to have been correct. This is to confuse two separate questions.

'There can be no doubt about the main political line advocated by Trotsky and hi. supporters. This is a matter of history. Trotsky first, as we have seen [of course we have not 'seen'. This is the first reference Reid makes to the dispute over 'socialism in one country'. That question, as she herself admits, has been left to the more expert touch of Johnstone] attacked the policy of building up the strength of the Soviet state, claimed that it was impossible without the development of further social-

ist revolutions . . . It was thus not the principal policies developed by the CPSU while

COUNTRY

Monty Johnstone

tions to the next Congress. Suppose we are faced with a question like, say, the conclusion of the Brest peace? Can you guarantee that no such question will arise? No, you cannot.

'In the circumstances, the elections may have to be based on platforms. . . . I do not think we have the power to prohibit this. . . . If the circumstances should give rise to fundamental disagreements, can we prohibit them from being brought before the judgement of the whole party? No, we cannot! . . . I move we reject it.' (Vol. 32, p. 261.)

Indeed, as we have shown, Lenin himself broke that ban by forming his bloc with Trotsky against Stalin over the 'Georgian case' and the fight in defence of the monopoly of foreign trade.

Had Lenin survived his stroke, there can be no doubt that the temporary ban would have been lifted. By 1923, it clearly hindered,

not assisted, the fight against bureaucratic degeneration. Though not a signatory of the 'Platform', Trotsky was in

sympathy with its general line.

(Many of its supporters were soon to become active members of the Left Opposition: Preobrazhensky, Serebryakov, Beloborodov, Antonov-Ovseyenko, I. N. Smirnov, Pyatakov, Ossinsky, Muralov, Sapronov, Sosnovsky, Boguslavsky and Vaganyan — and later still, to pay for this first valiant stand against bureaucracy with their lives.)

Opened up

At the end of 1923, he too opened up on 'Old Bolshevism' in a series of articles later published under the title 'The New Course':

'Does bureaucratism bear within it a danger of degeneration, or doesn't it? He would be blind who denied it. In its prolonged development, bureaucratization threatens to that the attack upon programme and principle became explicit. And it was Stalin who became the spokesman. In April 1924, Stalin

addressed students of the Sverdlov University in Moscow. His theme was the 'Foundations of Leninism'. In the first published edition of his speech. Stalin figures as a firm opponent of the theory of 'socialism in one country': 'The overthrow of the power

of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian government in one country does not yet guarantee the complete victory of socialism. The main task of socialism, the organization of socialist production, still lies ahead. Can this task be accomplished, can the victory of socialism in one country be attained, without the joint efforts of the proletariat of several advanced countries? 'No, this is impossible.

For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of such a peasant country as Russia, are insufficient . . .' ('Lenin and Leninism', p. 40.)

But in the second edition, published a few months later. the text of the same speech was 'edited' in the following manner:

'But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean that the complete victory of socialism has been assured. After consolidating its power and leading the peasantry in its wake the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build a socialist society. (Stalin: 'Works' vol. 6, p. 110.)

What had been 'impossible' in the spring of 1924 became in a few short months a task that 'can and must' be carried

This theory of 'socialism in one country' now became the rallying-cry for every privileged Stalin was its general secretary which we believe are at issue.

'On the contrary, it was these policies [i.e., 'socialism in one country'l which inspired a whole generation, gave a hope to mankind, and when the crunch came, provided the major obstacle, at the cost of twenty million Soviet lives, to the advance of fascism . . . (p.16.)

We shall in due course prove that Mrs Reid's 'crunch' (the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union) was, in fact, the direct result of the policies she so stupidly describes as giving 'a hope to mankind'. The Soviet General Staff (or

more correctly, the remnants of the Soviet General Staff) looked at it in a somewhat more critical light, Mrs Reid. And in her 'Marxism Today' article of September 1964,

Reid also upheld this same Stalinist theory: 'Trotsky had always opposed the view that socialism could be built in one country.'

So did Stalin up to late 1924, Mrs Reid. And so did Lenin, right up to his death. When we replied to Johnstone, we let him off rather lightly on this question. We

only presented a handful of Lenin's countless refutations of 'socialism in one country'. This time we present a far richer selection. Reid and company slander Lenin when they foist onto him Stalin's reactionary Rus-

sian Utopia of an isolated socialist state, divorced from world economy and free from the threat of military intervention. It is time to hit back.

Permit us to quote at length what Lenin had to say: November 7, 1917:

← THE Soviet is convinced that the proletariat of the West-European countries will help us to achieve a complete and lasting victory for the cause of socialism. • (Vol. 26, p.241.)

B.B.C.-1

9.38-11.55 a.m. Schools. 12.50 p.m. Dechrau Canu, Dechrau Canmol. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Crackerjack. 5.40 Junior Points of View. 5.50 National News and

6.00 Entertaining With Kerr. 6.25 Television Brain Of

Britain. 6.45 The Virginian. 7.55 Not In Front Of The Children.

8.25 Golden Silents. 8.50 The Main News and Weather.

9.10 The Survivors. 10.00 Hijack: Cliff Michelmore reports on piracy in the 10.30 24 Hours.

11.05 Late Night Horror: 'The Bells of Hell', with Michele Dotrice and Ronald Hines. Eerie events in East Anglia. 11.25 Weatherman.

All regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times:

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather. 11.27 News Summary, Weather, Weekend Prospects for Anglers, Road Works Report for the Midlands and East Anglia.

North of England: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Look North, Weather. 11.27 Northern News Headlines, Weather. Scotland: 10.25-10.45 a.m. Around Scotland. 11.35-11.55 Modern Studies. 6.00-6.25 p.m. Reporting Scotland. 9.10-9.35 Current Account. 9.35-10.00 He And She. 11.05-11.35 Monty Python's Flying Circus. 11.35 Epilogue, Scottish News Headlines, Weather.

logue, S Weather. Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Scene Around Six, Weather. 11.27 Northern Ireland News Headlines, Weather. Wales: 1.30-1.45 p.m. Ar Lin Mam. 6.00-6.25 Wales Today. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 7.05-7.30 Bob Yn Dri. 7.30-7.55 Week In Week Out. 11.05-11.30 Siarad Siop. 11.30 Weather. South and West: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-West, Weather. 11.27 South and West News Headlines, Weather, Weekend Road Works Report.

B.B.C.-2 11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.00 p.m. What Are The Facts: About genetic

counselling?
7.30 Newsroom, Weather. Wheelbase. The First Churchills. Mother Teresa Of Calcutta: 9.10 Interview. The French Cinema: 'A Very Private Affair' with Brigitte Bardot and Mar-10.00

cello Mastroianni. Directed by Louis Malle. Westminster At Work. 11.50 News Summary, Weather.

I.T.V. 11.00-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.40-3.00 p.m. Schools. 4.10 How About You? 4.40 Hatty Town. 4.55 Lost In Space. 5.50 News

6.03 Today. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 Wheel Of Fortun 7.30 Strange Report. Wheel Of Fortune. Curry and Chips. 9.00 Hawaii Five-O. 10.00 News At Ten.

From ITN.

10.30 Frost On Friday. 11.15 Hadleigh. 12.10 a.m. Left Alone.

All independent channels as London ITV except at the following times: CHANNEL: 4.50 p.m. Puffin's Birthday Greetings. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 6.00 Channel Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 A Date With Danton. 7.05 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.00 The Untouchables. 9.00 Curry and Chips. 9.30 Parkin's Patch. 11.10 N.Y.P.D. 11.35 News and Weather In French, Weather.

ANGLIA: 4.25 p.m. Anglia Newsroom. 4.35 The Romper Room. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 It Takes A Thief. 8.00 Mr & Mrs. 9.00 Hadleigh. 11.15 The Horror Film: 'Frankenstein Meets The Wolf Man' with Lon Chaney Jr. and Bela Lugosi. 12.38 a.m. Reflection. HARLECH: 4.20 p.m. It's Time For Me. 4.26 Castle Haven. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 Very, Very Varied. 6.01 Report. 6.20 Batman. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 The Friday Film: 'Prize Of Arms' with Stanley Baker, Helmut Schmidt and Tom Bell. A criminal dreams of the perfect crime. 9.00 It Takes A Thief. 11.15 Report Sport. 11.45 Weather.

ATV MIDLANDS: 4.00 p.m. News Headlines. 4.02 Survival. 4.15 Peyton Place. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 6.00 ATV Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.30 Randall and Hopkirk (Decased). 11.15 Midland Member: Enoch Powell (Conservative MP for Wolverhampton SW). 11.35 Interpol Calling. 12.02 a.m. Pulse. Weather Forecast.

YORKSHIRE: 1.40-2.40 p.m. Schools. 4.00 News Headlines. 4.02 Houseparty.

4.15 Felix The Cat. 4.20 I've Married A Bachelor. 4.55 Tarzan. 6.00 Calendar, Weather. 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.30 Marcus Welby MD. 9.30 Curry and Chips. 10.30 Yorksport. 11.00 Frost On Friday. 11.45 Late Weather.

ULSTER: 4.30 Romper Room. 4.50 Ulster News Headlines. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 6.00 UTV Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Western: "Texas' with William Holden and Glenn Ford. 9.00 Hadleigh. 10.30 Sportscast. 10.55 Friday Night. 11.00 Frost On Friday.



Bolshevik Party as he an revolutionary movement.

lifted from the 'Kulak' and the

All the pressure of bureaucracy and peasant conservatism bore down on the tiny (relatively speaking) forces of the Bolshevik Party.

In 1924, only 1 per cent of its members had held Party cards before March 1917. The dilution of its ranks only helped to increase this

After the German defeat, the bureaucracy began to sit more securely in the saddle. After Lenin's death, they seized, through Stalin, the Party reins and began to steer the Party and the state into uncharted territory, free at last from the lash of Lenin's theoretical whip.

Stupendous

Bureaucratic conservatism and 'Old Bolshevism' at the top now merged with proletarian exhaustion and peasant acquisitiveness below. By 1924, the objective political weight of this nationalist, pettybourgeois offensive was stupendous.

Ônly an international breakthrough could reverse it. Only the most developed Marxists in the Party could understand and withstand it.

Inevitably, this hostile class pressure, fed into the Party through the bureaucracv. mounted its attack on the programme of the Party and the International.

It disguised its attack on Rolshevism in the name of the strictest 'Leninist' orthodoxy.

But well before this open revision of Bolshevism with the adoption of Stalin's 'Socialism in One Country', the opening shots in the faction fight had been fired.

The first grouping in the Party to fight for Lenin's programme of struggle against bureaucracy were the signatories to the 'Platform of the 46'

As distinct from previous opposition groupings in the Party (such as the syndicalist 'Workers' Opposition') the '46' began with a defence of Bolshevik methods and principles against their revision by the clique of 'Old Bolsheviks'. The 'Platform of the 46'

based itself on a sober analysis of economic problems:

'If extensive, well-considered, planned and energetic measures are not taken forthwith, if the present absence of leadership continues, we face the possibility of an extremely acute economic breakdown, which will inevitably involve internal political complications and a complete paralysis of our external effectiveness and capacity for action. And this last, as everyone knows, is more necessary to us now than ever; on it depends the fate of the world revolution and the working class of all coun-

tries. . . .' These were indeed prophetic words, anticipating the future interplay between the degeneration of the internal Soviet and Party regime and the leadership given by the Communist International to the struggles of the working class in Western Europe and China.

4.15 Felix The Cat. 4.20 I've Married A Bachelor. 4.55 Tarzan. 6.00 Calendar, Weather. 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.30 Marcus Welby MD. 9.30 Curry and Chips. 10.30 Yorksport. 11.00 Frost On Friday. 11.45 Late Weather.

The 'Platform' then turned

GRANADA: 4.15 p.m. News Headlines, Hatty Town. 4.25 The Short Story. 5.00 Rocket Robin Hood. 5.20 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 Newsview. 6.05 The Beverly Hillbillies. 6.30 All Our Yesterdays. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Curry and Chips. 8.00 The Friday Film: 'Donovan's Reef' with John Wayne, Lee Marvin and Dorothy Lamour. Comedy adventure on a South Sea Island.

ULSTER: 4.30 Romper Room. 4.50 Ulster News Headlines. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 6.00 UTV Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Western: 'Texas' with William Holden and Glenn Ford. 9.00 Hadleigh. 10.30 Sportscast. 10.55 Friday Night. 11.00 Frost On Friday. 11.45 Weather.

TYNE TEES: 4.08 p.m. North East Newsroom. 4.53 North East Newsroom. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 6.00 Today Africa. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Curry and Chips. 8.00 The Untouchables. 9.00 Hadleigh. 11.15 Your World On Friday. 11.45 Late News Extra. 12 midnight The Name Of The Game.

GRAMPIAN: 4.15 p.m. News Headlines. 4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 Castle Haven. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 6.00 Grampian News. 6.10 Why On Earth? 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 The Avengers. 8.00 The Dave King Show. 9.00 It Takes A Thief. 11.15 Points North, Road Report.

to the internal Party regime. where the contradictions were at their most acute:

'Beneath the external form of official unity we have in practice a one-sided recruitment of individuals, and a direction of affairs which is one-sided and adapted to the views and sympathies of a narrow circle.

'As a result of a Party leadership distorted by such considerations, the narrow Party is to a considerable extent ceasing to be that living independent collectivity which sensitively seizes living reality because it is bound to this reality with a thousand

The Platform bluntly faced up to the vexed question of factions, resolved only temporarily by the ban imposed at the 10th Congress of the Party in 1921: 'The position which has

been created is explained by the fact that the regime of the dictatorship of a fraction within the Party, which was in fact created after the 10th Congress, has outlived itself. Many of us consciously accepted submission to such a regime. The turn of policy in the year 1921, and after the illness of comrade Lenin, demanded in the opinion of some of us a dictatorship within the Party as a temporary measure.

'Other comrades from the very beginning adopted a sceptical attitude towards it. . By the time of the 11th Congress of the Party this regime had outlived itself. . . . Links with the Party began to

weaken. The Party began to die away. . . Those who doubted the correctness of the 1921 ban on

Party factions were right. Instead of serving as a weapon in the fight against the petty-bourgeois pressures dramatized by the Kronstadt revolt and legalized by the New Economic Policy (NEP) the ban became a cudgel in

the hands of the Party bureau-

cracy (following the illness of

Lenin) against Marxist critic-

ism and initiative from the

Even at the time of its imposition, Lenin fought against those who interpreted the ban on factions as ending minority or tendency rights within the

'We cannot deprive the Party and members of the Central Committee of the right to appeal to the Party in the event of disagreement on fundamental issues. I cannot imagine how we can do such a thing. [Stalin was to do just

than within five years.] 'The present Congress cannot in any way bind the elec-

such question will arise? No,

elections may have to be based

on platforms. . . . I do not think we have the power to

prohibit this. . . . If the circumstances should give rise to

fundamental disagreements, can

we prohibit them from being

brought before the judgement

of the whole party? No, we

cannot! . . . I move we reject it.' (Vol. 32, p. 261.)

Lenin himself broke that ban

by forming his bloc with Trotsky against Stalin over

the 'Georgian case' and the

fight in defence of the mono-

Had Lenin survived his

By 1923, it clearly hindered,

not assisted, the fight against

Though not a signatory of the 'Platform', Trotsky was in

sympathy with its general line.

soon to become active mem-

bers of the Left Opposition:

Preobrazhensky, Serebryakov, Beloborodov, Antonov-Ovsey-

enko, I. N. Śmirnov, Pyatakov,

Ossinsky, Muralov, Sapronov,

Sosnovsky, Boguslavsky and Vaganyan — and later still, to

pay for this first valiant stand

against bureaucracy with their

Opened up

opened up on 'Old Bolshevism'

in a series of articles later

published under the title 'The

within it a danger of degenera-

tion, or doesn't it? He would

be blind who denied it. In

bureaucratization threatens to

'Does bureaucratism bear

prolonged development,

New Course':

At the end of 1923, he too

(Many of its supporters were

bureaucratic degeneration.

stroke, there can be no doubt

that the temporary ban would

poly of foreign trade.

have been lifted.

Indeed, as we have shown,

'In the circumstances, the

you cannot.

detach the leaders from the masses, to bring them to concentrate their attention solely upon questions of administration, of appointments and transfers, of narrowing their horizon, of weakening their revolutionary spirit, that is of provoking a more or less opportunistic degeneration of the Old Guard, or at the very least, of a considerable part of it. Such processes develop slowly and almost imperceptibly, but reveal themselves

abruptly. 'To see this warning, based upon objective Marxian foresight, as an "outrage", an "assault" etc., really requires the skittish susceptibility and arrogance of bureaucrats . . .

With such a degeneration of the leadership, the principal superiority of the Party, its multiple collective experience, retires to the background. Leadership takes on a purely organizational character and frequently degenerates into order-giving and meddling . .

('The New Course', pp. 16-24.) Stung by the double barb of 'The New Course' and the 'Platform of the 46', Stalin attacked Trotsky personally at the 13th Party Conference held just after the death of Lenin. Already the future gravedigger of Bolshevism was flexing his muscles.

The Party Congress which followed in May was not a Bolshevik gathering. Its delegates had been handpicked by Stalin through his control of the apparatus.

Selected not for their loyalty to the principles of Bolshevism. but personal loyalty to Stalin and the requirements of his machine to which they owed their advancement, this careerist laver hardened into a solid caste that rallied to Stalin as their political patron and spokesman.

and conservative social layer within the Soviet Union. Retreating from the Leninist programme of world revolution as the only long-term salvation of the Russian Revolution, the Stalinist faction disguised its opportunism (even, in its early stages, from itself) behind the slogan of consolidation and

Friday, December 5, 1969

unity. From 1925 onwards, acceptance of the theory of 'socialism in one country' became a condition of Party membership.

More than 40 years on, the

Reids, Gollans, Rothsteins and Iohnstones still cling to and defend this reactionary 'theory' as best they can.

They know that the whole of Stalinism hangs on it.

They will give up anything rather than surrender on that single question. Johnstone 'condemns' the Moscow Trials and post-war purges (20 years too late) but he will not budge on 'socialism in one country'.

Neither will Reid: 'It is necessary to comment upon the Trotskyist claim that the revelations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU have shown the Trotskyist opposition to Stalin to have been correct. This is to confuse two separate questions.

'There can be no doubt about the main political line advocated by Trotsky and hi. supporters. This is a matter of history. Trotsky first, as we have seen [of course we have not 'seen'. This is the first reference Reid makes to the dispute over 'socialism in one country'. That question, as she herself admits, has been left to the more expert touch of Johnstone] attacked the policy of building up the strength of the Soviet state, claimed that it was impossible without the development of further socialist revolutions . . . It was thus not the principal policies



that the attack upon protions to the next Congress. gramme and principle became Suppose we are faced with a explicit. And it was Stalin who question like, say, the conissue. became the spokesman. clusion of the Brest peace? Can you guarantee that no

In April 1924, Stalin addressed students of the Sverdlov University in Moscow. His theme was the 'Foundations of Leninism'. In the first published edition of his speech, Stalin figures as a firm opponent of the theory of 'socialism in one country':

'The overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian government in one country does not yet guarantee the complete victory of socialism. The main task of socialism, the organization of socialist production, still lies ahead. Can this task be accomplished, can the victory of socialism in one country be attained, without the joint efforts of the proletariat of several advanced

countries? 'No, this is impossible . . For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of such a peasant country as Russia, are insufficient . . . '('Lenin

and Leninism', p. 40.) But in the second edition. published a few months later, the text of the same speech was 'edited' in the following

manner: 'But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean that the complete victory of socialism has been assured. After consolidating its power and leading the peasantry in its wake the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build a socialist society.

(Stalin: 'Works' vol. 6, p. 110.) What had been 'impossible' in the spring of 1924 became

in a few short months a task that 'can and must' be carried This theory of 'socialism in

one country' now became the

rallying-cry for every privileged

Stalin was its general secretary which we believe are at

'On the contrary, it was these policies [i.e., 'socialism in one country'] which inspired a whole generation, gave a hope to mankind, and when the crunch came, provided the major obstacle, at the cost of twenty million Soviet lives, to the advance of fascism . .

(p.16.)We shall in due course prove that Mrs Reid's 'crunch' (the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union) was, in fact, the direct result of the policies she so stupidly describes as giving 'a hope to mankind'.

The Soviet General Staff (or more correctly, the remnants of the Soviet General Staff) looked at it in a somewhat more critical light, Mrs Reid. And in her 'Marxism Today' article of September 1964,

Reid also upheld this same Stalinist theory: 'Trotsky had always opposed the view that socialism could be built in one country.'

1924, Mrs Reid. And so did Lenin, right up to his death. When we replied to Johnstone, we let him off rather lightly on this question. We only presented a handful of Lenin's countless refutations of 'socialism in one country'. This time we present a far

So did Stalin up to late

richer selection. Reid and company slander Lenin when they foist onto him Stalin's reactionary Russian Utopia of an isolated socialist state, divorced from world economy and free from the threat of military interven-

It is time to hit back. Permit us to quote at length what Lenin had to say: November 7, 1917:

4 THE Soviet is convinced that the proletariat of the West-European countries will help us to achieve a complete and lasting victory for the cause of socialism. • (Vol. 26, p.241.)

November 17, 1917:

♦ NO Internationalist can use the expression: "The West is disgracefully silent" ... We believe in the revolution in the West. We know that it is inevitable, but it cannot, of course, be made to order . . . We shall conduct organized fraternization in the trenches and help the peoples of the West to start an invincible socialist revolution . . . • (Vol.26, pp.291-292.)

November 25, 1917:

♦ WE put our trust in the international solidarity of the working masses, who will surmount every obstacle and barrier in the struggle for socialism . . . • (Vol.26, p.346.) December 27, 1917:

torious, peace between the capitalist states will only be a truce, an interlude, a time of preparation for a fresh slaughter of the peoples . . We have now reached the stage of world economy that is the immediate stepping stone to socialism. The socialist revolution that has begun in Russia, is therefore, only the beginning of the world socialist revolution. Peace and bread, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, revolutionary means for the healing of war wounds, the complete victory of socialism —such are the aims of the struggle. **9** (Vol. 26, p. 387.)

January 14, 1918:

♦ COMRADES, I greet you as the living embodiment the Russian proletariat's determination to fight for the triumph of the Russian Revolution, for the triumph of its great slogans not only in this country, but also among the peoples of the whole world . . . We must show that we are a force capable of overthrowing every obstacle on the way to world revolution . . . Our army's ranks will soon be swelled by the proletarian forces of other countries and we shall no longer be alone. (Vol.26, p.420.)

January 21, 1918:

♦ THAT the Socialist revolution in Europe must come and will come, is beyond doubt. All our hopes for the final victory of socialism are founded on this certainty and on this scientific prognosis. . . . In other words, the underlying principle of our tactics must not be which of the two imperialisms is it more profitable to aid at this juncture, but rather, how the socialist revolution can be most firmly and reliably ensured the possibility of consolidating itself, or at least maintaining itself, in one



Betty Reid

country until it is joined by other countries . . . • (Vol.26, p.433.)

January 24, 1918:

♦ WE are far from having completed even the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. We have never cherished the hope that we could finish it without the aid of the international proletariat. We never had any illusions on that score . . . The final victory of socialism in a single country is of course impossible. Our contingent of workers and peasants which is upholding Soviet power is one of the contingents of the great world army, which at present has been split by the world war, but which is striving for unity . . . We can now see clearly how far the development of the revolution will go. The Russian began it—the German, the Frenchman and the Englishman will finish it, and socialism will be victorious. • (Vol. 26, pp. 465-472.)

January 31, 1918: 4 WE close this historic Congress of Soviets under the sign of the mounting world revolution, and the time is not far off when the working people of all countries will unite into a single world-wide state and join in a common effort to build a new socialist edifice. The way to this construction runs through the Soviets, as a form of the incipient world revolution . . . •

(Vol.26, p.482.) January 26, 1918:

♦ THE Russian people were the first to raise the torch of the socialist revolution, but they are aware that they are not alone in their struggle and that they will accomplish their task with the help of the most loyal comrades and friends . . . • (Vol. 26, p.492.)

February 24, 1918:

4 TROTSKY was right when he said: the peace may be a triply unfortunate peace

. The peace terms are intolerably severe. Nevertheless history will come into its own; to our aid will come—even if not so quickly as we should like—the steadily maturing socialist revolution in other countries. . . We have friends, supporters, very loyal helpers. They are late—owing to a number of conditions independent of their will-but they will come . . . • (Vol.27, pp. 51-52.)

March 7, 1918: ♦ INTERNATIONAL imperi-

alism . . . could not, under any conditions, live side by side with the Soviet Republic, both because of its objective position and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class embodied in it, because of commercial connections, of international financial relations. In this sphere a conflict is inevitable. This is the greatest difficulty of the Russian Revolution, its greatest historical problems—the need to solve international problems, the need to evoke a world revolution, to effect the transition from our strictly national revolution to the world revolution. This problem confronts us in all its incredible difficulty . . . 'Regarded from the world-

historical point of view, there

would doubtless be no hope of the ultimate victory of our revolution if it were to remain alone, if there were no revolutionary movements in other countries. When the Bolshevik Party tackled the job alone, it did so in the firm conviction that the revolution was maturing in all the countries and that in the end—but not at the beginning—no matter what difficulties we experienced, no matter what defeats were in store for the world socialist revolution would come. . . I repeat, our salvation from all these difficulties is an all-European revolution . . . At all events, under all conceivable circumstances, if the German Revolution does not come, we are doomed . . . • (Vol.27, pp.92-98.) March 8, 1918:

♦ THE Congress considers the only reliable guarantee of the consolidation of the socialist revolution that has been victorious in Russia to be its conversion into a world working-class revolution . . . • (From 'Resolution on War and Peace', vol.27, p.119.) March 8, 1918:

WE have only just taken the first steps towards shaking off capitalism altogether and beginning the transition to socialism. We do not know and we cannot know how many stages of transition to socialism there will be. That depends on when the full-scale European socialist revolution begins. (Vol. 27,

March 11, 1918: **♦ E**VERYWHERE we issue the call for a world workers' revolution . . . Russia will become mighty and abundant if she abandons all dejection and all phrase-making, if, with clenched teeth, she musters all her forces and strains every nerve and muscle, if she realizes that salvation lies only [Lenin's emphasis] along the road of world socialist revolution upon which we have set out . . . • (Vol.27, pp.160-161.)

March 14, 1918: 4 I AM well aware, comrades, that the banner is in weak hands, I have said that outright several times already, and the workers of the most backward country will not be able to hold that banner unless the workers of all advanced countries come to their aid . . .

'. . . We shall wait until the international socialist prole-tariat comes to our aid and shall then begin a second socialist revolution that will be world-wide in its scope . . . • (Vol. 27, pp. 188-190.)

April 23, 1918: **♦ W**E shall achieve final vic-

tory only when we succeed at last in conclusively smashing international imperialism, which relies on the tremendous strength of its equipment and discipline. But we shall achieve victory only together with all the workers of other countries, of the whole world . . . Our backwardness has put us in the forefront, and we shall perish unless we are capable of holding out until we receive powerful support from workers who have risen in revolt in other countries . . . • (Vol.27, pp.231-232.) April 29, 1918:

WE must exert all our strength to hold out as long as possible, until the Western revolution matures. the Western revolution which is maturing much more slowly than we expected and desired, but is undoubtedly maturing; it is undoubtedly absorbing and accumulating more and more inflammable material . . . Our task, since we are alone, is to maintain the revolution, to preserve it for at least a certain bastion of socialism, however weak and moderatelysized, until the revolution matures in other countries, until other countries come up

ing, faced with two main lines —the proletarian line, which

says that the socialist revolution is what is dearest and highest for us, and that we must take account of whether it will soon break out in the West, and the other line-the bourgeois line-which says that for it the character of the state as a Great Power and national independence are dearer and higher than anything else . . . • (Vol.27, pp.290-293.)

(This contrast of the two lines—proletarian and bourgeois-was of course to become the essence of the split between Trotskyism and Stalinism, which after 1923 embraced the second bourgeois programme outlined by Lenin.)

April 30, 1918: **←** THEREFORE, the tactics of the Soviet Republic must be, on the one hand, to exert every effort to ensure the country's speediest economic recovery, to increase its defence capacity, to build up a powerful socialist army, on the other hand, in international policy, the tactics must be those of manoeuvring, retreat, waiting for the moment when the international proletarian revolution—which maturing more quickly than before in a number of advanced countries — fully matures . (Vol.27, p.314.)

4 To wait until the working classes carry out a revolution on an international scale means that everyone will remain suspended in mid-air . . . It may begin with brilliant success in one country and then go through agonizing periods, since final victory is only possible on a world scale, and only by the joint efforts of the workers of all countries . . . • (Vol.27, pp.372-373.) June 27, 1918:

May 14, 1918:

4 WE workers, class-conscious workers, in all our agitation and propaganda, in every speech we deliver, in every appeal we issue, in our talks in the factories and at every meeting with peasants, must explain that the disaster that has befallen us is an international disaster and that there is no way out of it except world revolution . . . Since we must temporarily stand alone, we must exert all our efforts to bear the difficulties of this period staunchly, knowing that in the last analysis, we are not alone, that the disaster we are experiencing is creeping up on every European country, and that not one of these countries will be able to extricate itself except by a series of revolutions . . . (Vol.27, p.464.)

July 29, 1918:

4 WE never harboured the illusion that the forces of the proletariat and the revolutionary people of any one country, however heroic and however organized and disciplined they might be, could overthrow international imperialism. That can be done only by the joint efforts of the workers of the world . . . We 28, pp.151-164.) never deceived ourselves into thinking this could be done by the efforts of one country alone. We knew that our efforts were inevitably leading to a world-wide revolution, and that the war begun by the imperialist governments could not be stopped by the efforts of these governments themselves. It can be stopped only by the efforts all workers; and when we came to power, our task . . . was to retain that power, that torch of socialism, so that it

might scatter as many sparks as possible to add to the growing flames of socialist revolution . . . • (Vol.28, pp.24-25.) August 9, 1918: **♦ T**HE workers of the world are looking hopefully towards us. We can hear their cry: "Hold on a little longer! You are surrounded by enemies, but we shall come to

your aid and by our joint

effort we shall finally hurl the

imperialist vulture over the

precipice" . . . • (Vol.28, p.53.)

August 20, 1918: ♦ WE are now, as it were, in a besieged fortress waiting for the other detachments of the world socialist revolution to come to our relief We are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible. (Vol.28, August 23, 1918:

♦ WE have been cut off from our comrades; but we had to act first because our

country was the most backward. Our revolution was begun as a general revolution, and we shall tackle our tasks with the help of the workers and peasants of the world . . . • (Vol.28, p.78.)

WORKERS

August 28, 1918:

• OUR army . . . goes to the front aware that [it] is fighting for the destiny of the world revolution as well as the Russian Revolution; for we may rest assured that the Russian Revolution is only a sample, only the first step in the series of revolutions in which the war is bound to end . . . • (Vol.28, p.87.)

October 22, 1918: • OUR chief task is to carry

on propaganda for a revolt in the Ukraine. That is correct from the standpoint of the world revolution because Germany is the main link in this chain, since the German Revolution is already ripe; and the success of the world revolution most of all depends on it . . . That is why intelligent Ukrainian Communists must say: "We must make every sacrifice for the victory of the world revolution, but we should realize that the future depends on us and we must march in step with the German Revolution"... • (Vol.28, p.123.)

November 6, 1918:

WE are full of hope and assurance that we are fighting in the interests of the world socialist revolution as well as the Russian Socialist Revolution . . . we must realize what is lying in store for us .. We shall meet it not alone, but with the workers of Vienna and Berlin, who are moving into the same fight . . . Our slogan must be, put everything into the fight once more, and remember that we are coming up to the last, decisive fight, not for the Russian Revolution alone, but for the world socialist revolution . . . (Vol.28, pp.145-150.)

November 8, 1918: **♦ F**ROM the very beginning

of the October Revolution, foreign policy and international relations have been the main questions facing us. Not merely because from now on all the states of the world are being firmly linked by imperialism into one, dirty, bloody mass, but because the complete victory of the socialist revolution in one country alone is inconceivable and demands the most active cooperation of at least several advanced countries, which do not include Russia . . . We have never been so near to world proletarian revolution as we are now. We have proved we were not mistaken in banking on world proletarian revolution. . . . Even if they crush one country, they can never crush the world proletarian revolution, they will only add more fuel to the names will consume them all. (Vol.

November 20, 1918:

♦ THE transformation of our Russian Revolution into a socialist revolution was not a dubious venture but a necessity, for there was no other alternative: Anglo-French and American imperialism will inevitably destroy the independence and freedom of Russia if the world socialist revolution, world Bolshevism, does not triumph . . . • (Vol.28, p.188.)

March 15, 1919: 6 COMPLETE and final vic-

tory on a world scale cannot be achieved in Russia alone; it can be achieved only when the proletariat is victorious in at least all the advanced countries, or, at all events, in some of the largest of the advanced countries. Only then shall we be able to say with absolute confidence that the cause of the proletariat has triumphed, that our first objective—the overthrow of capitalism — has been achieved. We have achieved this objective in one country. and this confronts us with a second task. Since Soviet power has been established. since the bourgeoisie has been overthrown in one country, the second task is to wage the struggle on a world scale, on a different plane, the struggle of the proletarian state surrounded by capitalist states ... • (Vol.29, p.58.)



The peace negotiated with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk was intolerably severe, large areas of Soviet land being forfeited.

November 17, 1917:

4 NO Internationalist can use the expression: "The West is disgracefully silent" . . . We believe in the revolution in the West. We know that it is inevitable, but it cannot, of course, be made to order . . . We shall conduct organized fraternization in the trenches and help the peoples of the West to start an invincible socialist revolution . . . • (Vol.26, pp.291-292.)

November 25, 1917:

♦ WE put our trust in the international solidarity of the working masses, who will surmount every obstacle and barrier in the struggle for socialism . . . • (Vol.26, p.346.) December 27, 1917:

torious, peace between the capitalist states will only be a truce, an interlude, a time of preparation for a fresh slaughter of the peoples . . . We have now reached the stage of world economy that is the immediate stepping stone to socialism. The socialist revolution that has begun in Russia, is therefore, only the beginning of the world socialist revolution. Peace and bread, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, revolutionary means for the healing of war wounds, the complete victory of socialism -such are the aims of the struggle. • (Vol. 26, p. 387.)

January 14, 1918:

4 COMRADES, I greet you as the living embodiment of the Russian proletariat's determination to fight for the triumph of the Russian Revolution, for the triumph of its great slogans not only in this country, but also among the peoples of the whole world . . . We must show that we are a force capable of overthrowing every obstacle on the way to world revolution . . . Our army's ranks will soon be swelled by the proletarian forces of other countries and we shall no longer be alone. (Vol.26, p.420.)

January 21, 1918:

← THAT the Socialist revolution in Europe must come and will come, is beyond doubt. All our hopes for the final victory of socialism are founded on this certainty and on this scientific prognosis. . . . In other words, the underlying principle of our tactics must not be which of the two imperialisms is it more profitable to aid at this juncture, but rather, how the socialist revolution can be most firmly and reliably ensured the possibility of consolidating itself, or at least maintaining itself, in one



Betty Reid

country until it is joined by other countries . . . • (Vol.26,

January 24, 1918: • WE are far from having completed even the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. We have never cherished the hope that we could finish it without the aid of the international proletariat. We never had any illusions on that score . . . The final victory of socialism in a single country is of course impossible. Our contingent of workers and peasants which is upholding Soviet power is one of the contingents of the great world army, which at present has been split by the world war, but which is striving for unity . . . We can now see clearly how far the development of the revolution will go. The Russian began it—the German, the Frenchman and the Englishman will finish it, and socialism will be victorious. • (Vol. 26, pp. 465-472.)

January 31, 1918:

• WE close this historic Congress of Soviets under the sign of the mounting world revolution, and the time is not far off when the working people of all countries will unite into a single world-wide state and join in a common effort to build a new socialist edifice. The way to this construction runs through the Soviets, as a form of the incipient world revolution . . . • (Vol.26, p.482.)

January 26, 1918:

4 THE Russian people were the first to raise the torch of the socialist revolution, but they are aware that they are not alone in their struggle and that they will accomplish their task with the help of the most loyal comrades and friends . . . • (Vol. 26, p.492.)

February 24, 1918: ♦ TROTSKY was right when he said: the peace may be a triply unfortunate peace

. . . The peace terms are intolerably severe. Nevertheless history will come into its own: to our aid will come-even if not so quickly as we should like—the steadily maturing socialist revolution in other countries. . . We have friends, supporters, very loyal helpers. They are late—owing to a number of conditions independent of their will—but they will come . . . • (Vol.27, pp. 51-52.)

♦ INTERNATIONAL imperi-

alism . . . could not, under any conditions, live side

by side with the Soviet Repub-

lic, both because of its objec-

tive position and because of

the economic interests of the

capitalist class embodied in it,

because of commercial connec-

tions, of international financial

relations. In this sphere a con-

flict is inevitable. This is the

greatest difficulty of the Rus-

sian Revolution, its greatest

historical problems—the need

to solve international prob-

lems, the need to evoke a

world revolution, to effect the

transition from our strictly

national revolution to the

world revolution. This problem

confronts us in all its incred-

historical point of view, there

would doubtless be no hope

of the ultimate victory of our

revolution if it were to remain

alone, if there were no revolu-

tionary movements in other

countries. When the Bolshevik

Party tackled the job alone, it

did so in the firm conviction

that the revolution was matur-

ing in all the countries and

that in the end-but not at the

perienced, no matter what

defeats were in store for

revolution would come. . .

I repeat, our salvation from all

these difficulties is an all-Euro-

pean revolution . . . At all

events, under all conceivable

circumstances, if the German

Revolution does not come, we

are doomed . . . (Vol.27,

4 THE Congress considers

tee of the consolidation of the

socialist revolution that has

been victorious in Russia to be

its conversion into a world

working-class revolution . . . •

(From 'Resolution on War and

• WE have only just taken

shaking off capitalism alto-

gether and beginning the trans-

ition to socialism. We do not

know and we cannot know how many stages of trans-

ition to socialism there will be.

That depends on when the

full-scale European socialist

revolution begins. (Vol. 27,

♦ EVERYWHERE we issue

workers' revolution . . . Russia

will become mighty and abun-

dant if she abandons all dejec-

tion and all phrase-making, if,

with clenched teeth, she mus-

ters all her forces and strains

every nerve and muscle, if she

realizes that salvation lies only

[Lenin's emphasis] along the

road of world socialist revolu-

tion upon which we have set

out . . . • (Vol.27, pp.160-161.)

♦ I AM well aware, com-

in weak hands, I have said

that outright several times al-

ready, and the workers of the

most backward country will

not be able to hold that banner

unless the workers of all ad-

vanced countries come to their

international socialist prole-

tariat comes to our aid and

socialist revolution that will be

world-wide in its scope . . . •

♦ WE shall achieve final vic-

ceed at last in conclusively

smashing international imperi-

alism, which relies on the tre-

mendous strength of its equip-

ment and discipline. But we

shall achieve victory only to-

gether with all the workers of

other countries, of the whole

world . . . Our backwardness

has put us in the forefront,

and we shall perish unless we

are capable of holding out

until we receive powerful sup-

port from workers who have

risen in revolt in other coun-

tries . . . • (Vol.27, pp.231-

♦ WE must exert all our

long as possible, until the

Western revolution matures,

the Western revolution which

is maturing much more slowly

than we expected and desired,

but is undoubtedly maturing;

it is undoubtedly absorbing

and accumulating more and

more inflammable material . . .

Our task, since we are alone,

is to maintain the revolution,

to preserve it for at least a

certain bastion of socialism,

however weak and moderately-

sized, until the revolution

matures in other countries,

until other countries come up

ing, faced with two main lines

—the proletarian line, which

. . We are, strictly speak-

strength to hold out as

April 29, 1918:

(Vol. 27, pp. 188-190.)

April 23, 1918:

.. We shall wait until the

then begin a second

tory only when we suc-

rades, that the banner is

March 14, 1918:

the call for a world

the first steps towards

Peace', vol.27, p.119.)

March 8, 1918:

p.131.)

the only reliable guaran-

pp.92-98.)

March 8, 1918:

the world

beginning—no matter

difficulties we ex-

socialist

'Regarded from the world-

ible difficulty . . .

March 7, 1918:

pp.290-293.) (This contrast of the two lines-proletarian and bourgeois—was of course to become the essence of the split between Trotskyism and Stalinism, which after 1923 embraced the second bourgeois programme outlined by Lenin.)

says that the socialist revolu-

tion is what is dearest and

highest for us, and that we

must take account of whether

it will soon break out in the

West, and the other line—the

bourgeois line-which says

that for it the character of the

state as a Great Power and

national independence are

dearer and higher than any-

thing else . . . • (Vol.27,

April 30, 1918: THEREFORE, the tactics of the Soviet Republic must be, on the one hand, to exert every effort to ensure the country's speediest economic recovery, to increase its defence capacity, to build up a powerful socialist army, on the other hand, in international policy, the tactics must be those of manoeuvring, retreat, waiting for the moment when the international proletarian revolution—which is now maturing more quickly than revolution-which before in a number of advanced countries — fully matures . . . • (Vol.27, p.314.)
May 14, 1918:

4 TO wait until the working classes carry out a revolution on an international scale means that everyone will remain suspended in mid-air . . . It may begin with brilliant success in one country and then go through agonizing periods. since final victory is only possible on a world scale, and only by the joint efforts of the workers of all countries . . . • (Vol.27, pp.372-373.)

June 27, 1918: 4 WE workers, class-conscious workers, in all our agitation and propaganda, in every speech we deliver, in every appeal we issue, in our talks in the factories and at every meeting with peasants, must explain that the disaster that has befallen us is an international disaster and that there is no way out of it except world revolution . . . Since we must temporarily stand alone, we must exert all our efforts to bear the difficulties of this period staunchly, knowing that in the last analysis, we are not alone, that the disaster we are experiencing is creeping up on every European country, and that not one of these countries will be able to extricate itself except by a series of revolutions . . . • (Vol.27,

p.464.) July 29, 1918: **♦ W**E never harboured the illusion that the forces of the proletariat and the revolutionary people of any one country, however heroic and however organized and disciplined they might be, could overthrow international imperialism. That can be done only by the joint efforts of the workers of the world . . . We never deceived ourselves into thinking this could be done by the efforts of one country alone. We knew that our efforts were inevitably leading to a world-wide revolution, and that the war begun by the imperialist governments could not be stopped by the efforts of these governments themselves. It can be stopped only by the efforts of all workers; and when we came to power, our task . . was to retain that power, that torch of socialism, so that it might scatter as many sparks as possible to add to the growing flames of socialist revolution . . . • (Vol.28, pp.24-25.) August 9, 1918:

THE workers of the world are looking hopefully towards us. We can hear their cry: "Hold on a little longer! You are surrounded by enemies, but we shall come to vour aid and by our joint effort we shall finally hurl the imperialist vulture over the precipice" . . . • (Vol.28, p.53.) August 20, 1918:

♦ WE are now, as it were, in a besieged fortress waiting for the other detachments of the world socialist revolution to come to our relief We are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible. (Vol. 28,

August 23, 1918: **♦ W**E have been cut off from our comrades; but we had to act first because our

country was the most backward. Our revolution was begun as a general revolution, and we shall tackle our tasks with the help of the workers and peasants of the world . . . • (Vol.28, p.78.)

August 28, 1918:

♦ OUR army . . . goes to the front aware that [it] is fighting for the destiny of the world revolution as well as the Russian Revolution; for we may rest assured that the Russian Revolution is only a sample, only the first step in the series of revolutions in which the war is bound to end . . . • (Vol.28, p.87.)

October 22, 1918:

♦ OUR chief task is to carry on propaganda for a revolt in the Ukraine. That is correct from the standpoint of the world revolution because Germany is the main link in this chain, since the German Revolution is already ripe; and the success of the world revolution most of all depends on it . . . That is why intelligent Ukrainian Communists must say: "We must make every sacrifice for the victory of the world revolution, but we should realize that the future depends on us and we must march in step with the German Revolution"... • (Vol.28,

November 6, 1918:

♦ WE are full of hope and assurance that we are fighting in the interests of the world socialist revolution as well as the Russian Socialist Revolution . . . we must realize what is lying in store for us . We shall meet it not alone, but with the workers of Vienna and Berlin, who are moving into the same fight . . . Our slogan must be, put everything into the fight once more, and remember that we are coming up to the last, decisive fight, not for the Russian Revolution alone, but for the world socialist revolution . . . • (Vol.28, pp.145-150.)

November 8, 1918:

♦ FROM the very beginning of the October Revolution, foreign policy and international relations have been the main questions facing us. Not merely because from now on all the states of the world are being firmly linked by imperialism into one, dirty, bloody mass, but because the complete victory of the socialist revolution in one country alone is inconceivable and demands the most active cooperation of at least several advanced countries, which do not include Russia . . . We have never been so near to world proletarian revolution as we are now. We have proved we were not mistaken in banking on world proletarian revolution. . . . Even if they crush one country, they can never crush the world proletarian revolution, they will only add more fuel to the flames that will consume them all. (Vol. 28, pp.151-164.)

November 20, 1918:

♦ THE transformation of our Russian Revolution into a socialist revolution was not a dubious venture but a necessity, for there was no other alternative: Anglo-French and American imperialism will inevitably destroy the independence and freedom of Russia if the world socialist revolution. world Bolshevism, does not triumph . . . • (Vol.28, p.188.)

March 15, 1919:

6 COMPLETE and final victory on a world scale cannot be achieved in Russia alone; it can be achieved only when the proletariat is victorious in at least all the advanced countries, or, at all events, in some of the largest of the advanced countries. Only then shall we be able to say with absolute confidence that the cause of the proletariat has triumphed, that our first objective—the overthrow of capitalism — has been achieved. We have achieved this objective in one country, and this confronts us with a second task. Since Soviet power has been established, since the bourgeoisie has been overthrown in one country, the second task is to wage the struggle on a world scale, on a different plane, the struggle of the proletarian state surrounded by capitalist states . . . • (Vol.29, p.58.)



March 18, 1919:

WE are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and it is inconceivable for the Soviet republic to exist alongside of the imperialist states for any length of time. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end comes there will have to be a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states . . . * (Vol.29,

December 5, 1919:

6 BOTH prior to October and during the October Revolution, we always said that we regard ourselves and can only regard ourselves as one of the contingents of the international proletarian army . . We always said that the

victory of the socialist revolution, therefore, can only be regarded as final when it becomes the victory of the proletariat in at least several advanced countries . . . • (Vol.30, pp.207-208.)

November 20, 1920:

♦ THE Mensheviks assert that we are pledged to defeating the world bourgeoisie on our own. We have, however, always said that we are only a single link in the chain of the world revolution, and have never set ourselves the aim of achieving victory by our own means . . . (Vol.31, p.431.)

December 6, 1920:

• WHILE capitalism and socialism exist side by side, they cannot live in peace: one or the other will ultimately triumph—the last obsequies will be observed either for the Soviet Republic or for world imperialism . . . • (Vol. 31, p.457.)

December 22, 1920:

♦ WHILE our Soviet Republic remains the isolated borderland of the capitalist world, it would be absolutely ridiculous, fantastic and Utopian to hope that we can achieve complete economic independence and that all dangers will vanish . . . • (Vol. 31, p.493.)

('Ridiculous, fantastic and Utopian'-yet that was the position Stalin was to embrace within four years of Lenin's warning.)

February 6, 1921:

★ EVER since 1917 . . . we have been telling the workers again and again that the cardinal task, and the fundamental condition of our victory is to spread the revolution to, at least, a few of the most advanced countries. And our main difficulties over the past four years have been due to the fact that the West European capitalists managed to bring the war to an end and stave off revolution . . . • April 21, 1921:

♦ BUT we know perfectly well that it will take at least ten years only to complete the first stage of this 'one" condition: [laying the rudiments of electrification in the countryside] this period can be conceivably reduced only if the proletarian revolution is victorious in such countries as Britain, Germany or the USA . . . • (Vol.32, p.350.)

October 17, 1921:

4 YOU must remember that our Soviet land is impoverished after many years of trial and suffering, and has no socialist France or socialist England as neighbours which could help us with their highlydeveloped industry. Bear that in mind! We must remember that at present all their highlydeveloped industry belongs to the capitalists, who are fighting us . . . **9** (Vol.33, p.72.)

End of February, 1922:

• BUT we have not finished building even the foundations of socialist economy and the hostile powers of moribund capitalism can still deprive us of that. We must clearly appreciate this and frankly admit it; for there is nothing more dangerous than illusions . . . And there is absolutely nothing terrible . . . in admitting this bitter truth; for we have always urged and reiterated the elementary truth of Marxism—that the joint efforts of the workers of several advanced countries are needed for the victory of socialism . . . • (Vol.33, p.206.) Now, Reid, Johnstone and

company, contradict — if you dare—the founder of the Bolshevik Party, the architect of the Russian Revolution and the pioneer of the Communist International. Dare you claim now, as you

have always done in the past, that Stalin was the continuator of Leninism?

Against the Stalinists, the Fourth International has always based itself four-square on the bedrock of Marxist internationalism. However hard the struggle

and however terrible the persecution, the Trotskyist movement defended this great Leninist principle of internationalism from the ravages of the Stalinist bureaucratic counter-revolution.

It was this tendency which made it impossible to 'bury Trotskyism'. Indeed to 'bury Trotskyism', Stalin would have had to bury the entire inter-

national working class, for the international unity of the working class is not only an idea and a programme, but the living reality of the class struggle as it develops in a world dominated by the international character and scale of capitalism and its productive

The adoption of Stalin's national reformism as the programme of the post-Lenin Bolshevik Party doomed the Communist International to a terrible death.

From the organizer of world revolution Stalin converted it. after a bitter internal struggle, into a humble frontier guard for the Soviet bureaucracy.

The history of that great transformation is also the history of a series of betrayed and crushed revolutions. Trotskyism grew to full

maturity only in the struggle to fight against that degeneration and understand the mainsprings of its development.



Lenin fought against all those in the Bolshevik Party who resisted the conquest of power by the working class in 1917.

BOOK REVIEWS

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM By G. V. Plekhanov

Together with an appendix of the essays 'The Materialist Conception of History' and 'The Role of

the Individual in History'. Lawrence and Wishart pp. 190.

The best in world Marxist literature

'I THINK it proper to observe for the benefit of the young members of the Party that one cannot become an intelligent, a real Communist unless one has studied—I say advisedly studied—everything which Plekhanov has written on philosophy, for it is the best in world Marxist literature.'

Thus Lenin's verdict on Plekhanov, written in 1921. Young members of today's revolutionary movement now have the opportunity with the re-issue of 'Fundamental Problems of Marxism' in a revised translation to study his last major philosophical work.

Included as an Appendix are two of his famous shorter works providing a basic exposition of the ideas of historical materialism.

Plekhanov will always be remembered and honoured in the history of the revolutionary movement as the person who first fought to establish Marxism on Russian soil.

His Emancipation of Labour Group, formed in exile, was founded on the struggle against Narodism, or those who saw the peasantry as the only revolutionary force in

In his early work Plekhanov

showed the falsity of such views.

He stressed and demonstrated the inevitability of capitalist development in Russia and showed how this was leading to the emergence of the working class as the decisive instrument of revolutionary change.

His most famous work is undoubtedly 'The Development of the Monist View of History', a book which Lenin refered to as one 'which had helped to educate a whole generation of Russian Marxists.

Three-quarters of a century after it was written it remains the best all-round introduction to historical materialism. But despite his undoubted

genius and talent Plekhanov was only able to take the development of Marxism to a certain stage. The early years of the

present century saw funda-mental changes within the structure of capitalism - the emergence of imperialism. In Russia a rapid develop-

ment of capitalism was thrusting forward the working class as an increasingly powerful and decisive force. These changes demanded a sharp turn by the Marxist movement.

A revolutionary party struggling for leadership of the working class had to replace the old 'circle existence' of the movement. Plekhanov proved incapable of making such a turn: after 1903 he broke with

which Marx brings out in his famous Theses-was that he still saw man in the abstract, not as a social animal engaged in a struggle with nature, which at a certain point in

Lenin and became a Menshevik.

'Fundamental Problems' was

written after this break — in

1908. It was addressed to

those-including that tendency

led by Bogdanov in the Bol-

shevik Party—who attempted

to undermine the materialist

foundation of Marxism in the

guise of introducing the 'latest

thinking' from the fields of

natural science into Marxism.

those who claimed that no-

where did Marx and Engels set

down their basic world out-

Even with the material

which was then available ('The

Economic and Philosophical

Manuscripts of 1844' and 'The

German Ideology' were pub-

lished long after his death) he

demonstrates that such a claim

Plekhanov concentrates in his

early chapters on the relation-

ship of Marx and Engels to

Feuerbach. Here he correctly

stresses their common material-

'... it is perfectly clear that

was the materialist that

Marx and Engels saw in Feuer-

bach. True Engels speaks of

Feuerbach's inconsistency, but

that does not in the least pre-

vent him from recognizing the

fundamental propositions of

his philosophy as purely

Such an emphasis upon the

materialist foundations of

Marxism is perhaps more

necessary today than it was

Not only is Stalinism busily

engaged in courting the Catho-

lic Church, but it is now

almost orthodox in revisionist

circles to declare that the early

Marx was a philosophical idealist and only later did he

become a 'crude materialist'.

But it is also true that

Plekhanov over-emphasized the

and in fact with the material-

As Engels always insisted,

there can only be two basic

world outlooks in the develop-

ment of philosophy. The

materialist asserts that matter,

nature, is primary compared to

mind or spirit; the idealist

starts from the opposite posi-

tion: mind or spirit is primary

and matter or nature merely

form, have been unable to re-

solve one basic question: how

does human thought originate

sees thought as a mere passive

reflection of nature: it changes

only in response to changes in

nature. So how explain changes

starts with ideas or spirit, is

unable to explain the origin of

such ideas without resort to

was to understand and grasp

that ideas, while arising from

the real objective world which

exists independently of them-

the basic materialist position-

develop only in man's struggle

Only in the struggle to con-

quer nature does man, himself

a part of nature, change him-

to change the world.

Marx's great breakthrough

Similarly the idealist, who

The mechanical materialist

Both these systems, in this

its reflection.

and develop?

in nature?

continuity with Feuerbach

ism of the 18th century.

is nonsense.

ist outlook.

materialist.

60 years ago.

look in systematic form.

The book begins by refuting

history involved the division of society into antagonistic classes. Feuerbach replaced the old religion with a new humanism.

Alienation was to be over-

Such a conception was a

break from both idealism and

the contemplative materialism.

Feurbach had taken this old

materialism to its highest point

in his attempt to overcome the

contradictions of the Hegelian

. . . in many respects forms an intermediate link between

Hegelian philosophy and our

Feuerbach's weakness -

As Engels noted: 'Feuerbach

system.

conceptions'.

come not as part of the struggle of the working class to overthrow that capitalist society which produced alienation and exploitation, but merely through the power of

His 'philosophical communism' was identified neither with the proletariat in struggle, nor with the overthrow of the bourgeois order.

Marx's ability to overcome the contradictions of the old materialism were possible only through his adoption of the dialectical method.

Hegel had insisted that change in all phenomena occurs only through the struggle of opposites within all phenomena.

Such conflict produces leaps, breaks, discontinuities and unevenness in development. Hegel had seen such dialec-

tical development in an idealist form—as the development of ideas of which the real world was merely a reflection.

Marx, rejecting this idealism, reworked the dialectic materialistically. The conflict and changes in

the sphere of ideas were a reflection of material conflicts in nature and the social world as part of man's struggle to change the world. It is this revolutionary de-

velopment which Plekhanov tends to obscure and confuse: for him Marx simply made a 'masterly correction' of Feuer-

Thus the chapter 'The Materialist Dialectic as Method' is certainly the weakest in the book. He sees dialectics as merely a general theory of development and not fundamentally as a theory of human knowledge and cogni-

This was always the kernel Lenin's criticism of Plekhanov's weaknesses in the theoretical field. He paid insufficient attention to this basic nature of the dialectic.

Thus in his notes on Hegel's 'Lectures on the History of Philosophy' (in the Philosophical Notebooks) Lenin writes: 'Plekhanov wrote on philosophy probably about 1,000 pages. . . . Among them, about the large Logic, in connection with it its thought (that is dialectics proper, as philosophical science) nil!!

This theoretical weakness was probably connected with Plekhanov's political errors and opposition to Bolshevism and eventually the Russian Revolution.

By failing to stress the role of consciousness in the working class as the decisive factor in overthrowing reality—itself a product of the mechanical and dogmatic strain in his thought—he became prey to the ideas of Menshevism which stressed the inevitability of certain fixed stages in social evolution and relegated the working class to a supporting role behind the bourgeoisie in

Despite all these weaknesses and onesidedness, Plekhanov's work remains rich in ideas and an invaluable basis on which to commence a real study of the Marxist world outlook.

the fight for democracy.

Every young comrade in the movement is urged to study closely and in detail the three works contained in this volume.

The peace negotiated with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk was

intolerably severe, large areas of Soviet land being forfeited.

Students out in support of teachers

OVER 2,000 training college students marched in support of the teachers' pay claim in Sheffield on Wednesday. At least four colleges in the area had gone on strike and many students were on the march and attended the City Hall meeting afterwards.

Govt. crackdown on student conditions

THE WILSON government has aired plans for a sweeping attack on student standards and on the whole of higher 'University Development in the 1970s', submitted for discussion to university vicechancellors, civil servants and the University Grants Com-

The document, prepared by the Ministers at the Department of Education puts forward 13 'suggestions' for cuts in the education service.

They include the replacement of student grants by loans; more restrictions on entry of overseas students; two-year degree courses or correspondence courses to replace present three-year courses; more students living at home and attending university locally; further rises in staff-student ratios; reorganization of the academic year 'to use equipment and buildings more intensively'.

These proposals, which read

like extracts from a Tory 'Black Paper', represent the most thoroughgoing crack-down on student standards ever attempted by any govern-

It is clear that the government intends to put some or all of them into operation in the next period.

Like the Gaullist government in France, the Wilson government is already preparing its Fouchet Plan to decimate the universities and tailor higher education to suit the requirements of the international bankers.

Students and university teachers resisting these plans must have the full backing of the working class against these

Pay claim by 7,000 therapists

DETAILS of a pay claim on behalf of National Health Service physiotherapists were disclosed in London yester-

day.

The claim, submitted to the Whitley Council three days ago, will affect 6,000 fulltime physiotherapists and about 1,000 part-timers.

FIVE THOUSAND students

from Liverpool colleges marched on Wednesday in

support of the teachers' pay

'More pay for teachers — better education for kids',

'Teachers need £135 at least

Wall St.

share crisis

worsens

SHARE prices on Wall

Street plunged below the

800 'barrier' on Wednesday,

the lowest level for more

US financial experts agree

that this steady decline in share values (65 points since

November 10) is based on

pessimistic forecasts for profits

and business activity generally

Many now state that the US faces a recession next year.

anti-inflationary drive against

wages and investment and

reflects the success of recent

measures taken to control the

money supply.

With the screws on the economy beginning to tighten,

the US working class faces bitter struggles in 1970 and

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

This is line with Nixon's

than two years.

in the months ahead.

Their placards demanded

Staff from the largest college, Sheffield City College, sent a letter of support to the student strikers.

Ninety-nine teachers on strike from seven Sheffield schools attended the meet-

The question unanswered by the platform, but which hung over the meeting was: where next in the fight for

Many of the banners carried by the students called for 'the full £135—not £50'. Other banners asked the uestion 'Can you bring up family on £13 per week?'. guestion

Neither the spokesman from the National Union of Students (NUS) executive, David Logan, nor the speaker from the NUT department of education were able to do more than explain the history of the pay claim and state that teachers were worth more.

Real role

The real role of the union leaders in this strike was seen at the beginning of the meeting when the chairman said that a resolution of support for the teachers' pay claim was to be put, but that no amendments were to be allowed.

The same tactic was used at the mass meeting of 2,500 teachers on half-day strike in Sheffield at the beginning of the campaign. It was left to speakers in

support of the resolution to point out the real questions involved in the pay claim.

John Brownhill, executive member of the Sheffield Association and one of the strikers, asked:

'Is the economic surplus Wilson is aiming at for the good of the country or for the benefit of the European bankers? The money is available for the claim, it is a question of priorities', he said. A student from City Train ing College, a member of the Young Socialists, explained that the Labour government policy meant not only backing up the local education authorities in relation to the teachers' claim, but was also respon-

newly qualified teachers. Pay fight

She was loudly applauded when she said: 'It is not a question of teachers deserving more than dustmen or air pilots. All workers now are faced with the need to fight for higher wages because of the government's wage freeze policy and this fight is a political fight.

The students came from eight colleges of education,

5,000 on Mersey

demonstration

so magnificently on Wednes-day in Sheffield should beware the NUT executive.

The danger is that they will accept a compromise on

and future teachers want no

compromise. win however teachers must learn the lessons of the dockers, dustmen

prepare to continue the fight for £135 in this way.

No attacks on education

chief of the bodyguard had been killed in the accident, although he was actually killed by those escorting him.' (Ibid, p. 343. Emphasis added.)

Then Khrushchev turned to the activities of Voroshilov in the anti-Party group:

The question arises how Comrade Voroshilov got comrade Voroshilov got himself mixed up with that group? Some comrades know of the personal dis-like there was between Voroshilov and Molotov, between Voros Kaganovitch, and between

Malenkov and Voroshilov Yet, in spite of these relations, they joined forces. Why? On what basis? Because after the 20th Congress they were afraid of further ex-posures of their unlawful actions in the period of the personality cult, afraid they would have to answer be-

fore the Party. 'After all, it is no secret that all the abuses at that time were committed with their backing and that, more-over, they took an active part in them.' (Ibid, p. 352.

the college of commerce, the technical colleges and the college of building. The university was not represented because the Guild Council informed noone until 8 p.m. on Tues-The demonstration, called by the Liverpool area Students' Association, was followed by a meeting with speakers from the NUT, NAS and Union of Women

Teachers.
The meeting unanimously passed a resolution giving its complete support to the teachers' pay claim and its co-operation in any action taken by the teachers.

Large-scale fighting in

AT LEAST 50 Saudi-Arabian troops were reported killed in large-scale fighting with Republican forces of the South Yemen around the border post of Al-Wadeiah yesterday. It was the heaviest of a succession of clashes in the which began on

November 26.

The area is believed to be rich in oil deposits, and the South Yemen government in Aden has accused the Royal-Saudi-Arabian forces of acting in collusion with powerful oil monopolies.

والمعارض والمنافي والمرابع والمرابع

Students who turned out their official leadership and

this pay claim.
The Sheffield meeting showed yet again that teachers

and miners—only an all-out strike which builds an alternative leadership in the

Students and teachers must No compromise—the full

No teacher unemployment!

Our emphasis.)

Of all the members of the 'anti-Party group', this was most true of Voroshilov. All these facts are publicly admitted and documented. What, then, does Russell have to say about them in his obituary?
After all, Voroshilov was

unique in the annals of military history in that he killed more of his own General Staff than he took prisoner in the ranks of the Soviet Union's enemies. Such a feat surely should be

recorded? But as far as the Stalinist Russell is concerned, nothing worth recording happened in the Red Army between 1935 and 1940:

When in 1935 the rank of Marshal of the Army was reinstituted, [abolished by the Revolution] Voroshilov was the first to be appointed to that rank. He remained War Commissar and later Defence Minister until June 1940, when he was replaced by Marshal Timoshenko.'

Russell tells us that Voroshilov was the first Red Army Marshal, but he does not tell us who were the next three. For they were all murdered, on the orders of Stalin and Voroshilov. The years between 1935 and

1940 are for Russell completely blank. He can devote a paragraph to Voroshilov's 'partner-ship with Semyon Bud-yenny, who later become a Marshal [the other one of the five who was not shot] . . that became famous in story and song throughout the Soviet Union and far beyond. . .'—but not a word to the Red Army purges infamous 'through-

far beyond'. Can it be that Sam Russell is suffering from an attack of that old Stalinist disease, described by his Editor George Matthews at the recent CP Congress as a 'suspension of the critical

out the Soviet Union and

Two statements by the Bolivian Revolutionary Workers' Party

Oil Nationalization and Moscoso

WE ARE publishing propriation of the other two texts we have just control of the public services, received from the Re-workers' control, expulsion of other North American busvolutionary Workers' inesses, etc. Party (RWP), the Bolivian Trotskyist organization.

The first is a statement

The first is a statement in the imperialists' intervention and boycott, is a development towards the workers' revolution.

Whether the nationalization of October 17 will be transformed into a real victory by

by the Central Committee of the RWP about the recent nationalization of the national task. Gulf Oil Company by General Ovanda's govern-

Since the military coup September, he has tried, like his counterparts in Peru, to prevent and channel the rise of the masses by putting on a 'social' face all alizing (with indemnification) certain big foreign companies.

Many organizations adopted very equivocal positions in face of these measures, and the Peruvian generals have even been awarded the title of 'progressive' by Castro.

The statement by the Central Committee of the RWP rests firmly on a class basis, dissipates all illusions and arms the working class in the face of General Ovanda's

The second text is a state-ment by the secretariat of the RWP about material cir-culated several weeks ago by the Communist League entitled 'For Bolivia', calling for the political and financial support of Hugo Gonzales

Moscoso is presented as a leader of the RWP which, as the statement indicates, is a crude deception. Many years ago the Bolivian

RWP broke publicly with him, Frank, Mandel and the other members of the so-called 'Unified Secretariat' and they have already denounced this fraudulent usurpation of their

Central Committee **Resolution:**

ntral Committee of the RWP has approved the following document:

The nationalization Gulf has clarified in nationalization true level reached in political evolution of country and the true level of consciousness of the pro-This measure was immediately followed by much

more radical demands by the popular masses: no indemnification to the usurpers, extance of the military regime.

tive step but insufficient. To prevent more plundering like that of 1936 (petrol) and 1952

The importance of the October 17 decree lies in the possibilities it opens up to the masses—led by the poletariat and certainly not by the Since the military coup military government—effect-d'etat which brought Genively to throw out imperialism eral Ovanda to power last and accomplish the tasks of national liberation. It is the proletariat that will move the masses into setting to work on socialist tasks.

That is what the USA and those who, openly or and particularly by nation- silently, are trying to come to some understanding with the colonizing country, fear. It is not a question of

coming to some agreement with American imperialism, of capitulating to it in exchange for a good price for the sale of the country. It is, on the contrary, question of liberation, smashing imperialism.

Experience shows that only the working class as the national leadership can accomplish fully this great historic task.

Isolated nationalization

in the midst of a capitalist economy is doomed to fail, to submit to the needs of finance capital to get its co-operation. Such nationalization perishes

under the weight of the contradictions and de-ficiencies of the other sectors of the economy. The needs of profit cannot be reconciled with the national objectives of State enterprises. Only a planned economy can move the whole economy

forward and therefore also nationalizations. But there can be no real planning when one part of the economy lives under the law of private profit. The external internal difficulties nationalization would oblige a revolutionary government to

generalize nationalization. petrol, unless it is to disappear or lose its meaning, must be an integral part of the state ownership of the means of production and a planned economy.

It would be naive to ask this government to realize these objectives which are the central axes of strategy in the struggle of the people and the working class.

tained in spite of the resis-

The revolutionary ization of the masses, driven forward by this latest decree and by the need for their intervention to thwart the imperialists' intervention

means of a revolution led by the proletariat, or whether it will succumb like so many other attempts at national liberation, the working class, matured in the hard school of defeats and betrayals, knows that only it, and not the gov-ernment of another social class, can take the national anti-imperialist movement to its final stage.

This is not a project for some indeterminate future; we have already entered this process and what is happening under our eyes directs us to wards the workers' revolution.

For the revolution to change from a slogan into reality, the working class must preserve its ideological and independence; must organize itself politically and in unions; it must build its own party; it must arm itself and learn not to trust governments that are not its

This is the only way avoid another betrayal of the

October 20, 1969 La Paz

Statement: about a financial campaign that has just been opened This operation possesses all the characteristics of the swindles organized by a discredited political group led by one Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, who represents nothing in

This is not the first time that something like this has On many occasions in the past these people have pre-

sented themselves abroadthey would not risk it in Bolivia—as the inspirers of all the work carried out by our party, as the authors of all its texts and political writings, as the leaders of its intervention in the class struggle.

They have even gone so far a leader of the railwaymen as to try to appropriate its and moreover has always been martyrs. All this has been very far from any union or done in order to gather funds political activity. which only go to swell the revenues of Mr Gonzales In effect we are saving to Nationalist

those who don't know and to those who pretend not to know, that this group has not circulated any material for many years and that they even stopped publishing their organ 'Lucha Obrera' four years ago. This is the nature of the deception we are denouncing.

Today this group of profiteers is trying to exploit the

The revolutionary mobil-ization of the masses, writings of Castroism in order to traffic in militants' money.

La Paz, capital of Bolivia, where the Revolutionary Workers' Party made its state-

Having become aware of the propaganda now being spread abroad by the epigones of Pablo in favour of this bankrupt group, we feel we must point out to militants the crudest of the deceptions contained in this material.

(1) The Bolivian RWP does not support the Castroite guerrilla-type movement [with the so-called 'detonator' theory] and considers this movement to be a typical adventure of petty-bourgeois despair. (2) In any case the Boli-

vian Pabloites don't have any organization because they quidated it in order to enter the NLA [National Liberation Army] individually. In another connection the

NLA denounced certain of them as informers and confidants of the Ministry of the Interior.

Today it is seriously suspected that Mr Gonzales Moscoso himself would work on behalf of the Bolivian government. (3) It is false to state that any of these people are in way leaders of illa movement (

which, we repeat, the RWP is in complete disagreement).

Because of their extreme numerical and political weakness their help was completely secondary.

None of them went under-Statement:

The RWP of Bolivia feels obliged to issue a warning about a financial committee to the NLA in office jobs and in particular spent their time making knapsacks.

(4) Elio Vasquez was never a workers' leader in the mines and had nothing to do with the mass struggles entered into by the workers. He was arrested for several days before being freed in exchange for information about NLA

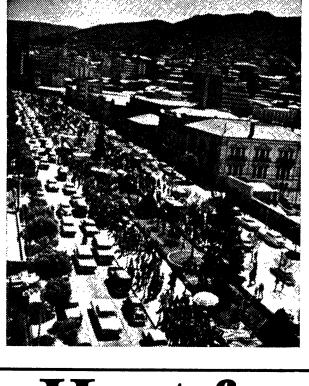
(5) Beta Porcel is a woman known for her left ideas, but she doesn't fight in any party. She was arrested for several hours (denounced by Gonzales' own partisans) for buying a good luck charm with a picture of Che Guevara on

(6) Gabriel Guzman is not from any union of (7) F. Melgar has always

been a member of PRIN [Left Revolutionary Party] and has never had anything to do with the RWP. We could go on enumerat-

ing such inaccuracies indefi-

Alberto Saenz. Press Secretary of the RWP La Paz.



Hunt for 'Pinkville' scapegoats continues

AFTER one session of the US Army's inquiry into the events surrounding the 'Pinkville' massacre, a spokesman stated yesterday that Army chiefs were not satisfied with the scope and nature of the original investigations carried out last year:

'The fact that it took over a year to get to the department of the army obviously indicates that something should looked into', said Brigadier-General Sinant Sidle, Army Chief of Information.

The hunt for scapegoats continues. Captain Medina may now

be charged with offences in connection with the massacre at 'Pinkville'. **SUMMONED**

He has been summoned to

appear before an army board for failing to report the kill-ings in My Lai village. He has not as yet been charged with any specific

HALF EIRE'S GOLD SOLD

THE Irish Republic has sold just under half of its gold stocks as part of the general central bank spokesman said

A total of £6.7 million of the Republic's recent gold reserves of £27.3 million was sold to the US to raise dollars, mainly to pay 12 million dollars to the International Monetary Fund.

● FROM PAGE ONE

Longbridge convenor Dick

Etheridge from singing the praises of his union's president at some length at Wednesday's

meeting.

Both Etheridge and Bill

Moore, Stalinist convenor of
Liverpool's Hunt's Cross

Standard-Triumph plant, supported the AEF executive's
decision to withhold official support from the 11-week Standard strike.

Etheridge, as we have re-ported previously, is even

'Victory' In the November issue of

the 'AEU Journal', he described the 101st Trades Union Congress at Portsmouth Singling out the fact that all

the rule-amendments necessary to operate the TUC's June 18 undertaking to stop strikes were carried, he re-ported that 'this first year in its second century marked up changes that will determine the role of the TUC for the future'.

Scanlon's role in preparing the ground for Measured-Day Work and for the TUC's appalling retreat are thus ignored by the Communist Party, and the right wing are happy to go along with this.
What confidence can be placed in a national motor industry stewards' organization

—one of the proposals carried on Wednesday—led by such Finally, why did the British-Leyland trade union committee's joint chairmen—
Etheridge and Eddy McGarry—give out that the main points of Wednesday's meeting were demands for lay-off pay, parity of earnings within the combine and holiday pay? Everyone who attended knows that most of the discussion centred on the strike fund levy, the national motor industry stewards' organiza-tion and the Standard-Triumph

The question is not so much what are they trying to hide
—although the meeting was a closed one, all the reporters covering it had the opportunity to discuss the agenda with the platform—but why and from whom? Is it that having retreated

dispute.

on two important fronts they want to sweep this under the carpet away from the critical gaze of workers in British-Leyland's plants?

Final peace talks for Lodge

VIETNAM peace negotiators met today for their 45th session yesterday-the last for outgoing American negotiator Henry Cabot Lodge—with little prospect of getting any further than they have in the past ten months.

Mr Lodge said before entering the meeting that he would review the proposals made by his side and the other side's reactions. He would also discuss

'some of the most persistent and erroneous beliefs which impede progress' and outline his views of 'what is the hope for the future'.

Bring Gaullist thugs to justice

messages of support from teachers, underground workers, technicians, professional students, printers and workers in the petrol and aircraft industries were read out by Charles Berg of the Alliance des Jeunes Pour le Socialisme (AJS) and chairman of the

meeting. Pledged support

Members of the union for Air France workers (CGT), the National Union for Scientific Researchers, the teachers' unions, a social service section of the Force Ouvrière, the students' union, the National Bureau of the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (CGT), the Alliance Ouvrière (Workers' Alliance), the Socialist Party, the Revolu-tionary Anarchist Organization and the League for the Rights Of Man were greeted with thunderous applause as they pledged their support for this campaign.

Francis Bailly, National Union of Scientific Research-

ers general secretary, pointed

legs blown off and a ward full of 18-year-olds, you cannot think of a justification for this war.'

Even more pertinent were the remarks of nurse Sharon

Stanley, whose father is head of the Green Berets' Special

Warfare School at Fort Bragg,

N.C. She complained: 'A lot of

patients here don't believe in the cause for which they were

fighting and received their

These remarks show that

there are two Americas: the

America of Nixon and his

• FROM PAGE ONE

● FROM PAGE ONE out that this attack Speller was an attack on the whole working class.

Claude Kahn, national secretary of the Air France workers' section of the CGT, connected this brutal beating with the attacks by the Gaullist government on the right of workers to strike.
'The bosses are trying to prevent the working class from defending itself', he said. The meeting was con-

tinually interrupted by chants of 'Working class unite', 'Justice for Speller' and 'Democratic liberties'. The Communist Party was conspicuous by its absence, as Yves Dechezelles, Comrade Speller's lawyer pointed out. 'It is surprising' he said, 'that on the left and even more surprising that in the workers' movement, there is only one dissident voice.'
But workers should not be

Once again the treachery of

the war and Nixon and all he stands for.

mercenary thugs and the

America of Nurse Stanley and

the millions of workers, tech-

nicians and soldiers who hate

Heartened We are greatly heartened by these remarks.

We feel that the movement we are building against Wilson's visit to Washington is going to receive a massive response from the working class in Britain.

Into action comrades! Pour in the resolutions, fill in the petition forms. Make sure every worker in your department reads the petition. Wilson must pass!

the international Stalinist bureaucracy is revealed to the working class.

In a statement in 'L'Humanité', the French Communist Party paper,

anti-trade unionist and the claim was made that the campaign to bring his attackers to justice is merely a political manoeuvre by the Trotskyists to gain support.
Comrade Speller was himself a Communist Party member, but was expelled because he fought against Party policy during the General Strike and

vention in Czechoslovakia. The Communist Party's treacherous class collaboration, the face of an attack which, as many speakers pointed out, is not just an individual case, but is symbolic of the whole class struggle and the new stage it has entered, will not be accepted by the international working class and particularly by militants in the French Communist Party.

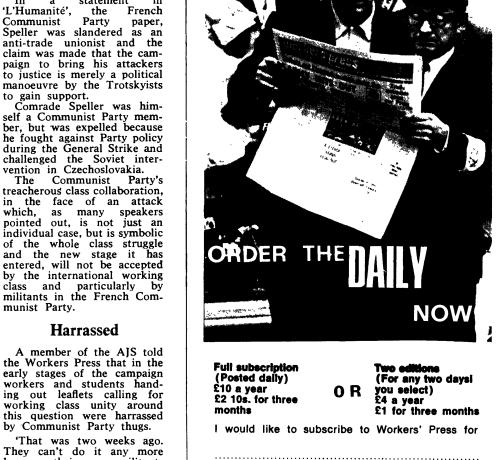
Harrassed

A member of the AJS told the Workers Press that in the early stages of the campaign workers and students hand-ing out leaflets calling for working class unity around this question were harrassed by Communist Party thugs.

They can't do it any more because their own militants won't stand for it', he said. The international working class must support the French

workers' demand for the trial of Speller's attackers. As the international crisis of imperialism deepens, the true nature of bourgeois justice will become clear to all workers—capitalist law protects the capitalists and is

against the working



Post to: Circulation Organizer, Workers Press, 186a

Clapham High Street, London, SW4. (Tel: 01-720-2000)

