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186a Clapham High Street
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"SINCE the Shell productivity agreement, the union leaders have been trying to sell productivity agreements to all sections of workers, despite the realization that these deals weren't on."
The Croydun agreement was part of this process. These latest proposals are the means by which the TUC leaders hope to put the Croydun agreement into effect.

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"They want to tie workers more and more to the rules. 'It will certainly be used as moral pressure in the joint motor industry council and in courts of inquiry.'"
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Whitehall scurry over teachers' and nurses' pay claims

AN URGENT top-level meeting at the Treasury has been called for tomorrow to discuss the teachers' and nurses' pay claims—both of which considerably exceed the government's 4 1/2 per cent 'norm' for wage increases.

The teachers' demand of £135 a year is about double the 'norm', whilst the nurses' claim is for increases of up to 54 per cent for clinical instructors, 27 per cent for

From our own reporter

staff nurses and 32 per cent for students.
The Chancellor, Mr Roy Jenkins, has had to call the meeting because the nurses' Whitley Council and the teachers' Burnham Committee are next week expected to give

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The General Council's procedural 'guidelines' would, if accepted by unions, hand weapons for the curtailment of basic trade union freedoms to every industrial relations manager and right-wing union official.

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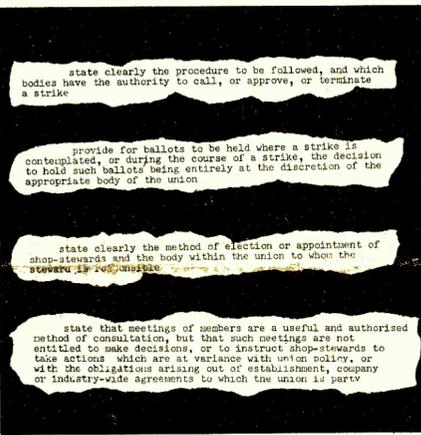
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Most of this is completely in line with the recommendations of the Donovan Commission and of the very White Paper which the June 18 agreement was supposed to have 'defeated'.

If unions accept these 'guidelines' they will be preparing the ground for precisely the kind of legislation which will be introduced following a Tory return to political power... through the 'back door'!

What is the attitude of the General Council 'lefts' to these proposals?
So far, although this information has been in the hands of the press for almost a

week, they have remained silent.

Trade unionists must demand that Messrs Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon state their position immediately.

What is the attitude of the Communist Party?
At the Party's recent 31st Congress, leading Stalinist trade unionist Kevin Halpin specifically defended an attack on a member of the Socialist Labour League who warned against just such a betrayal as this at the lobby of a special TUC in February of this year.

Now all the cards are on the table.

It is no use claiming, Messrs Halpin, Ramelson, Gollan and Matthews—as you did over the TUC's Vietnam resolution—that 'some other



TUC 'lefts' like AEF president Hugh Scanlon must state their position on the 'guidelines' now.

left-wing union leaders would have preferred a more sharply-worded motion' ("Morning Star", December 18).

You must also speak out now.

Nothing could more clearly express the link between the fight to defend the trade unions in the metropolitan capitalist countries and the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants than this double betrayal by the trade union leaders.

All trade unionists must fight for the immediate withdrawal of this infamous document by the TUC General Council.

There can be no trade union democracy without the complete and utter independence of the unions from the demands and requirements of the capitalist state.

B.S.C. wants speed-up before wage rise

BY PETER READ

THE CURRENT unofficial strike at the British Steel Corporation's Pontypool works and the Margam steel-works, Port Talbot, dispute, which ended on Sunday, have both been marked by the management's determination to resist any claims.

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It is reported that the management's move was decided on Boxing Day in talks between BSC's chairman Lord Melchett and Mr Ron Smith, ex-general secretary of the Post Office Workers' Union, who is now BSC's Labour Relations Adviser.

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These CP members must state either that they are for Wilson's visit to the mass-murderer Nixon—like the Party's Stalinist King Street leadership—or they are against it.

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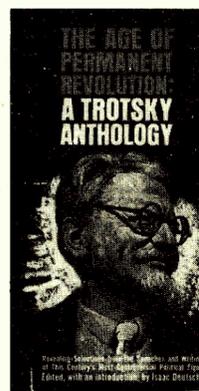
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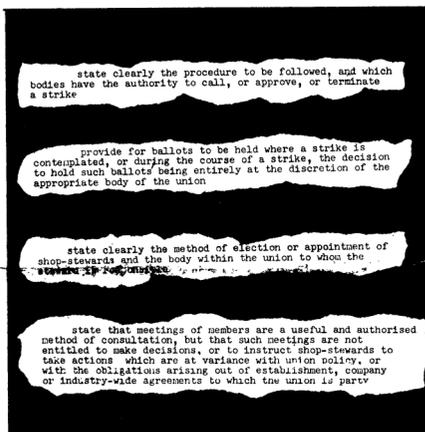
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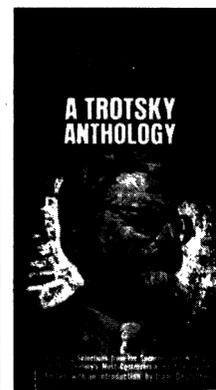
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Mr Kuznetsov, who leads the eight-man Russian delegation, returned to Moscow over two weeks ago.

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'WITHOUT revolutionary theory, no revolutionary party', wrote Lenin.

Parties of the Bolshevik type start from the revolutionary role of the working class as the only class which can carry forward the productive forces of mankind, by smashing the capitalist state and constructing socialism.

These parties are based on the scientific theories of Marx and Engels, developed by Lenin and Trotsky; these theories do not arise directly out of the experience of the working class, but are brought into the class struggle 'from without'.

The theory then develops in intimate connection with the class struggle and the building of the revolutionary party.

Marxists characterize the imperialist stage of capitalism, i.e. the period since the 1890s, as the highest and final stage of capitalism, in which wars and revolutions, reflecting the barriers created by capitalist private property to the further development of mankind's productive forces, predominate.

For parties of the Bolshevik type, i.e. the Socialist Labour League and the affiliated sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International, all strategic and tactical changes are placed within a study of the relationship of class forces internationally considered from the standpoint of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, which we have outlined.

When our opponents, such as the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists, call us 'dogmatists' and complain of our 'rigidity' and 'failure to face up to changing reality', they are in fact objecting to our adherence to these basic principles. They advocate instead a series of opportunist adaptations to the surface reality of capitalism, a surface which is determined by the superstructure of capitalist politics and ideology.

The task of Marxism is, starting from the continuity of the conquests of Marxist theory in the past, to penetrate through the surface to the reality of class conflict underneath, and from there break up the surface.

Marxism

The crucial point of this process is to bring socialist consciousness, Marxism, to a victory over 'trade union consciousness', which is, as Lenin stressed, bourgeois consciousness and not the embryo of political or socialist consciousness.

A recent issue of the magazine 'International Socialism' (organ of the group led by Mr T. Cliff, which declares the USSR, China and the East European deformed workers' states to be 'state capitalist' in nature), devotes a long article to 'Building the Revolutionary Party', to an attack on the Socialist Labour League.

The basis of this attack is that the SLL has consistently adhered to the founding programme of the Fourth International, 'The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International (Transitional Programme)', which Hallas declares to be 'irrelevant or false'.

Hallas presents a tissue of selected quotations and incidents out of context over the period since 1938, and we shall have to deal with his distortions in detail in order to show the essence of his political method and to explain the actual processes from which

1 'International Socialism', No. 40, October-November 1969.



A SERIES OF FOUR ARTICLES BY
CLIFF SLAUGHTER

he has extracted his material; but first it is necessary to understand the principled differences between Marxism and opportunism to which we have referred.

The 'International Socialism' group's rejection of the gains of the October Revolution is entirely characteristic of the opportunist's rejection of the continuity of Marxism and of the experience and historical gains of the working class.

The petty-bourgeois opportunist begins instead from the surface of events.

The attacks on the Socialist Labour League in which they indulge are an essential part of the same method. They attack us as the continuators of Bolshevism.

The political strength of the Socialist Labour League, manifested above all in the publication of the daily Workers Press, our intervention in the Communist Party Congress and the campaign to stop Wilson's visit to Washington, is above all a vindication of Marxist principle against all opportunism in matters of theory, programme and organization.

When the opportunist enemies of Trotskyism attack these principles, they serve directly the bureaucratic agents of capitalism in the labour movement, starting always from the temporary and relative stabilizations of capitalism combined with the bureaucratic domination of the labour movement which makes such stabilizations possible.

Defeats

The revisionists who have abandoned the Fourth International and its programme—the 'state capitalist' and Pablist revisionists—are precisely the product of this past period of defeats of the working class, defeats which have been the essential basis of the retention of control by the bureaucracy and the consequent survival of the capitalist system.

The basic theoretical out-

look, it consists of a series of tactical improvisations, twists and turns, in response to the immediate appearance of strength of the class enemy or weakness of the working class, and the fluctuations of middle-class public opinion, with all the scope granted to the 'radical' manifestations of the latter in English parliamentary, journalistic and academic life.

Not surprisingly, these groupings, from the Stalinists to the 'state capitalists', are at a loss to explain the development of the SLL.

According to them, our insistence on the unity of theory and practice, on Marxist principle, and our rejection of their 'flexibility' (i.e. their ability to bend to the pressure of the class enemy and its agents, which is not at all the same as the flexibility of tactics necessary to Marxists on the basis of the historical struggle for programme) only long ago to have consigned us to political oblivion; indeed they themselves have with monotonous regularity predicted for us just such a fate.

And now, when the development of our work stares them in the face in one sphere after another, they begin to refer to the tragic failure of the SLL to fulfil its early promise. . . .

A leading member of the same group gives us an excellent definition of the 'state capitalist' view of the relation between theory and practice:

'A too rigid revolutionary theory can be more disastrous than a reformist practice, with the latter it can at least be changed in the future with the former every struggle has to be seen in cataclysmic terms.'

Just as we have seen that a revolutionary party can train its cadres only in a thorough understanding of the necessarily revolutionary nature of the whole epoch in which we live, so it is also true that a constant struggle for the method of dialectical materialism is necessary for the building of the party.

Yet here we have Higgins, like Tony Cliff, painstakingly advocating an empiricist reformism against Marxist theory. It is not here a question of 'too rigid revolutionary theory', but of Marxism.

The message is that the state capitalists will conform to the 'English' method of adaptation to the 'facts', and the complaint against the Trotskyists is that they will not behave in this English bourgeois manner.

The use of the word 'revolutionary' by the state capitalist spokesman is here as always nothing but phrasemongering, because it is accompanied by the opposite of revolutionary preparation: capitulation to bourgeois ideology on theoretical questions, and abandonment of the struggle against opportunism which must mean acceptance of the politics of opportunism.

The first great experience of the proletarian movement in the imperialist era in this respect was that opportunism would use 'theoretical' phrases of a Marxist kind to obscure and thus facilitate its service to the needs of the ruling class.

Great lesson

That was the great lesson of the betrayal of social democracy in the First World War. In Higgins' statement we have precisely this phrasemongering, packaged in the condemnations of 'rigidity' and 'orthodoxy' which sound so 'reasonable' to the petty-bourgeois intellectual.

The Fourth International had to fight its first great theoretical and political battle against exactly such a petty-bourgeois tendency in the shape of James Burnham and Max Schachtman in the Socialist Workers' Party (USA) in 1939-1940.

Trotsky's book 'In Defence of Marxism' contains the record of this battle.

This petty-bourgeois opposition wanted to confine the discussion to 'concrete' questions, and particularly to the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Trotsky exposed the pragmatic, subjective and impressionistic method behind this, the abandonment of dialectical materialism and of the continuity of the Marxist movement.

Burnham was smoked out as a conscious pragmatist; Schachtman played an especially treacherous role, declaring that a difference between dialectical materialism and empiricism-pragmatism need not involve political consequences.

These methodological questions must predominate in our answer to Hallas' latest attack on the SLL and Trotskyism. Characteristically, he does not discuss the history of the SLL and its predecessors with any accounting of the role of his own tendency in relation to it.

His standpoint is exactly

3 Hallas, op. cit.

4 J. Higgins, 'The Origins of the Communist Party' in 'International Socialism', No. 40.

The class nature of the 'International Socialism' group

that of empiricism, i.e. that of the contemplative observer, appearing to see the process from the outside, despite the fact that he personally, Tony Cliff and others like them were directly involved in many of the events to which he refers.

His presentation appears to concentrate on concrete questions, above all on the relation of Trotskyist policies to the changing economic situation of capitalism and the strength of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies, which, according to Hallas, have rendered the Transitional Programme out-of-date.

Trotsky shows conclusively in 'In Defence of Marxism' that this apparent 'concreteness', because it separates out questions from the overall historical nature of the processes within which they occur, and because it excludes a historical reckoning with the role of the Marxist party which is making the analysis and intervention, is in fact a way of dissolving the concrete into the abstract.

Middle-class

Hallas's method is in direct continuity with that of Burnham and Schachtman, just as is his political position on the nature of the USSR.

His attack is another stage in the perennial middle-class attack on Marxism, concentrated ever more directly against the revolutionary party and dialectical materialism.

Hallas and Cliff know very well that the theoretical and political groundwork which they lay creates a situation where many of the members of their tendency openly disavow dialectical materialism; the state capitalist group actually provides a breeding-ground for relatively sophisticated methods of destroying the theoretical roots of Marxism while appearing to be 'Marxists' of some special 'modern', actually very 'British' (and certainly not 'international socialist'), type.

Cliff is open about this. He will explain, like Schachtman, that he himself 'accepts' dialectical materialism, but that among his members, both leaders and rank and file, there are some who do not; they all consider that the question of adherence to the dialectic is not an important one in relation to membership or even leadership of their organization.

In the universities, where their members are concentrated, the International Socialism group are represented by young and not-so-young men who are busy reconciling Marxism with the varieties of empiricism and theoretical improvisation fashionable in sociology and the philosophy of science, not to mention tired refurbishings of bourgeois economics.

Among them are some who openly proclaim themselves 'Mensheviks'.

Verdict

The 'hypothesis-testing' and 'model-building' of these empiricist and pragmatist bourgeois schools of thought is related directly to Higgins' defence of 'reformist practice' on the grounds that 'it can at least be changed in the future'; i.e. it is a hypothesis or model to be modified according to every change in the 'facts'.

Exactly the same method is involved in Hallas' verdict that the SLL bases itself on a programme which is 'irrelevant or false'. In his own way Hallas realizes that to take on a criticism of the SLL is to challenge the whole basis of the Fourth International. He writes:

'A serious criticism of the politics of the SLL involves not merely a criticism of the views of the theorists of that organization, but a re-examination of the original Fourth Internationalist tradition of which, in essentials, they are the most consistent defenders in this country.'

The actual meaning of this passage and all that follows it is that Hallas consciously

counterposes to the dialectical-materialist outlook that of the vacillating petty bourgeois and his empiricism.

This vacillation and its theoretical rationalization in 'experimentation' and 'non-dogmatism' is the direct reflection of the desperate position of the middle class and its intelligentsia between the two principal classes in an epoch of wars and revolutions.

But the petty bourgeoisie is not an independent or decisive historical class. It has not the resources to develop and establish an independent ideology.

What we have described is only the characteristic habit of thought and feeling of the petty bourgeois, elaborated in political-theoretical terms. Only in countries and in historical periods when the development of the ruling class provides favourable conditions can this characteristic habit of thought develop into anything resembling a philosophy.

Thus, in the United States, the particular historical conditions under which capitalism developed on a 'virgin' sub-continent encouraged and shaped the conscious fashioning of the 'pragmatist' philosophy of Peirce and James and the 'instrumentalism' of Dewey. It was from these thinkers that Burnham took his method in attacking dialectical materialism in 1939-1940.

'Dogmatism'

Like them, he attacked Marxism for its 'dogmatism'. The American petty-bourgeois intellectuals were perfectly free to develop such a philosophy of compromise and endless adaptation because conditions persisted for a long time which permitted the softening of social conflicts.

Trotsky wrote the following illuminating lines on the subject:

'The US Secretary for Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace, has reproached the author of these

lines for "a dogmatic narrowness which is utterly non-American", and he opposes to this Russian dogmatism the opportunist spirit of Jefferson, who knew how to compromise with his enemies. Apparently it has never entered Wallace's head that a policy of compromise is not a function of some non-material national spirit, but is the product of material conditions. A nation whose wealth grows rapidly has sufficient reserves to conciliate the hostile classes and parties. When, on the contrary, the social contradictions are exacerbated, the basis for a policy of compromise vanishes.

'If America has not known "dogmatic narrowness" that is because it has had at its disposal a plethora of virgin territory, of inexhaustible natural riches, and, at least in appearance, unlimited possibilities of enrichment. And yet even in these conditions the spirit of compromise did not prevent civil war when the hour struck.

'In any case, the material conditions which constituted the basis for "Americanism" belong today more and more to the past. Henceforth there will be profound crisis for traditional American ideology.

'Empirical thinking, limited to the solution of immediate tasks, seems adequate, in working-class as well as bourgeois circles, for as long as the law of value discovered by Marx fashions everyone's thought. But today, this very law produces opposite effects. Instead of impelling the economy forward, it undermines its foundations. Eclectic and conciliatory thought, with its hostile and contemptuous attitude to Marxism, which it considers as a "dogma", and its supreme philosophical expression, pragmatism, becomes absolutely inadequate, inconsistent, reactionary, and ridiculous.'

Pragmatism and empiricism are more and more challenged even within bourgeois ideology today, from an openly idealist and mystical standpoint, because of the ineluctable drawing of US capitalism into the centre of the world capitalist crisis.

6 Introduction to 'The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx.'

The 'socialist' petty-bourgeois intellectual who inhabits the revisionist groups cannot grasp that his contempt for the continuity of Marxism, his theoretical 'experiments', 'modifications', 'bringing up to date', and 'facing the changing facts' are nothing but a sophisticated reflection of the critical historical situation of the petty bourgeoisie in a revolutionary epoch when all its bureaucratic and ruling-class supports, as well as its traditional ideologies, prove more and more bankrupt.

This ideological crisis is the key to the indifference and sheer chaos on philosophical questions in the 'state capitalist' and other revisionist groups.

Revolutionary leadership is built with a quite different and opposed method.

Adaptation

For Hallas, the development of theory is the adaptation in his own (or Tony Cliff's) head of his ideas to the changing immediate reality.

For us, theory develops only through a party which, in fighting for a political programme of the conquest of working-class power, is able to study every development in the working class as the core of the analysis of the overall economic, political and ideological crisis of society.

The Marxist party carries out such a study as itself part of the class in struggle. The internal conflicts in the party must be grasped consciously as the reflection of the struggles within the working class and, at a deeper level, between the classes.

As we have seen, Hallas in his case against the SLL makes no analysis of the role of his own group or of the outcome politically of the stand which it took.

A leadership is built only in the conscious pursuit of a struggle within the movement which uncovers and fights to



The revisionist groupings without exception are at a loss to explain the development of the SLL and the daily publication of the Workers Press. Above: Young Socialists and trade unionists march to the first issue in Brighton on September 27.

Leon Trotsky

IN DEFENCE OF MARXISM

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'In Defence of Marxism' contains the first theoretical battle of the Fourth International against the petty-bourgeois opposition of Burnham and Schachtman in the Socialist Workers' Party.

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understand the failure of the early Trotskyist movement (and previously the young Communist Parties) to grapple with these philosophical problems.

Instead there was a tendency to accept the writings of Trotsky (or earlier, of the Communist International and the Bolsheviks) and adapt them directly as a series of maxims to the immediate problems of the movement in their own countries.

The history of the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee has been one of struggle to overcome this weakness and to learn the essence of revolutionary preparation.

When Hallas attacks the history of the SLL, this is of course not his method. Everything is in 'common-sense' or 'empirical' terms of 'who was right' about the economic conjuncture, or of 'orthodoxy' versus 'flexibility', etc. Naturally there can be no objective



The petty-bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers' Party (Hallas's true mentors) wanted to confine the discussion to the 'concrete' questions—particularly the Nazi-Soviet Pact—and avoid the questions of philosophy. Above: Stolin greets Ribbentrop, Nazi foreign minister.

empiricist and individualist philosophy of the English bourgeoisie has been and remains the basic form of bourgeois idealism against which Marxism has to struggle.

consciousness in the British labour movement and the defeat of trade union consciousness, which, we repeat, is bourgeois consciousness.

In the struggle to build revolutionary leadership on this basis, the Socialist Labour League has been on one side, and the 'state capitalists', with their compromises with reformism and empiricism, on the other. That is the thread which in fact runs through the history so distorted by Hallas.

Part two will appear in tomorrow's Workers Press

The decisive struggle is for the victory of socialist con-

defeat all the forms of bourgeois ideology, together with its reformist counterparts, which penetrates and seeks to destroy the political independence of the working class.

Lenin showed, at every vital stage of the development of Bolshevism, that behind the ultra-leftism of the followers of Bogdanov in the years of the Stolypin reaction, or behind the opportunism of the 'Old Bolshevik' majority in March 1917, lay always a failure to develop Marxist theory against bourgeois philosophy in its various idealist forms.

Only this type of study and analysis could provide Lenin with the necessary understanding of the actual ideological and political division and struggle between the classes.

In understanding the history of our own movement (i.e. particularly of the Trotskyist movement and the early years of the Communist International) we will need to



Bogdanov: His ultra-leftism lay in his failure to develop Marxism against bourgeois ideology.

appraisal of his own tendency as part of the process.

Taking reformist and syndicalist forms, the 300-year-old

TUESDAY TV

- B.B.C.-1**
- 12.45 p.m. Disc A Dawn. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weather. 1.55-2.40 Out of School. 3.45 Malcolm Muggeridge asks The Question Why? 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal Magic. 5.20 Wacky Races and Space Kidettes. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 National News and Weather. 6.00 London-Nationwide. 6.45 Z Cars. 7.05 Tomorrow's World. 7.30 Harry Worth. 8.00 The Good Old Days: Old Time Music Hall. 8.50 The Main News and Weather. 9.10 Tuesday's Documentary: 1913. 10.00 Hitchcock at the NFF: Alfred Hitchcock talks to Bryan Forbes. 11.00 He And She. 11.25 Weatherman.
- B.B.C.-2**
- 11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.30 p.m. Newsroom and Weather. 8.00 'The Goshawk': Film based on T. H. White's book about a duel between a falconer and a hawk. 8.50 While We're On The
- I.T.V.**
- 11.00 a.m.-12.28 p.m. Out of School. 4.17 Paulus. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Sexton Blake. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News.
- 6.03 The Flintstones. 6.30 Branded. 6.55 The Tuesday Film: 'The Pink Panther'. With Peter Sellers, Claudia Cardinale, David Niven, Robert Wagner and Capucine. Comedy about a dumb police inspector.
- REGIONAL I.T.V.**
- CHANNEL:** 4.15 p.m. Castle Haven. 4.40 Chez Oscar. 4.55 London. 6.00 Channel News and Weather. 6.10 Channel Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Movie: 'The Hasty Heart' with Ronald Reagan and Patricia Neal. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.25 Channel Gazette. 11.30 Commentaries et Previsions Meteorologiques followed by Weather.
- SOUTHERN:** 11.05 a.m.-12.28 p.m. London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 London. 6.00 Day by Day. 6.45 The Tuesday Film: 'Red Skies Of Montana' with Richard Widmark, Jeffrey Hunter, Richard Boone, Richard Crenna and Charles Bronson. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.30 Southern News Extra. 11.40 Weather followed by Inquiry into Christmas.
- WESTWARD:** As Channel except at following times: 11.00 a.m.-12.02 p.m. London. 4.01 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.13 Westward News Headlines. 4.40 The Gus Honeybun Show. 6.00 Westward Diary. 11.30 How About You? 11.55 Faith For Life. 12.01 a.m. Weather.
- HARLECH:** 11.00 a.m.-12.17 p.m. London. 4.18 It's Time For Me. 4.25 Skippy. 4.55 London. 6.00 Westward. 6.20 Batman. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Bonanza. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.30 Mickey. 12 midnight Weather.
- Harlech (Wales) as above except:** 7.29-4.55 Crossroads. 6.01 Y. Dydd. 6.26 Castle Haven. 6.51-7.00 Report. 10.30-11.15 Dan Sijw. 11.15 Mickey. 11.45 Weather.
- ANGIA:** 11.00 a.m.-12.21 p.m. London. 4.10 Castle Haven. 4.35 Anglia Newsroom. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'California Conquest' with Cornel Wilde and Teresa Wright. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.30 All Our Yesterdays. 12 midnight Reflection.
- ATV MIDLANDS:** 11.00 a.m.-12.21 p.m. Schools. 4.00 News Headlines. 4.02 Houseparty. 4.15 Your Star Showcase. 4.40 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.55 London. 6.00 AT Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Western Movie: 'Dallas' with Gary Cooper and Ruth Roman. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00
- LONDON:** 11.30 Your Living Body followed by Weather Forecast. **ULSTER:** 11.05 a.m.-12.30 p.m. London. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.50 Ulster News Headlines. 4.55 London. 6.00 Ulster Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Newsweek 4. Movie: 'Scared Stiff' with Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis. 9.00 London. 11.30 Billy.
- YORKSHIRE:** 11.00 a.m.-12.30 p.m. London. 3.00 Play Better Golf. 3.30 All About Riding. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.18 Tingha and Tucker Club. 4.30 You And Your Child. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar and Weather. 6.30 Castle Haven. 6.55 Lightning Strikes Twice with Richard Todd. A young girl shelters from a storm with a suspected murderer. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 The Avengers. 10.00 London. 11.30 The Man Who Never Was. 12 midnight Late Weather.
- GRANADA:** 11.00 a.m.-12.03 p.m. London. 4.15 London. 4.25 The Short Story. 4.55 London. 6.00 Beverly Hills. 6.25 Newsview Special followed by Put It In Writing. 7.05 The Name Game. The Game. 8.25 Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.30 Parkin's Patch.
- TYNE TEES:** 11.00 a.m.-12.21 p.m. London. 4.09 North East Newsroom. 4.11 News Headlines. 4.13 Paulus. 4.25 Mad Movies. 4.53 North East Newsroom. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Castle Haven. 6.55 Tuesday Film: 'Road To Hong Kong' with Bing Crosby and Bob Hope. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.30 Late News Extra. 11.47 Anticipation.
- SCOTTS:** 11.00 a.m.-12.25 p.m. London. 1.05-1.40 Postgraduate Medicine. 4.20 Scotland Early. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.30 Raw Deal? 7.05 The Name Of The Game. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.30 Late News Extra. 11.47 Anticipation.
- MAMPS:** 11.02 a.m.-12.03 p.m. London. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Sean The Leprechaun. 4.30 Castle Haven. 4.55 London. 6.00 Gramplan News and Learning News. 6.15 Ulster Town. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 The Film Stars. 8.00 Undercover. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00. 11.30 London.
- B.C.1 Postscript.**
- All regions as B.C.1 except at the following times: Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather, Nationwide. 11.32 News Summary and Weather. North of England: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Look North, Weather, Nationwide. 11.00-11.05 News Word. 11.32 News Summary, Weather. Scotland: 4.45-4.20 p.m. Sunday Set. 6.00-6.45 Reporting Scotland, Nationwide. 11.27 Epilogue, News Headlines. Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Scene Around Six, Weather, Nationwide. 11.00-11.30 Replay '96. 11.32 News Headlines, Weather. Wales: 5.20-5.50 p.m. Teletel. 6.00-6.45 Wales Today, Weather, Nationwide. 6.45-7.05 Heddidi. 7.05-7.30 Ask The Family. 8.00-8.05 New C2. 8.50 Ryan A Ronnie. South and West: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-west, Weather, Nationwide. 11.00-11.25 Drama By Degrees, Muggerridge '09. Pousalia. 11.32 News Headlines, Weather.
- Subject (new quiz series).** 9.10 **Wooded In The Sixties:** 'Francis of Assisi'. With Bradford Dillman. The life of the 13th century crusader and saint. 10.50 **News Summary and Weather.** 10.55 **Line Up.**

From Stalin to Zionism

By Charles Parkins

FURTHER EVIDENCE of the deepening crisis in the British Communist Party has come with the formation recently of what can only be described as a pro-Zionist faction in the Party's Manchester area.

Successful take-over operation in the 'Workers' Circle', a Jewish society which had previously been under Stalinist influence.

Mapam then specifically set out to win over former CP members to Zionism. Now, with the formation of the 'Progressives for Peace in the Middle East' group, it looks as though they can chalk up their first gain.

As a counterpart to the 'Labour Friends of Israel', we now have the 'Stalinist Friends of Israel'!

To the worsening sickness of Stalinism, complications are setting in.

This little gain for the Zionists is in complete contrast with the general trend on the left which has been away from illusions in Zionism and towards a recognition of the legitimacy of the Palestinian liberation struggle.

The pro-Zionist tendency expressed itself at the CP Congress last month with a resolution from the Prestwich branch which condemned the executive committee for failing to appreciate the dangers of 'pan-Arab chauvinism' as the threat to peace in the Middle East.

Some of the intellectuals who sided with Israel in the atmosphere created by the Zionists at the time of the June war have been brought towards a clearer understanding of the issues by the Israeli occupation policies in the Arab lands they took.

Now this tendency has emerged more openly with the formation of a society calling itself 'Progressives for Peace in the Middle East' which attacks Arab opposition to Israel and declares its aim to 'combat the intensive propaganda by the Arabs directed at the extreme left'.

Professional Zionist propagandists have acknowledged their failure to win 'left-wing opinion'.

The secretary of this society is Mr Aubrey Lewis, who has been a Communist Party member for 36 years. Mr Dave Nesbitt and Mr Joe Garman, who are on the committee, are also CP members.

If they have succeeded in winning some Stalinists, then this indicates that the seat of the sickness is in Stalinism itself, laying it open to fresh infections, such as nationalism, or Zionism.

Garman had a letter in the CND publication 'Sanity' recently supporting Israel and denouncing the Arab guerrillas.

According to a report in the Manchester 'Jewish Gazette', these CP members say they are opposed to Party policy because it describes Israel as an aggressor.

Jewish members of the Communist Party were thrown into a crisis by the June war. Wars put to the test any Party which claims to be communist; and the Communist Party of Great Britain can hardly be regarded as a school for internationalism or Marxist principles!

Welcomed

This reactionary development from the Stalinist ranks must have been welcomed by the Zionists, particularly by the so-called 'Labour Zionist' organizations such as Poale Zion and Mapam. Both these movements are affiliated to parties in the Israeli coalition.

Poale Zion in this country is also affiliated to the British Labour Party, where it serves as a mouthpiece for Zionism.

It mainly works through the 'Labour Friends of Israel', which has the support of a number of MPs ranging from Ray Gunter to Eric Heffer.

Mapam does not compete with Poale Zion on this pitch, but has participated in such bodies as the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

At the time of the June war, the Zionists carried out a suc-

How could the Party give a lead to its members, when it had never taken a principled, revolutionary, consistent stand on the Middle-East issue?

In 1947, Stalin supported the partition of Palestine, and in 1950 Palme Dutt, in his book 'Britain's Crisis of Empire', referred to the 'progressive' nature of the State of Israel.

Subsequently, the Communist Party supported a 'diplomatic solution' of Middle-East problems by the great powers, as it still does.

On the eve of the June war, Colin Swale, of the British Peace Council, appeared on a joint platform in Trafalgar Square with Arnold Wesker and other Zionists.

Leon Trotsky

IN DEFENCE OF MARXISM

(paperback) 10s. 6d. (hardcover) 21s. 0d.

'In Defence of Marxism' contains the first theoretical battle of the Fourth International against the petty-bourgeois opposition of Burnham and Shachtman in the Socialist Workers' Party.

New Park Publications Ltd., 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

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defeat all the forms of bourgeois ideology, together with its reformist counterparts, which penetrates and seeks to destroy the political independence of the working class.

Lenin showed, at every vital stage of the development of Bolshevism, that behind the ultra-leftism of the followers of Bogdanov in the years of the Stolypin reaction, or behind the opportunism of the 'Old Bolshevik' majority in March 1917, lay always a failure to develop Marxist theory against bourgeois philosophy in its various idealist forms.

Only this type of study and analysis could provide Lenin with the necessary understanding of the actual ideological and political division and struggle between the classes.

In understanding the history of our own movement (i.e. particularly of the Trotskyist movement and the early years of the Communist International) we will need to

understand the failure of the early Trotskyist movement (and previously the young Communist Parties) to grapple with these philosophical problems.

Instead there was a tendency to accept the writings of Trotsky (or earlier, of the Communist International and the Bolsheviks) and adapt them directly as a series of maxims to the immediate problems of the movement in their own countries.

The history of the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee has been one of struggle to overcome this weakness and to learn the essence of revolutionary preparation.

When Hallas attacks the history of the SLL, this is of course not his method. Everything is in 'common-sense' or 'empirical' terms of 'who was right' about the economic conjuncture, or of 'orthodoxy' versus 'flexibility', etc. Naturally there can be no objective



Bogdanov: His ultra-leftism lay in his failure to develop Marxism against bourgeois ideology.

appraisal of his own tendency as part of the process. Taking reformist and syndicalist forms, the 300-year-old



The petty-bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers' Party (Hallas's true mentors) wanted to confine the discussion to the 'concrete' questions—particularly the Nazi-Soviet Pact—and avoid the questions of philosophy. Above: Stalin greets Ribbentrop, Nazi foreign minister.

empiricist and individualist philosophy of the English bourgeoisie has been and remains the basic form of bourgeois idealism against which Marxism has to struggle.

Despite the appearance of 'concreteness' of the problems dealt with by Hallas, it is this battle on philosophical questions which is the key to the history of the Marxist movement and which draws such a fundamental dividing line between the SLL and the revisionists.

The decisive struggle is for the victory of socialist con-

sciousness in the British labour movement and the defeat of trade union consciousness, which, we repeat, is bourgeois consciousness.

In the struggle to build revolutionary leadership on this basis, the Socialist Labour League has been on one side, and the 'state capitalists', with their compromises with reformism and empiricism, on the other. That is the thread which in fact runs through the history so distorted by Hallas.

Part two will appear in tomorrow's Workers Press

tv column

Meek, mild and starving

A GREEN tree, bright lights, a good feast, gifts—all to celebrate the material pleasure we take in the continuance of life during the darkest days of winter.

The winter solstice can be defied by our power to be warm and well-fed despite the ravages of nature.

Some early peoples took the birth of a human child in the worst months as a great and abiding symbol of man's continuous struggle with, and occasional victories over, nature.

And at another period, that potent expression of man's hopes—a new born babe—became an idealized dream, the saviour who would bring equality and plenty, love and joy, tenderness and compassion to the brutally enslaved peoples of the earth.

This transformation was no accident then, and its continued use now is none either. The proclamation that the

kingdom of heaven was at hand lies at the heart of the oldest preaching. It was precisely this that aroused hope in the suffering and oppressed masses and then rendered them impotent.

At last everything was about to change—but not by social or political revolution.

Merely a blessed promise of a future not too far away when class hatred and material sufferings would be expiated and expunged forever.

'How blest are you who are poor; the kingdom of God is yours.'

How blest are you who now go hungry; your hunger shall be satisfied . . .

But alas for you who are rich; you have had your time of happiness.

Alas for you who are well-fed now; ye shall go hungry.'

And how was all this to be brought about? Of course, by loving your enemies, doing good to those who hate you, blessing those who curse you, offering the other cheek when hit, giving your shirt to the man who takes your coat, passing no judgements, not condemning and so on through the whole miserable penitential catalogue.

By the fourth century the hatred felt by the masses towards the oppressing class had even been partly transformed into self-loathing and masochistic tortures and denials.

What a magnificent weapon for the ruling class. And how continuously it has been turned to use.

So that even in 1969, when very few workers are left in much doubt about the historical mission of the Christian church, the same cant, hypocrisy, lies and sentimental claptrap are still poured out over television and radio for days and days during December.

Capitalist Christmas is a disgusting ceremony and broadcasting is used in full to further its obscenities.

Every last attempt is made to re-establish the old stultifying traditions; every effort exerted to exploit the genuine wishes of workers to relax and celebrate as best they may.

The unpleasant realities of poverty, ignorance, disease, loneliness, bitterness and exhaustion are ignored or made the subjects of sentimental appeals to our 'better natures'.

On Christmas Day, the Royal Family will, of course, run yet again.

We could all share in the privilege of seeing the real people at the real palaces; they certainly didn't look too badly off, but appearances can be deceptive. I suppose, especially to those for whom Christmas is a financial nightmare.

A John Wayne movie perpetrating all the romantic reactionary dangerous clichés of the right was put out by the BBC, and commercial television countered with Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, Sammy Davis and Bing Crosby in 'an affectionate and at times highly amusing parody of gang-ridden Chicago of the 1920s'.

We had the 'Carry On' team doing an affectionate and highly-amusing parody of gang-ridden Christmas, the 'Merry Widow', and for the eighty-seventh year running, that 'sparkling British comedy "Genevieve"'. At 10.50 p.m. on BBC 2 there was 'Christmas Carols' with Michael Flanders; at 11.35 from Thames, Donald Swann's 'Christmas Candle'.

(Note that Michael Flanders also spoke the commentary to Richard Cawston's royal family film. Cawston is head of documentaries at the BBC and his writer, Antony Jay, was a one-time big boss on 'Tonight'. There was an appeal for the 'Save The Children Fund', a lot of prayers and hymns and even more exploitation of the sick and crippled, both old and young.

At 11.45 Alan Whicker met 'Count Robert-Jean de Voguer', a French tycoon-aristocrat once condemned to death, now a jet-owning millionaire with more than 30 million bottles of champagne in his cellar—

unemployment and casualization 'we have failed to counter the massive unemployment which now exists among our film production workers'.

Why? Well it seems 'the problem is rooted in the structural shifts now taking place . . .'

'The patterns of control' are altering and, amazing revelation, 'the new conglomerates with immense and diversified interests over the whole spectrum of economic activity' (monopolies and oligopolies by any other name), are 'dedicated to the notions of growth and a high return on their investment!!'

But have no fears. Mr Sapper goes on: 'Stepping aside from the immediate problem of unemployment' (a rather unwise thing to do don't you think?) 'and looking ahead, we have grounds for optimism.'

'Certain British interests have expressed their confidence in domestic production.'

These 'domestic' turn out to be the merchant banks Morgan Grenfell, Rothschild and Hambros!

But Mr Sapper doesn't finish there.

He expresses what he calls a paradox. . . . we find ourselves in the strange situation of experiencing a long-hoped-for expansion in British film finance with an almost unprecedented level of unemployment.'

Precisely; unless that 'paradox' is explained, nothing will be understood and ACTT members will be led to defeat and humiliation in the real fights to come.

That's bad enough, but Sapper goes on in an even more dangerous way.

'A request' to MGM to start immediate production on the low-budget films; a 'positive dialogue' between the 'financial experts' and the practical film-makers' and a final line asking financial interests in America and Britain to make their decisions to invest now and delay no longer.

All this as though pleas, requests or polite begging ever led anywhere except the bread line.

No; the only fighting platform is the revolutionary demand for a nationalized film industry under workers' control.

Workers in films and television must join the All Trades Unions Alliance in revolutionary solidarity with all other workers everywhere.

Programmes have been delayed and altered, stopped completely and even destroyed to suit the needs of the bourgeoisie or its agents in government and bureaucratic control.

The regime of Hill and Curran at the Corporation has really settled in now and the coming years will see great struggles and growing repressiveness.

Laboratory workers, cameramen, sound engineers, electricians, focus pullers, directors, writers, editors, unit drivers, painters, designers—all workers in this industry face huge struggles.

So what are the union leaderships preparing to meet all this?

What is their analysis of the causes and remedy for the current and growing crisis?

What do they have ready for the decade of unprecedented revolutionary upheavals and unmitigated repressions ahead?

In one word, reformism.

The general secretary of ACTT writes that despite 'unremitting' fights against

film and television technician

Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians
December 1969 / Price 1s. 6d.



The front page of the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians' magazine.

TUESDAY TV

B.B.C.-1
12.45 p.m. Disc A Dawn. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weather. 1.55-2.40 Out Of School. 3.45 Malcolm Muggeridge asks The Question Why? 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal Magic. 5.20 Wacky Races and Space Kidnappers. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 National News and Weather. 6.00 London-Nationwide. 6.45 Z Cars. 7.05 Timeword's World. 7.30 Harry Worth. 8.00 The Good Old Days: Old Time Music Hall. 8.50 The Main News and Weather. 9.10 Tuesday's Documentary: 1913. 10.00 Hitchcock at the N.F.T.: Alfred Hitchcock talks to Bryan Forbes. 11.00 He And She. 11.25 Weatherman.

B.B.C.-2
11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.30 p.m. Newsroom and Weather. 8.00 'The Goshawk': Film based on T. H. White's book about a duel between a falconer and a hawk. 8.50 While We're On The
Subject (new quiz series). 'Francis of Assisi'. With Bradford Dillman. The life of the 13th century crusader and saint. 10.50 Summary and Weather. 10.55 Line Up.
9.10 Hollywood In The Sixties: 'Francis of Assisi'. With Bradford Dillman. The life of the 13th century crusader and saint. 10.50 Summary and Weather. 10.55 Line Up.
9.00 Happy Ever After: 'The Woman At The Door'. With Jennifer Hilary and Keith Barron. 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 Man Of The Decade: Alastair Cooke, Mary McCarthy and Desmond Morris give their choices. 11.30 Tales From Dickens: 'The Runaways'. 12 midnight Outlook '70: Victor Feather on how to make the year strike-free.

REGIONAL I.T.V.
CHANNEL: 4.15 p.m. Castle Haven. 4.40 Chez Oscar. 4.55 London. 6.00 Channel News and Weather. 6.10 Channel Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Movie: 'The Hasty Heart' with Ronald Reagan and Patricia Neal. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.25 Channel Gazette. 11.30 Commentaries and Previews: Meteorologicals followed by Weather.
SOUTHERN: 11.05 a.m.-12.28 p.m. News. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News. 4.17 London. 6.00 Day By Day. 6.45 The Tuesday Film: 'Red Skies Of Montana' with Richard Widmark, Jeffrey Hunter, Richard Boone, Richard Crenna and Charles Bronson. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.30 Southern News Extra. 11.40 Weather followed by Inquiry Into Christmas.
WESTWARD: A Channel except at following times: 11.00 a.m.-12.02 p.m. London. 4.01 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.13 Westward News Headlines. 4.40 The Gus Honeyburn Show. 6.00 Westward Diary. 11.30 How About You? 11.55 Faith For Life. 12.01 a.m. Weather.
HARLECH: 11.00 a.m.-12.17 p.m. London. 4.18 It's Time For Me. 4.25 Skippy. 4.55 London. 6.30 Crossroads. 6.20 Batman. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Bonanza. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.30 Mickey. 12 midnight Weather.
HARLECH (Wales) as above except: 6.26 Castle Haven. 6.51-7.00 Rydd. 10.30-11.15 Dan Sylw. 11.15 Mickey. 11.45 Weather.
ANGLIA: 11.00 a.m.-12.21 p.m. London. 4.10 Castle Haven. 4.35 Anglia Newsroom. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'California Conquest' with Cornel Wilde and Teresa Wright. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.30 All Our Yesterdays. 12 midnight Reflections.
ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 a.m.-12.21 p.m. Schools. 4.00 News Headlines. 4.02 Houseparty. 4.15 Your Star Showcase. 4.40 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.55 London. 6.00 ATV Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Western Movie: 'Dallas' with Gary Cooper and Ruth Roman. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00

From Stalinism to Zionism

By Charles Parkins

FURTHER EVIDENCE of the deepening crisis in the British Communist Party has come with the formation recently of what can only be described as a pro-Zionist faction in the Party's Manchester area.

To the worsening sickness of Stalinism, complications are setting in.

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Now this tendency has emerged more openly with the formation of a society calling itself 'Progressives for Peace in the Middle East', which attacks Arab opposition to Israel and declares its aim to 'combat the intensive propaganda by the Arabs directed at the extreme left'.

The secretary of this society is Mr Aubrey Lewis, who has been a Communist Party member for 36 years. Mr Dave Nesbitt and Mr Joe Garman, who are on the committee, are also CP members.

Garman had a letter in the CND publication 'Sanity' recently supporting Israel and denouncing the Arab guerrillas.

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Welcomed

This reactionary development from the Stalinist ranks must have been welcomed by the so-called 'Labour Zionist' organizations such as Poale Zion and Mapam. Both these movements are affiliated to parties in the Israeli coalition.

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Failure

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If they have succeeded in winning some Stalinists, then this indicates that the seat of the sickness is in Stalinism itself, laying it open to fresh infections, such as nationalism, or Zionism.

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How could the Party give a lead to its members, when it had never taken a principled, revolutionary, consistent stand on the Middle-East issue?

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On the eve of the June war, Colin Sweet, of the British Peace Council, appeared on a joint platform in Trafalgar Square with Arnold Wesker and other Zionists.

Incidentally, we might observe in passing that in the revisionist publication 'International', Mr Pat Jordan, commenting on the CP Congress, emphasized the existence of nationalist tendencies in the Party's Scottish and Welsh district, and seemed quite enthusiastic about it.

So perhaps he can add a footnote now about 'Progressives for Peace in the Middle East'—another middle-class nationalist tendency for revisionists to enthuse about?

This reactionary development in the Manchester area is a reminder that the Communist Party crisis may have its reactionary offshoots, as well as opening the way for revolutionary intervention.

If Communist Party members are seeking a revolutionary alternative to the policies of their leadership, they must make a full, Marxist examination of their Party's history, in which are the roots of the reactionary policies they must fight.

U.S. military attack Saigon rally

THE WORLD'S PRESS operated an almost total black-out on the Christmas Eve demonstration by US servicemen in Saigon against the Vietnam war.

Apollo 13: Check-out under way

PREPARATIONS for the Apollo-13 moonflight are under way. The Saturn rocket is now on its launch pad at Cape Kennedy and technicians have begun the long check-out of the 36-storey vehicle.

Take-off time has been fixed for 21.38 BST on March 12, 1970.

The proposed landing site is at Fra Mauro, a rugged crater formation 110 miles east of the Apollo-12 location. This will be the first mission to penetrate the foothills of the lunar mountains beyond the flat plains explored by previous astronauts.

James E. Lovell, Commander of Apollo-13 and a member of the Apollo-8 mission, said that he and astronaut Fred W. Haise may explore the lunar surface for as long as five hours during one of the two planned excursions.

Astronaut Thomas K. Mattingly will be in the command module that remains in lunar orbit throughout the exploration of the moon.

Launch director Walter Kapryan said that rules are being tightened for weather conditions under which the launch takes place.

Apollo-12 was struck by lightning 36 seconds after launch, which caused a momentary loss of power.

To report atrocity stories is one thing, but to record the movement of the US troops against the war is clearly something else.

The brutal way in which the rally itself was attacked and driven off the 'John Kennedy Square' has led to US soldier Lawrence Guthrie writing to Senator Edward Kennedy

protesting against the action of the US military authorities and their Saigon puppets.

Five arrests

Saigon police arrested five Vietnamese civilians who had joined with the US soldiers in the rally. Though not large, this courageous demonstration of

united opposition to the war by US soldiers and ordinary Vietnamese, held right under the noses of the military top brass and the Saigon police, has tremendous political implications for the anti-war movement everywhere.

We can be sure that these soldiers acted on what thousands of their fellow servicemen are already thinking—that the war must end and all US troops be withdrawn.

Strength

A powerful movement in Britain against the war will give new strength and confidence to many others to speak and act as these heroic soldiers and Vietnamese have done.

Much now depends on our campaign to stop Wilson's visit to Washington.

Stop Wilson's visit to Nixon

FROM PAGE ONE
mandated the cancellation of the visit. IN COVENTRY, 14 workers and seven shop stewards—members of the AEF, T&GWU and NSMM—from the Anstey and Parkside Rolls-Royce factories have signed the Workers Press petition demanding that the visit does not take place.

Four Communist Party members—including shop stewards W. Walls and J. Hughes—were among those who signed.

Nine workers—including shop steward T. McLatchie—from Coventry's Courtauld's (Engineering) plant have supported the petition along with five from Massey-Ferguson's. Twelve other Coventry trade unionists—including Communist Party members B. Moore, N. Moore and M. Mellors—have also signed.

WOOD GREEN Young Socialists have collected 62 signatures to the Workers Press petition to stop Wilson's visit. 27 members of the Transport and General Workers' Union at Wood Green bus garage have now also signed.

A further 25 people—including National Association of Schoolmasters' member P. E. Martin and Writers' Guild member David Spear—have also signed.

Aberdeen Labour council in strike-breaking move

ABERDEEN dustcart drivers have now been on strike for five weeks for a wage demand of £3-a-day basic.

Every effort has been made to break the strike. During a period of snow and ice, the local press printed letters calling for the army to intervene to grit the roads. Some engineering students also volunteered to do the same.

'Hazard'

More recently there have been statements in the local press by city medical officer Dr McQueen, claiming that the dumping of rubbish at street corners was leading to a health hazard.

He said there was a danger of typhoid or other diseases spreading.

All these efforts to force the drivers back having failed, the Labour-dominated council has apparently decided to break the strike by calling in outside labour to drive away the rubbish.

Justified

One so-called local Labour 'Left', has publicly justified the setting up of a joint Labour-Progressive committee to organize this strike-breaking.

Alex Kitson, the national secretary of the men's union (the Scottish Motormen's), has condemned the council's actions.

Whitehall scurry

FROM PAGE ONE

they have to resist the two claims because any breach of the incomes policy will open the floodgates to other public employees—postmen, civil servants, local government employees—who are currently pressing wage demands.

The other reason for the urgency of tomorrow's meeting is Jenkins' visit on Saturday to the US, which will be in talks with 'banking interests'.

The long-range targets for public spending published only a few weeks ago gave an indication of the government's determination to hold down wages in this sector.

Jenkins has to be able to go to his US creditors with all his recent promises intact. This makes it almost certain that the wages struggle in 1970 will open in a symbolic way—being led by two of the up to now least combative sections: the nurses and the teachers.

The Grangemouth dispute: Correspondence

Dear Comrade,
Generally it would be accepted that comment should be tempered by reason and in respect of the Grangemouth dispute to recall that somewhere there is the axiom 'state that which is'.

This arises from the non-sense of your copy in respect of the Grangemouth dispute and the Agreement covering that contract, particularly the statement in the issue of December 16, No. 57. 'Grangemouth showed the way for

this co-operation in imposing vicious and humiliating productivity terms'. The Grangemouth Agreement did no such thing. If you think otherwise then show it in word and fact. Your comment in this connection was as bad as your remarks on the Neddy Working Party 'report' which has

not yet been finalized for report. Criticism is essential to progress, but an equal prerequisite is that such criticism shall have regard and claim to authenticity, particularly in a paper claiming to point the way to a new and more intelligent form of society.

Yours sincerely,
E. Patterson.

And reply:

THE REPORT of the National Economic Development Council was bound to draw heavily from the lessons learned by the employers and the government at the Grangemouth site.

Whether planned or not, the nine weeks' strike by the boilermakers at Grangemouth became a testing ground for the changes on construction site work which now appear in clearer outline from the NEDC working-party report.

Mr Patterson, as an ex-national secretary of the Constructional Engineering Union surely cannot be naive about the relations between trade union leaders and the employers. During the Grangemouth dispute, this reached such proportions that every militant worker in Scotland was sickened by the stench of class collaboration.

Even TUC general secretary Victor Feather winced when the terms of the agreement were made known at a meeting of representatives of unions held at York in November.

We can assure Mr Patterson that we are not exaggerating. Whereas the agreement which terminated the dispute offered jobs to 253 of the 500 boilermakers who came out on strike, up to one week ago, the Lummus Company Ltd. had given work to only four out of a total of 60 boilermakers employed before the dispute (33 of whom were welders).

In their place welders and platers were started from other unions.

The fault lay not with the rank-and-file workers on the site, but with the union leadership. For example, in June 1969 an agreement was reached between members of the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers and the Constructional Engineering Union shop stewards that work which was in dispute between boilermaker platers and erectors in the CEU for 'flaring up' on round furnaces should

be 'blocked'. This job remained in dispute until the beginning of the strike, but once the boilermakers' strike began, erectors were instructed by their officials to do the work.

The breakdown of trade union solidarity was prepared by the signing of the site agreement for construction work at Grangemouth by the five major unions involved. This was signed on July 1, 1968, and was given government approval on August 6, 1968.

In its letter the Department of Employment and Productivity stressed that the payment of bonus called the 'productivity and interchangeability allowance' could only be justified by the measures in the agreement which provide for the required productivity within a normal working week of 40 hours.

It was against Section 6 of the site agreement covering productivity and interchangeability that the boilermakers fought and it was under this clause that the strikebreaking was organized by the union officials of the four other unions.

Section 6 is the clause governing the payment of productivity and interchangeability allowance.

Clause (a) provides for 'eliminating wasteful practices restrictions or customs likely to impede maximum productivity'.

Clause (b) provides for the employment of workers from any union, irrespective of task, trade practices or demarcation agreement.

Men could also be employed from certain other unions.

Clause (c) provides for the most efficient form of working, and outlines practices which unions agreed to accept. Certain tasks ancillary to craft work would be done by the craftsman himself.

The introduction of neces-

sary mechanical aids is agreed.

Clause (d) is worth quoting in full. It says:

'In the event of an unbalanced labour force occurring as a result of absence caused by non-attendance, sickness leave or shortage of labour or any other abnormal job conditions the trade unions agree to interchangeability between crafts during the progress of the work in order to maintain production' (our emphasis).

It was this latter clause which was to provide the 'legal', in the sense of trade union agreement, basis for strikebreaking once the boilermakers had determined that they would not work under the site agreement.

No trade union leader objected to any of the foregoing. Dan McGarvey included.

By October McGarvey was writing in his union journal that 'The employers on the Grangemouth site have now formed themselves into a national association and this agreement in Grangemouth will be hawked around the country and the employers will attempt to impose it upon our members'.

Exactly. But we were to see McGarvey retreat when he was confronted by a united front of government, employers and officials of other unions who were signatories to the agreement.

This retreat and the strike-breaking actions of the officials of the other unions finally forced the boilermakers to accept the most humiliating terms for the ending of their dispute.

For those few who were to be offered re-employment, special penal clauses applied.

Any other union can be called on to provide labour to do boilermakers' work, which means any dispute entered into by boilermakers can be smashed by inviting the collaboration of the trade union officials.

Unlike Mr Patterson, the boilermakers consider that the reports of the Workers Press on their dispute were factually correct and politically instructive.

At one of their last meetings attended by 300, their convenor read out, on request from the floor, the whole of our report of Tuesday, December 9.

It was, said the boilermakers, the best explanation of their dispute.

Bob Shaw.



At last... a real analysis of Stalinism

HAVING been a regular reader of Workers Press since it was first published, I feel that I must write to you in praise of your paper.

Not only have production difficulties been overcome, but the quality of the articles has been consistently high, especially those analysing Stalinism and the policies of the British Communist Party.

For once a Marxist analysis of Stalinism is produced, instead of either the apologies for it from such people as Monty Johnstone or else the excuse that Stalin was a 'bad' man who personally caused all the deformations which we have seen in Russia.

It is indeed about time that some of my comrades in the Communist Party realized that history is not made by individuals such as Stalin, but that an objective historic analysis is necessary.

The Workers Press gives this objective historic analysis, and I would urge all Communist Party members to regularly read this paper and to fight for a Marxist analysis of Stalinism and the policies of the Communist Party.

Communist Party member
Southampton

ATUA-Y.S
PUBLIC MEETINGS
Stop Wilson's visit to Washington

HULL
Thursday, January 1
7.30 p.m.

Woodworkers' Union Office
53 Beverley Road

BIRKENHEAD
Monday, January 5
8 p.m.

Observatory Hotel
Oxton Road

OXFORD
Tuesday January 6,
7.30 p.m.

Small Hall
Blackbird Leys
Community Centre

Speakers:
J. Power
(leading local trade unionist)
P. R. Bush
(Young Socialist)

KEEP LEFT WEEKEND RALLY

Saturday and Sunday, January 10 and 11

1970 marks the 19th year of the Young Socialists' official newspaper. Selling at 4d for 16 three-colour pages and with a circulation of 20,000, it is the foremost youth paper in the labour movement today.

KEEP LEFT INVITES ALL ITS READERS TO THE

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

East India Hall 8 p.m.-11 p.m.
London, E.14

Saturday, January 10 2.30 p.m.

Young Socialist National Speaking Contest

DANCE IN THE EVENING

The Crescendos The Element of Truth

Special appearance

LONG JOHN BALDRY

East India Hall 8 p.m.-11 p.m.

FILM MAKING AND THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Sunday, January 11 9.30 a.m.
CLASSIC CINEMA, POND STREET
HAMPSTEAD, LONDON, N.W.3

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, 4 P.M.

Details from 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

Tickets for the whole weekend 12s 6d

Conscious deception

FROM PAGE ONE

answer to the indiscretions of Johnson.

What it will never understand is that the imperialist statesman, whether President or Prime Minister, is not the 'master of all he surveys', and is very much a product of his times.

It is the world-wide and protracted crisis of imperialism, expressed so malignantly in Vietnam and the Middle East, and no less profoundly in western Europe, the US and Japan, that has shattered the apparent calm and dignity of every bourgeois politician, revealing for all to see, the charlatany and deception of the capitalist class.

Johnson's revelations are a clear and unmistakable indication of the crisis of confidence which grips the most powerful ruling class in the world.

Mortally afraid of the immense potential of the American working class, alarmed by the massive upsurge of the European workers and unable to contain the inexorable thrust of the Asian revolution, Johnson is now forced to admit his lack of confidence and the torture of his inner doubts.

This is not the travail of an ex-president—it is the death-agony of a system. Unlike the 'Telegraph', we have no regrets about Johnson's disclosures, so timely and revealing.

It confirms our belief that imperialism is nothing more than a paper tiger magnified by the press and TV and sustained by social democracy, Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism. Johnson's revelations are an added stimulus to the Trotskyists in Britain to shatter the confidence of the US and British ruling class still further by adding a mass revolutionary party in 1970—and by evoking a massive opposition to Wilson's visit to Washington.

Garaudy's book provokes new French Stalinist crisis

THE PUBLICATION of 'Socialism's Great Turning-Point' by Roger Garaudy, a leading member of the French Communist Party, has added to the crisis within the ranks of French and international Stalinism.

Garaudy's book examines what the author considers to be the main factors in the development of Stalinism within the Soviet Union and the international movement, until recently dominated politically by the Kremlin bureaucracy.

His conclusions have provoked the most bitter attacks from his ultra-Stalinist colleagues on the Central Committee and Politburo of the French Party.

Garaudy claims that the Soviet Union is ruled by a 'bureaucratic-military complex' as powerful as the 'military-industrial complex' that rules the United States.

Outdid Stalin

He charges that the leader of this 'bureaucratic-military complex', Leonid Brezhnev, outdid Stalin by ordering the Red Army to suppress the Czech Communist attempt to create a socialist model corresponding to the needs of a highly-developed society.

WEATHER

London area, SE and central Southern England, E and W Midlands: Cloudy with occasional snow. Wind easterly, fresh or strong. Very cold. Maximum 1C (34F).

Channel Islands, SW England: Cloudy with occasional sleet or snow. Wind easterly, strong. Very cold. Maximum 2C (36F).

NW and central Northern England, Northern Ireland: A few snow flurries, but mainly

dry with a few bright intervals. Wind easterly, fresh. Cold. Maximum 3C (37F).

Glasgow area: Mainly dry with a few bright intervals. Wind easterly, fresh. Cold. Maximum 4C (39F).

Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Very cold, with occasional snow in many eastern and southern districts. Widespread frost persisting in some central and eastern areas.

ist Parties—a clear reference to the events of May-June 1968.

Garaudy himself has always stood on the extreme right of the French Communist Party, and has served the party bureaucracy well in pioneering the Stalinist 'dialogue' with the hierarchy of the Catholic church.

He is notorious for his attempts to reconcile Marxist materialism with religious idealism.

Many of his ideas on the Soviet Union are consistent with this ultra-right-wing line.

The dialogue with the church, the alliance with the middle-class parties and 'left' Gaullists can be better summed up once the Soviet Union is disowned and the French Communist Party converted into a truly 'national' reformist party.

Familiar argument

Some of Garaudy's criticisms of the Soviet Union are directed at Leninism itself—notably his references to the 'monopoly of power' held by the Bolshevik Party before the rise of Stalin.

This is a familiar argument, used by revisionist groups such as 'International Socialism' in Britain, as well as professional anti-communist writers and historians.

Along the way Garaudy says other things which hit the Stalinist target—the Moscow Trials, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the bureaucratic regime in the French Communist Party.

In so doing, he undoubtedly voices the unrest of younger members of the Party, perturbed by its role during the 1968 general strike.

This is no doubt the main reason why the Party leadership has decided to discipline him when the French Communist Party holds its Congress next February.

As a spokesman for ultra-right-wing forces within Stalinism, Garaudy defends the same political line as the British Stalinist Monty Johnstone, who also combines extreme reformism with demagogic attacks on Stalin's crimes.

Garaudy suggests that the French Communist Party bases itself more on technicians, engineers and highly-skilled workers generally, which will then form the core of a 'new historic bloc' that can challenge French capitalism.

(This also happens to be the programme of an influential section of the PSU—Socialist Party—leadership.)

The book is a symptom, not a Marxist solution, of the crisis in French Stalinism. Its main thrust is to the right, away from the gains of the October Revolution and towards an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie.

Trotskyism remains the only force that can analyse and challenge Stalinism in a revolutionary way.

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