Our record

THE WORKERS PRESS, like its forerunner, 'The Newsletter', is a paper that fights for socialist principles and revolutionary leadership within the workers' movement.

struggles either begin or

Our record as a fighting Marxist paper can best be judged by the way we measured up to these struggles, in terms of both analysis and policies.

'The Newsletter' began the year as the Workers Press ended it: by warning the working class of the treacherous role being played by the TUC

Defence of the trade unions was the issue that loomed large over all the big strike struggles of 1969.

On January 11 we warned again: 'TUC will capitulate' as indeed they did.

The Stalinists, as we also pointed out time and again, were busy building up the TUC, and particularly the 'lefts', as a focus of opposition to the Labour government's attacks on the unions.

FORD STRIKE

Under the leadership of AEF president Hugh Scanlon and T&GWU general secretary Jones, there was a retreat in the national Ford strike.

They both accepted the principle of penal clauses in the new deal:

'Ford deal opens door to anti-union laws (March 22). That is why on May 10 we again warned: 'A rotten com-

promise on the way' and insisted on May 27 that 'Trade unions must oppose the TUC

The final deal between Feather and Wilson we roundly condemned as the TUC giving a "Solemn and

A TROTSKY

USUAL PRICE £1 15s

Silhouettes

Revolutionary

binding undertaking" to do develop in both Britain the dirty work'.

And so, right through to December 31, when the Workers Press warned: 'Hands off trade union rights! No support for TUC "Guideand throughout the world. To underline the gravity of

the TUC retreat on the defence of the trade unions, and to place the fight for workingclass rights and conditions in their historical and inter-national context, 'The Newsletter' ran a series of articles 'TUC preparing to accept anti-strike laws' (January 7). on the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy and Spain, each series showing how the weaknesses and often treachery of working-class leadership en-

HISTORY AND THEORY

abled fascism to come to

working-class organizations.

power and destroy all the

The point cannot be made too often or too sharply that the leaders of the British trade unions—right, 'left' and centre-are following in the same footsteps as their forerunners in Germany and Italy.

Only 'The Newsletter' (now the Workers Press) struggles to take these vital, and often complex, historical and theoretical questions into the workers' movement.

Without such an under-standing, the working class is doomed to defeat, despite its militancy and strength in terms of organization.

'The Newsletter' fought for international working - class solidarity throughout 1969.

It was the only socialist journal to demand 'Withdraw troops now' (August 16) when British imperialism intervened

● PAGE FOUR COL. 7 →

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS ANNOUNCE A

SPECIAL OFFER!

For seven days only

Make 1970

A YEAR FOR ACTION AGAINST THE TORIES

is our 67th issue.

NEW YEAR GREETING

BEST wishes for the New Year to all our readers from the

Editorial Board of the Workers Press.

We are now in our fourteenth week of publication. This

Forward to 1970!

and supported the paper so tremendously in 1969.

We issue special greetings to all those who have fought for

By the Editor

THE GREATEST single crime of the Labour government during 1969 is that it has opened the door for the return of a Tory government.

XI

By continuously attacking the standard of living of those who voted it into office in 1964 and 1966, it has already lost hundreds of thousands of votes in vital marginal constituencies.

What else can be expected when they see dividend restrictions lifted and Tory shareholding idlers living on the fat of the land without doing a stroke of work.

The New Year's message of Wilson and company should read—'the harder you work, the poorer you get'.

Reformism and Fabianism have once again revealed their capacity to betray the working class when it has entered its most serious crisis.

These gentlemen who constantly prattle on about their 'democratic way of life', are paving the way for a Powellite Tory Party to wield the full force of the capitalist state against all the democratic rights of the trade unions won over the last century in the course of the most bitter struggle against British

Wilson and company have no objection to returning to the role of Her Majesty's loyal opposition.

This would enable them to provide a 'left' face in a sham anti-Tory fight.

No playing around

This is what they did throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. But it would be mistake to imagine for one moment that this old sham will suffice, assuming the Tories become the government.

There is going to be no playing around next time.

Either we go forward to socialism by building the alternative revolutionary leadership to the Fabian reformists, or the working class can suffer a defeat at the hands of the Tories analagous to the 1926 General Strike.

That is why we fight against Toryism, by raising the class-consciousness of the working class through a continuous exposure of the Tory agents within the labour movement who are making it possible for the Tory to make a comeback in the year ahead.

Responsibility

All our readers can be rest assured that Workers Press will do everything in its power to live up to this

The exposure of Wilson and company is an integral part of the struggle against Toryism.

Mersey docks

New Year's Eve

MOST Merseyside dockers celebrated New Year's Eve by staying away from their jobs yesterday afternoon.

Fifty-seven ships were left Some 8,000 men had turned

disciplined THE DECISION of the Iron and

to be

Steel Trades Confederation to discipline its members involved in the unofficial Christmas strike at the British Steel Corporation's (BSC) Port Talbot steelworks is the first blow struck for the TUC General Council's 'guidelines' issued today.

Steelworkers

The disciplining directly implements the council's recommendation that

'Meetings of members are a useful and authorized method of consultation, but are not entitled to take decisions, or to instruct shop stewards to take actions which are at

61H61F18161B181B181B181B181B181B1

THE 120 craftsmen at the BSC's Panteg stainless steel works near Cardiff, who have been on strike since Sunday, are meeting today and are expected to follow a recommendation to continue their action.

The strike was called to press the men's demand for It means that we start into a £3 bonus. But the management have only offered to meet half the demand and are insisting on tying the bonus to

increases in production.

418141414141414141414141414141

variance with union policy, or . . agreements to which the union is party.'
The ISTC's move follows

the TUC General Council in challenging the right of the shop floor to take action on any issue, however pressing, independently of the union executive.

The accusation levelled at the strikers that they endangered the plant's safety through insufficient notice is a complete red herring and obscures the basic issues.

● PAGE FOUR COL. 1 →

THE LONDON central down busmen's committee yester-

Frustration with sixth-

form 'talking-shop'

1,200 sixth formers are attending the annual conference of the Council for Education in World Citizenship in

of the 21st Century' and it claims to examine the problems

posed by contemporary developments in science and

preserve the status quo'. The speakers, including Lord Ritchie-Calder and other conscientious academics, have all

expressed horror at the uses to which their 'democracy' has

the need of this class to evolve more and more sophisticated

Most of the young people at the conference seem frustrated by this talking shop which offers no way forward

Tube and bus

leaders back

methods of repressing the working class.

from the problems it touches upon.

The theme of the conference is 'The Promise and Peril

An apt sub-title for the conference would be 'how to

But no one has mentioned that this abuse arises from

vicious profit motive of the capitalist class, and from

day called off the one-day strike planned for today. But it was still not known

Westminster this week.

technology.

yesterday afternoon whether this eleventh-hour decision could be put into effect because the only body with power to call off the strike is the central bus delegate conference.

The T&GWU's national bus officer, Mr Larry Smith, was trying to recall delegates for a conference meeting in London last night.

Backed down The decision by the bus-men's central committee fol-Tuesday night's meetlowed ing of the unofficial London bus and rail workers' coordinating committee which backed down on its previous call for a January 1 strike by

all London's transport workers. The calling-off of the strike at the last moment has inevitably created confusion for

TO WASHINGTON Off to a

STOP WILSON'S VISIT

good New Year start

visit to Washington gets off to a good start in the New Year with details of a successful campaign by supporters of the Workers Press on the North-East coast.

from Swan Hunter's Tyneside yard have signed our petition demanding that the visit, scheduled for later this month, does not take place.

ers and peasants is shop steward T. Gibson.

Newcastle nurses—154 of them—have also signed the

members of the NUT and the ATTI-have also supported the campaign.

Other North-East signa-

work drawing office.

The Workers Press petition

● PAGE FOUR COL. 6 →

Transport Minister Ezer

have received the support of four DATA members—including office committee member D. Goodall—from the Tech-

Luton dustmen's strike began on Tuesday, were joined yesterday after-

noon by workers from the council's sewerage, highway maintenance, lighting and garage departments.

By our industrial correspondent

The strikers have rejected the council's 11s-a-week offer and are demanding £2 a week to give them parity with London dustmen. Anger at the council's

attitude to their claims has been growing since the end of the summer when the council refused to give its manual workers a general increase and implemented an 'up-grading' scheme which gave some sections 15s. and others nothing at all.

was cheaper in Luton!

Dustmen's pickets at Luton's

THE CAMPAIGN to stop Wilson's planned

Thirty shipbuilding workers

Among the 43 T&GWU bus drivers, conductors and maintenance engineers from Newcastle who are supporting the campaign to stop this expression of the Labour government's support for US imperialism's genocidal war against the Vietnamese work-

Five workers and one shop steward from Sunderland's British Titan chemical works have added their signatures.

Ten North-East teachers-

From Gateshead and Bill-ingham technical colleges we have received the signatures of 40 students, many of them apprentices and young workfrom local factories attending day-release and block-release courses.

Communist Party members James Fitzpatrick and D. Deans—from, respectively, Gateshead and Newcastle— have added their support along with ex-Party member

steward D. Clelland and NUG&MW member John FROM SOUTHAMPTON, we

has also been signed by Southampton FA goalkeeper Eric Martin, SOGAT member R. Blow, Pirelli AEF shop steward B. Griffin, Corporation Transport convenor T. Strong, ASB branch chair-

strike grows

Portland Road depot told the Workers Press that the council had rejected the £2 claim for parity with London on the grounds that the cost of living

They were particularly annoyed at the council's strike-breaking moves.

The strikers are to hold a mass meeting today and are pressing their unions-the F&GWU and the General and Municipal Workers—to make the dispute official.

WHITEHALL PAY TALKS: Chancellor Roy Jenkins and Productivity Minister Barbara Castle yesterday discussed a possible breach of the government's incomes ceiling forthcoming pay offers to teachers and nurses.

The 30,000-strong Association of Assistant Masters, meanwhile, voted in favour of strike action if next week's Burnham Committee negotiations on teachers' pay break down.

Yesterday's Whitehall talks indicate that the nurses and teachers may be made the first victims of the government's reactivation of delaying powers. The involvement of Jenkins may foreshadow the responsibility for incomes policy passing into the hands of the Treasury.

GUNBOATS AT HAIFA: Israel announced yesterday boats which left Cherbourg during Christmas had arrived in Israeli waters.

Weizmann—a member of the extreme Zionist Gahal party— wished the crews success and a safe journey to the Israeli coast as planes of the Israeli air force began patrols over the sea approaches to the port of Haifa.

If equipped with missiles by the Zionist leaders, the gunboats could prove dangerous menace to Arab shipping.

NEW INDONESIAN PURGE:

An Indonesian army spokes-

man stated in Djakarta yesterday that a new purge is under

way in the armed forces. but declined to give the reasons behind recent arrests.

VIETNAM TRUCE: 50 DEAD: 50 NLF troops were killed by US forces on Tuesday, the first day of the three-day New Year truce, a US military spokesman said yesterday.

The two biggest actions took place along the Cambodian border.

The US army has decided to court martial another soldier, Sergeant David Mitchell, in connection with the 'Pinkville' massacre, on charges of assault with intent to commit murder.

Mitchell was a squad leader in Lt. Calley's platoon at My

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

ALL FOR £1 POST FREE

Send at once to:

The offer will end on Monday, January 5, 1970

Commencing Monday, December 29, 1969 The Age of Permanent

A TROTSKY ANTHOLOGY

Revolution

Editor Isaac Deutscher

PRICE 9s 6d

By A. V. Lunacharsky

Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov and many other leaders of the Russian Revolution come alive in these descriptions by a leading member of the Bolshevik Party and the first Commissar for Culture. walk-out

> idle when only about 1,000 of the port's 10,000 dockers reported for work after lunch. in yesterday morning.

WITH ONE DAY to go our December Fund has gone over the top with £1,006 in hand. That is a remarkable per-formance when we take into account the effects of the Xmas holidays.

January with a balance carried over from 1969. More important, it means that the Workers Press has built up a team of supporters who will fight for their paper, no matter what the odds are

Pressure of space forces us to postpone publication of N. Makanda's regular

'Class Struggles in

Thursday feature:

Thank you comrades for

such an encouraging re-

Africa' This will appear in Saturday's issue, January 3. Be sure of your copy by placing a regular order now! Red herring

It would be a big mistake

those thousands of workers ready to support it. ● PAGE FOUR COL. 6 →

Our record

THE WORKERS PRESS, like its forerunner, 'The Newsletter', is a paper that fights for socialist principles and revolutionary leadership within the workers' movement.

1969 saw many decisive struggles either begin or binding undertaking" to do develop in both Britain and throughout the world.

Our record as a fighting Marxist paper can best be judged by the way we measured up to these struggles, in terms of both analysis and

'The Newsletter' began the year as the Workers Press ended it: by warning the working class of the treacherous role being played by the TUC

'TUC preparing to accept anti-strike laws' (January 7). Defence of the trade unions was the issue that loomed large over all the big strike

struggles of 1969. On January 11 we warned again: 'TUC will capitulate' as indeed they did.

The Stalinists, as we also pointed out time and again, were busy building up the TUC, and particularly the 'lefts', as a focus of opposition to the Labour government's attacks on the unions.

FORD STRIKE

Under the leadership of AEF president Hugh Scanlon and T&GWU general secretary Jones, there was a retreat in the national Ford strike.

They both accepted the principle of penal clauses in

'Ford deal opens door to anti-union laws (March 22). That is why on May 10 we again warned: 'A rotten compromise on the way' and insisted on May 27 that 'Trade unions must oppose the TUC

The final deal between Feather and Wilson we roundly condemned as the TUC giving a "Solemn and

A TROTSKY

ANTHOLOGY

USUAL PRICE £1 15s

Silhouettes

Revolutionary

the dirty work'. And so, right through to December 31, when the Workers Press warned: 'Hands off trade union rights! No support for TUC "Guide-

To underline the gravity of the TUC retreat on the defence of the trade unions, and to place the fight for workingclass rights and conditions in their historical and inter-national context, 'The Newsletter' ran a series of articles on the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy and Spain, each series showing how the weaknesses and often treachery of working-class leadership enabled fascism to come to power and destroy all the working-class organizations.

HISTORY AND THEORY The point cannot be made

too often or too sharply that the leaders of the British trade unions—right, 'left' and centre—are following in the same footsteps as their fore-runners in Germany and Italy.

Only 'The Newsletter' (now the Workers Press) struggles to take these vital, and often complex, historical and theoretical questions into the workers movement.

Without such an under-standing, the working class is doomed to defeat, despite its and strength in terms of organization. 'The Newsletter' fought for

international working - class solidarity throughout 1969. It was the only socialist journal to demand 'Withdraw troops now' (August 16) when

British imperialism intervened ● PAGE FOUR COL. 7 →

The Age of

Permanent

Revolution

A TROTSKY

ANTHOLOGY

Editor Isaac

Deutscher

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS ANNOUNCE A

SPECIAL OFFER!

For seven days only

Commencing Monday, December 29, 1969

Make 1970

A YEAR FOR ACTION AGAINST THE TORIES

By the Editor

THE GREATEST single crime of the Labour government during 1969 is that it has opened the door for the return of a Tory government.

By continuously attacking the standard of living of those who voted it into office in 1964 and 1966, it has already lost hundreds of thousands of votes in vital marginal constituencies.

What else can be expected when they see dividend restrictions lifted and Tory shareholding idlers living on the fat of the land without doing a stroke of work.

The New Year's message of Wilson and company should read-'the harder you work, the poorer you get'.

Reformism and Fabianism have once again revealed their capacity to betray the working class when it has entered its most serious crisis.

These gentlemen who constantly prattle on about their 'democratic way of life', are paving the way for a Powellite Tory Party to wield the full force of the capitalist state against all the democratic rights of the trade unions won over the last century in the course of the most bitter struggle against British

Wilson and company have no objection to returning to the role of Her Majesty's loyal opposition.

This would enable them to provide a 'left' face in a sham anti-Tory fight.

No playing around

This is what they did throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. But it would be mistake to imagine for one moment that this old sham will suffice, assuming the Tories become the government.

There is going to be no playing around

Either we go forward to socialism by building the alternative revolutionary leadership to the Fabian reformists, or the working class can suffer a defeat at the hands of the Tories analagous to the 1926 General Strike.

That is why we fight against Toryism, by raising the class-consciousness of the working class through a continuous exposure of the Tory agents within the labour movement who are making it possible for the Tory to make a comeback in the year ahead.

Responsibility

All our readers can be rest assured that Workers Press will do everything in its power to live up to this responsibility.

The exposure of Wilson and company is an integral part of the struggle against

Mersey docks

New Year's

Eve walk-out

MOST Merseyside dockers celebrated New Year's Eve by staying away from their jobs yesterday afternoon.

Fifty-seven ships were left idle when only about 1,000 of the port's 10,000 dockers reported for work after lunch. Some 8,000 men had turned in yesterday morning.

DECEMBER

WITH ONE DAY to go our December Fund has gone over the top with £1,006 in hand. That is a remarkable per-formance when we take into account the effects of the Xmas holidays.

It means that we start into January with a balance carried over from 1969.

More important, it means that the Workers Press has built up a team of supporters who will fight for their paper, no matter what the odds are Thank you comrades for

such an encouraging re-

Pressure of space forces us to postpone publication of N. Makanda's regular

Thursday feature: 'Class Struggles in Africa'

This will appear in Saturday's issue, January 3. Be sure of your copy by placing a regular order now!

BEST wishes for the New Year to all our readers from the Editorial Board of the Workers Press. We are now in our fourteenth week of publication. This

NEW YEAR GREETING

We issue special greetings to all those who have fought for and supported the paper so tremendously in 1969. Forward to 1970!



Steelworkers to be disciplined

THE DECISION of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation to discipline its members involved in the unofficial Christmas strike at the British Steel Corporation's (BSC) Port Talbot steelworks is the first blow struck for the TUC General Council's 'guidelines' issued today.

The disciplining directly implements the council's recommendation that

'Meetings of members are a useful and authorized method of consultation, but are not entitled to take decisions, or to instruct shop stewards to take actions which are at

THE 120 craftsmen at the BSC's Panteg stainless steel works near Cardiff, who have been on strike since Sunday, are meeting today and are expected to follow a recommendation to continue their action. The strike was called to

press the men's demand for a £3 bonus. But the management have only offered to meet half the demand and are insist-

ing on tying the bonus to increases in production.

variance with union policy, or . . . agreements to which the union is party.'

The ISTC's move follows

the TUC General Council in challenging the right of the shop floor to take action on any issue, however pressing, ndependently of the union executive.

Red herring

The accusation levelled at the strikers that they en-dangered the plant's safety through insufficient notice is a complete red herring and obscures the basic issues. It would be a big mistake

● PAGE FOUR COL. 1 →

Frustration with sixthform 'talking-shop'

1,200 sixth formers are attending the annual conference of the Council for Education in World Citizenship in Westminster this week.

The theme of the conference is 'The Promise and Peril of the 21st Century' and it claims to examine the problems posed by contemporary developments in science and technology.

preserve the status quo'. The speakers, including Lord Ritchie-Calder and other conscientious academics, have all expressed horror at the uses to which their 'democracy' has science. But no one has mentioned that this abuse arises from

methods of repressing the working class. Most of the young people at the conference seem frustrated by this talking shop which offers no way forward from the problems it touches upon.

Tube and bus leaders back

THE LONDON central busmen's committee yesterday called off the one-day strike planned for today.

But it was still not known yesterday afternoon whether

The T&GWU's national bus conference meeting London last night.

Backed down

to give them parity with London dustmen. Anger at the council's attitude to their claims has backed down on its previous call for a January 1 strike by all London's transport workers. The calling-off of the strike at the last moment has inevitably created confusion for those thousands of workers

ready to support it. Dustmen's pickets at Luton's

An apt sub-title for the conference would be 'how to

the vicious profit motive of the capitalist class, and from the need of this class to evolve more and more sophisticated

down By our industrial correspondent

this eleventh-hour decision could be put into effect because the only body with power to call off the strike is the central bus delegate conference.

officer, Mr Larry Smith, was trying to recall delegates for

The decision by the busmen's central committee followed Tuesday night's meeting of the unofficial London bus and rail workers' coordinating committee which

been growing since the end of the summer when the council refused to give its manual workers a general increase and implemented an 'up-grading' scheme which gave some sections 15s. and others nothing at all.

and are demanding £2 a week

● PAGE FOUR COL. 6 →

good New Year start

STOP WILSON'S VISIT

TO WASHINGTON

Off to a

THE CAMPAIGN to stop Wilson's planned visit to Washington gets off to a good start in the New Year with details of a successful campaign by supporters of the Workers Press on the North-East coast.

Thirty shipbuilding workers from Swan Hunter's Tyneside yard have signed our petition demanding that the visit, scheduled for later this month, does not take place.

Among the 43 T&GWU bus drivers, conductors and maintenance engineers from Newcastle who are supporting the campaign to stop this expression of the Labour government's support for US impairable of the campaign of the cam perialism's genocidal war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants is shop stew-

Newcastle nurses-154 of them—have also signed the

Five workers and one shop steward from Sunderland's British Titan chemical works have added their signatures.

Ten North-East teachersmembers of the NUT and the ATTI—have also supported the campaign. From Gateshead and Bill-ingham technical colleges we

have received the signatures of 40 students, many of them apprentices and young workers from local factories attending day-release and block-release courses. Communist Party members James Fitzpatrick and D.

Deans — from, respectively, Gateshead and Newcastle—have added their support along with ex-Party member Other North-East signatories include Vickers' shop steward J. Munday, Reyrolle shop steward D. Clelland and NUG&MW member John

FROM SOUTHAMPTON, we have received the support of four DATA members—including office committee member D. Goodall-from the Techwork drawing office.

The Workers Press petition has also been signed by Southampton FA goalkeeper Eric Martin, SOGAT member R. Blow, Pirelli AEF shop steward B. Griffin, Corporation Transport convenor T. Strong, ASB branch chair-

● PAGE FOUR COL. 6 →

Luton dustmen's strike LUTON'S 110 dustmen, whose strike began on Tuesday, were joined yesterday after-

noon by workers from the council's sewerage, highway maintenance, lighting and garage departments. grows The strikers have rejected the council's 11s-a-week offer

Portland Road depot told the Workers Press that the council had rejected the £2 claim for parity with London on the grounds that the cost of living was cheaper in Luton!

They were particularly annoyed at the council's strike-breaking moves.

The strikers are to hold a mass meeting today and are pressing their unions—the T&GWU and the General and Municipal Workers—to make

the dispute official.

WHITEHALL PAY TALKS: Chancellor Roy Jenkins and Productivity Minister Barbara Castle yesterday discussed a possible breach of the govern-

forthcoming pay offers to teachers and nurses. The 30,000-strong Association of Assistant Masters, meanwhile, voted in favour of strike action if next week's Burnham Committee negotiations on teachers' pay break

down.

ment's incomes ceiling by

Yesterday's Whitehall talks indicate that the nurses and teachers may be made the first reactivation of delaying powers. The involvement of Jenkins may foreshadow the responsibility for incomes policy passing into the hands of the Treasury.

GUNBOATS AT HAIFA: Israel announced that the five French-built gunboats which left Cherbourg during Christmas had arrived

in Israeli waters. Transport Minister Ezer Weizmann—a member of the extreme Zionist Gahal party—wished the crews success and a safe journey to the Israeli coast as planes of the Israeli air force began patrols over the sea approaches to the port

If equipped with missiles by the Zionist leaders, the gunboats could prove dangerous menace to Arab shipping.

NEW INDONESIAN PURGE: An Indonesian army spokes-man stated in Djakarta yesterday that a new purge is under way in the armed forces, but declined to give the reasons behind recent arrests.

VIETNAM TRUCE: 50 DEAD: 50 NLF troops were killed by US forces on Tuesday, the first day of the three-day New Year truce, a US military spokesman said

The two biggest actions took place along the Cambodian border.

The US army has decided to court martial another soldier, Sergeant David Mitchell, in connection with the 'Pinkville' massacre, on charges of assault with intent to commit murder.

Mitchell was a squad leader in Lt. Calley's platoon at My

ALL FOR £1 POST FREE

Send at once to:

Special Offer, New Park Publications Ltd., 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. The offer will end on Monday, January 5, 1970

Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov and many other leaders of the Russian Revolution come alive in these

descriptions by a leading member of the Bolshevik Party and the first Commissar for Culture.

PRICE 9s 6d

By A. V. Lunacharsky

Stalinism

perverts

science

THE CASE OF

The second of two articles

by Martin Zarrop

LYSENKO

completely into idealism by

trying to fit 'the facts' into a

The hereditary process has to be a function of the organ-

ism 'as a whole'; the organism

and its environment have to be

mains mysterious. Why bother

about such problems when

'Michurin teaching . . . elucidates profound (!) theoretical

problems by solving important

problems of socialist agricul-

on its nightmarish way and

reached the inevitable con-

sion', Lysenko begins:

In summing up the 'discus-

'Comrades, before I pass to

my concluding remarks, I con-

sider it my duty to make the

following statement. The ques-

tion is asked in one of the notes handed to me [how

opportune!]: What is the atti-tude of the Central Committee

of the Party to my report? I answer: The Central Commit-

tee of the Party examined my

report and approved it. (Stormy applause. Ovation. All

The stamp of approval had

been given to the main lines of

Lysenko's report even before

the session had begun and any

illusion that the participants

had been involved in a discus-

sion on genetics was finally

Nothing was left but the

expected recantations and a

torrent of praise for 'the great

friend and protagonist of science, our leader and teacher,

Following Lysenko's closing

speech, three of the participants, Academician P. M. Zhukovsky, S. I. Alikhanian

and I. M. Polyakov, confessed

their sins and pledged them-

selves to fight for Michurinism.

the leader of the people and

coryphaeus of progressive

science', followed by a resolu-

tion calling for all biological

work to be reorganized in line

with Michurinism finally

brought this obscene charade

The proposals for the re-

organization of all work in the

biological sciences were im-

mediately implemented. On

August 26, 1948, the Prae-

sidium of the Academy of

Sciences met and passed 12

resolutions to the effect that:

tory, headed by N. P. Dubinin,

shall be abolished as unscien-

Division of Biological Sciences

shall be charged with the pre-

paration of plans for scientific

research for the years 1948-

1950. In this the Bureau shall

be guided by Michurin's teach-

ing and shall adjust the scien-

tific research work of bio-

logical institutes to the needs

• The composition of Scien-

tists' Councils at biological

institutes and editorial boards

of biological publications shall

be checked with the object of

removing from them the par-

tisans of neo-Mendelism and

of replacing them by sup-porters of progressive Michur-

and Philosophy shall be

charged with inclusion in its

programme of popularization

the achievements of

• The Division of History

inite biology.

of the national economy.

• The cell-research labora-

• The Bureau of the

A letter to 'the great Stalin,

The bureaucracy had spoken.

rise.)' (p. 605).

shattered.

Comrade Stalin'.

to an end.

PROPOSALS

tific and useless.

The 1948 conference went

The interaction process re-

pseudo - Marxist

formalized

taken as a unity.

ture' (p. 616)?

clusion.

SCIENTIFIC WORLD

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

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

The bureaucracy had other

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

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

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

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

This was integrated with the theory of 'socialism in one country' in its most ultranationalist phase and became synonymous with the statement:

'For Russian biological science, nothing is impossible. To suggest otherwise — in particular, to believe that neo-Mendelian genetics was anything other than a foreign conspiracy—was unpatriotic and tantamount to treason.

The stage was therefore set to destroy neo-Mendelism once

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

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

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

'I think that the conditions under which the session has been organized have not been quite normal, for all those deservedly placed — and particularly those undeservedly placed — in the category of Weismannist-Mendelists have not been given adequate facili-

'The Situation in Biological Science'. Proceedings of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences of the USSR. Session:



ties to prepare themselves and to give free and full expression to their views . . . only on July 30 [the day before the opening sitting] did I receive official intimation that this session was to take place' (Proceed-

ings, p. 335). Thus, from the beginning of the session, the neo-Mendelians were put on the defensive and for eight days were the subject of a blistering attack, which spared nothing in dis-tortion and abuse. The main attack on neo-Mendelism was outlined in Lysenko's opening

address: 'Socialist agriculture, the collective and state farming, has given rise to a Soviet biological science, founded by Michurin—a science new in principle [i.e. not reflecting objective reality!]—developing in close union with agronomical practice . . . Morgan's

feeble metaphysical "science" . . can stand no comparison with our effective Michurinist agrobiological science' (Proceedings, p. 18. Our emphasis).

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

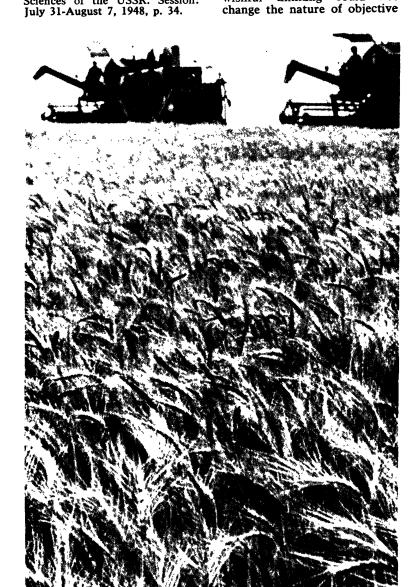
change reveals this clearly. 'G. A. Babajanyan: . . . Who wants what by their very nature are useless Drosophilas

[fruit flies used in breeding experiments]? 'J. A. Rapoport: But there are useful mutations, and many

of them. Why do you shut your eyes to them? 'G. A. B.: Firstly, because they are useful mutations for a useless object. (Applause)'

(Proceedings, p. 163). Throughout, 'the unity of theory and practice' is used to reject science in favour of

what is useful'. In the long run, Stalinist wishful thinking could not



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

reality one iota, let alone resolve the problem of developing 'socialist agriculture' within the context of 'socialism in one

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

materialism and on the revolutionary principle of changing nature for the benefit of the people(!)'. As explained in our last

article (December 18, 1969), the environment of a living organism does not enter directly into hereditary change, but indirectly, through natural selection of random genetic mutations.

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

Neither does it exclude the possibilty of some weak, direct interaction between the environment and the genetic

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

ACCEPTANCE

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

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

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

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

they reduce biological science

to mere statistics. . . . This 'science" therefore, . . condemns practical workers to fruitless waiting. There is no effectiveness in such science. With such a science it is impossible to plan, to work toward a definite goal; it rules out scientific prediction' (p. This is nonsense from beginning to end. The existence of random

by no means rules out 'scientific prediction'. Mendel's laws are not 'mere statistics' but the working out at a particular level of real processes taking place at the

processes at the genetic level

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

Similarly, it is possible for insurance companies to calculate life expectancy, despite the fact that it is impossible to predict the time or manner of death of a particuar human being. In rejecting neo-Mendelism as a starting-point for further

development, Lysenko retreats

Michurinism and of the critical exposure of pseudo-scientific neo-Mendelism. The Bureau of the Division of Biological Sciences shall revise the syllabuses of biological institutes, bearing in mind the interests of Michurin-

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

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

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

'. . I have been very appreciative of the efforts and achievements of the USSR, especially since my first visit to the country in 1932.

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



Julian Huxley

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

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

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

"the property of a living body

to require definite conditions for its life, its development and to react definitely to various conditions" and this is T. D. Lysenko's definition of heredity (1946). If an agriculturist is asked to venture an opinion on what the potential value of a new variety or strain or even species is likely to be, he will not ask "What genes has it?" but "What is its history?" (p. 6). And again: 'Here we see that the Michurinist view fits hand-in-

glove with the approach of the practical worker' (p. 7. Our emphasis). Note how joyfully the English empiricist embraces the Stalinist 'grass roots'

Fyfe emphasises that Michurin was not alone in his conclusions: 'The American fruit breeder,

approach!

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

Expressed so precisely, Lysenko's conclusions give

everything to the theoreticians the fascist counterrevolution. This does not

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VITAL FORCE

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

Moreover, in order to avoid the problems of cell structure, Morton tries to make out a case for no persistent structure Briefly, he argues (pp. 128-

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

Stalin's Fabian friends could, of course, be relied upon to back Lysenko. In 1949, Bernard Shaw wrote an article supporting the action of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In it he states that 'no

criminal militant reactionary

can be excused on the ground that his actions are not his own . . . The real issue is between the claim of the scientific profession to be exempted from all legal restraint in the pursuit of knowledge, and the duty of the state to control it in the general interest as it controls all other pursuits'. As usual, the generalizations thinly conceal the most abject

grovelling before the vilest excesses of the bureaucracy, which remains the hallmark of the official 'left' today. Not every Party scientist could bring himself to toe the official line. The geneticist, J. B. S. (aldane, in the 'Modern

Haldane, in the 'Modern Quarterly' (Vol. 4, No. 3), came down unequivocally on the side of neo-Mendelism: 'I am a Mendelist-Morganist

. . . Morgan and his colleagues made the very great advance of showing that heredity has a material and not a metaphysical basis . . . a Marxist can no more deny a material basis for heredity than for sensation or thought'. Professor J. D. Bernal, on

panying article, evades the issue and says that 'genetics seem due for a change' being



Radiation can change the genetic structure of white carnations to produce a red bloom, thus disproving Lysenko's claim that the gene was hypothetical.

in a state of 'most unsatisfactory confusion'.

Bernal, undoubtedly a brilliant physicist, has trimmed his apologetics to the prevailing wind with the passing

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

Just in case we might have

misunderstood the first time,

the 1969 Penguin edition emphasises the point. The genetics controversy is condensed into two paragraphs

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

And again: 'At its height the contestants were mostly talking at

cross-purposes' (p. 957). Yes, it was all a big misunderstanding! Perhaps Prof. Bernal would include the Moscow Trials, the purges and the betrayals of the Popular Front' period in the same category?

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

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

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

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

of the Lawless'.

town.
9.00 The Dave King Show.
9.30 Whicker In Europe:...

of the Lawless'.
With Dale Robertson,
Yvonne de Carlo, William
Bendix, Bruce Cabot,
Barton Maclane, John
Agar, Kent Taylor and
Lon Chaney. A judge
struggles to maintain law
and order in a Kansas

THURSDAY

I.T.V.

Theatre. 11.35 Mad Movies. 12.05 p.m. Skippy. 12.30 Professional Wrestling. 1.30 Flipper. 1.55 Laurel and Hardy. 2.05 'Storm Over The Nile' with Anthony Steel, Laurence Harvey and James Robertson Justice. A British Army officer in Africa is British Army officer in Africa is branded as a coward. 4.05 The New Adventures of Superman. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Bugs Bunny. 5.20 Magpie.

5.50 News.
6.03 The Flying Nun.
7.00 A Present For Dickie.
7.30 The Thursday Film: 'Law

Monsignor Carrol-Abbing.

10.00 News At Ten. Cinema. 11.05 I Spy.
12 midnight Outlook '70.

REGIONAL I.T.V.

CHANNEL: 3.00 Professional Wrestling. 4.08 Puffin's Birthday Greetings. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 Puffin's Birthday Greetings. 4.50 The Lone Ranger. 5.20 London. 6.00 Channel News and Weather. 6.10 Police File. 6.15 Channel Sports Round-Up. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 The Thursday Film: 'Union Station' with William Holden and Nancy Olsen. 8.30 This Is Your Life. 10.30 Feature Film: 'Elmer Gantry' with Burt Lancaster and Jean Simmons. Lancaster is a smart-talking salesman turned Bible-thumber. 1.00

a.m. Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.55 a.m. Under The Southern Cross. 1.00 p.m. Seaway.
1.55 'The Yearling' with Gregory Peck and Jane Wyman. 4.15 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Skippy.
5.20 London. 6.00 Day By Day. 6.35 Castle Haven. 7.00 The Thursday Film: 'The Pink Panther'. 9.00 London.
10.30 Facing South. 10.50 Southern News Extra. 11.00 Peyton Place. 11.55 The Weather Forecast followed by Inquiry Into Chrismas.

WESTWARD. As Channel except at following times: 4.08 Westward News Headlines. 4.40 The Gus Honeybun Show. 6.00 Westward Diary. 1.05 a.m. Faith For Life. 1.11 Weather.

Faith For Life. 1.11 Weather.

HARLECH: 12.10 p.m. It's Time For Me. 12.15 New Year's Day Concert. 1.30 Professional Wrestling. 2.30 'Cone Of Silence' with Michael Craig and Peter Cushing. 3.45 The Adventures Of Seaspray. 4.10 Arthur. 4.26 Castle Haven. 4.55 The Forest Rangers. 5.20 London. 6.01 Batman. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Midweek Movie: 'Drive A Crooked Road' with Mickey Rooney and Dianne Foster. 8.30 On The Buses. 9.00 London. 10.30 When A Nation Said 'Welcome'. 11.00 'The Mad Magician' with Vincent Price. 12.15 a.m. Weather. Weather. Harlech (Wales) as above except: 4.29-4.55 p.m. Crossroads. 5.20-5.50 Tins A Lei.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.50 a.m. Abbott and Costello. 12.15 p.m. New Year's Day Concert. 1.30 Professional Wrestling. 2.30 'Call Me Bwana' with Bob Hope and Anita Ekberg. 4.00 Survival. 4.15 Peyton Place. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Stingray. 5.20 London. 6.00 ATV

Tins A Lei.

ANGLIA: 12.15 p.m. New Year's Day Concert From Vienna. 1.30 Professional Wrestling. 2.30 'Lassie Come Home' with Elizabeth Taylor. 4.05 Castle Haven. 4.30 Anglia Newsroom. 4.35 Paulus. 4.50 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'The Pink Panther' with David Niven, Peter Sellers, Claudia Cardinale, Robert Wagner and Capucine. 9.00 London. 11.00 Survival. 11.30 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.50 a.m. Abbott

Today. 6.05 Cliff In Scotland. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Action Movie: 'Sergeants 3' with Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin and Sammy Davis Jr. 9.00 London. 11.05 The Saint followed by Weather Forecast.

ULSTER: 4.30 p.m. Romper Room.
4.50 Ulster News Headlines. 4.55 The
Adventures Of The Seaspray. 5.20
London. 6.00 UTV Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'The Pink Panther'. 9.00
London. 11.00 Dangerman.

London. 11.00 Dangerman.

YORKSHIRE: 12 noon Diane's Magic Theatre. 12.15 p.m. New Year's Day Concert. 1.30 Professional Wrestling. 2.30 'Call Me Bwana' with Bob Hope and Anita Ekberg. An American moon probe capsule goes off course and lands in Africa. 4.00 Lost In Space. 4.55 The Forest Rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Cliff In Scotland. 6.30 Castle Haven. 7.00 'The Pink Panther' with Peter Sellers. 9.00 London. 11.00 Manhunt. 11.55 Late Weather.

CRANADA. 9.50 a.m. 'Time Of His Manhunt. 11.55 Late Weather.

GRANADA: 9.50 a.m. 'Time Of His Life'. 11.00 Thunderbirds. 11.50 Diane's Magic Theatre. 12.05 p.m. The Magic Boomerang. 12.30 London. 1.30 Julia. 1.55 Feature Film: 'Yankee Buccaneer' with Jeff Chandler. 3.30 Cartoon Time. 3.35 Feature Film: 'The Dancing Years' with Dennis Price. 5.15 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 Newsview followed by On Site. 6.30 The Beverly Hillbillies. 7.00 'The Pink Panther' with Peter Sellers, David Niven, Capucine and Claudia Cardinale. 9.00 London. 11.00 Man In A Suitcase.

London. 11.00 Man In A Suitcase.

TYNE TEES: 12.15 p.m. New Year's
Day Concert From Vienna. 1.30 Professional Wrestling. 2.30 'Great
Expectations'. 4.35 Sara and Hoppity.
4.53 North East Newsroom. 4.55
Ivanhoe. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today At
Six. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 'The Pink
Panther' (film). 9.00 London. 11.00
Face The Press. 11.30 Late News
Extra. 11.47 Gate Of The Year.

SCOTTISH: 12 poon Diane's Magic SCOTTISH: 12 noon Diane's Magic Theatre. 12.15 p.m. New Year's Day Concert From Vienna. 1.30 Professional Wrestling. 2.30 'Call Me Bwana'. 4.05 Mr Piper. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 The Adventures Of Superman. 5.20 London. 6.00 News and Scotsport. 6.30 High Living. 7.00 Feature Film: 'The Pink Panther'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Late Call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.05 a.m. Ivanhoe. 10.30 Fantastic Four. 10.55 'Tommy The Toreador'. 12.15 p.m. New Year's Day Concert From Vienna. 1.30 Professional Wrestling. 2.30 'Call Me Bwana'. 4.05 Mad Movies. 4.30 Land Of The Giants. 5.20 London. 6.00 The Ghost And Mrs Muir. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Feature Film: 'The Pink Panther'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Journey To The Unknown.

11.00 a.m. Daktari. 11.45 Win-

B.B.C. 1

ners At The Wheel. 12.35 p.m. The Philpott File. 1.25 Tom and Jerry. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45 News and Weatherman. 1.55 Laurel and Hardy. 2.15 'The Scarlet Spear' with John Bentley and Martha Hyer. African adventure. 3.30 Ski Jumping From Garmisch: The International 90 Metre Jump. 4.20 Play School. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Journey To The Centre Of The Earth. 5.44 Hectors' House. 5.50 National News and Weather. 6.00 London Nationwide.

6.45 The Doctors. 7.05 Top Of The Pops. Comedy Playhouse: 'The Jugg Brothers'.
8.00 Softly Softly.
8.50 The Main N

News and Weather.

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather, Nationwide. 12.02 a.m. News Summary and Weather. North of England: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Look North, Weather, Nationwide. 12.02 a.m. News Headlines, Weather. Wales: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Wales Today, Weather, Nationwide. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. Weather, Nationwide. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw.
Scotland: 6.00-6.05 p.m. Scottish News.
6.05-6.20 Sportsreel. 6.20-6.45 Nationwide, Scene Around Six, Weather.
12.02 a.m. News Headlines, Weather.
South and West: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Points
West, South Today, Spotlight SouthWest, Weather, Nationwide. 12.02
a.m. News Headlines, Weather.

9.10 Sinatra:

10.00 24 Hours.

Just Frank

12 midnight Weatherman.

10.30 'A Night At The Opera'.
With the Marx Brothers.

Regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times:

B.B.C. 2

8.00 Call My Bluff.

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School.

4.55 p.m. 'The Mudlark' (film).

6.30 New Year's Day Concert 7.30 Newsroom and Weather.

8.30 The Money Programme.

9.10 The Six Wives of Henry Play about Catherine of Aragon.

10.40 Edmundo Ross: Latin American music. Summary

11.20 News

11.25 Line Up.

THIS is the third article in a series replying to the article in 'International Socialism' 40, 'Building the Revolutionary Party' by Duncan Hallas.

HALLAS attacks the Socialist Labour League for having continued to base itself on the Transitional Programme on which the Fourth International was founded in 1938.

According to him, the Trotskvists should have abandoned this programme because capitalism after 1945 found a great lease of life.

Because the SLL continued, however, to stand on the founding programme, its theory and practice hardened into a dogmatic 'orthodoxy' which characterizes it today.

In the two earlier articles in this series we have shown that Hallas' interpretation of the Transitional Programme is opposed to Marxism.

He is, in fact, attacking the whole theory of Marxism on the nature of capitalism and the necessity of proletarian revolution. He approaches these questions with the empiricist methods of opportunists who adapt to capitalism and support it.

Hallas, after referring to the strength of the Communist International in the 1920s and its ability to correct its mistakes says:

'If Trotsky's economic perspective had been correct the FI (Fourth International) might have been in a similar

Now we have already seen (second article in this series) that Trotsky's views on capitalist economy, like Lenin's, were essentially of an economic system in an epoch of decay and revolutionary crisis within which periods and areas of growth were not excludedindeed they were recognized as a central feature of its unevenness and its explosive nature.

But Hallas and Cliff consider that an economic expansion of capitalism is in contradiction to the assertion that capitalism is decaying and

They drew the conclusion in the late 1940s, therefore, that capitalism was expanding and that consequently the call made in the Founding Programme for a new International of revolutionary parties was out of date.

Conclusion

This conclusion, and the whole opportunist course of all those who agreed with it, is the reality behind Hallas' claims that there were reasonable and objective men like him, who recognized the facts of the boom, and 'dogmatists', like the founders of the SLI who refused to do so because they adhered to the Transitional Programme.

Hallas was, in the 1940s, like Tony Cliff (from 1946-1949), a member of the majority wing of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Trotskyist organization Britain at that time, whose general secretary was Mr 'Jock' Haston.

leadership of the The Socialist Labour League today were at that time a minority

The minority were in favour at that stage of 'entry' work inside the Labour Party, on the grounds that the radicalization of the British working class would not by-pass Labour Party politics, and that in that period the most fruitful field for Trotskyists was to work within the left wing of the Labour Party which would emerge as a result of the Attlee government's policies.

This left wing emerged, of course, in the shape of the Bevanite movement and the support for the paper 'Socialist Outlook'.

This tactic was, of course, related to the basic position of Marxism in Britain since Lenin wrote 'Left-Wing Communism': we must fight for 'Labour to power' in order to break the working class from social-democracy.

In 1949 the 'majority' dissolved itself and went into the

Hallas tries to turn this to support his own argument. According to him:

'The minority position was that the economic impasse would produce a mass radicalization of the workers who would flood into the Labour Party. A revolutionary crisis was imminent and there was no time to build an independent party from scratch.'

The essence of the minority's position was derived from the Transitional Programme and Lenin's 'Imperialism': reformism in office, in this period of capitalist decay, will inevitably find itself exposed as the instrument of imperialism, which can only be a system of destruction and oppression; revolutionaries must direct their work to the effects on the masses of this development, and not to the temporary ability of the capitalists to make wage concessions to certain sections of the international working class.

Once a socialist takes the latter course, he is surely and irreversibly on the road to opportunism. Lenin insisted that opportunism began as the pursuit of the sectional or temporary interests of workers in opposition to their general, historical, revolutionary interests as a class.

The form of opportunism against which he led the fight in 1914-1917 was that of international social-democracy, which in virtually every belligerent country preferred the supposed common interests of the workers with their own national bourgeoisie to the common class interests of the world's workers.

Alternative

What was Hallas' alternative to the revolutionary orientation of the RCP minority, with its tactical application to work in the Labour Party? Once we extract his meaning, its class essence is very clear:

The majority rejected this fantasy, predicting a continua-tion of the economic upswing that was already obvious but, partly because they under-estimated its duration and extent, failed until 1949 to draw the conclusion that an independent revolutionary party could not be built in the period'! (My emphasis).

At last the cat is out of the bag! The whole purpose of insisting that there was a continuing economic upswing is to conclude that the independent revolutionary party cannot be built in such a period.

And the hysteria of the attack on the SLL, which 'by rights' ought long ago to have disappeared because of its founders' 'wrong perspectives', is precisely because it showed the exact opposite to be true! Economic 'upswings' are

only phases of the epoch of capitalist decline, giving a more pronounced character to its uneven and contradictory character.

The real effects on class consciousness, the temporary and bureaucratic formations by boom conditions - all these have to be taken account of and fought against.

And only a revolutionary party, determined to build the alternative leadership under all conditions, to develop Marxist theory in all conditions, can do this.

Hallas very naturally skates over the history of what happened to those who in his opinion had a 'correct' economic perspective, i.e. the RCP majority behind Haston. Mr Tony Cliff lent his doubtful literary and statistical talents to Haston's insistence on the revitalized nature of capitalism, right to the very brink of Haston's open capitulation to the social democracy in 1950.

Haston, after having opposed the tactic of entry into the L'abour Party, made it clear in 1949 that the political conclusions of his 'economic perspectives' must be drawn.

He quit Trotskyism forever, settled for the reformist capitulation to the 'modern' capitalism of the Labour Party, and set foot on the course which has now brought him to the unenviable distinction of educational director of the Electrical Trades Union under Messrs Cannon and Chapple!

Mr Haston is to be found at the centre of innumerable 'educational' schemes for the domestication of shop stewards, and suchlike activities. THE THIRD PART OF CLIFF SLAUGHTER'S REPLY TO HALLAS He would call himself an empiricist, one who starts from the given 'facts', today,

just as he did when he was in the RCP.

Today, Mr Cliff says that he is indifferent to whether other members of his International Socialism group are dialectical materialists or empiricists. In other words, he is preparing the ground for future Hastons.

Certainly Haston drew very thoroughly in 1949 the conclusion suggested by Hallas: that a revolutionary party could not be built. N.B., not that 'it could only be built in different ways from the SLL', or 'it could only be built on different perspectives from the SLL' but it 'could not be built'. That is the conclusion from

this history, according to the

'economic upswing—no revolutionary politics—the general nature of the epoch is irrele-vant', all this had placed them entirely at the service of the thoroughgoing opportunist course of Haston. It was the first manifestation

of the liquidationism (attack on the revolutionary party and need for the party) which has been the essence of anti-Trotskyist revisionism. This 'liquidationism' always

hides behind talk about 'new reality' and the 'changed objective situation'. The fundamental facing Marxists is decided by

the revolutionary nature of the epoch in which we live: it is the building of revolutionary parties to take the power; parties which consciously learn

of Trotsky, he omits entirely the essence of the question: Trotsky's contribution to Marxist theory, particularly in the Russian Revolution, his struggle for the continuity of Marxism and Leninism in the Bolshevik Party in the 1920s, and above all the struggle to build the Fourth International. all on the basis of his and Lenin's characterization of the epoch as a revolutionary one. Hallas thinks he knows

The class nature of

the 'International

Socialism' group

better: 'Trotsky's unique contribution to revolutionary tactics, his uncompromising hostility to Stalinism, to reformism, to every kind of totalitarianism, give him a stature which mere mistakes can diminish. In that sense a Marxist revolutionary today



The destruction of Nagasaki by the atom bomb is a vindication of Marxist theory that the productive forces stagnate, and that technical development turns into a force of destruction in the epoch of

'state capitalists'.

It is precisely the long struggle against that conclusion, in all its various revisionist forms, that historically defines the Socialist Labour League and its predecessor in the group which entered the Labour Party in 1947 and published the 'Socialist Outlook'.

All that Hallas says about 1949 is 'In 1949 they (the RCP minority group, working in the Labour Party) were reinforced by many of the members of the former RCP majority, after the RCP had voted to dissolve itself, enter the Labour Party and fuse with the group'.

Hallas knows this is sheer trickery. He does not even mention Haston and the blatant opportunism which forced the hasty abandonment of the majority's course. Furthermore, he knows that only a tiny handful of his 'correct' majority remained Trotskyists

He cannot mention these things, because it would mean opening up the question of the political support given by Hallas and Cliff themselves to Haston against the minority. Their economic 'objectivity',

their mechanical conception of



Maurice Thorez, French Communist Party leader, (centre left with Duclos on his left) was the most brazen and open advocate of smoothing the path for imperialism, preparing the way for the post-war boom.

from the experience or the working class and from the whole development of society in all the different phrases and sections of the struggle, which, in all these phases, train their members on the basis of this revolutionary historical task. The 'state capitalists' tell us that in the 1960s and 1970s

. . The consequences of (the permanent war economy), the contradictions of neocapitalism, its prospects and its limits; these are the basic problems to be faced by Western [?] revolutionaries today' (Hallas, p. 31).

Perspectives

Here are two opposed perspectives. The same two opposed perspectives confronted each other in the period of 1945-1949, concentrated on by Hallas to prove the 'dogmatism' of the Socialist Labour League. Mistakes in the estimate of

the tempo or incidence of the process of capitalist crisis may have serious consequences, but they cannot lead to fundamental revisions of Marxism and betrayals of the working class, if they are made within the framework of revolutionary preparation against all opportunism, within the conception of the epoch of capitalist decay.

But if adjustment to the business cycle, wage and employment levels, or even strike statistics (cf. T. Cliff, 'On Perspectives' in IS 36, April-May 1966) within the conception that capitalism has entered a new period called neo-capitalism (what is more, with its prospects and limits according to Hallas, still to be determined) then they are not the basis of 'tactical' adjustments, but simply steps on the road of capitulation to

That is why the 'state capitalist' group is in fact the haven of all those on the left who find it necessary to cover their reformism with a sort of academic-Marxist phraseology. It is for these reasons that when Hallas gives his own

version of the political heritage

reformism.

he must be a Leninist' (Hallas, p. 31. My emphasis).

The one virtue of this piece of offensive rubbish is that it defines very unambiguously just what Hallas and his 'state capitalist' friends mean and what they do not mean when they describe themselves as followers of Lenin and Trotsky.

They are telling all their petty-bourgeois and reformist friends that they do not necessarily agree with Lenin and Trotsky on: the revolutionary nature of the epoch, the building of revolutionary parties and the revolutionary international, the fight for dialectical materialism against bourgeois ideology, the defence of the October Revolution and its gains . . . but they are all 'in a certain sense' revolutionary Trotskyists and Leninists!

The ability of capitalism to accumulate at an expanded rate in the post-war years and into the 1960s was, of course, possible only on the basis of the destruction of productive forces, and the removal from the scene of many capitals, resulting from the unprecedented economic crisis of the 1930s; the Second World War, on the world scale, accentuated the effects of the crisis.

Requirements

Military requirements, satisfied by monster state budgets, had provided the conditions during the Second World War for hitherto unequalled technical inventions and discoveries, crowned, of course, by the splitting of the atom to release nuclear energy. The scientific basis of this

and other advances had already been laid for some years, but capitalism could build technologically on this basis only through the state control of all available resources for the production of means of destruction (the atomic bomb).

Atomic energy and the electronics and engineering bases of automation are only the most important and obvious examples of this vindication of the Marxist theory that the War economy, the planned creation of gigantic death machines by the monopolies,

productive forces stagnate, and

that technical development

turns into a force of destruc-

tion in the epoch of imperial-

Hitler, who had profited from

the betrayals of Stalinism up

to 1933, was now to be mili-

tarily and politically divided

In other capitalist countries,

the Communist Parties went

to extreme conclusions as part

of this accommodation to

General Election of 1945, ad-

vocated a coalition govern-

ment, to include the 'pro-

grassive' (i.e. Churchillian) section of the Conservatives.

The CP factory branches

In the USA Browder and the

right-wing of the CP drew the

full conclusion: scrap the

Communist Party and form a

bureaucracy 'corrected' this

over-enthusiasm, recognizing

that to maintain its relation-

ship with imperialism in all

conditions, it needed a party

of political dependents who

could actually mislead those

workers who did seek com-

trade unions of every country

implemented this line, assur-

ing the restoration of 'normal'

production and encouraging a

considerable strengthening of

The thousands of CP recruits

won during the later years of

the war were trained in this

Those 'academic' socialists ('International Socialists') who see the class struggle and class-

consciousness only as the auto-

matic results of economic

statistics can ignore the effect

of these political relationships

on the course of capitalist

Not only the economic 'revival' itself but also the possi-

bilities of a revolutionary fight

back by the proletariat were

affected decisively by these

Maurice Thorez was only

the most brazen and open

advocate of this Stalinist role

of smoothing the path for im-

perialism, an imperialism now

decisively dominated by the

Economic

from the Soviet Union to

speak in Paris on November

27, 1944, Thorez said to the

'Make war; create a great French army; work like blazes, rapidly rebuild industry . . .'

His Party, of course, was in

a position to make this 'leader-

ship' an 'economic' factor of

and not the rise of a 'perma-

nent arms economy' which laid

the basis for the long boom

'The essence of the problem was a simple one. Marx's economic model is a closed

And he goes on to quote Kidron's explanation that the

production of arms, which do

not 're-enter the system'.

'Simple' is not the word!

The crudeness of this argument

makes crisis unnecessary.

It was this political question,

the first importance.

But Hallas says:

into the 1960s.

system'.

When he returned to France

US monopolists.

workers:

relationships for many years.

economy after 1945.

A Marxist cannot.

the trade union bureaucracy.

The Stalinist cadres in the

The international Stalinist

propaganda association.

The British CP, in the

for a whole generation.

'democratic' capitalism.

were disbanded.

munist solutions.

school.

the banks and the state . . . this is the acme of what Lenin (and earlier, Marx) described as the socialization of production, but within the bounds of private property, thus creating even greater contradictions for the capitalist system.

Is it true, as Hallas and Cliff suggest, that the years after 1945 manifested, not those deepened contradictions, but a new lease of life for capitalism based on the 'permanent arms economy' which made the building of the revolutionary party impossible?
Trotsky had concentrated,

in the Transitional Programme, on explaining that capitalism could only emerge from recurrent critical situations and maintain itself because of the unresolved crisis of leadership in the working class.

It is not possible as a Marxist to define the post-1945 period without starting from the political relationship of class forces which made possible capitalist restoration and renewed expansion.

Secondly, it must be said that the effects on class consciousness of a period of boom (or of slump) are not automatic effects of the immediate economic conditions, but depend upon the immediately prior political experience (defeat or absence of it, destruction of leadership, etc.).

Unprecedented

as if capitalism restored itself in 1945, showed itself capable of 'unprecedented expansion' and that there naturally followed 'a rising standard of living' and 'reformism flourished'.

This is a worse caricature of Marxism even than that of the bureaucratic leaders of the German Social Democracy before 1914, and marks a much later stage of degeneration. It is simply a justification for reformism.

It blames reformism on the working class.

On a world scale the Stalinist apparatus was able to provide the principal basis for the restoration of the bourgeois

order in Europe. Was not this a confirmation of Trotsky's basic conclusion in founding the Fourth International, what the Transitional Programme calls 'The definite passing over of the Comintern to the side of the bourgeois order, its cynically counterrevolutionary role throughout the world'?

When the French Communist Party leaders entered de Gaulle's government in 1945, and Thorez, the CP leader, condemned strikes as a weapon of the monopolies, was he not confirming this perspective?

When Thorez ordered French workers to dissolve their militias in 1945 and Duclos called for the unity of 'all Frenchmen and French women of good will, wherever they may come from, provided they desire to work for the renaissance and greatness of France' (speech at the Congress of the 'National Front', February 3, 1945) were they not confirming the perspectives of Trotsky?

These actions by the French Stalinists, providing a political stability within which the capitalist order was restored, were part of an international counter-revolutionary role. In Italy, Togliatti and the

Communist Party acted identically. Europe was divided into

'spheres of influence' at the Potsdam and Yalta summit conferences, and the mutual interest of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the imperialist powers in preventing a proletarian revolutionary solution of the contradictions arising from the 'anti-fascist victory were precisely expressed and formulated.

Germany must be divided. The German working class, already politically beheaded by

'Capital' is to show that by 'productive', the capitalist system means 'productive of surplus value, and thereby of augmented capital' and not 'productive of goods as usevalues'. The talk about capitalintensive goods 'being drawn off' the market is quite beside

is frankly hair-raising. The whole of Marx's analysis in

the point.

From the point of view of capital they 'flow back' in exactly the same way as anything else! The capitalist, having invested both variable capital and constant capital in their production (as values), realizes their value in a sale and appropriates the surplusvalue placed in them by

This surplus-value is then put back into the capitalist system once again in the form of capital. Thus they 're-enter the system'.

Whether the arms produced are stockpiled, blown up or melted down and made into ploughshares is not of the slightest account!

According to Kidron, arms production prevents crises because it stops the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, a

tendency revealed by Marx. In addition to what we have already said, it must be pointed out that arms production normally expands in industries where the proportion of constant capital to variable capital

is higher than average. Thus, if arms production is taking a larger share in total production, then that tendency must increase the total average organic composition of capital (proportion of constant to variable capital)—in which case the tendency of the rate of profit to fall is accentuated, since it results primarily from the heightened organic composition of capital!

Gibberish

And it is on the basis of Kidron's gibberish that we are asked to reject Trotsky's and Lenin's analysis of the revolutionary nature of our epoch and the prospects for capital-

No! The post-war years were a conclusive proof that only the treacherous counter-revolutionary leadership of the working class, above all the Stalinists, provided a continued basis for the existence of capitalism.

Reformism and Stalinism, says Hallas, emerged from the war 'stronger in numbers and support than ever before. Reformism flourished in the advanced countries on the basis of a rising standard of

living' (Hallas, p. 26). What we have demonstrated is that these purely quantitative and descriptive impressions of the post-war situation, with the appearance of 'hard facts' so beloved of all empiricists, were only appearances.

They were the products of essential contradictions which the economic 'facts' were real battling class forces, with the nature of their leaderships proving decisive at that

European capitalism was on its knees in 1944-1945.

It was allowed to get up and contribute to the fulfilment of US imperialist supremacy, for exactly the reasons foreseen by the Transitional Programme: the unresolved crisis of working-class leadership.
The fight in the British sec-

tion of the Fourth Inter-national in the 1944-1949 period, with the SLL's precursors on one side and the Cliff-Hallas 'state capitalists' and Haston on the other, was between those who saw this perspective confirmed, and fought to build the revolutionary party, and those who abandoned the perspective and found it 'impossible' to build the party.

When we have compared, in our next article, Hallas's 'state capitalist' view of the role of Stalinism and the USSR after 1945, and its interpretation in the Trotskvist movement. we shall be in a position to piece together in their real context the selected and distorted 'facts' of the history of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism presented

Part four of the reply to Hallas will appear in next Tuesday's January 6 issue.

Monthly

support of Churchill's

and later called

for a coalition

government to include him.

Stalinism thus

decisive role in

establishment

of capitalism

in the post-war

the re-

years.

Labour Monthly A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Dialectical Materialism & Modern Science by J. B. S. HALDANB, F.R.S. No. 3.—Quality and Quality

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Notes of the Month by R P.D.

The Needs of the Hour

Mobilise the People by D. N. PRITT, K.C., M.P.

War on Two Fronts: The Immediate Issue
by "strategist"

HOW TO INCREASE WAR PRODUCTION

SEPTEMBER 1941 VOL. 23 No. 9

'guidelines' on strikes and shop stewards, published this

week-to prepare the ground

for the Tories' anti-union

of the unions in 1970 without

their complete independence

from the employers and the

Yet more and more union leaders—like the Rt. Hon.

George Woodcock and former Communist Party member Mr

Will Paynter, who yesterday introduced the first three re-

ports of their government

Commission on Industrial Re-

lations-have joined state and

state-backed pay and 'indus-trial relations' bodies.

Interviewed on commercial

plans.

capitalist state.

In Spain and Britain

Stalinism prepares new betrayals-

GENERAL FRANCO'S end-of-the-year speech dashed the hopes of those who have been banking on the fascist dictator's early retirement and Spain's gradual evolution towards parliamentary democracy.

Steelworkers

• FROM PAGE ONE

to follow Fleet Street in describing the disciplinings as simply a continuation of past ISTC policy.

This led, for example, in June, to the disciplining of 14 leaders of a four-week unofficial strike at the BSC's Corby steelworks who had re-fused to end their strike.

The executive claimed that their action was in breach of procedure and union rules.

Significance

The full significance of this insistence on procedure is now becoming very clear. The struggles at Port Talbot show for all to see what

is necessarily involved in implementing the TUC's pro-The ISTC's disciplinary powers, which include expulsion from the union possibly followed by the loss of the job, are being used to force implementation of the bitterly opposed 'Green Book' productivity deal.

Major struggles

Major struggles against the executive's powers to enforce agreements could well break out in the next few months over the 2,000 redundancies planned at Port Talbot when the new steel-making plant comes up to full production. There is already widespread bitterness at the redundancy terms and the alternative jobs

'I shall be with you, working for the fatherland, as long as God gives me life', he said and attacked 'those who doubted the continuity of our movement'—a clear reference to the revolt in the ranks of the doctrinaire fascists of the ruling 'Falange'.

Spain's economic development. Franco insisted. could only be maintained by association with or entry into the Common Market:

BY ROBERT BLACK

The group clearly has no intention of challenging the

It simply seeks to reform fascism by pressure on its

allegedly more 'liberal' gov-

ernment leaders—mainly the

and industrialists, who favour

Spanish entry into the Common Market.

Timely reforms

This 'opposition', if it can

be termed such, is a purely

bourgeois group concerned only with heading off big clashes between the Spanish

working class and the regime

by the introduction of some

'The petition follows a de-

claration issued by the execu-

tive committee of the Spanish

Communist Party a month ago which called for joint

action by all opposition forces

in Spain against the Franco

regime and for agreement on

And what 'joint action' do the Spanish Stalinists have in

called for the maximum pres-

sure to be exerted on the new

In other words, the same

policy as that advocated by

the 'liberal monarchists' and

the ex-Franco Cabinet minis-

Class collaboration, as opposed to class struggle, has

been the line of the Spanish

Communists since the outbreak of the 1936 Civil War.

Now it has been raised almost

to the level of a principle:

leadership, but by the dip-

lomatic requirements of the

Franco's policy of courting the East European Stalinists is paying a handsome dividend.

It ensures that the Spanish

Stalinists play a key part in

disrupting and confusing the

anti-fascist movement, turning

its core—the Spanish working

class — towards an alliance

with the various monarchist, Catholic and capitalist groups

tactically opposed to the

As in the Civil War, Stalinist 'Popular Frontism'

serves the interests of Spanish

fascism—though with this vital difference: today it is actively and consciously fos-

tered by Franco himself, who

in the 30 years since the end

present regime.

(emphasis added).

Soviet bureaucracy.

Communist Party

a "Pact of Liberty".

timely reforms.

Stalinist

'Star' adds:

' The

government. . .

'Opus Dei' group of bankers

fascist regime.

'We cannot remain on the side-lines of the great unifying operation which

has been set in motion.' His conception of 'the great unifying operation' clearly transcends the frontiers of

western Europe. He stated that while new links were being forged with the capitalist powers, 'at the same time Spain's contacts with East Europe are increas-

And this is perfectly true. While the fascist repression

against all working-class and left-wing groups — including the Spanish Communist Party
—continues, the Franco regime has opened up diplomatic or consular relations with three East European states ruled by the Stalinist bureaucracy-Poland, Hungary and Rumania.

Background

Any Stalinist 'attacks' on the Franco regime have to be seen against this background of a deal between Franco and the bureaucracies of East Europe and the Soviet Union. One such 'attack' was featured on the front page of the 'Morning Star' of December 27 under the headline

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 CLASSIC CINEMA, POND STREET HAMPSTEAD, LONDON, N.W.3

STOP WILSON'S WASHINGTON VISIT!

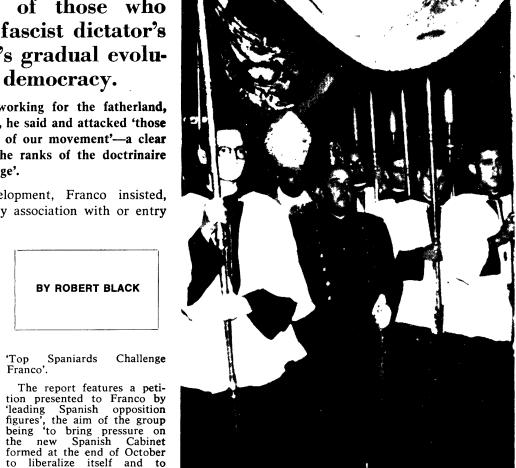
FOR THE DEFEAT OF US IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM!

DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY JAN. 11

ASSEMBLE: Speakers' Corner (Marble Arch), MARCH: via Oxford Street, Regent Street,

Trafalgar Square past Downing Street. MEETING: Lyceum Ballroom, near Aldwych,

Details from 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 Tickets for the whole weekend 12s 6d



Stalinist 'attacks' on Franco have to be seen against a background of Spanish deals with the Soviet and East European bureaucracies.

of the war has learned how to force, and can only be fought his full advantage.

'Unity'

The British Stalinists enter into the act with their own observation that 'one of the most encouraging features of the present situation is the unity in action against Franco that has been achieved between Communists and Catholics'.

According to the 'Star', the group contains a 'liberal monarchist' as well as econo-And by 'Star' means not rank-and-file workers under the influence mists, a former Franco cabinet minister, lawyers and proreligion (their number in Spain is relatively small), but the hierarchy itself, who, of Determined to repeat the Stalinist 'Popular Front' fiasco of the Civil War, the course, are anxious to ensure that when Franco goes, the Church remains.

Hence their current 'oppos-

Everywhere, from Vietnam and Spain to Czechoslovakia and Italy, the counter-revo-lutionary hand of the Soviet bureaucracy shows itself.

This privileged and corrupt caste at the head of the Soviet 'Communist' Party and state fears the working class more than imperialism, with which it is constantly trying to make a deal.

The Greek and Spanish regimes are its natural allies, and it deals with both readily.

And, despite their tactical differences with the Kremlin on the handling of the Czech working class, the British Stalinist leaders support this cynical Kremlin policy of double-entry book-keeping, of 'attacking' fascism and imperialism verbally while making deals with both be-

Same method **Treacherous**

After all, is this not the "The way is now open for same method as that adopted by British Communist Party all opposition forces, including right-wing sections who reject leaders in the trade unions, a regime tarnished by the heritage of Franco, to partiwho at their recent Congress voted with their left hands cipate in joint action to over-throw the dictatorship . . ." against all productivity deals while at the same time giving an uncritical vote of con-This is, without doubt, the fidence with their right hands most right-wing and treacherto trade union leaders who ous statement yet issued by the leaders of Spanish Stalinopenly support not only productivity deals, but Measuredism, whose political line is Day Work and other schemes determined not only by the opportunism of the Party

the working class.

Stalinism is an international

to step up the exploitation of

WEATHER London area, SE and central

Southern England, E and W Midlands: Rather cloudy. showers. Occasional snow Some bright intervals. Wind north-east, fresh or strong, locally gale on coasts. Wide-spread frost. Very cold. Maximum 1C (34F).

Channel Islands, SW England: Rather cloudy. Occasional sleet or snow. Some bright Wind north-east, fresh or strong, locally gale on coasts. Very cold. Maximum 3C (37F).

NW and central Northern England: Rather cloudy. sleet or snow. Occasional

Some bright or sunny inter-

use the Soviet bureaucracy to with that fact firmly in mind.

union movement against the new threats posed by TUC 'guidelines'.

no mistake:

That is why the recent events in Spain have such a close bearing on the present struggle in the British trade Just as with Franco in

Spain, the Stalinists will oppose in words, only to accept in deeds. Let us make

Until it is smashed for good, Stalinism will always betray the working class.

A REPORT compiled by

the American Civil Liber-

ties Union strongly sup-

ports the Black Panther

leaders' accusation that

they are not only har-

rassed by the police, but

subject to deliberate police

The report, covering police

activities against the Pan-

thers in nine cities, including

San Francisco, Chicago, Los

Angeles, Philadelphia and

New York, has now been

submitted to an 'independ-

New York

transport

strikelooms

NEW YORK faces the pros-

pect of a transport strike as

talks to settle a new con-

The two transport workers'

unions — the Amalgamated Transit Union and the Tran-

sit Workers' Union-are seek-

ing a 30 per cent wage rise,

a four-day week and improved

Up to late Tuesday night, the New York City Transit Authority had rejected these

vals. Wind light or moderate,

north-easterly. Cold. Wide-

spread frost early. Maximum 3C (37F).

Northern Ireland: Dry and

bright early, becoming cloudy later. Wind light and variable,

becoming moderate, westerly.

Some frost early. Near normal Maximum 5C (41F).

Edinburgh, Glasgow: Mostly

cloudy. Rain spreading from

north later, some sleet or snow

over high ground. Wind mod-

erate or fresh, westerly. Near

Outlook for Friday and Satur-

day: Brighter. Less cold weather spreading to southern

districts. Colder in north.

normal. Maximum 5C (41F).

tract neared breakdown.

provocations.

visit to Nixon ● FROM PAGE ONE

Stop Wilsons'

man F. Long, Labour Party member A. Pearse and members of the NUR, T&GWU,

ASW and ASTMS. Thirty - five Southampton University students—includ-ing Communist Party members John Brierley, A. Basilensky and K. Ghoshi; Young Communist League members S. Garrett-Jones, P. Walshe and G. Tudor-are also signatories.

A CAMPAIGN by Young Socialists in Luton brought the support of 28 tenants and trade unionists. Among them were CEU building workers and members of the AEF, NUVB and T&GWU from the Vauxhall plant.

Bus leaders back down

• FROM PAGE ONE The union bureaucracies,

especially in the T&GWU, would like to use such actions merely as 'bargaining' counters in talks with the GLC which has now taken over the running of London's transport.
The T&GWU's Jack Jones

said last month: 'We want to discuss with the GLC the serious crisis in bus transport . . in some areas of London there has been a virtual collapse in

public transport . . .'

Forelorn hope Today's strike has been

'Police provoked

ent' commission headed by

former Supreme Court Jus-

tice, Arthur Goldberg.

called off in the forlorn hope that talks between the GLC and the union leaders could avert the attacks being made on transport workers and the proposed cuts in services. The considerable support for today's strike came about because transport workers

Panthers'

able to match. know that a big struggle will be necessary to beat back the GLC offensive, taking the form of speed-up, one-man buses and hundreds of redundancies over the next few

and mortgaged lock, stock and barrel to the demands of Two accounts must be international capitalism settled by trade unionists working class.

Firstly, with a 'Labour' government firmly committed to keeping the Westminster

BY DAVID MAUDE

'GRASPING the nettle for the nation's good is a wiser approach than steering clear of a difficult problem in the vain hope that it will disappear', says Harold Wilson's New Year message to Labour Party members.

Let 'the

nettle' sting

continued attacks on the

Secondly, with a bureau-cratic trade union leadership apparently determined—with the Trades Union Congress

benches warm for the Tories

The nettle, of course, is

the trade union movement.

in 1970.

paints the

the historical

directly to prop up the Orange

regime in Ulster. struggle of Trotskyism against And when the revelations began to leak out concerning the massacres by US forces in Vietnam, the Workers Press gave the lead to the entire labour movement by insisting that all those opposed to the Vietnam war 'stand up to the traitors in Wilson's govern-We prepared for this blow ment and mobilize the working class in a mighty movement to stop his trip to Washington!' (November 29).

STRIKE WAVE

The mighty European strike wave which fittingly accompanied the launching of the Workers Press has been featured in our columns in a way no other paper, capitalist or allegedly Communist, has been

While the Stalinists and Fleet Street tucked the news away in their inside pages, we heralded the first climax of the Italian strike wave with

Naturally.

Stalinism dominated our campaign to establish the Workers Press as a national daily paper. When we secured entry into the Communist Party Congress, the Stalinists conceded a truly historic political de-

by a series of articles analysing the background to the growing crisis in the ranks of the Stalinists, and on the opening day of the Congress itself, addressed an open letter to the delegates 'Stalin lives!', which was bought by over 200 Party members and read by many more.

1969 was for the British and indeed international -Trotskyist movement a proud

It saw the launching of the world's first daily Trotskyist paper, a prelude to other such papers in the advanced capitalist countries as the resurgence of the international working class makes possible the advances we have been able to achieve in Britain.

ASSURED

Our fight for Marxist principles and leadership in the working class stands or falls on how we continue this struggle for the development of the Workers Press, in both its presentation of news and analysis and in the response that our readers give by selling and writing for it.

On the basis of the first three months of the Workers

Press in 1969, that future is

assured.

television on Tuesday night, TUC general secretary Mr Victor Feather did his best to paint the unions as—with Wilson—utterly tied to the capitalist nation-state.

> Feather's panacea strikes?

More 'consultation'. with capitalist managements! 'Technological change', said Feather, 'is very welcome. We've been encouraging shop stewards and trade union officials, our members generally, to appreciate that the only way in which we're going to improve greatly the living standards of the people of this country is by [capitalist, of course] technological ad-

FORECASTING

Of course, some people were going to to be put out of their jobs—but 'if we have [capitalist] manpower fore-casting and job-forecasting in advance then arrangements can be made through talist] industry and by [capitalist] governments and by

local authorities (!)'.

Meanwhile the CIR will continue intervening in every industry encouraging, as Woodcock put it yesterday, 'people's willingness [under capitalism] to at least work together in industry'.

Wilson's New Year message discerned the beginnings of a reduction in 'the falling away in support for your (1) govern-ment which was previously so noticeable and increased morale among our supporters . . due to a realization that

the policies we insisted [against massive votes at the TUC and Labour Party conferences] on pursuing were those most suited to nation's good'.

In fact, precisely because of the policies pursued by the Wilsons, Feathers, Paynters and Woodcocks, the reverse is true.

DOES NOTHING

The Communist Party, unable to fight either Paynter's joining the CIR or the TUC's 'guidelines', meanwhile does

nothing.

1970 is the year in which
settle trade unionists must settle acounts with all these antiworking class tendencies. We must put a sharp sting in Wilson's 'nettle'.

NOW

(Posted daily) £10 a year £2 10s. for three

(For any two days you select) a year £1 for three months I would like to subscribe to Workers' Press for

Post to: Circulation Organizer, Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. (Tel: 01-720-2000)

Since the great outcry throughout the US against the police murder of two Panther heroic, can be a substitute for eaders in their Chicago flat that force. on December 4, 1969, a whole battery of investigations has **ATUA-YS** been set up to whitewash the brutal repression of the In addition to Goldberg's commission, inquiries are be-Grand Jury in Chicago, the Justice Department and a group of five black Congressvisit to

The ACLU report describes the planting of police in-formers among the Panthers standard police department But it goes on to accuse

these agents of encouraging burglaries and providing the Panthers with maps, getaway cars and weapons. This shows the methods

that have been resorted to in what Panther followers describe as the campaign by the US government and its state agencies 'to commit systematic The ACLU report reveals

Police plants

procedure.

police tactics towards the Panthers which reached a in the Chicago

'Illegal searches' This has taken the form of

arrests on 'specious charges', illegal search and seizure, arrests for distributing handbills 'without a permit', and other harassments which 'defy the constitutional rights of Panthers to make political speeches or distribute literature . . . a style of law enforcement, applied with prejudice to the Panthers', which is inflammatory and very susceptible to escalation into violent confrontations'.

The ACLU report serves to emphasize once again that the

-U.S. report only successful challenge to the capitalist state is that made by the working class revolutionary minority,

> **PUBLIC MEETINGS** Stop Wilson's

> > HULL

Thursday, January 1 7.30 p.m.

BIRKENHEAD Monday, January 5 8 p.m.

OXFORD Tuesday, January 6

Observatory Hotel

Oxton Road

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

Washington Woodworkers' Union Office 53 Beverley Road

7.30 p.m.

Small Hall Blackbird Leys Community Centre Speakers:

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