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C.A.V. ACTON

Piece-rate win... but productivity threat remains

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Unemployment may top 700,000 in 1970

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1970 threatens to be a year of increasing attacks on jobs

450 workers at the two Belfast factories of Short Brothers and Harland were told yesterday they would be made redundant at the end of next week.

as the employers use their only remaining weapon to off the crisis of the capitalist system — unemploy-

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At the same time the National Institute of Economic and Social Research has predicted that if the credit squeeze is maintained by the Labour government the number of unemployed will rise above 700,000 by the end of this year.

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Also, we express to you

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Above all, the managements want the CIR to bring the power of the state to their aid in enforcing productivity deals We have received the following greetings from the Victorian and Measured-Day Work. Labour College in Melbourne, Australia. This college is controlled by affiliated unions and runs evening classes for Its failure to do this has been brought home by the independent working-class education.

ON BEHALF of our Board publicity you provide in historical documents and book reviews. Through the Common-

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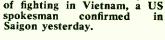
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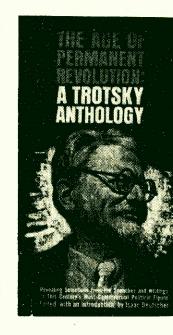
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STOP WILSON'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

Surge ahead with the campaign

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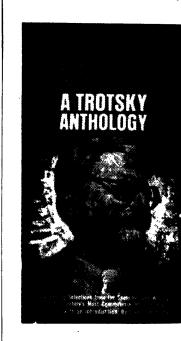
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A member of the Soviet opposition asks

ON SEPTEMBER 12, 1965, 'Pravda' printed a defamatory reference to Trotsky. Some days later 'Krasnaia Zvezda', the army newspaper, did the same.

The question is — why? Why does the word 'Trotskyist' ring in so many people's ears as a synonym for opportunism and betrayal?

Why was Trotsky, a true companion of Lenin's, not rehabilitated after 1956 or after 1961?

A professional revolutionary and conspirator, Lev David-ovich Bronstein (Trotsky's real name), who joined the socialdemocratic movement when he was very young, is today accused of factionalism.

Yes, Trotsky was a factionalist—and so were the August bloc and the 'Mezhraiontsi'.

Other members of the Russian Social-Democratic Party also belonged to factions: Lunarcharsky, Uritsky, Volod-arsky, Bubnov, Rykov, Vorovsky, Dzerzhinsky—all militants whom no one accuses of every mortal sin, in fact quite the contrary.

Lev Davidovich Trotsky was one of the leaders of the October Revolution in Petrograd. John Reed, who later founded the American Communist Party, wrote that the October Revolution was Lenin's and Trotsky's Revolution (certainly not Lenin's and Stalin's).

Trotsky was president of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

After the Second Congress of Soviets he became People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and then People's Commissar for Defence and for the Navy. He founded the Red Army

and encouraged the development of young Red Army com-manders, including Tukhachev-

In 1924 Trotsky relinquished the struggle for power, but this did not diminish Stalin's hostility towards him. A highlyintellectual man, an eloquent orator, an exceptional journalist, Trotsky aroused the unrelenting animosity of the crafty Georgian.

Aside from their personal disagreements, there were serious political differences between them. Trotsky upheld the theory of the 'permanent revolution': first world revolution and only then the construction of socialism.

Stalin, without rejecting proletarian internationalism, gave priority to 'socialism in one country'.

Even former comrades of Trotsky supported Stalin's theory as it upheld the interests of the state while Trotsky's programme was always changing and seemed to have no future. Thus Trotsky was replaced.

Trotsky himself was a remarkable personality, but at the same time he was extremely contradictory and changeable. He expressed opinions on every aspect of all problems combining a profoundly democratic spirit with a dictatorial manner.

Following numerous debates and intrigues, Trotsky was expelled from the Party and two years later, left his coun-

First in Turkey, then in France, Norway and Mexico he organized his supporters with feverish activity which culminated in the creation of the Fourth International in 1938 at a conference of all the Trotskyist parties.

Trotsky's authority was so great that the International Zionist Committee in Paris

(which Rothschild, Leon Blum, Marshall and others belonged to) asked him to join their

Trotsky refused, affirming that the cause he defended was international. But he wished them success in the struggle for the creation of an Israeli

Trotsky's activities never ceased to frighten Stalin.

Near the end of the 1930s, tionaries and conspirators had been expelled from their leading positions and the professional bureaucrats and the apparatchiki had replaced them, Stalin was afraid that Trotsky would seize the opportunity to increase his activities in the Soviet Union.

So Stalin ordered Trotsky killed.

A short time before his the exiled Trotsky death wrote: 'Once again fate has granted

me a delay. But I know that this delay will be short-lived.' An undercover NKVD agent,

the Spaniard Ramon del Rio Mercader, was sent to Mexico to carry out the sentence pronounced in absentia. It was not easy to penetrate the circle of Trotsky's friends (among his friends were such

President of Mexico, General Lazaro Cardenas). Nevertheless, Mercader, using the pseudonym 'Jackson'

important people as the later

and posing as a 'representative' of the Spanish republicans, managed to get into Trotsky's home on May 28, 1940. He visited again on June 12. Then Mercader-Jackson co-

This article was first published

in the clandestine Soviet journal

'Notebooks of Socialist Democracy'

ordinated his criminal plans with the NKVD. He visited Trotsky again but unforeseen circumstances just stopped him from carrying out Stalin's orders at the arranged hour.

Finally on August 20, 1940. using the pretext that he wanted to show Trotsky an article. Mercader went to see him again. Two 'accomplices' also entered Trotsky's study. Three or four minutes later Trotsky's wife heard an agonizing cry. She ran to the study. . . .

Trotsky was lying by the door with his head smashed

'What happened', she cried. 'Jackson', answered Trotsky, as if he were saying, 'It's happened', wrote his wife in her memoirs.

A grand funeral was arranged for Trotsky, but the night before it was to take place the house in which the body lay was burned down and only his bones could be buried. Mercader hid his name and

kill for a long time. He stated in court that 'Trotsky destroyed my personal life'. With Spanish passion he claimed that Trotsky had seduced his 'fiancee'-Trot-

the force that drove him to

sky's personal secretary. It should be noted that according to the criminals' plan, Mercader was to leave the house calmly after the murder and go round the corner, where his wife and mother would be waiting in a car. This car was to take the 'sacred family' to a nearby port from which a Soviet ship would set sail half an hour later.

In 1942 Mercader was sentenced by a Mexican court to 20 years' imprisonment. He has been living near Prague since 1960.

(In passing, let us point out that Stalin awarded the title and honour of Hero Of The Soviet Union to him in 1940.) A great, erudite man and a brilliant politician, L. D. Trotsky always attracted the atten-

wanted to know the truth about him. Even today he has supporters in many countries who call themselves 'Bolshevik-Lenin-

tion of many people who

The political influence of the Trotskyists is insignificant, but a number of them have linked up with various leaders: Raptis, general secretary of the Fourth International, for example, was an adviser to the former Algerian President Ben Beila.

'Trotsky did not derail the train', wrote F. F. Raskolnikov to Stalin in 1939. 'As you know, I have never

been a Trotskvist: on the con-

trary, on ideological matters,

among the Mezhraiontsi who been hardly tested in proletarian work in our Party's spirit, no one would contest the candidature of, say, Trot-sky, for first, upon his arrival Trotsky at once took up an internationalist stand; second, he worked among the Mezhraiontsi for a merger; [with the Bolsheviks R.B.] third, in the difficult July days he proved himself equal to the task and

'An undercover NKVD agent, the Spaniard Ramon del Rio Mercader, was sent to Mexico to carry out the sentence pronounced in absentia.' He has lived near Prague since his release in 1960. A comment by Robert Black-

of the revolutionary proletariat. Clearly, as much cannot be said about many of the new Party members entered on the

of the Red Army is restored to its correct importance, as is the depth of the political, as distinct from personal, differences between Trotsky and

The author, most probably be-

It is true that Trotsky, with Lenin, insisted that socialism could not be constructed in the Soviet Union, or indeed in single country, without the aid of the world revolution. But, at the same time, Trotsky

was the foremost advocate of planning and industrialization within the Soviet Union, and never argued that until the advent of the revolution in the west, the Soviet economy had to stagnate.

The author answers very well the charge that Trotsky was a 'factionalist'.

It is well worth referring here to Lenin's comment on the unification of Trotsky's Petrograd group, the 'Mezhraiontsi' (literally 'interdistrict_ group') (literally 'interdistrict group') with the Bolshevik Party in 1917. It is to be found in the recently published volume 41 of the English Edition of Lenin's Collected Works:

I have struggled against the

opposition in the press and at

meetings. At present I do not

agree with Trotsky's political

position but I consider him to

be an honest revolutionary. I

do not believe and I will never

believe the allegations about

his agreement with Hitler and

All communists, all Lenin-

ists, all supporters of socialist

democracy, all citizens of democratic spirit, will agree

with Raskolnikov's statement,

as will all people who want

Down with falsifications of

cies and mistaken concep-

tions, this document of the

Soviet opposition is perhaps

one of the most signficant

It attempts to face up squarely

to the question of Trotsky, his

role in the Bolshevik Party

his relations with Lenin and

the political ideas, which he

defended in his struggle against

It has been written with all the

How different from the conscious

distortions of Trotskyism car-

ried out over a similar period

by the leaders of the British

Communist Party, who, if they wished, could have studied all

the materials of both sides,

without the state pressure of the bureaucracy intimidating

them into supporting the

torical distortion.

Stalinist line.

limitations imposed on the opposition by 40 years of

Stalinist censorship and his-

that we have published.

Y.M., 1966

Long live historic truth!

the truth to be known.

history!

Ribbentrop', he continued.

'It goes without saying that from

☆

list' (vol. 41, p. 447). His role as founder and leader rallied to the bureaucracy. They doubtless thought that the

cause of a lack of access to the writings of Trotsky, presents the programme of the Left Opposition mechanically.

Likewise Stalin is credited with not rejecting internationalism, while giving priority to 'socialism in one country'

'Socialism in one country' was, in its very essence, a rejection of proletarian internationalism, for it undermined and finally destroyed the revolutionary communist 1919-1922. international of

It was not a question of emphasis — less internationalism, more of 'socialism in one country'-but of a fundamental antagonism between the two programmes.

The document is correct when it states that many of Trotsky's supporters in the first years of the struggle against Stalin—Radek, Smilga and Preobrazhensky being among the most prominent—capitulated to the bureaucracy when it swung to

Their motives for so doing were undoubtedly mixed, but it is not correct to say that Stalin's theory 'upheld the interests of the state' and for that reason some of Trotsky's ex-comrades

dangers of capitalist restoration were so great in the period prior to Stalin's collectivization drive that political differences had to be sunk with Stalin in a common struggle against the Bukharin-led right wing of the Party.

Trotsky denounced them for this political capitulation to Stalin, though agreeing that the main danger to the Soviet state did come from the pro-kulak right wing of the Party. Critical support for the Stalin-led

so far as to submerge or re-nounce principled political and theoretical differences. Stalin's zig-zags to left and right create the optical illusion —if Stalin is taken as the

centre of the political universe

centre by Trotsky never went

of a reverse series of zig-zags by the left opposition. During the ultra-left phase of 1928-1934, Trotsky was indeed on the right of Stalin and the Communist International, just as Lenin was 'on the right' of the ultra-lefts at the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921.

The author of the article has obviously made a genuine at-tempt to understand the evolu-

He has gained access to information—much of it obviously the garbled versions available in official Soviet attacks on Trotskyism-on the formation and activities of the Fourth International and the assassination of Trotsky by a Stalinist agent

tion of Trotskyism.

FRIDAY

I.T.V.

11.00 a.m.-12.28 p.m. Out Of School. 2.00 Racing From Sandown Park. 4.15 Children's Art Exhibition. 4.40 Hatty Town. 4.55 Lost In Space. 5.50 News.

'A Very Humble Prince': Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia. 6.30 Peyton Place.

(Deceased). 8.30 On The Buses. Manhunt. 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 Parkin's Patch. 11.00 Aquarius. 11.45 Hogan's Heroes. 12.15 a.m. Outlook '70.

7.00 Wheel Of Fortune.

7.30 Randall and Hopkirk

REGIONAL I.T.V.

CHANNEL: 1.30-3.30 p.m. Racing.
4.50 Puffin's Birthday Greetings. 4.55
Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 Channel
News and Weather. 6.10 Channel
Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 A Date
With Danton. 7.05 On The Buses.
7.30 Marcus Welby MD. 8.30 Feature
Film: "Ruby Gentry" with Jennifer
Jones, Charlton Heston and Karl
Malden. 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30
Parkin's Patch. 11.00 Aquarius. 11.40
News and Weather in French followed
by Weather.
SOUTHERN: 11.05 a.m.-12.28 p.m.

by Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.05 a.m.-12.28 p.m.
London. 1.30-3.40 Racing. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News. 4.17 Hatty Town.
4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 The Forest
Rangers. 5.20 Captain Scarlet. 5.50
News. 6.00 Day By Day. 6.00 Scene
South-East. 6.40 Out Of Town. 7.00
On The Buses. 7.30 Marcus Welby
MD. 8.30 Parkin's Patch. 9.00 London.
10.30 Cinema. 11.00 London. 11.45
Weekend and Southern News Extra.
11.55 Weather followed by Inquiry
Into Christmas.

WESTWARD. As Channel, except at following times: 11.00 a.m.-12.28 p.m. London. 4.10 News. 4.12 Peyton Place. 4.40 The Gus Honeybun Show. 6.00 Westward Diary. 6.25 Sports Desk. 11.45 Faith For Life. 11.51 Weather. 11.45 Faith For Life. 11.51 Weather.

HARLECH: 11.00 a.m.-12.28 p.m.
London. 2.00 London. 4.20 It's Time
For Me. 4.26 Castle Haven. 4.55
Cowboy In Africa. 5.50 News. 6.01
Report. 6.20 Batman. 6.35 Crossroads.
7.00 The Friday Film: 'The Desperate
Hours' with Humphrey Bogart and
Frederic March. 9.00 London. 10.30
Reporting Sport. 11.00 London. 11.45
Weather.

Harlech (Wales) as above exempt.

Weather.

Harlech (Wales) as above except:
4.29-4.55 p.m. Crossroads, 6.01 Y Dydd.
6.30-7.00 Welsh scene. ANGLIA: 11.00 a.m.-12.28 p.m. London. 2.05-4.10 Racing. 4.25 Anglia Newsroom. 4.35 The Romper Room. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 5.50 News. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 It Takes A Thief. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 London. 10.30 Special of the Week: Aquarius. 11.15 The Horror Film: "Phantom Of The Rue Morgue" with Karl Malden and Claude Dauphin. 12.51 a.m. Reflection. ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 a.m.-12.28 p.m. London. 1.30-3.30 Racing. 4.00 News.

4.02 Survival. 4.15 Peyton Place. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 ATV Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15 Midland Member: Airey Neave, MP for Ablingdon. 11.35 Interpol Calling. 12.02 a.m. Pulse followed by Weather. ULSTER: 11.05 a.m.-12.28 p.m. London. 2.00 London. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.50 Ulster News Headlines. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 5.50 News. 6.00 UTV Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Western: 'Along Came Jones' with Gary Cooper and Loretta Young. 8.30 London. 10.30 Sportscast. 10.55 Friday Night with Charles Cooper, Portadown. 11.00-11.45 London. YORKSHIRE: 11.00 a.m.-12.30 p.m. YORKSHIRE: 11.00-11.45 London.
YORKSHIRE: 11.00 a.m.,-12.30 p.m.
London. 2.05 Racing. 4.10 Felix The
Cat. 4.20 I've Married A Bachelor.
4.55 Tarzan. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar,
Weather. 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune. 7.00
Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Marcus Welby
MD. 8.30 London. 9.00 Happy Ever
After. 10.00 News. 10.30 Yorksport.
11.00 London. 11.45 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 a.m.-12.28 p.m. London. 1.30-3.35 Racing. 4.15 News followed by Hatty Town. 4.25 The Short Story. 5.00 Captain Scarlet. 5.20 Woobinda—Animal Doctor. 5.50 News. 6.00 Newsview. 6.05 The Beverly Hillbillies. 6.30 All Our Yesterdays. 7.00 On The Buses. 7.30 'Prince Of Pirates' with Barbara Rush and John Derek. 8.50 Cartoon Time. 9.00 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15 The Big Valley.

Valley.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 a.m.-12.28 p.m. London. 2.00 London. 4.08 News. 4.10 Felix The Cat. 4.40 London. 4.53 News. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 The Beverly Hillbillies. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 On The Buses. 8.00 The Peyton Place Hour. 9.00 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15 The Untouchables. 12.10 a.m. News.

SCOTTISH: 11.00 a.m.-12.28 p.m. London. 1.30-3.30 Racing. 3.40 The Saint. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Cowboy In Africa. 5.50 News. 6.00 Scottish News. 6.05 Hogan's Heroes. 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Peyton Place Hour. 8.30 Cliff In Scotland: Cliff Richard. 9.00 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15 Curry And Chips. 11.45 Late Call.

B.B.C. 1

1.00 p.m. Ryan A Ronnie. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weather. 1.55-2.40 Out Of School. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Crackerjack. 5.40 Junior Points Of View. 5.50 National News and Weather.

6.00 Entertaining With Kerr. 6.25 Television Brain Of

6.45 The Virginian.
7.55 Not In Front Of The Children.
8.25 Golden Silents.
8.50 The Main News and

Weather.
9.10 The Survivors. 10.00 Come Dancing: West Midlands v. West

England. 10.30 24 Hours. 11.05 Late Night Horror: 'The Triumph Of Death'. All regional programmes as BBC-lexcept at the following times:

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

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather. 11.32 News, Weather, Angling and Road Works Report.

North of England: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Look North, Weather. 11.32 News, Weather.

Scotland: 11.55 a.m.-1.30 p.m. 'Man From Colorado' (Western). 2.40-3.05 When The Earth Shakes. 3.05-4.20 Close The Coalhouse Door: Play about Durham miners. 6.00-6.25 Reporting Scotland. 9.10-10.00 Bardot Special. 11.05-11.35 Monty Python's Flying Circus. 11.35 Epilogue, News, Weather.

Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Scene Around Six, Weather. I1.32 News, Weather.

Wales: 1.30-1.45 p.m. Ar Lin Mam. 6.00-6.25 Wales Today. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 7.05-7.30 Bob Yn Dri. 7.30-7.55 Week In, Week Out. 11.05-11.30 Hwyr Neu Hwyrach. 11.32 Weather.

South and West: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-West, Weather, Road Works Report.

Masina, Anthony Quinn and Richard Basehart. The

story of an unsuccessful

travelling snowman and

B.B.C. 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.30 p.m. Newsroom and Weather.

8.00 Wheelbase. 8.25 Cold Comfort Farm.

9.10 Italian Cinema:

his partner, a half-witted peasant girl.

Federico Fellini's 'La 10.50 News and Weather. with Giulietta 10.55 Line Up.

doubt the author did not have

all these writings available when producing his article.

☆

'Raptis' is, of course, Pablo, the

ex-leader of the revisionists,

who broke from Trotskyism

with their theory that Stalin-

ism under mass working-class

pressure could be transformed

into a revolutionary force.

The writer-again through no

fault of his own—is mistaken in thinking that the members

of his group, who indeed did

light.

become advisers to the capital-Trotsky's alleged support for Zionism must be seen in this ist government of Ben Bella, are representatives of genuine Trotskyism. These and other In fact Trotsky expressed different views on the Jewish question at different times, and no illusions can now be rapidly

cleared up.

reservation. endorse writer's demand for a squaring of accounts with Stalinist falsifiers of history. This document was written in

But despite all these political

criticisms, we can, without

1966, when the struggle of the opposition was in its infancy. Today we can be sure that Trotsky and his ideas are a subject of intense debate and research

inside the Soviet Union. Those who fight against Stalinism in the Soviet Union will find that the road back to Lenin in fact leads forward to Trotskyism—the Leninism of



Volodarsky (left) and Uritsky were leading members of the 'Mezhraiontsi' group with which Trotsky worked to bring about its merger with the Bolshevik Party in 1917.



'Trotsky founded the Red Army and encouraged the development of young Red Army commanders, including Tukhachevsky.

THE Scientific World article headlined 'Middle class shudders at superman spectre' (December 4, Workers Press) is misleading and simplistic over certain fundamental questions.

The article asserted that any concern expressed about the implications of current work in molecular biology and biochemistry is merely 'cries of protest in defence of the sanctity of the individual . . .', which in turn are identical with 'the defence of the "divine right" of millions to die of disease and starvation'.

In fact the implications of such work must be considered in all their complexity by Marxists, both because of the uses to which capitalism has and may put any such developed techniques and in order to clarify serious possibilities for the future under socialism.

Basic questions of the philosophy of science are involved; the increasing and deeply worried concern being expressed by more and more scientists about the whole conduct and application of scientific research cannot be so lightly dismissed, not under capitalism nor in the bureaucratically - dominated Soviet

Not casual

With the abuse and destruction caused by capital's desperate utilization of biological research, which is threatening our survival on all sides, we cannot take these new developments at all casually or deal with them in a phrase.

Already the unselective and ecologically disastrous use of fertilizers, pesticides like DDT, detergents, antibiotics and cyclamates have wrought untold damage on adults and infants and on our greatest natural resources the earth, air

These potentially liberating developments are based on work in classical biology, but they have been exploited in the desperate search for profit.

(For more details on these and related questions see 'What Price Profit' in the Socialists' newspaper Left', March-August Young 1969 inclusive.)

From biological research have also come the hideous weapons perfected at Porton Down, Fort Dugway and in research departments all over the world.

Understanding more of the laws of nature, of the material origin and processes of life has put enormous destructive power into the desperate hands of ailing and dying capitalists.

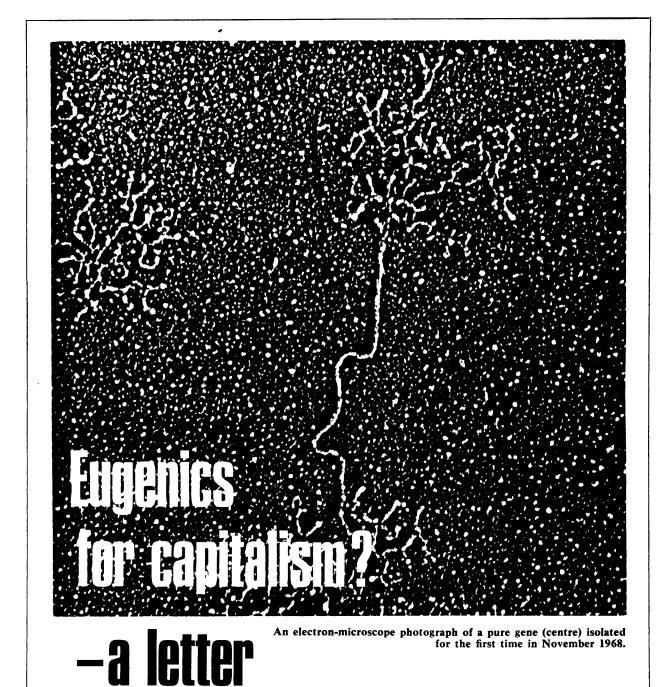
New methods

There are now new methods for intervention in the life process which could also have beneficial effects, but are more likely to be exploited as weapons in the international class struggle. They are all possible now or will be so within a generation at the very outside. What are they?

They may be classified under two main headings:

EUGENICS, which is defined as the practice of selective breeding;

ALGENICS or genetic alchemy, which is the chemical or physical alteration of the genetic structure or functioning of living organisms.



FIRSTLY EUGENICS. The dream of being able to breed desirable strains of people, of being able to breed for certain qualities, has haunted scientific discussion for some

German science under fascism set it as a high priority. Many of the more hideous experiments perpetrated on living victims in the camps and elsewhere were directed towards mastering comparatively crude techniques for furthering Aryanism.

Dream realized

Since that time the dream has been all but realized in animals. We now have the ability to freeze and store the spermatozoa of prized males; to stimulate massive ovulations in desirable females and then to retrieve the eggs for fertilization and re-implantation in other mere host aniby Caesarean sections, thus vitiating the effect of female pelvis size on brain capacity and so on.

One prize bull can sire literally thousands of offspring through artificial insemination.

A prize cow, ewe or sow can similarly provide thousands of eggs for use anywhere in the

In humans the same techniques are almost fully developed.

Human semen banks exist in most major countries now and although still mostly used as an aid in AID (Artificial Insemination by a Donor), they obviously have other possibili-

In America, for example, the semen of men killed in the Vietnam war has been administered to their wives; death



Biological science was first used for destructive purposes in the poison World War.

no longer prevents fatherhood. Children born in this way are now at school.

One of America's leading sperm banks has already proposed that a human progeny testing programme be begun and that women receiving artificial insemination should have a choice from a list of named donors. (J. K. Sherman, 'Practical applications and technical problems of preserving spermatozoa by freezing', 1965.)

In this way the seed of individuals regarded (by whom?) as desirable could be used to influence the gene pool of a given population. This could be done either through individual couples making their choices on an uncoordinated basis or through some central directive agency of the state.

Any state allowing these techniques would eventually be forced to intervene—either to preserve its desired sex ratio in the population or for other

ends to be discussed below. On the female side scientists can now successfully retrieve human eggs (ova), keep them alive to the point where they are ready for fertilization and then fertilize them out of the body (in vitro).

Unknown

Such human embryos then divide and so far it is unknown what is the furthest stage to which they have been allowed to develop. Certainly none has yet been reimplanted in a woman host mother, but at least one of the scientists involved is working for that

Technically it is not difficult. There is no need to grow such embryos out of the body in 'test tubes'; women volunteers are not hard to find and the human female system is a much more developed container than any yet made by science.

IT IS AT this point that we pass into algenics.

The eggs can also be entered and certain changes effected in them, without causing any apparent damage.

Again this technique has not yet been taken very far, simply because the only way to judge the effects of such interventions is to allow the altered embryo to develop to a significant point.

Eventually such embyros must be allowed to come to full term and be born.

But biochemical tinkering with the DNA and other basic structures in the cell is going on apace.

There is always the class who pays the piper calling the tune; demanding a quick solu-tion and scornful of complexity. These needs find their reflection amongst established science.

Of course the scientists pursuing this work have only the best intentions in mind. They wish to help childless couples or to be able to treat mongolism or other chromosome de-

The questions, however, do not concern their intentions, but the objective realities which such technical accomplishments open up. It was Rutherford, after all, who said that splitting the atom would have no practical consequences.

Other algenic techniques raise even more important questions. Firstly, vegetative or clonal propagation.

This is the method by which plants breed; it is asexual and involves the same system used when a cutting is taken from a rose bush or other plant to produce a genetically exact copy of the original.

The method has already been successfully used for reproducing frogs; it involved taking the nucleus from a body cell of one frog and inserting in into the de-nucleated egg of another frog from a different species altogether.

The matured frog which resulted was an exact copy of the original donor; there had been no sexual contact at anv point.

Copies

There seems no difficulty, technically, in performing similar nuclear transplantation experiments on humans. In this way identical copies, by the thousand or million, could be made of any person found 'desirable' (again, by whom and by what criteria?).

Human cells are already easily kept alive in laboratories all over the world; but using cloning techniques copies of people long since dead could certainly be made.

Another way of achieving a similar standardized reproduction would be to allow a human egg to divide several times after fertilization in vitro' and then to separate the individual cell (genetically identical with each other) for implantation in different women. That would be 20 or 30 identical twins.

Another technique exists which we must also notice. This is the ability to fuse together the eggs of different species. In this way hybrids like a 'rouse' (rat/mouse) or a 'mat' (mouse/rat) could be

developed. This technique for cells is already some years old. The resulting hybrid cells have a

single nucleus composed of chromosomes from both species; the cells divide normally and have been cultured alive for many months.

The prospect of introducing human chromosomes into say an ape egg is no dream.

The techniques could (or may already have been) developed very quickly given the present state of the art.

This way great numbers of man-apes could be produced a new labour force?

More docile, less demanding of a human share of the wealth of the world, unorganized, bred to defeat and slavery.

One's mind should not reel at the prospect. Does anyone think that capitalism would refrain if its survival was at And capitalism in its greatest crisis is fascism—with the

working class defeated. Would Hitler's scientists have hesitated for a second if the techniques had been available to This then is a sketchy outline of some of the background to the deeply troubled note

living matter. Their technique involves viruses and the way that genes control bacteria.

sounded by the team of Har-

vard researchers who isolated

for the first time pure genes of

Isolation

But it also could lead, as they pointed out, to the isolation of other genes in higher organisms.

At their press conference the leader of the group, Dr Jonathan Beckwith, said: 'The way things are going I'm afraid the bad will outweigh the good.'

Another team member was equally pessimistic: 'In view of the work that

has been done with bacterial warfare, I don't think that we necessarily have the right to pat ourselves on the back because of this finding.'

Of course such pessimism cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged; but equally, understanding of these and other scientists like them of the truly awful dangers ahead cannot be dismissed with a few pat remarks about the middleclass and its fears.

In the Soviet Union now a debate in the official press is going on over these very questions.

The head of the research laboratory of the Institute of Development Biology of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Dr A. Neyfakh, has expressed the view that because of the success of experiments carried out in his Institute on 'the vegetative reproduction of living beings', scientists could eventually multiply the presently limited numbers of gifted

His motives are also of the best. Recognizing the possibility of inadequate knowledge and mistakes leading to genetic genocide (an outlook at least as threatening as that which arises from the existence of nuclear weapons) he nevertheless believes that the techniques could be developed any-

way.

They should, therefore, according to Dr Neyfakh, be put to 'good' ends, like increasing the number of geniuses in the population.

But a different view is taken by Dr Petropavlovsky of the Philosophy Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Firstly he doubts, quite falsely, that the issues raised are real or immediate, but then

A model of the DNA molecule being demonstrated by the geneticist K. Mather. Despite all their good intentions, the scientists biologically tinkering with basic structures such as DNA offer up lethal possibilities to their capitalist masters he also criticizes the élitist quences of handing over to a approach implicit in the scientist's views.

He argues that Communist ideals are based on a respect for the creative possibilities of each man, not of 'chosen individuals' and in this strikes a most important note. And remember, this debate

is in the official press. It must reflect a very maelstrom of discussion amongst scientists and Marxists which has never reached the surface.

Briefly, such techniques open up immensely important questions for the present and the future.

Not only do they offer the possibility of man controlling his life for the better. They will give to a desperate capitalist class new and completely untried techniques for repres-

They are also not far from

realization. In some cases the methods exist, but remain to be used on humans; in others they are only a few short steps from

As one Nobel prize-winning

Time-scale

'If I differ from the consensus of my colleagues, it may be only in suggesting a time-scale of a few years rather than decades' (Joshua Lederberg, professor of genetics and biology at Stanford University, in an article 'Experimental Genetics and Human Evolution', 'Bulletin of the Atomic Scien-

tists', October, 1966). Many scientists are now realizing that to be comprehended nature must be understood dialectically and not

mechanistically. They see the likely conseruthless capitalism or a repressive bureaucracy the powers of life and death.

More and more workers in this field are coming to see that 'we by no means rule over nature like a conqueror . . . but that we, with flesh, blood and brain, belong to nature, and exist in its midst, and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage over all other creatures of being able to learn its laws and apply them correctly' (Engels, 'Dialectics of Nature').

But the class masters care nothing for such niceties. They ask for power from science, the power to prolong their desperate, destructive, grisly senility. And they get it.

Not unprepared

Equally we must continue the task of developing our Marxist philosophy of science so that when it is our choice -all of the people-we shall not be caught unprepared for great decisions.

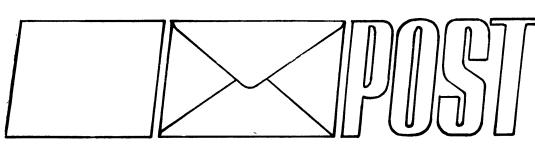
And merely to mouth formal phrases about some wonderful time ahead when all this work can be used for the social good is to create a dangerous atmosphere of the simple-minded, unprepared, 'leave it to the scientists' kind.

One of the great challenges under socialism will be to create the means whereby everyone will judge the uses to which scientific achievements shall be put.

That will be hard enough, however joyfully we may look forward to the challenge.

In the meantime, if we are not to worship the accom-plished fact, the present stares us in the face.

F.C.



Schoenman and the **Russell Peace Foundation**

Schoenman's politics as being of himself?

Since you are certainly not based on 'middle-class radical
If so, why does Russell apologists for any of them, or ism and protest politics', I was speak out at this time to dis- for Lord Russell himself, why surprised to find you devoting associate himself from the don't you inquire into their such a long editorial to his American wing? 'mystery' in your December 11

Nonetheless, there is indeed a mystery and you, perhaps, are in a position to help clear it up.

been travelling the world in all varieties? Or was it Ken made quite clear in our edihis quest for noble causes to Coates (about whose revision- torial of December 11. If fresh embrace?', should not one go ist politics you have had some- information comes to light on back to the beginning and ask, thing to say in the past) and/ the break of the Foundation On what basis was the Russell or Chris Farley, the two re- from Ralph Schoenman, we Peace Foundation set up in the maining directors of the Foun- will comment on it if and

SINCE, based on existing evi-claims, set up by Lord Russell and continuing Foundation dence, you characterize Ralph to be completely independent activities?

Who initiated Lord Russell's dark? repudiation of Schoenman?

Resolutions were passed with my full approval . . .' does not sound as if it were Lord Russell.

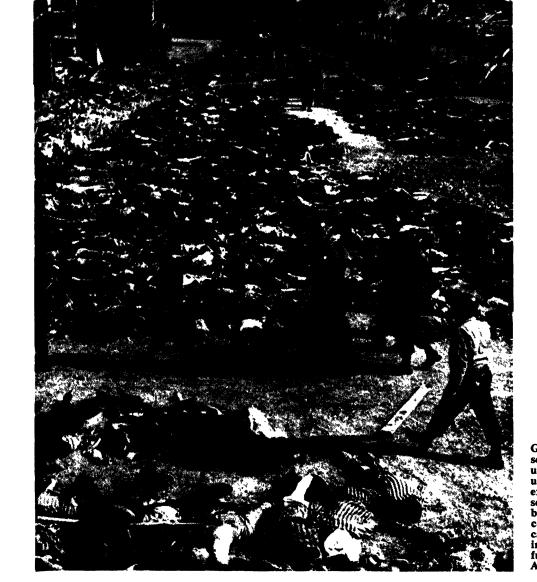
dation who were fully aware when the need arises. Was it, as Ralph Schoenman of Schoenman's whereabouts

Since you are certainly not

roles as well as that of Schoen-What is his present relation- man? or into the politics of ship to the British Foundation the break which they initiated and its offshoot, Ken Coates' —and about which Schoenman Institute of Workers' Control? claims to be completely in the

Barbara Zeluck.

OUR position on the nature When you ask, 'On whose authority then has Schoenman the has schoenman the has been travelling the world in



German scientists under fascism undertook experiments in elective breeding on concentration camp victims in order to further

4TH INTERNATIONAL

MARXISM TODAY

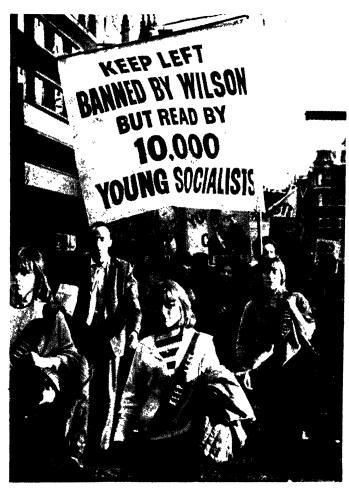
TROTSKYISM

After a decade of principled and

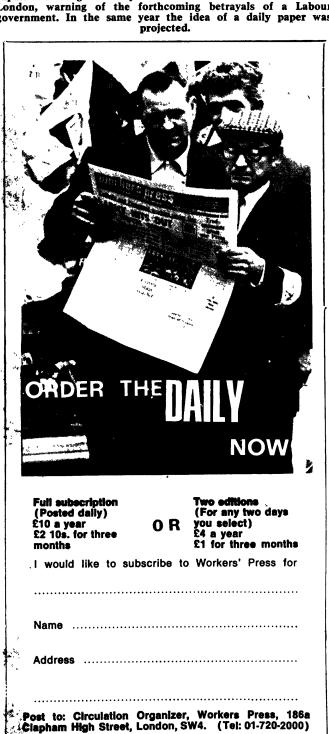
consistent development

Into the

THE MOST significant aspect of the work of the Socialist Labour League during the 1960s was, without doubt, its consistent struggle against the anti-Trotskyist revisionists, reformists and Stalinists.



In Sentember 1964, soon after the Young Socialists had defeated the Labour Party right wing-which then began a series of expulsions—a giant rally and demonstration was held in London, warning of the forthcoming betrayals of a Labour government. In the same year the idea of a daily paper was



BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD

not be possible to make the

advances such as the public-

has also found us on all im-

portant occasions during the

line with the political devel-

opment of the working class.

Despite the sharpness of the

1960s advocating policies in

This insistence on theory

ation of Workers Press.

The woolly-headed camp followers of these move-

ments continuously stress what they consider to be the 'bad side' of our movement, that is, its insistence on the need to develop Marxist theory. They snigger and howl

organizational breaks from opponents. The record of the past ten years, however, places these issues in an entirely new light and to the political credit of the SLL. 1960 found the League consolidating its faction inside the Labour Party Young

about our theoretical and

Socialists. This step was politically prepared by a split from an ultra-left opportunist tendency led by Brian Behan, who, in collaboration with a group of anarchists led by deliberately set out to break up this work.

They were decisively rejected by the second congress of the Socialist Labour League in May of that year, and were

expelled.

We repelled all attempts by revisionists to divert us away from this course. Despite re-peated attempts on their part create provocations order to have us prematurely expelled by the Labour Party right wing we won an out-right majority for our policies at the Labour Party Youth Conference in April 1963 and

again in Easter 1964. We defeated not only the right wing, but the revisionists as well.

Education

The experience provided an invaluable education for the Young Socialists, when, in the summer of 1964, Wilson and the Labour Party right wing set about expelling its lead-

The Young Socialists had won a majority for their policies and correctly believed that these were vital to the future of the Labour govern-

That is why they chose expulsion and split from the Labour Party, rather than capitulate to the treachery of

The revisionists joined hands with 'Tribune' and the right wing by making con-tinuous pleas not to 'rock the boat' in election year. (They supported the expulsion of the YS.)

Three years later in 1967, many of these same people slunk out of the Labour Party without making a single issue on policy and without one of their members being expelled because they fought for policy. That was the experi-ence of the state capitalist 'International Socialist' group.
In the winter of 1964 they announced that the Young Socialists would not last a

few weeks, but as we enter 1970 our youth have launched the biggest and most ambitious programme in its entire This success of the Young

Socialists was owed entirely to the struggle for Marxist

Opposed

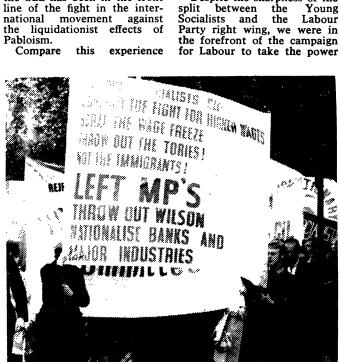
Within the international Trotskyist movement, the SLL, from the end of 1960, began to oppose the tendency on the part of its former collabora-tors, the Socialist Workers' Party of the United States, politically capitulate to

This led to a serious split than anyone else because they

with the SWP in the autumn of 1963. know what they are fighting for. Our theoretical conflict

The correctness of such a course was proved by the abject capitulation of the against all the opponents of Marxism makes them aware of majority of the Ceylon LSSP who were collaborating with the SWP and the 'United the real issues involved in the class struggle. Without this emphasis on prosecuting the struggle Secretariat' openly joined the against revisionism, which capitalist coalition of Mrs Bandaranaika in June 1964. appears to our opponents to be our 'bad side', it would

The rich experiences from this betrayal were fully dis-cussed at the Third Congress of the International Commit-tee of the Fourth Inter-national, held in April, 1966. As part of the International Committee, and in close collaboration with our French and United States comrades, the SLL has been in the front line of the fight in the international movement against



One of many SLL and YS demonstrations which included demands after 1966 that the 'left' MPs fight for socialist policies against the government's treacherous anti-working class policies.

with that of those movements who do not believe in the

development of theory. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament entered the 1960s in a position where it could mobilize half a million people in its annual demonstration. This movement has

disappeared as an effective force. The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign which followed it has had a similar fate.

Contrast

Despite all the claims by the revisionists that the stu-dent protest movement would hasten the revolution, their own forces not only remain piteably small, but immersed in acute crisis as well.

Contrast such a record with In August 1964 at the time when Wilson was expelling the Young Socialists, we be-

gan the campaign to establish a daily newspaper within five years. This was laughed at by our opponents. It was an 'idle boast' they

The turn on the part of the Young Socialists to work in the trade unions after their Party was seen quite rightly by the SLL as the beginning of an entirely new chapter of British Trotskyism, one that would require a daily political

newspaper. The Workers' Press appeared on September 27, 1969, exactly five years and one month after we decided to go ahead and publish it. This tremendous achieve-

ment was only possible be-cause the political leadership was correct. Our members fight harder

provided by our movement

on a socialist programme. This, we believe, was absolutely necessary in order take the working class through the experience

When it was clear advanced workers that the Wilson leadership had become a tool of the international now, to all intents and purbankers and were betraying the movement, we called upon the 'left' MPs to fight Wilson and change the Labour Party leadership, thus preventing a Tory government from returning to Parliament.

> The Communist Party and the revisionists opposed this policy and in doing so provided a left cover for Wilson. We were the first to begin the campaign against the

reformism in action.

There is no room for complacency.

British Trotskyism.

We face the 1970s with confidence.



September 28, 1969: Adult trade unionists, students and youth greet the first Trotskyist daily paper in the world.

Trade

unionists say 'No!' to

McLatchie in his comment on the TUC 'guidelines'—'finally the shop floor must decide' (Workers Press, December

30).
The TUC seems to think that they and they only must take decisions. They want to cut down on the power of the shop floor because workers are getting too militant and the capitalists want to crack

It has been shop-floor meetings and activities that have got the advances in the time that I have been in this factory. I was a seaman for four

could not do much about grievances such as arbitrary ogging and fines. The biggest weapon

years and I knew then we

-a position where we cannot

take action. Even now, when seamen representatives aboard ship (by their own action and not through the TUC and union leaders!),

they still cannot take im-

meetings on the ship and to

mediate action on grievances
—which means the employer has still got the whip hand. The employers and the TUC want to put all workers in the same position as the seamen The big combines and their minions have Barbara Castle and trade union leaders representing them in the labour movement.

Therefore workers of all companies and unions should fight for a leadership that speaks for them and them

Jim Pape AEF shop steward, Lucas Industrial Equip-Fazakerlev. Liverpool.

actionary, criminal agreements

The only conclusion to draw from this is they are

the direct agents of the cap-

italist class inside the working-

AEF shop stewards, Skelmersdale,

ATUA-YS

PUBLIC MEETINGS

visit to

Dave Coventry, F. Whittle, T. Moss and

in the coming offensive.

G. N. Eddon,

Lancashire.

This is their plan of battle

on all workers.

class movement.

THREE of the 'four most after the First World War. dangerous points' mentioned in your article on the TUC 'guidelines' are already contained in the AEF's National Agreements handbook, the exception being ballots before

To a large extent these have been got round up to now by strong shop-floor organization, and militancy—i.e. ignoring the rules and making them up as you go alone. This stage of the battle

seems to have ended. Capitalism can no longer afford to give a bit here and there to buy off struggles. Therefore these rules and agreements will be used more and more to discipline workers and frustrate their actions.

If we look at the date and period when the national engineering agreements were signed, we see that it was during the period of reaction

TRADE unionists should platform of support for the study the record of the Com-munist Party and the All Trades Unions Alliance on the issue of the state and the

At every stage the ATUA has pointed the way forward through independent class action, while the CP has led straight into the latest trapthe TUC 'guidelines'. In Sheffield, the Stalinists

trade unions.

were largely responsible for the 'left-unity' campaign the 'left-unity' campaign which had as its purpose certain electoral goals in the unions. The most important of these was the election of Hugh Scanlon as AEF president.

The Party then covered up for the engineers' 1968 wage settlement and Scanlon's acceptance of 'strings'.

Its response to the movement in the working class against the government's prowas to mobilize workers on a

Stay home

that no cars could be

20 per cent failure to turn ir

among the plant's 25,000

yesterday off from Austin's Longbridge, Birmingham,

Some 3,000 workers took

Car components workers

at Birmingham's Lucas fac-

tories-5,000 of them-were

miners also observed the un-official holiday. National Coal Board officials were unable to

Several hundred steelmen at Newport's Spencer works

were also away from work.

WEATHER

London area, SE and central

southern England: Dull,

misty. Occasional sleet or snow

later. Wind westerly light or moderate. Cold. Maximum 3C

E and W Midlands, central

northern England: Dull and

misty with occasional sleet or

snow. Clearer later. Wind

Hundred of South Wales

At Dagenham, there was a

• FROM PAGE ONE

produced.

workers.

not at work.

give exact figures.

Theory

prices and incomes legislation

in winter 1965 and our dem-onstration of January 26, 1966 was one of the largest

held in Britain.
We were foremost in the

fight against the Devlin plan. on the docks and the attempts by the Labour government to

smash the seamen's strike in

the summer of 1966. In 1968 and 1969, we

fought continuously against

the threat of anti-union legis-lation and, in the summer of

1969, called for an emergency

Labour Party conference where there would be an

opportunity to discuss this

dangerous policy.

Because of these campaigns

we can see the reason for the

popularity of our present Stop Wilson going to Wash-

ington' campaign.

Throughout the long years

of the Vietnam war, we have fought to relate the experience

of the working class in Britain

to what is taking place in Vietnam, thus establishing a

bond of international solid-

arity, directed against the main capitalist enemy, which

The fight for Marxist theory

is inseparable from the devel-

opment of revolutionary per-

account the stages of political

experience through which the

working class is passing.

But it would be very wrong to idealize the British working

class as such. If our advances have been considerable during the 1960s, they are still only part of the preparation for political battle against the traditional the-oretical backwardness of the British labour movement.

The idealist philosophy of the English radicals merges closely with this backwardness and is indeed the other side of the coin.

The biggest danger of all today, is to become submerged in spontaneity in what is still a movement with a slow development of theoretical interest and the philosophy of dialetical materialism. especially on the part of the

The SLL and the YS will continue their success into the 1970s provided we wage a ruthless struggle against idealism and the anti-theory outlook of the British working

There can be no establishment of alternative revolutionleadership without this task being clearly understood.
The 1960s were the most fruitful ever in the history of

westerly light or moderate veering northerly later. Rather cold. Maximum 4C (39F). Channel Islands, SW England: Cloudy occasional rain or drizzle. Wind westerly light or moderate. Milder. Maximum 6C (43F). NW England, Glasgow area, N. Ireland: Rain or drizzle at first with snow on high ground. Becoming brighter with sunny periods and scattered showers. Wind westerly veering northerly moderate or fresh. Near normal. Maximum Edinburgh: Rain or snow at first, then showers and bright intervals. Wind west veering northerly fresh locally strong. Below normal. Maximum 5C Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Cold northerly winds. Snow or hail showers in the North and East, but

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also sunny periods especially in the West. Widespread

At this time the AEU, as it then was, was negotiating not rises, but cuts in wages. For

July-August, 1921 . . . after discussions with the employers, a reduction of 3s. in the basic rate. November - December, and January, 1922 . . . reduction of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent off time-workers and 7½ per

cent off piece-workers. Then the Negoti Negotiation and Procedure Agreement, signed on June 22, 1922.)
August-September, 1922 . . . more reductions.

Now in 1970 we have a period when workers have had no decisive defeats; when trade unionism is at its strongest ever, and now Messrs 'Generals' of the TUC are trying to force these re-

This has now led directly to a position of complete pros-tration before the 'alternative' attack on shop-floor organization as expressed in the TUC 'guidelines'. Some CP members will

their unions as a useful cover for getting out of leading workers in their growing struggles against productivity deals, work study etc. Party militants who really wish to fight will only be able

find acceptance of these by

to do so with the ATUA. Paul Littlehales, President. Sheffield No.2 AEF branch.

(in a personal capacity).

Stop Wilson's

Washington **BIRKENHEAD**

Monday, January 5 8 p.m. Observatory Hotel

Oxton Road **OXFORD**

Tuesday, January 6 7.30 p.m. Small Hall

Blackbird Leys

P. R. Bush

(Young Socialist)

Community Centre Speakers: J. Power (leading local trade unionist)

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

KEEP LEFT INVITES ALL ITS READERS TO THE

ANNUAL GENERAL **MEETING**

Saturday, January 10 2.30 p.m. East India Hall, East India Dock Road London, E.14

Young Socialist National Speaking Contest

DANCE IN THE EVENING

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

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**

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

STOP WILSON'S WASHINGTON VISIT!

FOR THE DEFEAT OF US IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM!

DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY JAN. 11

ASSEMBLE: Speakers' Corner (Marble Arch),

2 P.M. MARCH: via Oxford Street, Regent Street, Trafalgar Square past Downing Street. MEETING: Lyceum Ballroom, near Aldwych,

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