

What we think

Vietnam is the touchstone

WE HAVE now entered a most critical stage of the war in Vietnam. On the side of the oppressed all over the world we have the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants battling it out with the most ferocious and brutal imperialist enemy.

Vietnam is now a major sector of the international class struggle. What happens there is as important for the British working class as what is happening in their trade unions. Indeed, it is impossible to separate them. Consider the position in the following way:

As part of the insoluble economic crisis of British capitalism, the Wilson government over the past year have been busy reducing the purchasing power of the wage packet in order to repay interest on the enormous loans still to be paid back to the USA.

As a result large sections of the working class have rightly been up in arms defending their standard of living. In turn these interest repayments are available to pay for the brutal atrocities and genocidal murder in Vietnam. Wilson and company are economically and militarily tied hand and foot to Nixon and the Wall Street imperialists. The struggle of the Vietnamese people to defend themselves is thus insolubly linked to the struggle of the British working class defending their standard of living.

But this is by no means all. Inside the USA the first effects of a major economic recession are now beginning to be felt. In a general sense these are also reflected in the considerable growth of opposition to the Vietnam war, especially inside the US armed forces.

The crisis in the USA lies at the heart of the world crisis of capitalism. Every blow struck by the international working class against its own capitalist enemy is therefore a blow on the side of the workers and peasants in Vietnam.

There is no one more conscious of their critical situation than the imperialists themselves. Historically, as a class, they know that what is posed is not just a patched-up peace in this or that part of the world but the end of their system. Hence they are fighting with their backs to the wall as it were. Every reactionary bureaucratic force in the international workers' movement is being mobilized for their defence.

The Labour leaders are not a misguided bunch of mistaken opportunists, but a counter-revolutionary force who are now working might and main to open the doors for a Tory government in Britain and at the same time providing all-out assistance for Nixon to crush the Vietnamese workers and peasants. This is their job and they perform it with alacrity.

The Stalinist bureaucracy works might and main for peaceful co-existence with imperialism in order that they be left to enjoy their bureaucratic privileges in the Soviet Union. Like Wilson they couldn't care a damn what happens in Vietnam just so long as they go on as they are. Since the basis of peaceful co-existence is class collaboration it follows that they are absolutely opposed to the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Now we have British Stalinists such as Monty Johnstone supporting Wilson going to Washington in order to 'put pressure' on Nixon. But surely it is the other way around. When Wilson goes to see Nixon he goes as the representative of British capitalism head over heels in debt to Wall Street. It is Nixon who is cracking the whip for Wilson to dance the imperialist tune.

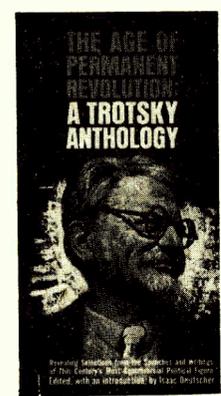
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Take a last minute collection from amongst your friends.

Stress the all-importance of the political struggle of the Workers Press. Let us go all-out to make the target.

We are sure you will not fail your paper now.

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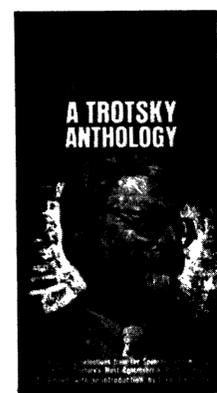
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On the basis of the General Strike of May-June 1968, with its consequences for all the advanced capitalist countries, and of the entry of the Czech masses on to the road of political revolution, the dominant political trend, concentrated on Europe, can be considered to be a general upsurge of the working class.

The revolutionary crisis which followed the Second World War surged through the open breaches in imperialism, notably of the old imperialist powers of Europe, whether in the camp of the 'victors' or the vanquished.

With the aid of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the world bourgeoisie, grouped behind American imperialism, was able to contain the revolutionary wave, though not without taking some heavy blows and suffering defeats.

In lost eastern Europe, which passed under the control of the Kremlin bureaucracy, it was unable to prevent the victory of the Chinese Revolution.

Important concessions had to be made to the working class in western Europe.

Revolutionary developments took place in a number of economically backward countries dominated by imperialism.

Since then no decisive defeat has been inflicted on the working class anywhere in the world.

The limits of the precarious equilibrium established after the Second World War were defined in the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. It was nevertheless maintained, despite being constantly called into question, by the strength and resources of American imperialism and the political power of the bureaucracy.

The character of the efforts needed to maintain this equilibrium meanwhile prepared the way for its destruction.

The enormous resources and power of US imperialism made it the pillar of world imperialism. The disproportion between this power and the decadence of the imperialist powers of Europe and Japan (victors no less than vanquished) seemed to place on the agenda the need for some form of 'super-imperialism' in which the ruling classes of Europe and Japan would sink to the level of comprador bourgeoisies. But this was not to be.

While the European ruling classes in particular were irremediably decadent, the European working class constitutes a powerful, organic unity with a rich class tradition and a high level of political consciousness.

To reduce the European bourgeoisies to comprador status, dependent upon American masters, would require, in the course of terrible class struggles, the destruction of the European working class. To avoid such struggles, which the European bourgeoisies were incapable of waging successfully, the American imperialists had to restore the European ruling class, help them reconstitute their states and rebuild their economies.

That was the alternative to



East German workers rise up against the bureaucracy in 1953. These first manifestations of the political revolution deepened the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy and prepared the way for the Hungarian Revolution.

the crushing of the working class.

American imperialism thus drew into itself the contradictions of decadent European capitalism and intensified its own. As the price of its own survival, American imperialism nourished the parasitism of the whole of world capitalism.

The crisis of the dollar and of the world monetary system shows that the account is now falling due for payment. Behind the 'crisis' of the balance of payments stand all the social contradictions of world capitalism.

The historical contradictions of European capitalism remain unresolved: indeed, they are intensified as a result of the way in which it was given new shape on the old basis and aggravated by the division of Europe into two antagonistic social systems and the loss of assured outlets in the colonial empire.

There is always a 'solution' to the crises of imperialism. A 'solution' could be found by liquidating part of the fictitious accumulated capital consisting of nothing but book entries, by opening up markets and investment fields in the workers' states or by turning the arms economy into a war economy.

Such 'solutions' would require heavy class war against the working class in the advanced countries of capitalism and in the workers' states.

A more or less protracted war of extermination would be required against the Soviet Union and China.

Whole populations would have to be wiped out in the economically backward countries. European and Japanese capitalism would have to be subordinated to American imperialism.



All layers of the bourgeoisie in all countries, including the USA, would have to be subordinated to the 'strong state' embodying the general 'historic' interests of monopoly capital.

The present social and political equilibrium is intolerable for imperialism. Simply to maintain it means in the short term an unprecedented economic, social and political crisis.

The crisis of imperialism is intimately linked to the crisis of the Kremlin bureaucracy whose political power reached its high point at the time of Yalta and Potsdam and has since continuously declined.

These crises interact. The political power of the Kremlin bureaucracy stems from definite relations, established before the Second World War and extended by the victory over German imperialism which cost 20 million lives, the real sacrifice of the Soviet working class.

It rests on the relations it has established with the Soviet working class, with the international working class through the Communist Party apparatus and with the victorious Allied powers in stemming the revolutionary upsurge which followed the imperialist war.

The instability of the relations established between the bureaucracy and the victor powers was quickly revealed. The world balance was altered by the assumption of power by the Chinese CP against Stalin's wishes.

The split with the Yugoslav Party and the development of the Cold War also indicated how unstable these relations were and how they tended to deteriorate to the detriment of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The purges in the East European countries and in the Soviet Union between 1948 and 1953 marked a worsening of the crisis. It became still more acute on Stalin's death and the revolutionary ex-

plosions in East Berlin in June, 1953.

It sharpened to a new pitch in 1956 with the denunciation of Stalin by the bureaucracy itself and the revolutionary outbreaks in Poland and Hungary.

The split between the Kremlin and the Chinese bureaucracy carried it to a new paroxysm.

Since then the whole international apparatus of Stalinism has been cracking. The crisis now rages in the highest spheres of the bureaucracy which tends to break up into its component parts.

At the base of the crisis of the bureaucracy and its international apparatus lies the impossibility of preserving the equilibrium with imperialism which it thought had been established at Yalta and Potsdam. In fact imperialism has never ceased its pressure—economic, military and political—on the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe.



The European working class is in latent conflict with the policies of the Communist Parties as well as with the reformist bureaucracies.

The defence of the Chinese Revolution conflicts with the interests of the Chinese bureaucracy as well as more directly with those of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The extension of the social relations born of the October Revolution to eastern Europe is in conflict with the retention of the privileges and power enjoyed by the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The development of the productive forces of the USSR and the countries of eastern Europe becomes incompatible with the bureaucratic administration of economic planning, with the 'norms' of the 'construction of socialism in one country'.

For the plan to develop the many inter-related sectors of an increasingly complex and diversified economy it must be elaborated, controlled and applied by all the producers.

This can only be done if the working class overthrows the parasitic bureaucracy and regenerates the workers' state.

The Soviet economy must be integrated with the international division of labour, not as it is at present, conditioned by the needs of imperialism, but as part of a planned world economy.

This requires the seizure of power by the working class in all the principal countries. But the bureaucracies are tied historically to the national state soil on which they grew up and upon which their existence depends.



Following the Second World War the world bourgeoisie, in its efforts to stifle the revolutionary movement of the international working class, suffered its greatest defeat in 1949 with the victory of the Chinese Revolution. Above: Strikers in Shanghai demand an end to poverty and the civil war.

They are therefore violently opposed to the extension of the proletarian revolution since this would destroy the old social and political relations which gave them birth and provide their sustenance.

Such a revolution would, moreover, immediately find its echo in the countries of eastern Europe and the USSR and enable the working class to overthrow the usurpers.

The whole equilibrium described above has thus become untenable. The post-war period has ended.

Neither the working class nor imperialism can continue with the existing relative equilibrium. Each seeks to change it to its own advantage and according to radically opposed class interests.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is caught between these fundamentally opposed social forces and is cracking. All the reformist, trade union and other bureaucracies are also caught in the same vice and are being broken apart.

This crisis does not spare the Chinese bureaucracy. It too is being torn apart, as was shown in 'the cultural revolution'.

The petty-bourgeois Bonapartist leaderships such as Castro, Boumediene, Nasser, etc., cannot escape the torment. The class struggles of recent years are the prelude to the confrontation of revolution and counter-revolution in all countries.

The united struggle against imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy for the world revolution and for socialism is at the same time the struggle for the construction of the revolutionary International.

The proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism are objectively based on the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the old forms within which they are suffocating, i.e., private ownership of the means of production and national boundaries.

They are also based on the need for the collective appropriation of the means of production and the organization on this basis of production on a world scale in a rational way working for the satisfaction of humanity's needs.

The working class, as a world class, in which each national proletariat is a detachment, like a midwife who delivers socialism, by its struggle as a class. This struggle culminates in the taking of political power in each country, the destruction of bourgeois states and the construction of workers' states.

But the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism are not automatic processes. On the contrary, they proceed from consciousness raised to the highest level; for the first time humanity can control the course of its history and can consciously bring about its historic development.

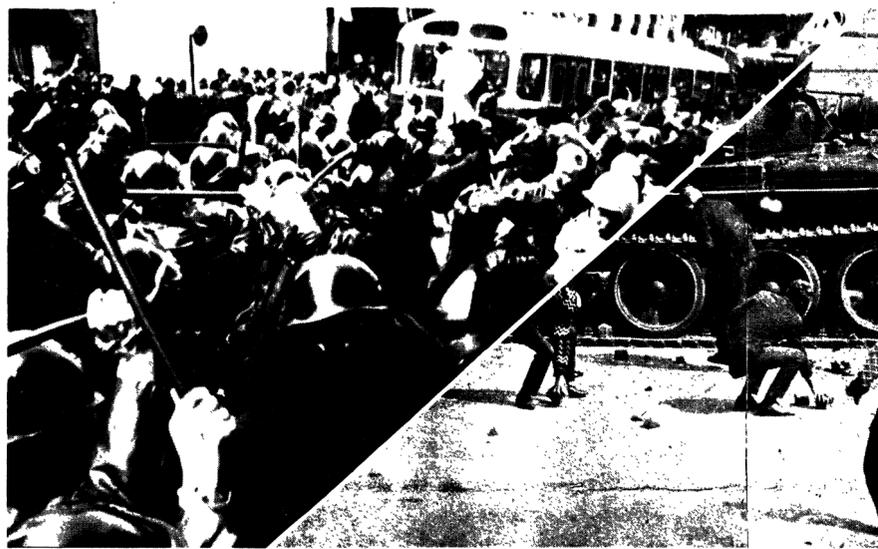


The need for a revolutionary party springs from the character and from the historic meaning of the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism. It springs from the position and conditions of the proletariat in bourgeois society and from the fact that the proletariat is subjected to the pressure of bourgeois society and the ideologies arising from it, and from the fact that, on the other hand, the proletariat reaches political consciousness in the course of struggle.

Its organization as a class to lead these struggles requires

PREPARE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

A call from the International Committee of the Fourth International



The May-June general strike in France followed by the Kremlin bureaucracy's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 created an unprecedented upset in the international balance of class forces. Above left: Paris strikers confront the brutality of anti-riot police. Right: Youth stoning Soviet tanks in Prague.

the assimilation of the Marxist method. The revolutionary party politically centralizes the proletariat, condenses, develops and puts into action the political consciousness of the proletariat.

The revolutionary party of each country is only fully effective, only totally accomplishes its functions, only attains the necessary level of consciousness and political activity, as part of the International, whose objective must be to become the world party of the proletarian revolution.

The construction of the revolutionary party in each country is inseparable from the construction of the revolutionary International.

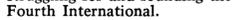
All the setbacks of the world proletariat are setbacks for the International. All adaptations to the bourgeoisie in each country and to world imperialism are expressed in the renunciation of proletarian internationalism, which is synonymous with the struggle for the world proletarian revolution.

And likewise, each step forward by the world proletariat is a step forward in the struggle for the construction of the Fourth International.

The Second International failed on the outbreak of the imperialist war and Lenin asserted: a Third International must be built.

The Bolshevik Party took power and was the impetus behind the construction of the Third International. The rise of the Kremlin bureaucracy accompanied the destruction of the Third International which, before being finally dissolved in 1943, had become no more than an instrument of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

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Trotsky defended the theoretical and practical gains of the world proletariat by struggling for and founding the Fourth International.

The joint crisis of imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy, the imminence of the proletarian revolution, the need to unify the revolutionary struggles against imperialism with the revolutionary struggles against the parasitic bureaucracies; the need to unify the revolutionary struggles of the workers under the rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy; the perspective of the Socialist United States of Europe, of socialism, urgently requires the construction of the revolutionary International.

No revolutionary party can be built and accomplish its tasks without being built as part of the Fourth International.

The International Committee of the Fourth International considers that the whole situation, the course of the class struggle, poses to all organizations and revolutionary groups the construction of revolutionary parties in every country, in conjunction with the construction of the revolutionary International.

The International Committee of the Fourth International considers that the revolutionary International can only be built on the basis of the programme of the Fourth International elaborated in 1938 by Leon Trotsky.

The Second International and the Third International, the social-democratic and Stalinist parties, prove more clearly every day that they have failed in their mission. They have definitively passed over to the side of the bourgeois order.

The Fourth International was proclaimed in 1938 to organize the international proletariat and for the revolutionary conquest of power in every country.

No organization in the world has suffered as much as the Fourth International from the fierce blows of the bourgeoisie and of Stalinism.

The militants who, with Lenin and Trotsky, had founded the Bolshevik Party and the Third International, the cadres of the international Trotskyist movement and Leon Trotsky himself, were hunted down and assassinated.

Stalin tried to destroy the thread of continuity that ties the programme and organization of the Fourth International to the Third International.

But Stalin did not succeed. In 1938, in a period of severe proletarian defeats, the Fourth International, as a programme and as an organization, was founded.

'In all countries', say the statutes of the Fourth International adopted in 1938, 'the members of the Fourth International are organized into parties or leagues, which constitute the national sections of the Fourth International (World Party of the Socialist Revolution)'. The national sections are formed on the platform and in accordance with the organizational structure defined and established by the Founding Congress of the Fourth International (September 1938). In its platform the Fourth Inter-

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But we do not wish and do not intend to conceal from the vanguard of the world proletariat or from the workers that the pressure of the forces of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism has had devastating effects on the organization of the Fourth International.

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'a) The building of revolutionary parties on the basis of the Programme in the context of the concrete struggle for the rebuilding of the International.

'b) The unity of the international class struggle.

'c) Defence by revolutionaries of the international working class, in the capitalist countries, in the USSR, China and all the countries which have been removed from the sphere of imperialism. This discussion will be carried out on the agreed framework of the unconditional defence of these states.'

The International Committee has decided the following agenda for this Conference:

1) The construction of revolutionary parties on the basis of the Transitional Programme in the context of the practical struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

2) The task to be accomplished in the period of imminent revolution opened up by the French General Strike of May-June 1968 and the rise of the political revolution in Czechoslovakia.

This Conference will be prepared at the end of January, 1970 by the publication of political documents in the organs of each section and by the publication of an internal bulletin reserved to members of the sections.

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The preparation of this Conference will be a political struggle, organically linked with that of each section, so that on the basis of their experience, militants and cadres still grouped around the revisionist and centrist organizations of the 'Unified Secretariat', young militants coming into battle in the context of present struggles in the advanced capitalist countries, in the countries subjected to the dictatorship of the bureaucracy and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries will organize around the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

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'The essential unity of the international class struggle, flowing from the international character of the joint crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy, implies the direct consequence of the necessity of building Trotskyist parties in every country.

'As against the liquidationist conclusions flowing from the revisionist "division of the world into sectors", this perspective emphasizes the urgency of building independent revolutionary proletarian parties in the countries of eastern Europe, USSR, and China, and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

'This central task of building independent revolutionary parties stresses yet again the essential struggle for the political independence of the working class, against the politics of the Stalinist bureaucracy and reformist leaderships. This fight for the Party implies a determined struggle against syndicalism and all ideas that a revolutionary party can be spontaneously produced from the working class.'

'The International Conference stresses that the Trotskyist movement, in the course of the struggle to build the International, works towards the creation of a centralized leadership of the world revolutionary party, in a struggle organically linked to the fight in each country to rebuild revolutionary centralized parties leading the struggles of the masses.

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'c) Defence by revolutionaries of the international working class, in the capitalist countries, in the USSR, China and all the countries which have been removed from the sphere of imperialism. This discussion will be carried out on the agreed framework of the unconditional defence of these states.'

The International Committee has decided the following agenda for this Conference:

1) The construction of revolutionary parties on the basis of the Transitional Programme in the context of the practical struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

2) The task to be accomplished in the period of imminent revolution opened up by the French General Strike of May-June 1968 and the rise of the political revolution in Czechoslovakia.

This Conference will be prepared at the end of January, 1970 by the publication of political documents in the organs of each section and by the publication of an internal bulletin reserved to members of the sections.

open to all militant groups and organizations, whatever their political origins, which are the product of the workers' movement and which, engaged in the class struggle, feel the pressing need for the construction of revolutionary parties and the International, the indispensable instrument for the victory of the proletariat in all countries and the international victory of the world working class.

The preparation of this Conference will be a political struggle, organically linked with that of each section, so that on the basis of their experience, militants and cadres still grouped around the revisionist and centrist organizations of the 'Unified Secretariat', young militants coming into battle in the context of present struggles in the advanced capitalist countries, in the countries subjected to the dictatorship of the bureaucracy and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries will organize around the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

This perspective, the only one orientated to the highest level, that of the International, of the construction of revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, of the international unity of the class struggle, of the strategic problems of the construction of revolutionary parties in each country, within the context of the reconstruction of the Fourth International at the centre of its debate.

'The essential unity of the international class struggle, flowing from the international character of the joint crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy, implies the direct consequence of the necessity of building Trotskyist parties in every country.

'As against the liquidationist conclusions flowing from the revisionist "division of the world into sectors", this perspective emphasizes the urgency of building independent revolutionary proletarian parties in the countries of eastern Europe, USSR, and China, and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

'This central task of building independent revolutionary parties stresses yet again the essential struggle for the political independence of the working class, against the politics of the Stalinist bureaucracy and reformist leaderships. This fight for the Party implies a determined struggle against syndicalism and all ideas that a revolutionary party can be spontaneously produced from the working class.'

'The International Conference stresses that the Trotskyist movement, in the course of the struggle to build the International, works towards the creation of a centralized leadership of the world revolutionary party, in a struggle organically linked to the fight in each country to rebuild revolutionary centralized parties leading the struggles of the masses.

Anti-Semitism

YOUR TASK in replying to my letter which you published under the title 'Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union' was made easier by your misquoting the quotation from Menahem Begin. What he wrote, of course, was: 'The Soviet government is anti-Semite'. Please get it right this time!

Last year, Princeton University Press published a study by T. H. Rigby of 'Communist Party membership in the USSR, 1917-1967'. In this work he notes that the Jews are still probably 'the most Party-saturated nationality in the country'—in other words, the national group with the highest number of Communist Party members in relation to the total numbers of the group.

If there has been a decline since the 1920s in the proportion of Jews in the total Party membership, this does not prove discrimination:

'The extraordinary Party membership rate among the Jews was partly a result of their high level of urbanization, and the doubling of the Soviet

...and a reply by the e

WHAT is Comrade Pearce trying to prove? That there is no anti-Semitism in the USSR or that the manifestation of anti-Semitism is only episodic within the bureaucracy and has nothing to do with the nature and function of the bureaucracy?

I have tried to show that discrimination against national minorities is not accidental but flows from the reactionary character of this parasitic caste.

To say otherwise is to imply that either socialism has been achieved in the USSR or that the bureaucracy is not as reactionary as it seems. In either case it is false.

Erich and Alter, we are informed, were executed by Jewish members of the NKVD and the persecution of Jewish authors was conducted by Jewish members of the bureaucracy.

So what?

By the same laws of formal logic it could be argued that since Stalin, Djerzhinsky and Ordzhonikidze were members of oppressed nations there was no substance in Lenin's accusations of Great Russian Chauvinism.

It is not my intention to prove that Jews must have a national status or not.

That is a diversion which does not attract me. What interests me is that Comrade Pearce in his zeal to track down the crimes of Zionism closes his eyes to the evils of Stalinism.

The logic of his fallacious method means that anybody who accuses the Stalinist bureaucracy of anti-Semitism is a Zionist provocateur.

I am afraid the Jewish question is much too complex to be dismissed in this subjective way.

In concluding, I would like to try and clarify this problem by quoting once again from Levy's booklet.

'The Soviet Union, not based on a commodity view of human beings, legitimately boasts of the fact that its arts are very liberally supported by grants-in-aid, and its artists, writers, teachers, scientists and cultural workers are correspondingly highly paid.

'What then are we to make of the excuse that has been offered for its lack of encouragement of Jewish art forms?

'Why is a Yiddish theatre expected to be self-support-

B.B.C.-1

9.00-9.30 a.m. Nai Zindagi—Naya Jeevan. 10.30-11.30 Morning Service. 1.25-1.50 p.m. Farming. 2.00 News Summary. 2.05 Joe: Profile of Joe Brown. 2.35 Film Matinee: 'All That Heaven Allows' with Rock Hudson and Jane Wyman. Well-to-do American widow falls in love with her gardener. 4.00 John Wayne and his films: Talk with film extracts. 4.50 Here's Lucy. 5.15 The Undersea World Of Jacques Cousteau. 5.55 Clangers.

6.05 News and Weather. 6.15 Malcolm Muggeridge asks The Question Why. 6.50 Songs Of Praise. 7.25 Paul Temple. 8.15 The Sunday Musical: 'Carousel'.

With Gordon MacRae and Shirley Jones. Rogers and Hammerstein. 10.20 News and Weather. 10.30 Omnibus: The Unashamed Accompanist—Gerald Moore. 11.25 Monty Python's Flying Circus. 11.55 Weatherman.

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Scotland: 6.15-6.50 p.m. Sunday Set. 6.50-7.25 Songs Of Praise. 11.57 Weather.

B.B.C.-2

7.00 p.m. News Review and Weather. 7.25 Ten Years Of What?: A last look at the 1960s. 9.50 Thirty Minute Theatre: 'The Discharge of Trooper Lushy' by Robert Holles.

10.20 Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In. 11.00 News Summary. 11.15 Film Night Special: 'Caesar's Name Of The Game'. Filmed during the making of the new screen version of 'Julius Caesar'.

SUNDAY T.V.

I.T.V.

11.00a.m.-12 noon Church Service. 1.55 p.m. Face The Press: Lord Thomson of Fleet. 2.25 Out Of Town. 2.45 Sports Arena. 3.15 The Big Match. 4.15 The Owl Service. 4.45 The Golden Shot. 5.30 Julia. 6.00 News From ITN. 6.15 Friends and Neighbours. 6.35 Appeal: Your Money, Their Lives: The Helping Hand Organization. 6.40 Seven Days. 7.25 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.20 'The Gift Of Love' With Robert Stack and Lauren Bacall. 10.10 News From ITN. 10.20 This Is... Tom Jones. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. What Was He Like?

ar the world bourgeoisie, in its efforts to stifle the revolutionary movement suffered its greatest defeat in 1949 with the victory of the Chinese Shanghai demand an end to poverty and the civil war.

FOURTH THE AL MOVEMENT

ational International



open to all militant groups and organizations, whatever their political origins, which are the product of the workers' movement and which, engaged in the class struggle, feel the pressing need for the construction of revolutionary parties and the International, the indispensable instruments for the victory of the proletariat in all countries and the international victory of the world working class.

The preparation of this Conference will be a political struggle, organically linked with that of each section, so that on the basis of their experience, the militants and cadres still grouped around the revisionist and centrist organizations of the 'Unified Secretariat', young militants coming into battle in the context of present struggles in the advanced capitalist countries, in the countries subjected to the dictatorship of the bureaucracy and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries will organize around the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

This perspective, the only one orientated to the highest level, that of the International, of the construction of revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, of the international unity of the class struggle, of social revolution in capitalist countries and political revolution in the USSR, China, and the eastern European countries, requires preparation.

For this reason, the International Committee is convoking a preparatory conference reserved to its sections in February 1970 which, resting upon the decisions of the Third Conference of April 1966, and drawing up the balance sheet of its activity and that of its sections since that date, confronting its orientations with the development of the class struggle, places the strategic problems of the construction of revolutionary parties in each country, within the context of the reconstruction of the Fourth International at the centre of its debate.

The essential unity of the international class struggle, flowing from the international character of the joint crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy, implies the direct consequence of the necessity of building Trotskyist parties in every country.



'As against the liquidationist conclusions flowing from the revisionist "division of the world into sectors", this perspective emphasizes the urgency of building independent revolutionary proletarian parties in the countries of eastern Europe, USSR, and China, and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

This central task of building independent revolutionary parties stresses yet again the essential struggle for the political independence of the working class, against the politics of the Stalinist bureaucracy and reformist leaderships. This fight for the Party implies a determined struggle against syndicalism and all ideas that a revolutionary party can be spontaneously produced from the working class.

The International Conference stresses that the Trotskyist movement, in the course of the struggle to build the International, works towards the creation of a centralized leadership of the world revolutionary party, in a struggle organically linked to the fight in each country to rebuild revolutionary centralized parties leading the struggles of the masses.

This building of parties and of the International must be

national concentrated the revolutionary experience of the revolutionary Marxist movement, and especially that which rises out of the socialist conquests of the October 1917 Revolution in Russia. It assimilates and bases itself upon all of humanity's progressive social experiences, which lead to the expropriation of the capitalist class and to the ultimate abolition of classes.'

But we do not wish and do not intend to conceal from the vanguard of the world proletariat or from the workers that the pressure of the forces of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism has had devastating effects on the organization of the Fourth International.

Its programme, adopted in 1938, and completely verified by the subsequent course of history, gives the only answers to the problems of the class struggle raised in our epoch.

The present events in the class struggle place the heaviest responsibilities on the International Committee and its sections.

To this end, the International Committee presents the perspective of a Conference

carried out on the basis of the lessons of the struggle against revisionism and of the continuation of this struggle.

The proceedings of this Third Conference emphasize the necessity for the International Committee to politically prepare within 18 months the Fourth International Conference, whose aim will be to rally all Trotskyist organizations fighting for the programme of the Fourth International.

This will include a struggle by the International Committee to rally to the ranks of the Fourth International the militants and groups who are misled by the revisionist leaders of the United Secretariat.

In order to achieve the tasks before, such a Conference, the International Committee must organize an international discussion on the following subjects:

'a) The building of revolutionary parties on the basis of the Programme in the context of the concrete struggle for the rebuilding of the International.



'Trotskyists, organized as sections of the Fourth International, must struggle for the construction of revolutionary parties based on the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International. They carry the fight for the programme and for the construction of the Party as the main basis of their work into the mass organizations and trade unions of the working class, and in particular towards the working-class youth, as the principal source of new forces for the Fourth International. All such work is subordinated to the main task of constructing the Party.

'The building of the Party necessitates the production of a newspaper able to fight constantly for the overall programme of the Party, to raise the consciousness of the working class in all spheres of the class struggle. This fight for the independent party is the only basis for the defence of the positions won in the past by the working class, and all tactical considerations are subordinated to it. In conditions where the tactic of entry into existing working-class parties is necessary, this tactic is conducted in a manner which subordinates it to the main task of the construction of the independent party.

'b) The unity of the international class struggle.

'b) Defence by revolutionary methods of the conquests of the international working class, in the capitalist countries, in the USSR, China and all the countries which have been removed from the sphere of imperialism. This discussion will be carried out on the agreed framework of the unconditional defence of these states.'

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B.B.C.-2

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11.15 Film, Night Special: 'Caesar's the Name Of The Game'.

Filmed during the making of the new screen version of 'Julius Caesar'.

Anti-Semitism

YOUR TASK in replying to my letter which you published under the title 'Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union' was made easier by your misprinting of the quotation from Menahem Begin. What he wrote, of course, was: 'The Soviet government is anti-anti-Semitism'. Please get it right this time!

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If there has been a decline since the 1920s in the proportion of Jews in the total Party membership, this does not prove discrimination:

'The extraordinary Party membership rate among the Jews was partly a result of their high level of urbanization, and the doubling of the Soviet

...and a reply by the editor

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Erich and Alter, we are informed, were executed by Jewish members of the NKVD and the persecution of Jewish authors was conducted by Jewish members of the bureaucracy.

So what?

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The logic of his fallacious method means that anybody who accuses the Stalinist bureaucracy of anti-Semitism is a Zionist provocateur.

I am afraid the Jewish question is much too complex to be dismissed in this subjective way.

In concluding, I would like to try and clarify this problem by quoting once again from Levy's booklet.

'The Soviet Union, not based on a commodity view of human beings, legitimately boasts of the fact that its arts are very liberally supported by grants-in-aid, and its artists, writers, teachers, scientists and cultural workers are correspondingly highly paid.

'What then are we to make of the excuse that has been offered for its lack of encouragement of Jewish art forms?

'Why is a Yiddish theatre expected to be self-support-

A letter...

urban population since World War II has reduced their advantage in this respect.'

In other eastern countries besides Russia, economic and social progress has resulted in the ousting of certain national groups—Greeks, Armenians, etc.—from the quasi-monopoly position they held in many trades and professions when the bulk of the population were still extremely backward.

Indeed, this same process occurred in western countries during the course of the Middle Ages.

There exists an account of the last days of Erlich and Alter, the Polish Jewish leaders

you mention who were murdered by Stalin, written by Lucjan Blit, who was with them at this time.

What cannot be overlooked is that the NKVD men who were in charge of these two victims themselves had Jewish names.

☆

The presence of a large Jewish element in the bureaucracy cannot be brushed aside. So far back as 1923, Trotsky pointed out that this circumstance (particularly in the Ukraine) was bound to reinforce traditional anti-Semitism, unless the bureaucrats in question took care to behave less arrogantly towards their 'subjects'—e.g. by deigning to learn the Ukrainian language.

In the Ukraine, of course,

Jews have been among the principal agents of that 'Russification' you complain about.

So Hyman Levy wrote in 1958 that there was 'no Jew in any high position'.

He could not have written that even one year earlier, for it was only in 1957 that Kaganovich was removed. Would it have been better if this arch-criminal had been allowed to remain in his 'high position' just for representative purposes, so to speak?

Yes indeed, there was a period when the Yiddish language and literature were persecuted in the Soviet Union. (They are not exactly encouraged in Israel either!) The men most zealous in this persecution were those connected with the 'Yevsektsia', the Jewish department of the CPSU!

Yiddish was repressed along with many other national languages, as part of a general move towards Russification.

It would take too long to pursue here the implications of your remarks about Birobidjan, 'forcible assimilation', and so on.

Only this must be said: when no such thing as Jewish nationality was officially recognized in the Soviet Union, there were complaints that this state of affairs meant official anti-Semitism; but then, when Jewish nationality was given recognition, and Soviet Jews had 'Jewish' entered on their identity cards (instead of 'Russian' or 'Ukrainian' or whatever), that was also said to be proof of official anti-Semitism. . . .

The simple fact is that, for the Zionists, there is no satisfactory solution of the Jewish question in eastern Europe short of all the Jews leaving for Israel.

Until that happens, they will always find something to point to as evidence of persecution, discrimination and the like.

Undoubtedly, the bureaucracy of Stalinism from time to time brings dishonest charges against certain individuals of being 'Zionist agents'.

This should not cause us to forget that there is real and dangerous Zionist activity.

Trotsky was falsely accused of being an agent of the Gestapo; that the charge was false did not mean that the Gestapo had no agents—some of them probably among the very men who slandered Trotsky in this way!

Brian Pearce.



Henry Erlich (right) and Victor Alter: Polish labour leaders arrested in Poland in 1939 during the occupation, were set free in 1941 only to be shot by the NKVD a year later as 'Nazi agents'.

Demonstrations and Socialism

DEMONSTRATIONS which are not the expression of mass opinion and consciousness are a waste of time.

Marches in support of sectional demands and which ignore the relationship between the subject of the protest and capitalism as a whole are useless.

The bomb, Vietnam, Biafra, apartheid—these apparently disparate problems are inextricably linked as the logical consequences of capitalism and imperialism.

Only socialism can deal with any of these issues separately because only socialism goes to the root of the trouble and in destroying capitalism automatically clears up all these problems together.

And socialism will be achieved only on the basis of united action by the workers against the oppressing class.

It will be achieved only on the basis of revolution by the masses led by the party of socialism.

Not through so-called 'democratic processes' which are a means of heading off the revolution and preserving the capitalist system.

Peaceful demonstrations can be looked at in the same light as democratic processes. They amount to no more than a policy of containment of dissident elements by the bourgeoisie.

Ultimately it must be stressed not immediately—the revolution will be brought about only through the violent overthrow of the capitalist state and all those institutions which uphold it.

All those who decry the use of violence under any circumstances are siding with the liberal-bourgeois elements who know full well that violence is the only thing their system need fear.

Revolutionaries must not be taken in by their sweet-talk or civilized behaviour.

Revolutionary fighters must live in total opposition to the capitalist system of immorality and exploitation.

The difference between the revolutionary and the reformer is that the former must be prepared and willing to suffer any penalty in the furtherance of his socialist objectives.

There have been few revolutionaries among those in Britain who have marched in futile attempts to convince successive capitalist governments that they should change their policies on specific questions.

But there are many reformists and opportunists and these, by their arguments and actions, are diverting attention and energies from the real issue which is the destruction of capitalism.

This will only be achieved by patiently building a revolutionary party to heighten political consciousness among the working class and capable of leading it to victory at the proper time and in the proper way.

Dilettante demonstrations on individual issues are not the way to achieve either true consciousness or revolution.

'What comes after the demonstration' was the question asked by the VSC command after the October 27 fiasco last year.

Here we have a perfect example of fumbling after the truth about demonstrations against things like the bomb, Vietnam or apartheid.

In themselves they are valueless and incapable of leading to anything else.

The only valid demonstration is that which is supported by a politically-conscious working class, or a section of it, and which has the potential to turn from a demonstration into an insurrection.

Ian Yeats

Editorial comment

COMBINED in this letter are formally correct statements with others which are misleading or positively dangerous.

What it says is: no demonstrations until there is a revolutionary situation in which a 'politically-conscious working class' comes into action.

The question of how we get from the present situation to that stage is ignored.

Demonstrations of the type organized by CND, Anti-Apartheid and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign are merely radical protests characteristic of the middle class. The fights with the police have merely expressed the frustrations of the kind of people involved.

This does not mean that demonstrations in general should be condemned as 'useless' and 'a waste of time' and form part of 'a policy of containment'.

The demonstrations organized by the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists have a different character and intention.

They are not organized as protests, but in order to gain support for specific policies, to build a leadership for the working class.

Such demonstrations require

thought and organization and are disciplined expressions of the strength of the revolutionary movement, however small the numbers may appear to be.

To wait for the masses to appear spontaneously on the streets can be simply an alibi to do nothing in the meantime.

This conception is the product of idealist thinking which tries to substitute for the real processes going on in the consciousness of the working class a false, impressionistic and entirely subjective viewpoint.

The advocates of this viewpoint doom themselves to isolation and defeat because their method and outlook ignores the complex and contradictory development of the British labour movement. Without an understanding of dialectical materialism it is impossible to grasp the logic of its slow yet inexorable development.

The right to demonstrate, like the rights to organize, hold meetings and vote in elections, have all been won in struggle. We have seen in many countries how such rights have been taken away.

Revolutionaries who are serious in their intention to win the leadership of the working class make use of all these rights. We fight for power through the means which have been wrested from the bourgeoisie in struggle, but without tying ourselves to these means alone.

Of course, we agree with Yates that the October 27 demonstration led nowhere and was followed by the demoralization of many of those who took part in it with great enthusiasm.

He knows that the SLL had already broken with the VSC on a principled question and would have nothing to do with that demonstration.

Demonstrations for us are subordinate to the aim of building a revolutionary party to lead the working class.

But our demonstrations are quite different in character and intention from those of other movements.

The demonstration called for January 11 against Wilson's visit to Washington is one which all those angered by the betrayals of the Labour government should support.

It will be an important step in preparing for the class struggles coming up in 1970.

SUNDAY TV

I.T.V.

11.00 a.m.-12 noon Church Service. 1.55 p.m. Face The Press: Lord Thomson of Fleet. 2.25 Out Of Town. 2.45 Sports Arena. 3.15 The Big Match. 4.15 The Owl Service. 4.45 The Golden Shot. 5.30 Julia. 6.00 News From ITN. 6.15 Friends and Neighbours. 6.35 Appeal: Your Money, With Robert Stack and The Helping Hand Organization. 6.40 Seven Days. 7.25 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.20 'The Gift Of Love'. With Robert Stack and Lauren Bacall. 10.10 News From ITN. 10.20 This Is... Tom Jones. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. What Was He Like?

REGIONAL I.T.V.

CHANNEL: 11.00 a.m.-12.15 p.m. Service. 2.28 Today's Weather. 2.30 Shoot! 3.20 Feature Film: 'Montana'. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 National News and Channel News Headlines. 6.15 London. 7.25 Feature Film: 'School For Scoundrels'. 9.30 Strange Report. 10.10 London. 11.55 Epilogue followed by Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00 a.m.-12.05 p.m. The Morning Service. 1.22 Regional Forecast. 1.25 All Our Yesterdays. 1.55 Farm Progress. 2.20 Bonanza. 3.15 Southern Soccer. 4.05 The Beverly Hillsbillies. 4.45 Southern News. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 6.35 Seven Days. 7.25 London. 8.20 The Sunday Film: 'The Fast Lady' with James Robertson Justice, Stanley Baxter, Leslie Phillips, Julie Christie and Kathleen Harrison. The lady in question is a car. 10.10 London. 12.05 a.m. The Weather Forecast followed by Bethlehem to Basinstoke.

WESTWAT: 11.00 a.m.-12.15 p.m. The Morning Service. 2.15 Farm and Country News. 2.30 Shoot! 3.20 Feature Film: 'Montana' with Erol Flynn and Alexis Smith. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 6.35 Feature Film: 'School For Scoundrels' with Ian Carmichael, Terry Thomas, Janette Scott, Alastair Sim. Dennis Price. 9.10 Strange Report. 10.10 London. 12 midnight Faith For Life. 12.06 a.m. Weather.

ANGLIA: 11.00 a.m.-12.15 p.m. The Morning Service. 1.55 Weather Trends. 2.00 Farming Diary. 2.30 The Baron. 3.25 Parkin's Patch. 3.55 Match Of The Week. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 6.25 Our Time. 6.40 London. 7.25 a.m. Movie: 'Dangerous Moonlight' with

Anton Walbrook, Sally Gray and Cecil Parker. 9.10 Strange Report. 10.00 London. 12.05 a.m. Reflection.

HARELECH: 11.00 a.m.-12.15 p.m. Service. 2.15 Star Soccer. 3.15 Parkin's Patch. 3.45 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 7.25 Strange Report. 8.25 Screen On Sunday. 'Hell To Eternity' with Jeffrey Hunter, David Janssen, Vic Damone and Sessue Hayakawa. 10.10 News. 10.20 Screen On Sunday (continued). 10.55 This Is... Tom Jones. 11.55 Weather.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 a.m.-12.15 p.m. Service. 1.45 Cannonball. 2.15 Star Soccer. 3.15 'Raising The Wind' with James Robertson Justice, Leslie Phillips, Sidney James and Kenneth Williams. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Forest Rangers. 6.00 London. 7.25 The Sunday Feature Film: 'Cash McCall' with James Garner and Natalie Wood. 9.10 Strange Report. 10.10 London. 12.05 a.m. Weather Forecast.

ULSTER: 2.00 p.m. The 150 Life Escape. 2.55 Football. 3.30 The Baron. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 7.25 Peyton Place. 8.20 Star Movie: 'Goodbye My Fancy' with Joan Crawford and Robert Young. 10.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 a.m.-12.15 p.m. Morning Service. 1.45 All Our Yesterdays. 2.15 Sunday Sport. 3.15 I Could Go On Singing' with Judy Garland and Dirk Bogarde. A famous singing star gives up love for her career and then has second thoughts. 5.00 Woodbina. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 7.25 Hawaii Five-O. 8.20 'The Proud Rebel' with Alan Ladd and Olivia de Havilland. A father seeks

medical aid for his mute son in post-Civil War America. 10.10 London. 12.05 a.m. Late Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Service. 1.45 All Our Yesterdays. 1.55 The Secret Service. 2.25 Julia. 2.55 Football. 3.50 The Doris Day Show. 4.15 Survival. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 7.25 The Big Picture: 'Pepe in Hollywood' with Cantinflas. 10.10-12.05 a.m. London.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 a.m.-12.15 p.m. Service. 2.00 Farming Outlook. 2.30 Shoot. 3.20 Sunday Matinee: 'The Cool Mikado'. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 7.25 It Takes A Thief. 8.20 Film Premier: 'Summer Of The Seventeenth'. 10.10 London. 11.20 Hallelujah. 12.20 a.m. Poems For The New Year.

SCOTTISH: 1.30 p.m. All Our Yesterdays. 2.00 Diane's Magic Theatre. 2.15 Mr Piper. 2.45 London. 3.15 Feature Film: 'Young Wives Tale' with Joan Greenwood, Nigel Patrick and Derek Farr. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 7.25 Hogan's Heroes. 7.55 The Bogart Festival: 'Key Takes A Thief'. 8.20 Film Premier: G. Robinson, Lauren Bacall, Claire Trevor and Lionel Barrymore. 9.50 Poems For The New Year. 10.10 London. 12.05 a.m. Late Call.

GRAMPIAN: 1.50 p.m. Farm Progress. 2.15 All Our Yesterdays. 2.45 Sports Arena. 3.10 The Edgar Wallace Thriller Hour. 4.15 London. 5.30 The Ghost and Mrs. Muir. 6.00 London. 6.35 Action News. 6.40 London. 7.25 Marcus Welby MD. 8.25 This Is... Tom Jones. 9.25 The Big Film: 'The War Lover' (part one). 10.00 News and Weather. 10.20 The Big Film (part two). 11.30 Sunday Talks.

Plessey speed-up talks Threat to trade union organization

DANGERS

FROM PAGE ONE

the 'lefts'—have, as we have shown, already prepared the ground for such legislation.

Mrs Castle's Commission for Industry and Manpower is the last in a long line of state and state-inspired committees on which prominent trade union leaders have collaborated—Mortimer on the Prices and Incomes Board; Woodcock, Paynter and Allen on the Commission on Industrial Relations; Scanlon, Evans and Roberts on the Joint Motor Industry Council.

It is all very well for Scanlon to tell the engineering employers that a Tory government might enact legal backing powers for industrial contracts, but this ground has already been well-trodden.

A Tory government would come to power under conditions where the trade union leaders are already bound hand-and-foot to collaboration with the state.

The outstanding question is to prevent workers acting from the shop floor outside this unholy alliance—and it is this that the TUC General Council may now be embarking upon.

Such attacks must be firmly resisted.

There are only six weeks to the All Trades Unions Alliance's engineering conference in Sheffield and these weeks must be used to develop a massive campaign in industry against the union leaders' plans to tie workers to the state.

Union democracy—of which Jones and others speak so much—is inconceivable without the absolute independence of the working class from the state.

All union branches, district committees and shop stewards' committees are invited to send delegates to the engineering workers' conference which takes place on February 7, 1970.

It will be held at the Montgomery Hall (opposite the Town Hall), Sheffield, from 11 a.m.-4.30 p.m.

MANAGEMENT and senior stewards at the Liverpool branch of the giant Plessey telecommunications group are at present completing discussions on a pay-and-productivity deal.

The last stages of these talks took place away from the factories so that the negotiations should not be disturbed.

Plessey's have been preparing this deal for some time approaching a year now. After several months the workers were given small increases ranging from 17s 6d for skilled men to 10s for women and 7s for juveniles.

These were given on the basis of an agreement, signed by all the senior stewards, that there would be no more claims until the productivity deal was finalized and that there would be 'continued co-operation in preparing the new pay-and-productivity agreement'.

In 1968, Plessey's invited a firm of management consultants—AIC—to conduct a survey with the purpose of implementing the new productivity scheme.

There was already in existence a 'Liverpool package deal'. Even the management themselves are forced to admit that:

'This had effected considerable improvements, but had not contained any automatic review procedures with the result that the wage structure had come under pressure from the employees. There was the added fact that employees believed the Liverpool deal had benefited management much more than it had the employees.'

Low pay
The employees were dead right! While management had benefited, wages at the Plessey

factories—employing around 10,000 workers—remained amongst the lowest in engineering on Merseyside. One of the main features of the AIC programme of work at the beginning of this year was the organization of 'training and appreciation courses on work-measurement technique' for supervisors and shop stewards.

We have found no record of senior stewards at the factory organizing a course to 'appreciate' why the last package deal benefited the employers at the expense of the workers nor a 'training' course on how, in the light of that deal, trade union organization in the factory might better serve the workers.

The AIC survey concluded that the main aspects of a productivity 'bargain' should be:

- The introduction of a standard form of work-measurement.
- A new wage structure based upon job-evaluation.

AIC and the management then proceeded to lay down the basis for job-evaluation and for a qualitative tightening-up on piece-work through the use of predetermined times.

They laid down principles on which they would work. These stressed that pay increases could only come from increased productivity and improved use of manpower. In other words, the only increases would be for speed-up!

Co-operation
The management then stated that they wished to develop their productivity proposals 'with the unions at plant level'.

So from January 1969, the union leaders at the factory entered into co-operation with the management to work out productivity proposals—or, to put it more bluntly, speed-up proposals.

Every worker at Plessey's should understand that there have been no negotiations for a straight wage increase this year.

For the last year there have been discussions between the management and senior stewards... on the management's ground.

The company's attitude throughout has been: co-operate in the co-operation of productivity first and then we'll see if we can give the workers a small increase in wages.

A management report of a January 17 questions-and-answers meeting involving 150 stewards, members of management and representatives of AIC brings this out graphically:

'What,' asked the stewards, 'is the worth, in terms of "cash", of the co-operation of the trade unions and employees in the attitude survey, job-evaluation and all other aspects?'

'It is inappropriate at this stage,' replied the management, 'to discuss financial rewards.'

'The productivity agreement will be produced for negotiation in May or June of this year. It will be based upon the results of job-evaluation, attitude survey and an assessment of the financial savings resulting from increased productivity.'

'It is at this point that the question of the share of benefits should be raised.'

'At this point in time the preparatory work necessary for the production of a productivity agreement including the involvement of AIC is costing the company money rather than producing a saving.'

Pity the company!

Abandoned
Having to spend out money to find the best way to exploit labour!

That senior stewards gave their co-operation on this basis indicates how far basic trade union principle had been abandoned.

Even Judas Iscariot got 30 pieces of silver for co-operating with Pontius Pilate. They were prepared to co-operate for nothing.

The experience of the last year in Plessey's shows more clearly than ever the dangers of this type of 'leadership'.

According to the management, the purpose of the AIC attitude survey was to 'assess attitudes towards factors important to productivity bargaining'.

trade unionism. It is the job of workers' organizations to represent their members, not the management.

Undermine
The aim of the Plessey productivity deal is to undermine the independence of the workers' organizations in negotiation.

For example, AIC and Plessey's take an attitude survey made by a selected panel and taken from selected personnel who give their attitudes to productivity. It is on this basis that negotiations take place.

While the stewards accepted this, they put up no fight against the sacking of a young trade unionist recently for putting forward her attitude towards productivity in a workers' meeting.

A new job-grading scheme is proposed, based on a 'consensus method'.

Cut through the trimmings and this means setting up a panel which evaluates the jobs and institutes new gradings.

Preparing
Possibly even more important for Plessey workers is the fact that the management has been busy during the year preparing willing senior stewards ready for the introduction of pre-determined motion-time systems.

Pre-determined time systems start with the principle that all types of different operation can be broken down into very small basic motions.

Describing a pre-determined motion-time system (Methods-Time Measurement), Plessey defines the following motions in all operations:

- Eight hand and arm motions.

Nine foot, leg and body motions.

Two elements of eye action. Operations are split up into these motions and the pre-determined times applied for each motion on a unit of time called the Time-Measurement Unit.

Each for example, is given 12.9 Time-Measurement Units (TMU), grasp is given 9.1 TMU.

27.8 TMU equal one minute. Times for jobs or operations can thus be worked out 'scientifically', in the 'office', by analysing the job and splitting it into its 'basic motions'.

Acceptance of this system by union organizations means the end of 'mutuality' (the piece-work agreement whereby values or piece-work prices of jobs must be mutually agreed by worker and management).

Instead of negotiation, so-called scientific synthetics or pre-determined times will determine values.

The very description 'pre-determined' shows that it means the end of mutuality.

Betrayal
Some, if not all, the union leaders at Plessey's are obviously co-operating in extending schemes like this. This is a betrayal of the strength and independence of the workers' organization.

Mutuality means determining the highest price for the workers on the basis of the strength of organization, for if the price is not agreed then the workers either work day-work, or in a well-organized shop, refuse to do their job.

Then the price depends on the strength of the workers' organization. Stewards who agree to pre-determined times accept the

Clear
There can be no clearer statement of an end to mutuality. Work standards and piece-work prices are taken out of negotiation.

No self-respecting trade unionist can accept the principles on which this productivity deal is based. It is not just how much is being got for it. The trade union organization in this factory is being tied even tighter to the management.

- No breaking of the 'mutuality' agreement!
- A straight wage increase!
- No productivity deals!

BY ROBERT BLACK

THE GROWING opposition in the United States to the Vietnam war places a tremendous historical responsibility upon American Marxists.

Their is the task of fighting within this deeply-confused and socially-amorphous movement for working-class action against the war, based on the struggles now emerging within the US between the giants of labour and capital.

In this contradictory context of working-class radicalization and middle-class protest, the Trotskyist programme, principles and theory become all-important.

Without these political guidelines, Marxists will succumb either to sectarian abstention from the mass movement against the war, or on the grounds that it is led by bourgeois reformers and must adapt to its lowest common political denominator in the so-called interests of 'maximum unity'.

The ability of Marxists to fight for and develop their principles inside such a movement is a sure test of their political calibre.

It is in this living context that we must evaluate the article by David Thorstad in the October number of 'Young Socialist', the journal of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Largest section
The Young Socialist Alliance is the youth movement of the American Socialist Workers' Party, which, under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, became the largest section of the Fourth International on its foundation in 1938.

All links between the SWP and Trotskyism were severed in 1963 when its leadership took the party into the fold of the Pablo revisionists, who ten years earlier had claimed that forces other than the Fourth International were going to carry through the world revolution.

Thorstad's article 'Dave Dellinger joins the Body snatchers' carries the logic implicit in Pablo's theories, and their latest acceptance by the SWP leadership, to their ultimate conclusion.

Pacifist Dellinger, in writing an introduction to a transcript of a discussion between himself, and, among others, the late biographer of Trotsky, Isaac Deutscher, attacked the role of the YSA in the peace movement.

Dellinger was not content with making his own criticisms, but attempted to involve

The logic of Pabloite revisionism



The late Isaac Deutscher.

Deutscher's name in lending them weight.

It is this manoeuvre which inspired the title of Thorstad's article. The pacifists were, it seems, trying to 'snatch Deutscher's dead body' for use in a factional struggle against the YSA and the SWP.

Thorstad replies by snatching Deutscher's body back from the pacifists and claiming it for the Fourth International.

In truth, Deutscher was neither a pacifist nor a Trotskyist, but a centrist who at the crucial period of the founding of the Fourth International in 1938, retreated from his previous position of opposition to Stalinism on the grounds that the time was not opportune for the launching of a new International.

Deutscher's political hostility to the Fourth International is well known, and dominates the third volume of his biography of Trotsky, 'The Prophet Outcast'.

Only two Polish delegates protested that 'the Polish section as a whole was opposed to the proclamation of the Fourth International'.

They pointed out that it was hopeless to try to create a new International while the workers' movement, as a whole, was on the ebb. 'No significant section of the working class will respond to our manifesto. It is necessary to wait' (p. 421).

Author
In a footnote to this paragraph, Deutscher makes clear that he 'was the author of the argument against the foundation of the Fourth International which these two delegates advanced at the conference'.

Safety at Nancekuke Minister is convinced... 'almost'

THE SAFETY arrangements at the Ministry of Defence's chemical warfare research establishment at Nancekuke, Cornwall, are adequate, according to Mr Ivor Richard, the Army Minister.

He gave this assurance after a fact-finding tour of Nancekuke and said:

'I went there sceptical, but came away much less sceptical and indeed almost (?) convinced that the elaborate safety precautions were adequate and being complied with by the staff.'

But 'it would be foolish to suggest that I was 100 per cent convinced.'

This 'clarification' follows allegations of the death of three men and the illnesses of two others were connected with exposure to dangerous chemicals at Nancekuke.

Mr Tony Bigwood, who worked at the research establishment for about 12 years up to 1963, died in May, 1968, of the cause of death being given as throat cancer.

His wife has stated that from February, 1968 her husband developed a swelling of the face and neck with red and blue blotching.

During the last few weeks of his life his weight dropped from 16 stones to six stones.

One of the survivors, Mr Trevor Martin, has said that he had been prevented by the security officers of the Ministry of Defence, from giving evidence of an accident at Nancekuke in December, 1961, which he blames for his eight-year illness.

He is partially paralysed in his right arm and leg, and his claim for a disablement pension has been rejected by a social security medical board on the grounds that his illness is unconnected with his work at Nancekuke.

The Ministry of Defence official has denied that there has ever been an accident at Nancekuke, but admitted that all five men had been working on the same project along with others.

By our science correspondent

A letter from Mr John Morris, Minister of Defence for Equipment, sent to Mr John Pardoe, MP for Cornwall North, on December 3, contained the following passage:

'We have identified the Mr Walter Banfield, whose name you mentioned. I am sorry to say that he died earlier this year at the age of 61. He was, however, a driver for the whole of his career with us and he never had any contact with any toxic substance.'

The Army Minister is 'almost convinced' that precautions are adequate.

Yet with the most stringent precautions, accidents have occurred at Porton and similar centres in the United States.

The substances involved are extremely lethal and little is known about long-term effects on those even remotely connected with their manufacture.

Obviously, these recent revelations are only the tip of the iceberg.

The 'investigations' now taking place and the Army Minister's visit seems to be aimed at removing the basis for the compensation claims being brought by former Nancekuke employees.

This would suggest that there is a great deal which the government wishes to keep submerged about its 'defence' programme.

Although the Ministry of Defence insists that no killer gas has been manufactured at Nancekuke since February 1968, the appearance of the Cornish coast of seals and fish dying with 'burn marks' on their bodies raises considerable doubt.

However, recent reports from divers in the Nancekuke area suggest that chemical warfare is not the sole occupation at the research establishment.

Below a depth of 20 feet,

vibrations are felt and at 100 feet, loud voices can be heard speaking in French, English and what sounds like Russian.

Classical music has also been heard and appears to get louder with depth.

A Defence Ministry spokesman could 'give no explanation for the sounds', but some new form of underwater communications system is indicated by the reports.

The veil of secrecy surrounding Nancekuke and similar research establishments is extremely ominous.

The 'accidents' which 'happen' from time to time are a warning to the working class of the nature of the instruments of death, controlled by the capitalist state.

The gases and defoliants used against the Vietnamese are mild compared to those which are being developed for the employers' armories.

Vietnam touchstone
FROM PAGE ONE
As a Stalinist and reformist he has no political independence from the Soviet bureaucrats except on occasion to provide a left cover for Gollan and company by making 'oppositional' noises.

That is the reason why he opposes our campaign to stop Wilson going to Washington. There is a saying that 'Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party'.

Like Wilson who represents the Labour bureaucracy, Johnstone, representing the class collaboration politics of the Soviet bureaucracy, in his own way, also comes to the aid of US imperialism. Like social democracy Stalinism is the politics of the counter-revolution.

ist programme defended in their Open Letter of 1953.

Now the full extent of that betrayal becomes clearer as the US begins to stir for the first time in its entire history against the imperialist policy of its exploiters.

Only those who have remained loyal to the heritage and principles of the international Marxist movement can now answer the political questions facing the US working class as the Vietnam war enters its second decade and the economy moves towards a serious recession.

The American Workers' League, together with the Socialist Labour League in Britain and our comrades in France, denounced and broke from the revisionist betrayals of Hansen and company. The future of American Trotskyism is in their hands.

masses to overthrow them was not necessary.

These and other differences, however, neither prevented him from playing a valuable role in popularizing the ideas of Trotskyism nor from collaborating on many occasions with the world Trotskyist movement.

While Deutscher did make a few mistakes, flirting with pacifism was hardly one of them.

Even according to Thorstad's pitifully weak inventory, these 'few mistakes' included the rejection of the Fourth International, Trotsky's analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy, from which he flowed his call for the political revolution, and the fight to build revolutionary parties based upon the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.

What is left of Trotskyism if these elements are excluded?

Main enemy
In his attempt to minimize the treachery of Deutscher's 30-year struggle against the Fourth International, Thorstad builds up pacifism as the main enemy, against which all other political crimes shrink to insignificance.

While Deutscher did make a few mistakes, he tells us, 'pacifism was hardly one of them.'

No, Deutscher's 'mistake' was not pacifism. It was much more deadly than that.

Pacifists come out as open enemies of Marxism and the class struggle. Marxists have never experienced any great theoretical difficulty in coping with this particular brand of middle-class reformism.

Dellinger serves the YSA as a straw man which can be knocked over any amount of times to prove that revisionists like Thorstad can repeat all the set phrases on the need to fight in a revolutionary way against war.

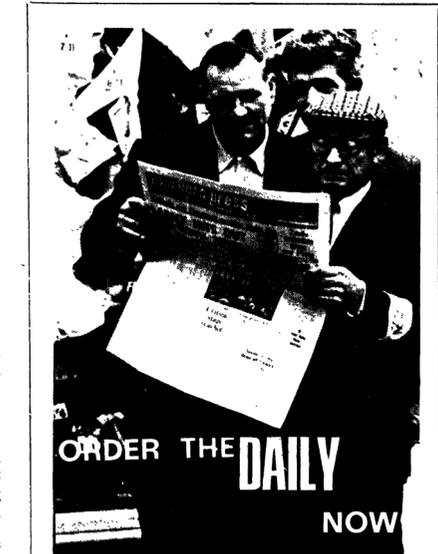
But when Thorstad turns to the most dangerous, the most sophisticated and concealed opponents of revolutionary Marxism, there is total capitulation.

In his eagerness to snatch back Deutscher from the pacifists, Thorstad is prepared to excuse his political mentor anything, even his denial of the Fourth International.

This is the logic of Pabloism. It began in 1953 by arguing that under the impact of world war and mass struggle, the Stalinist parties in the capitalist world would be forced to take power.

In the workers' states, a series of gradual reforms, again under mass pressure, would mitigate and finally, after possibly even centuries of reform, remove the parasitic grip of the bureaucracy.

In this so-called 'new real-



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