

## Vietnam 'radio revolt'

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**What we think**  
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Their pay is thus nearly £2 a week less than the national average for a 46 1/2-hour week.

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'We have been suppressed and I am probably in trouble for telling you the truth tonight. I hope you will stop censorship at AFVN and other stations under military rule. . . . I have found that a newscaster at AFVN is not free to tell the truth.'

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march was brutally broken up by military police—Corporal Lawrence's action is another blow at Nixon's war policy.

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Spain's fascist regime is desperately trying to assume a new 'technological' look in the face of the developing movement of the working class.

Faced with a national fuel crisis, the new fascist cabinet turns for assistance to the Stalinist rulers of eastern Europe to break the strike of the Spanish miners.

## Fight the T.U.C. guidelines

—says Scottish trade unionist

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Today, a Scottish member of the Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers puts his finger on the main political danger of the proposals, issued to the unions on the first day of a year in which the Tories are

likely to return to government office. We invite all trade unionists to begin a massive campaign against these dangerous proposals in union branches and shop stewards' committees by writing to the Workers Press. Alex McCrone, Govan South AEF, writes:

Since the withdrawal of the anti-strike law we have been expecting moves through the back door.

Personally, I don't think the workers will accept any part of this. So now we can bring forward the fight with the "left" MPs who are supposed to be against Wilson, yet actually support him.

The TUC's "guidelines" lay down the foundation for the Tories attacking the working class.

## Vietnam and union democracy

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Strengthened by the TUC General Council's 'guidelines' on strikes and shop stewards, it is anticipated that Barry will take a hard line for the acceptance of vicious productivity proposals so far rejected by the Port Talbot men.

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As our South Wales correspondent reports on page four in today's Workers Press, it is no secret that these proposals will mean speed-up and unemployment for steelworkers if accepted.

So here is the line-up. While workers and peasants are being brutally slaughtered in Vietnam by US imperialism's brutalized armed forces, Chancellor Jenkins amicably discusses trading and financial arrangements with the very capitalists responsible for the carnage.

At home, the trade union leaders back up the whole vicious charade with 'back-door' support for the Labour leaders' anti-strike and anti-union policies.

### NOT RELATED

Further. To some, the Socialist Labour League's campaign to stop Wilson's proposed visit to Nixon may have appeared up to now unrelated to the problems of trade unionists fighting productivity deals and housewives faced with constantly rising prices and rents.

Others—perhaps among the many students and intellectuals who have supported the campaign—may have seen it as some kind of protest. Think again!

In Port Talbot, our campaigns have yielded some important experiences in this respect.

One point made by our

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## Stop Wilson's visit to Nixon

# Playwright Alan Plater signs petition

TELEVISION playwright Alan Plater—a member of the Writers' Guild—has joined the growing number of writers and intellectuals supporting the campaign to stop Wilson's US visit by signing the Workers Press petition demanding that it does not take place.

The weekend also brought further massive support for the campaign against this expression of the Labour leaders' support for US imperialism's genocidal war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants from trade unionists, tenants, young people and Communist Party and Labour Party members.

BIRMINGHAM's Hockley New Town AEF branch has passed a resolution favouring the greatest possible mobilization of the labour movement against the visit 'bearing in mind our union policy of dissociation from the war and our president's [Hugh Scanlon has signed] support for this campaign'.

200 more

HULL Young Socialists, who have already waged a successful campaign against the visit, have sent in petitions carrying more than 200 further signatures.

These Hull signatories include Hull Communist Party secretary John Sheridan, Hull Young Communist League secretary Barry Nettleton, five delegates to the Hull Trades Council and members of the NUT, NUS, AEF, SOGAT, CEU, TUCU, NU&MW, EPTU, ASB, NAIGO, TSSA, ASW, NUPE and ASTMS.

Ten AEF members—including shop steward D. Suddaby—signed the petition at Starkey's (Hull) foundry. Eight workers from Dean's Light Alloys—including AEF shop steward J. Fowler—joined them.

Among the NUT members who have signed at the Sir

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KEEP LEFT INVITES ALL ITS READERS TO THE

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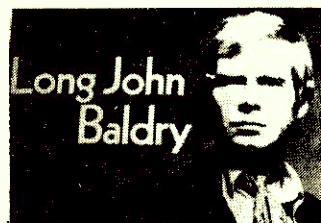
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Young Socialist National Speaking Contest

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## Special appearance



Long John Baldry

## FILM MAKING AND THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

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- For the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam

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

MEETING: 4 P.M.  
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### REFUSED

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# workers press

The daily organ of the  
Central Committee of the  
Socialist Labour League

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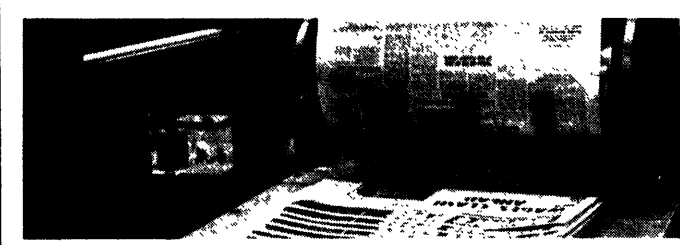
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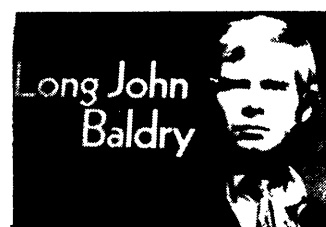
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# THE FINAL PART OF CLIFF SLAUGHTER'S REPLY TO HALLAS

WHEN HALLAS and the 'state capitalists' accuse the Socialist Labour League of clinging dogmatically to the supposedly outworn programme upon which the Fourth International was founded, they claim that we are in difficulties particularly because the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been quite different from that foreseen by Trotsky.

There is, in fact, a trick, a complete deceptiveness, about this argument. However, the trick is not JUST a trick. We shall find that Hallas's argument can be stood on its head precisely because of the CLASS position of the whole 'state capitalist' ('International Socialism') tendency.

Baldly stated, Hallas's case is this: Trotsky in 1938 considered the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR to be a bankrupt and parasitic caste; the consequences of their rule would be either the restoration of capitalism in Russia, with one wing of the bureaucracy openly encouraging this, or else their political overthrow by the working class.

In point of fact, says Hallas: 'The USSR emerged from the war stronger than ever, with the bureaucracy firmly in the saddle on the basis of nationalized industry. Worse, it expanded, and imposed regimes on the Russian model in eastern Europe and North Korea; effectively liquidating the former ruling classes of these countries. In Yugoslavia and Albania local Communist Parties took power and created regimes indistinguishable in structure from the Stalinist model. A little later the same thing happened in China and then in North Vietnam.'

Hallas concludes therefore: 'These developments undermined the perspectives of the Fourth International. It had been founded on the twin assumptions that events would shortly sweep away the old mass parties, whether Stalinist or Social-Democratic, and that in any case the Stalinist Communist Parties could not achieve a revolutionary transformation of society.'

## 'Deformed'

What was the position actually adopted by the Fourth International on abolition of capitalist and landed property in eastern Europe and China? After considerable study and discussion of what were in fact much more contradictory processes than the description given by Hallas would suggest, the Fourth International characterized the new systems in these countries as 'deformed workers' states'.

The state property in these countries, as of the USSR, must be defended against imperialism; but that very defence implied of course an international struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, including the fight for political revolution to overthrow it in these very states.

Hallas tries to say that this

conclusion was some fantastic contortion, to make awkward facts fit dogmatic theories.

He forgets that already in 1940, only a few months after the Transitional Programme, Trotsky had to anticipate a similar development in the wake of the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland under the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

Trotsky was well aware that if the Soviet bureaucracy in the occupied territories expropriated the capitalists and landowners, it would do so only to preserve and extend the social basis of its own rule, collective state property, and not because of any adherence to socialist programme.

At the same time the defence of the new state property against a capitalist attack would be obligatory for the working class.

For Trotsky another consideration was the key to this whole pattern:

'The primary political criterion for us is not the transformation of property rela-

have been obliged to conclude that it was.

'Thus, Trotsky had continued, in 1939, "we must first and foremost establish that the extension of the territory dominated by bureaucratic autocracy and parasitism, cloaked by socialist measures, can augment the prestige of the Kremlin, engender illusions concerning the possibility of replacing the proletarian revolution by bureaucratic manoeuvres, and so on. This evil far outweighs the progressive content of Stalinist reforms in Poland" (Ibid., pp. 23-24. My emphasis).

From the Marxist standpoint of the international socialist revolution, therefore, the struggle to resolve the crisis of working-class leadership is a higher consideration than the change in property relations, however vast or important, in a particular area.

But for Hallas and the 'International Socialism' group, the nationalized property relations in eastern Europe and

accept it when, after 1945, it ceased to be true.

The bureaucracy which became a reactionary force in the USSR cannot play a revolutionary role on the world arena' (Transitional Programme).

The real position of the state capitalists therefore boils down to the following: in the USSR and those countries ruled by Stalinist Parties, the bureaucracy is the revolutionary vanguard of a new social system (state capitalism); in the capitalist countries, the 'permanent arms economy' thus stabilized the economy, made a prosperous working class the basis for a rebirth of reformism; both of these developments make nonsense of the revolutionary role of the working class in our era, and so the building of revolutionary parties and of the Fourth International impossible.

Their criticism of the SLL is simply that the Trotskyists rejected this empiricist rubbish, and fought determinedly, on

emerges is the very opposite.

What is at stake is the whole meaning of historical perspectives, and the way in which 'terminological experimentation' like that of the state capitalists rejects Marxist perspective.

Referring to Stalin's purges just before the Second World War, Trotsky wrote, then:

'Symptomatic of his oncoming death agony, by the sweep and monstrous fraudulence of his purge, Stalin testifies to nothing else but the incapacity of the bureaucracy to transform itself into a stable ruling class. Might we not place ourselves in a ludicrous position if we affirmed to the Bonapartist oligarchy the nomenclature of a new ruling class just a few years or even months prior to its inglorious downfall? Posing this question clearly should alone in our opinion restrain our comrades from terminological experimentation and overhasty generalizations' ('In Defence of Marxism', p. 17).

Even with the advantage of hindsight, writing in 1969, Hallas ignores the East German uprising of 1953, the Hungarian Revolution and Polish revolt of 1956, and Czechoslovakia 1968, in assailing us with the 'strengthening' of Stalinism between 1945 and 1950!

Thus he falls into exactly the trap pointed out by Trotsky. No wonder he deliberately trimmed the quotation down to his own petty requirements.

The question of the historical destiny and class character of the Stalinist bureaucracy is clearly not at all to be separated from the whole historical nature of the present epoch of capitalist development.

Precisely because the bureaucracy is a counter-revolutionary agency within the USSR, the great historical limit upon its development is the very nature of this historically doomed imperialism upon which it rests on one side.

And the instrument for executing the historical sentence upon imperialism, the revolutionary proletariat led by the Fourth International, is also the instrument for the removal of the bureaucracy.

## Record

The petty-bourgeois Hallas sees both capitalism and the bureaucracy as more powerful than the proletariat.

In the record of our 'state capitalist' critics, from 1946 to 1949, Tony Cliff and his supporters, impressed with the recovery made by capitalism thanks to the Stalinist counter-revolutionary betrayals in Europe and internationally, worked hand-in-glove with the empiricist Haston, who, like them, based himself on the capacity of capitalism to expand.

This support for Haston, against the founders of the SLL, lasted until Haston's declaration for reformism and capitalism.

Like Haston, they concluded that in these 'boom' conditions, backed by the supposed reinforcement of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its Parties, revolutionary parties 'could not be built' (Hallas, p. 27).

They capitulated to 'democratic opinion and would not support North Korea and China against US imperialism.' They found in the impressionistic and anti-Marxist theory of the 'permanent arms economy' (see article three of this series) an excuse for accepting the reformist theories of 'neo-capitalism'. (Hallas, p. 31).

Their 'theory' that the Soviet bureaucracy was a new ruling class, emerging greatly strengthened by the Second World War's aftermath, was followed by the onset of the ever-deepening crisis of Stalinism from 1953 until now.

The state capitalists have collaborated, at one time or another, with every revisionist 'left' group, and also with the right-wing Labour and trade union leaders, especially against the Socialist Labour League.

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Trotsky stressed that the Soviet occupation of Poland expropriated the capitalists and landlords only to preserve the social basis of the bureaucracy's rule.

tions in this or another area, however important these may be in themselves, but rather the change in the consciousness and organization of the world proletariat, the raising of their capacity for defending former conquests and accomplishing new ones. From this one, and the only decisive standpoint, the politics of Moscow, taken as a whole, completely retains its reactionary character and remains the chief obstacle on the road to world revolution' ('In Defence of Marxism', p. 23).

Just as we saw on the question of the economic prospects of capitalism, Hallas cannot even approach this all-round dialectical, 'contradictory' approach.

For him, the bureaucracy and the Stalinist Parties after 1945 'achieved a revolutionary transformation of society' in the sense of instituting property forms of the Soviet type.

The fact that these transformations came about as part of an international counter-revolutionary post-war political settlement in which the Communist Parties of the advanced countries played the major role in restoring the capitalist social order—this is, for Hallas, irrelevant! (See article three in this series.)

But if Hallas had chosen the above quotation from Trotsky as his base-line to see if Trotsky's revolutionary foresight was generally correct, he would

China are 'facts' from which we must deduce the strengthening of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The next step is to adapt to that strength.

As we saw in earlier articles, the economic recovery of capitalism after the Second World War was for these 'state capitalist' a reason for drawing the conclusion, 'the revolutionary party cannot be built'.

Their view of the 'strengthening' of Stalinism and Social-Democracy after the war drives them to the same conclusion.

If in recent years some socialists have been mystified by the close working relations from time to time between the Communist Party and 'International Socialism', they should now be able to understand that this has very long-established roots.

## Capitulation

'State capitalist' theories of the USSR appear to be much more radically opposed to Stalinism than is Trotskyism, because they call the Soviet bureaucracy a capitalist class. But this is the key to the whole capitulation to Stalinism and reformism by the 'state capitalist' tendency.

Hallas devotes a certain amount of space to selected quotations from the Fourth International's documents on eastern Europe, but, once again in the perfect hypocritical and very British empiricist manner, he fails to mention the state capitalists' own views on these questions.

He finds it possible, for example, to ignore completely the fact that the 'state capitalists' refused any defence of North Korea and China against US imperialism in 1950.

A fundamental revision of Marxist theory is once again the key to Hallas's and the 'state capitalists' views on this question of Stalinism. Because they name the Stalinist bureaucracy a new class, they are forced to certain conclusions.

'Classes', in the Marxist view of history, are not accidental or transitory things, but historically necessary organs of definite stages in the development of human society.

Trotsky, for this reason, rejected all ideas that the Soviet bureaucracy was a new class. On the contrary, they are a 'parasitic excrescence' on the first, isolated workers' state.

They do not have the historical mission of initiating and building a definite social-economic system, but will be swept away in the course of the period of the international transition from capitalism to socialism.

Thus we find that for all their supposed hostility to Stalinism, the state capitalists, through Hallas, quotes the following passage from Trotsky, and taxes the Socialist Labour League with continuing to

the basis of Marxist theory and programme, to defeat the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy and the reformists, who liquidated revolutions and broke general strikes in one country after another, who continue to suppress with violence every manifestation of opposition to Stalinism inside eastern Europe and the USSR—and to imperialism throughout the world.

Hallas will not, of course, discuss these basic questions of historical perspective. He prefers distorted quotation and isolated 'fact' torn out of context.

In order to show that Trotsky's views were 'cataclysmic'—either capitalist counter-revolution or political revolution now in the USSR—Hallas commits the following butchery, once again, on Trotsky's 'In Defence of Marxism':

'Nor was this choice', says Hallas, 'one for the indefinite future. It was imminent. Writing towards the end of 1939 Trotsky enquired, "Might we not place ourselves in a ludicrous position if we affirmed to the Bonapartist oligarchy (the Stalinist bureaucracy) the nomenclature of a new ruling class just a few years or even a few months prior to its inglorious downfall?"'

(Hallas emphasises the last few words, though he does not make it clear that the emphasis is his and not Trotsky's.) Hallas's purpose in making this quotation is to argue as follows: Trotsky was proved wrong, because the bureaucracy carried on without either restoration or political revolution, but the SLL stuck to Trotsky's line. Therefore they are dogmatic, etc.

What is the truth? Is Hallas's quotation a proof that Trotsky thought the choice to be 'now or never', as Hallas put it?

If we put the quotation in context, as we were compelled to do with Hallas's earlier quotations on the international perspectives, we find that what

# The class nature of the 'International Socialism' group



In 1956 300,000 Polish workers and soldiers poured out into the streets of Warsaw demanding an end to Stalinism.

ences to the Pabloite revisionists, the fact is that the IS group collaborated to the hilt with them in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, a supposedly militant youth movement which only led thousands into an adventure from which nothing has emerged politically except disillusion and a heritage, which is now being cleared away only by the Socialist Labour League and the Workers Press (the 'Stop Wilson's Visit to Washington' campaign), of division between opposition to the Vietnam war and the working-class movement.

In the Labour Party Young Socialists from 1960 to 1964, the 'International Socialism' group similarly collaborated with the Pabloites around their joint paper, 'Rebel'.

The Labour Party bureaucrats never banned this paper. They allowed it to continue

as a counterweight to the banned 'Keep Left', the organ of the Trotskyist (SLL) faction which won the majority in the Young Socialists.

IS members helped the right wing to expel 'Keep Left' supporters from the Labour Party. At that time their argument was that we were sectarian and 'provocative' in bringing about a split between the Young Socialists and the Labour Party official machine, on the grounds that the Labour Party represented the mass of the working class.

Only a few years later they left the Labour Party without a fight!

They had followed out the logic of their rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class, and devoted all their time and energy to the student and middle-class protest movement in VSC.

They are perfectly capable

of another empirical leap back into the Labour Party and indeed of any other turn.

Their rejection of the continuity of the struggle for Marxism, their opposition to the defence of past gains such as those of the October Revolution—these leave them open to such vacillations.

Just as the 'state capitalists' judgement on the recovery of post-war capitalism was superficial and false, so was their understanding of the changes in eastern Europe and China.

## Lip-service

In reference to western Europe, they pay lip-service to the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism but then interpret the renewed accumulation of capital as a sign of a new development in capitalism itself.

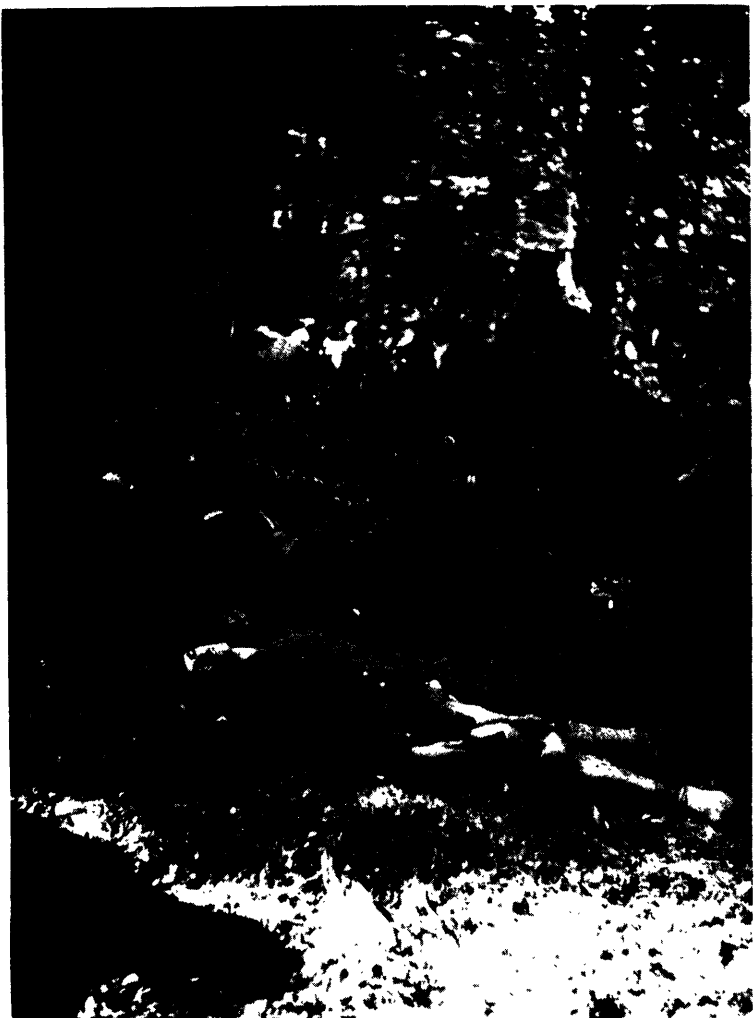
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In point of fact, because the Communist Parties in these countries were Stalinist Parties, they tried to impose compromise solutions of the restoration of private property and of bourgeois parties for as long as possible even against the upsurge of the masses.

It was the objective processes already anticipated by Trotsky which compelled the bureaucracy to carry through the socialization process opened up by the war, its weakening of the bourgeoisie and the upsurge of the masses. The bureaucracy was forced to extend the social-economic basis of what political strength it had in its counter-revolutionary position—and this social-economic basis was, with all the contradictions involved (and which burst forth violently after 1953), the nationalization of the means of produc-



Hungarian workers tore down Stalin's statue in Budapest during the 1956 revolution which created a severe crisis for the Stalinist Soviet bureaucracy.



In Yugoslavia communist partisans led the fight against Hitler's occupation forces and eventually established a government under the leadership of Tito. These gains were made possible not as Hallas claims by the bureaucracy, but by the upsurge of the working class.



TO HALLAS

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## Definite

The SLL today is the product of definite political struggles against the reformist and empiricist (majority) tendency of Haston and his centrist supporters, against the 'state capitalists' of the present 'International Socialism' group, and against the Pabloite revisionism, which continued the empiricist method of the earlier tendencies on an international scale.

That struggle was not completed in 1953 with the split which followed the formation of the International Committee (IC), but culminated in the theoretical and political struggles of the IC against the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party (USA) in 1961-1963.

In the course of this continuous struggle, since the foundation of the Fourth International in 1938, the Trotskyists in Britain, since 1959 organized in the Socialist Labour League, have had to develop from a position where they inevitably carried into the movement a stress on tactical and organizational considerations typical of the British labour movement.

In the course of struggle always to turn towards the working class, always to carry forward the continuity of Marxist theory and programme, and to grasp the implications of dialectical materialism, it has been possible to lay the political foundations of a revolutionary party proceeding from principles.

We have shown, for example, that the state capitalists who now criticize us divided from us on precisely such issues, in order to retain a relation of opportunist adaptation to the bourgeois politics of reformism.

We do not approach our history with the 'normative' method of Hallas and Cliff: that there were always those with 'correct' estimates and perspectives and others who made mistakes.

We consider that our strength derives from two sources: first the correct basic perspective on the nature of this epoch as that of the socialist revolution, in contin-

tion by military-bureaucratic means.

Trotskyism itself, after the departure from its ranks of state capitalists like Mr Tony Cliff, was to experience its most important split over this very question.

Michel Pablo and the majority of the International Secretariat, particularly Ernest Germain (Mandel) and Pierre Frank, had, by 1952, concluded, like Hallas, that Stalinism had been proved capable of bringing about the overthrow of capitalist power.

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During the Second World War, the necessary formation of a united organization of all Trotskyists in Britain (1944) required the acknowledgement that in 1938 it had been a serious error to oppose such unification.

That unification had been recommended by the International, but was rejected on all sorts of plausible political and organizational grounds by the present SLL leadership.

To set aside all these criteria and to approach them from the standpoint of initiating a struggle of tendencies on a principled basis, tested out in an orientation towards the working class: this set the Trotskyist movement on the course it is now treading.

The historical incidents selected and distorted by Hallas are torn from this context. It is only the bankruptcy of their own position, and the threat instituted by the SLL and the Workers Press, which has forced discussion on these historical questions, and all

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It is impossible for Hallas to understand that it is precisely in the struggle against reaction, revisionism, capitulation to Stalinism, etc., in such periods, that the revolutionary party is built.

Political experience and the development of theory can come about only in such struggles, in which the quiescence of the class tendencies produced by capitalist development are distilled.

It is this qualitative development, and not any question of numbers, which is decisive (quite apart from the fact that the Haston tendency disappeared from the Trotskyist movement without trace, as did Hallas himself).

the best of the left to do so, was politically a considerable threat. It was banned, and the paper was broken. Hallas can give no explanation.

It was because the group around Gerry Healy, opposed to Lawrence, conducted this principled struggle and fought all along for a revolutionary intervention in the working class, that 1956 brought certain gains.

According to Hallas, between 1954 and 1956, . . . the Group retained its cohesion and waited for better days'.

He knows this is a lie, and that the intervention of the Trotskyists in the dock strikes of that period, particularly around recognition of the 'Blue Union', was once again a powerful factor in building up the foundation upon which the SLL was constructed.

Hallas's political collaborator in IS, Mr Raymond Challinor, should not be left out.

## Basic mistake

He refers (in correspondence in the December issue of 'International') to the fact that people like Mrs Bessie Braddock were at times involved on editorial boards along with Trotskyists.

Quite apart from Challinor's own record in the Labour Party as an opponent of the Young Socialists in the period of the vicious right-wing witch-hunt (1962-1964), he is making, in his own crude way, the same basic mistake as Hallas.

Mrs Braddock publicly quit association with the 'Socialist Outlook' on the same issue as the state capitalists broke with Trotskyism: anti-communism in the shape of the Korean war.

She denounced us as agents of communism because we supported North Korea against US imperialism.

Once again, the example chosen, once pursued, reveals that behind the impression the state capitalist tries to create are the real politics: the 'International Socialism' group is a faithful servant of British reformism, providing it with a 'left' cover.

Its apparent condemnation of Stalinism is, in fact, an acceptance of the historical justification of Stalinism.

For these reasons it collaborates with the agents of the ruling class in the labour movement to attack, year in and year out, the Trotskyist movement.

Their latest attacks have no more weight than any other, but an examination of them has revealed the state of bankruptcy they have reached.



Stalin's statue in Budapest during the 1956 revolution which created a severe bureaucracy.



Hallas ignores the fact that the 'state capitalists' refused to support the North Koreans' struggle against US imperialism in 1950. Above: US troops retreat from the North.



# nature of national 'group



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Political experience and the development of theory can come about only in such struggles, in which the quintessence of the class tendencies produced by capitalist development are distilled.

It is this qualitative development, and not any question of numbers, which is decisive (quite apart from the fact that the Haston tendency and the Lawrence tendency disappeared from the Trotskyist movement without trace, as did Hallas himself).

the best of the left to do so, was politically a considerable threat. It was banned, and the paper was broken. Hallas can give no explanation.

It was because the group around Gerry Healy, opposed to Lawrence, conducted this principled struggle and fought all along for a revolutionary intervention in the working class, that 1956 brought certain gains.

According to Hallas, between 1954 and 1956, '... the Group retained its cohesion and waited for better days'.

He knows this is a lie, and that the intervention of the Trotskyists in the dock strikes of that period, particularly around recognition of the 'Blue Union', was once again a powerful factor in building up the foundation upon which the SLL was constructed.

Hallas's political collaborator in IS, Mr Raymond Challinor, should not be left out.

## Basic mistake

He refers (in correspondence in the December issue of 'International') to the fact that people like Mrs Bessie Braddock were at times involved on editorial boards along with Trotskyists.

Quite apart from Challinor's own record in the Labour Party as an opponent of the Young Socialists in the period of the vicious right-wing witch-hunt (1962-1964), he is making, in his own crude way, the same basic mistake as Hallas.

Mrs Braddock publicly quit association with the 'Socialist Outlook' on the same issue as the state capitalists broke with Trotskyism: anti-communism in the shape of the Korean war.

She denounced us as agents of communism because we supported North Korea against US imperialism.

Once again, the example chosen, once pursued, reveals that behind the impression the state capitalist tries to create are the real politics: the 'International Socialism' group is a faithful servant of British reformism, providing it with a 'left' cover.

Its apparent condemnation of Stalinism is, in fact, an acceptance of the historical justification of Stalinism.

For these reasons it collaborates with the agents of the ruling class in the labour movement to attack, year in and year out, the Trotskyist movement.

Their latest attacks have no more weight than any other, but an examination of them has revealed the state of bankruptcy they have reached.

# TV column

## Cosmic cliches for the kids



Jon Pertwee: The new Dr Who.

THE TELEVISION new year got off to a sharp start on Saturday with the return of 'Dr Who'—in colour for the first time.

It concerned the decision by the loveable English middle-class eccentric genius, travelling through space in a police call-box(!), and who is never above killing for the kiddies in a good cause, to help the United Nations Intelligence Task-force.

Good training for the young in the values of this world through the fantasies of another.

This new series replaces the American 'Star-Trek' which for many weeks now has attempted to intrigue and fascinate, not to say indoctrinate us, with the doings of the USS Enterprise on its journey in the future.

What an engrossing series it has been.

The starship Enterprise under the command of Captain Kirk goes zipping around the galaxies in full glowing technological brilliance bringing peace, sensibility and humility wherever it ventures.

## No change

A beautiful job is done in this way. Whereas up to now we have had to face only the deception of the immutability of 'human nature', we now have to recognize it seems that its cosmic nature too can't be changed!

If we are to become wise, tolerant, gentle, kind and loving, then we shall just have to wait a few thousand years until it all 'evolves'.

The evidence is everywhere around us apparently.

Each planet that's visited reveals either supremely magnificent species dressed simply but with unimaginable power, or crazed and foolish individual trouble-makers who must be wiped out in the interests of the galactic balance of power.

The fantasy system of the middle class is permanently immortalized on the celluloid and videotape of these space series for children.

Wise men to save us from ourselves all wrapped up in the philosophy that evil really only comes from stupid brutish animal-like creatures who are representative of nothing except their childish individual selves.

Thus we can relax.

The long run (forgetting Lord Keynes' remark about it) and the technological masters will do the job for us.

Fate, in all its inscrutable power, may be at work on us, we may be only its playthings, but underneath it all lurks a divine order too awful to comprehend.

It's also the classic capitalist mythology neatly transferred from this earth (oh insignificant speck in the universe) to everywhere all at one go.

As the moon has been visited, so it has been necessary to colonize it and all other planets in space too with deceit.

Now in the infinite reaches of eternity it turns out to be the same story.

Our children are meant to absorb and inwardly digest all this—and do to some extent. Just a little trimming in the process of conditioning 'free minds' for a 'free society'.

## New series

AND THE BBC has really surpassed itself this new year.

Sixteen new series—some not so new but returning anyway—are starting; next week a further seven. Apart from Dr Who, what else is in this bag of riches?

Well, there's Debbie Reynolds playing a middle-class housewife married to a newspaperman and dreaming of feminine superiority and about becoming a hippie; Cliff Richard pushing wholesome but entertaining Christian values and medleys; a repeat of 'Vanity Fair' bringing into dull lives; 'Holiday '70' where fearless Cliff Michelmore conducts 'independent' investigations into 'the whole business of holidays'.

This latter programme is backed-up by a colour feature in the 'Radio Times' telling us what the stars will be doing on their 1970 holidays.

Cliff Richard, 'unashamedly in love with the sunshine', owns a house in Portugal. Jon Pertwee, the new Dr Who, has one in Ibiza. Cliff Michelmore skis at

Easter and goes to his house on the Isle of Wight for five or six weeks too.

Barry Humphries, built up as a clever satirist, favours Mexico and Turkey; Ted Ray likes his property in Malta during February, the continent for golf in June and the South of France in mid-summer.

One artist, Nyree Dawn Porter, didn't visit Greece last year because of the regime.

## Goodies

But enough of these private revelations, and on with the glittering list of goodies returning for our delight.

Again for the children, a new 'Ivanhoe'.

This is the tale in ten parts of a young Saxon knight who returns from banishment by his father to pursue his fair lady Rowena and, of course, to win back the lands seized from him.

There's a sports quiz; some jolly, sentimental or sad—but never comprehending—memories from the past in 'Yesterday's Witness', beginning with the battle against Mosley's fascists in Cable Street in October 1936.

For this latter programme Mosley himself was once again given broadcasting time and to oppose him were a motley crew of lefts and not so lefts—Bill Fishman, Edith Ramsay, Phil Piratin and Dr Hugh Faulkner—who could hardly be described as revolutionaries.

A bitter betrayal of the working class once again.

Then a new 'panel game for gentlefolk', and, being repeated yet again, just to round it all out, comes 'The Forsythe Saga'.

Without exaggeration there are not more than a few hours left each week when a producer who wanted could get anything even slightly radical (or just interesting!) on to the air.

## Hopes

In addition to all that's new much that's been there for a few years (sometimes decades) continues too.

Paul Temple, Val Doonican, great chunks of religious broadcasting, 'Panorama', 'The Doctors', 'Softly, Softly', '24 Hours', all doing their bit to keep us calm, relaxed and sensible in a fast-changing world.

All our hopes, it seems, must lie with 'Laugh-In' and Morecambe and Wise.

# TUESDAY TV

## I.T.V.

2.45 p.m. Magic Circle Show.  
3.45 More Best Sellers. 4.17 Paulus. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Junior Showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News.  
6.03 Today.  
6.35 Branded.  
7.05 The Tuesday Film: 'The Flying Leathernecks'.  
With John Wayne, Robert Ryan, Don Taylor and James Carter. Marines story.  
9.00 Happy Ever After: 'What's

The Matter Darling, Can't You Sleep?'.  
With Kika Markham, Michael Coles and Graham Crowden.  
10.00 News At Ten.  
10.30 Front Line Africa: Report from the camps of the African guerrillas fighting Ian Smith's white Rhodesian regime.  
11.15 Ballet For All.  
11.45 The Modern Man—The Loser?

## REGIONAL I.T.V.

CHANNEL: 4.07 p.m. Birthday Greetings. 4.17 London. 4.30 Castle Haven. 4.55 London. 6.00 Channel News and Weather. 6.10 Channel Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Movie: 'The Honeymoon Machine', with Steve McQueen. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.15 Living and Growing. 11.40 Channel Gazette. 11.45 Commentaries et Previsions Meteorologiques followed by Weather.

SOUTHERN: 2.45-3.45 p.m. London. 4.00 Junkin. 4.15 News. 4.17 London. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day By Day. 6.45 The Tuesday Film: 'A Breath Of Scandal', with Sophia Loren, John Gavan and Maurice Chevalier. Comedy set in pre-Sylv. War I Vienna. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.15 Southern News Extra. 11.25 The Privileged. 11.50 Weather followed by Cardinal Heenan.

WESTWARD: As Channel except: 4.02 p.m. Westward News Headlines. 4.04 The Gus Honeybun Show. 11.45 Faith For Life. 11.51 Weather.  
ANGLIA: 2.45-3.45 p.m. London. 4.00 Castle Haven. 4.35 Anglia Newsroom. 4.40 Wind In The Willows. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 The Canadians with Robert Ryan, John Dehner and Torin Thatcher. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 Kate. 10.00 London. 11.15 All Our Yesterdays. 11.45 Reflection.

HARLECH: 2.45-3.45 p.m. London. 4.18 It's Time For Me. 4.25 Skippy. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report. 6.26 Castle Haven. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Bonanza. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.45 Weather. Harlech (Wales) as above except: 4.25 p.m. Interlude. 4.29-4.55 Crossroads. 6.01 Y Ddvd. 6.26 Castle Haven. 6.51-7.00 Report. 10.30-11.15 Dan Sylw.

ATV MIDLANDS: 4.00 News Headlines. 4.02 Women Today. 4.15 Peyton Place. 4.40 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.55 London. 6.00 ATV Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Star Western Movie: 'The Canadians' with Robert Ryan. 8.30 A Present For Dickie. 9.00 London. 11.15 Your Living Body followed by the Weather.

## B.B.C. 1

1.00 p.m. Bob Yn Dri. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.43-1.53 News and Weather. 3.45 Religion In The Sixties. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal Magic. 5.20 Wacky Races and Space Kidettes. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 News and Weather.

Semprini, Moira Anderson, Istor Emmanuel, Alfreda Thorogood, Kerrison Cooke, Imogen Claire. 8.50 News. 9.10 So You Think You Know the New Laws? Preview of the International Boat Show. 10.00 Escape To The Sea: Preview of the International Boat Show. 10.30 24 Hours. 11.05 Viewpoint. 11.25 Magazine Today. 11.55 Weather.

6.00 London—Nationwide. 6.45 Z Cars. 7.05 Tomorrow's World. 7.30 Harry Worth. 8.00 Eric Robinson Presents:

## B.B.C. 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 11.15-1.45 p.m. Medicine Today. 6.30 Time Machines. 7.30 News and Weather. 8.00 The Borderers: New series set in old Scotland. 8.50 White We're On The Subject.

9.10 Hollywood In The Sixties: 'Come September'. With Rock Hudson, Gina Lollobrigida, Sandra Dee, Bobby Darin. Wealthy industrialist goes to his Italian villa. 11.00 News and Weather. 11.05 Line-Up.



Hallas ignores the fact that the 'state capitalists' refused to support the North Koreans' struggle against US imperialism in 1950. Above: US troops retreat from the North.



Cable Street 1936: Workers clash with police who are defending Mosley's fascists. Mosley was given broadcasting time again in BBC's 'Yesterday's Witness' last Sunday.



# Port Talbot steelworks Furnacemen face new 'Green Book' threat

**MOVES TO discipline workers at Port Talbot's Margam steelworks are thought to be under preparation by union leaders and the British Steel Corporation management.**

## Workers act now!

FROM PAGE ONE  
ships, willy-nilly, complemented or paved the way for the betrayals of the official union leaders.

The Communist Party and the revisionists, of course, try desperately to keep workers at this level of consciousness by separating out and walling off political issues... such as Vietnam.

### ORDERS

It is necessary to speak frankly here.

Nixon's marching-orders to Jenkins and Wilson are the same as to the troops in Vietnam—attack the working class, keep it quiet if you can (curb the press, use the trade union leaders) but do it anyway!

We will not be kept quiet. The Birmingham AEF members who, as reported in today's Workers Press, have called for the mobilization of the labour movement against Wilson's Washington visit are absolutely right.

The trade union movement must at the same time be mobilized against the TUC's anti-strike 'guidelines'. This is the way to start 1970.

## Telegraphists

FROM PAGE ONE  
steps already before the report is finalized.

The problem which created the strike, which in turn caused the DEP investigation, is still in existence.

The telegraphers concerned are covering approximately 350,000 hours per annum by re-deployment without any remuneration either for its discomfort or its immense productivity value. They read in various papers that the union is asking for 8, 10, 12 and up to 15 per cent in pay increases while the union itself remains mute.

Our membership have the right not only as trade unionists but as individuals to demand that the report is published.

No membership should be expected to accept deliberation on a secret report they have never seen.

## STOP WILSON'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

FROM PAGE ONE  
Francis Askew High School were Labour Party members A. Foord and M. Wilson.

One Hull doctor, a member of the Medical Practitioners' Union—has also supported the campaign.

### Oxford stewards

FIFTY members of the T&GWU, NUVB and AEF (including 20 shop stewards), have signed the petition at Oxford's BMC Service plant. Among the AEF members signing were senior steward, J. Power; deputy senior steward, B. Leahy; shop stewards B. Clarke, G. Bailey, P. Lee, K. Hall, D. Trevena, J. East, R. Johnson and B. Johnson.

From the T&GWU were deputy senior steward, G. Morrison; shop stewards A. Wilkes, F. Chisholm, B. Diddock, T. Nicholson, T. Evans, Blackwell, D. McLean, P. Hayes and H. McGlynn. SIXTEEN Corby AUBTW, NUG&MW, T&GWU and ISTC members—including Communist Party district committee member and steel branch chairman A. McLean, also an ISTC branch delegate to the Corby Trades Council—have also signed the Workers Press petition.

Also signing were D. Quill, secretary of Desborough's NUG&MW branch, and NUG&MW shop steward S. McLean.

Convener signs  
TWELVE AEF and ASTMS

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

Following the after-Xmas lock-out of blast-furnacemen and coke-oven men, Blastfurnacemen's Union national secretary Jim Barry is expected to appear before a meeting of the union's members today.

It is believed that Barry is now prepared to negotiate productivity concessions based on the BSC's national 'Green Book' agreement.

Since the eight-week blast-furnacemen's strike last summer, the BSC has faced one set-back after another in the Port Talbot plant.

The Port Talbot management, however, is determined to introduce its 'Green Book', or a similar productivity deal, throughout the plant.

It has no intention of yielding to any more demands for higher wages or improved working conditions without big productivity concessions from the steelworkers.

Introduction of the 'Green Book' on a plant-wide basis would lead to an estimated 5,200 redundancies—a third of the labour force—and would severely cripple trade union organization.

Failure to force the steelworkers, especially the blast-furnacemen, to accept implementation of these plans so far has caused a major crisis for the plant management.

### Forced rise

November's threat by members of the Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers, the Electricians and Plumbers and other craft unions to scrap the entire deal forced the management to pay a 6 per cent wage increase.

Only the actions of union officials, together with the majority of shop stewards, persuaded the men to return to the 'Green Book'.

Since the summer, the blastfurnacemen have driven the management back and—while yielding no concrete productivity concessions—have won further wage increases and improvements in conditions.

These include a rise of 6d an hour for riggers, £1 a week for sinter plant men and the introduction of machines to lift the blow pipes.

Towards the end of 1969, there took place what could be described as a major 'purge' of the plant's top management.

members—including deputy convener K. Sealey (ASTMS) and AEF shop stewards A. Kindred, B. Newth, B. Wilcox, J. Greston, T. Holmes and J. Lader—have signed at Leicester's New Parks GEC-Elliott Automation plant.

More than 20 New Parks estate tenants have also signed.

FIFTEEN Southampton Ford's T&GWU, AEF and Pattern-makers' Association members—including AEF shop steward M. Thorne and Pattern-makers' steward R. Thomas—have swung in behind the campaign.

THE Workers Press petition has also been signed by Dagenham's Victor Engineering convener Doug Blow, an ex-Ford shop steward and ex-member of the AEF National Committee.

THIRTEEN trade unionists—including the convener, deputy convener and two shop stewards—have signed the Workers Press petition demanding the stopping of the visit at Ferranti Meters, Bangor, North Wales.

Other Bangor signatories include four ex-Communist Party members and members of the ASW and AEF.

SUPPORT has come in from seven more members of Liverpool's Central AEF branch, including branch secretary Bro. McCartney.

LONDON T&GWU busmen—12 from Cricklewood and 13 from Neasden garages—have also swung in behind the campaign.

Five AEF members at Acton's Landis and Gyre works have put their signatures to the Workers Press petition.



Blastfurnacemen leaving a strike meeting last summer at Port Talbot

High-powered productivity 'experts' have been moved in to push the 'Green Book'.

Morris, the former managing director, has been recalled to head office.

The new management's first step was to demand the observance of 'agreed practices' and the taking of all claims through full procedure.

Then came the lock-out after the Christmas stoppage.

This was interpreted, even by the reactionary local press, as an ultimatum to the blastfurnacemen to either abide by the procedure agreement or suffer an extended period outside the gates.

The blastfurnacemen's lodge committee, however, led no fight against what many rank-and-file believed to be a management 'try-on' and a mass meeting on the first day of the lock-out voted by a tiny majority to return on the management's terms.

This retreat gave the green light to the right-wing leadership of the Blastfurnacemen's Union.

### Bulwark

It is to precisely such leaderships that the TUC's 'guidelines' on strikes and shop stewards are in the first instance meant to appeal.

No doubt they will see the General Council's recommendations as a useful bulwark against militancy.

Particularly the section which states:

'Meetings of members are a useful and authorized method of consultation, but... are not entitled to make decisions, or instruct shop stewards to take actions which are at variance with union policy, or with the obligations arising out of establishment, company or industry-wide agreements to which the union is party.'

The point must be made that if this clause had been in force there would have been no Christmas stoppage, in spite of the fact that the men's £4 bonus claim has been in procedure for more than ten months.

Behind the demand that the men abide by procedure lies an attack on everything that has been won since the summer.

Now officials of the NUB and the ISTC are in for the kill. As one leading blastfurnaceman told the Workers Press:

'We stopped Wilson's anti-union law, but this is going to have the same effect.'

### WEATHER

London area, central Southern and central Northern England, Edinburgh and east Scotland, Glasgow area: Sunny periods, isolated snow showers. Wind mainly northerly, moderate. Cold. Maximum 3C (37F).

SE England: Sunny periods. Snow showers, mainly near coasts. Wind northerly, light or moderate. Cold. Maximum 3C (37F).

E and W Midlands: Freezing fog patches thinning slowly to

## The wage fight needs revolutionary leadership

FROM PAGE ONE

went along with trimming this claim to the prevailing wind from Whitehall.

Less than a month after the re-activation of Part Two of the 1966 Prices and Incomes Act, the Stalinists are thus already helping the right wing to accommodate themselves to the government's incomes policy.

Another example of Stalinist double-dealing is to be found in the calling-off of this week's threatened power strike.

Saturday's power stewards' meeting finally dropped a wage demand of just over £3 which was put forward following November's unsatisfactory award from the Electricity Council and called off strike action planned to take place this week.

The 'Morning Star' yesterday reported, without direct comment, a statement put out from the meeting that the men's main objective—'more democratic control over the industry's wage negotiations'—had been achieved.

The transport workers' and the engineers' unions, the 'Star' continued, 'had made "positive steps" towards listening to their members' views. Even the other two unions—the electricians and municipal workers—recognized this.'

The power workers' official leaders have already accepted a 10 per cent award from the Electricity Council against the wishes of the men themselves.

Both the claim and the offer, as previously explained in the Workers Press, were based on 'past productivity'. In other words, on the loss of 10,000 jobs from the industry in the last year.

This, of course, now remains unchallenged, whatever 'positive steps' are taken towards 'more democratic control' in the future.

Both seamen and power workers, however, are undoubtedly prepared to fight. Seamen now face the introduction of disciplinary provisions—modified, of course—similar to those contained in the hated 1894 Merchant Shipping Act.

Power workers face the continued threat of productivity deals.

The Communist Party meanwhile can and will lead no fight in either case.

## Tories withdraw their sack ultimatum

BY PETER READ

LUTON CORPORATION manual workers, whose strike has now entered its second week, meet this afternoon to discuss the council's withdrawal of a threat to sack them if there was no return to work by today.

The strikers, including men from the garage and highway maintenance departments, dustmen and workers from the corporation-run airport, are demanding a £2-a-week increase to bring their basic pay rates in line with those paid in London.

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

OXFORD  
Tuesday January 6  
7.30 p.m.

Small Hall  
Blackbird Leys  
Community Centre  
Speakers:  
J. Power  
(leading local trade unionist)  
P. R. Bush  
(Young Socialist)

MANCHESTER  
Tuesday January 6, 8 p.m.

The Wheatheaf  
High Street  
(off Market Street)  
Speaker: Bill Hunter

SOUTHALL  
Tuesday January 6, 8 p.m.

Town Hall

SOUTH-WEST LONDON  
Tuesday January 6, 8 p.m.

The Falcon  
Clapham Junction  
SW11

CASTLEFORD  
Thursday January 8, 6 p.m.

Ship Inn

THE THIRD number of the Soviet underground opposition journal 'Chronicle of Current Events' has revealed the most gruesome details concerning the Stalinist terror now being intensified in the Soviet Union against critics of the Kosygin-Brezhnev regime.

The main article describes 'the fate of dissenters who have been declared mentally ill'.

It has been the bureaucracy's practice first under Khrushchev, and now his successors, to have opponents of Stalinism declared mentally ill or insane.

They are locked up in 'institutions' for indefinite periods until, presumably, they recover their sanity and appreciate the full benefits of counter-revolutionary Stalinism.

The growth of the anti-Stalinist opposition in the Soviet Union over recent years has forced the bureaucracy to expand and perfect this technique.

The article in question claims that a panel of forensic psychiatry experts has been formed in Moscow to organize this campaign.

It is headed by a Professor D. R. Lunts, who is known to have headed the 'politicals' of the same Serbsky Institute in the 1950s.

### Diagnosis

This department now goes under the name of the special diagnosis' section.

'Experience makes it clear that each decision is taken at the KGB [State Security Police] level, and Professor Lunts only has to wrap it up in the form of a medical conclusion.'

Committing oppositionists to mental institutions after such police-approved 'diagnoses' is a simple way of avoiding an open trial in which political issues would have to be discussed and the nature of the victim's 'offence' at least alluded to.

'Certifying' anti-Stalinists such as the retired General Piotr Grigorenko, outspoken in his support for the exiled Crimean Tatars, enables the bureaucracy to strike at the opposition without such a political confrontation.

### Support

It has learned the lesson of the recent writers' trials where the defendants refused to be cowed by the bureaucracy, and spoke out fearlessly for their views.

Supporters of the writers smuggled a transcript out of

the court house and circulated it amongst the opposition.

International support for the persecuted intellectuals was rallied, much of it (though not of course all) on the basis of socialist principles.

These trials were a defeat and a disaster for the Stalinist bureaucracy.

They have obviously resolved to use these more clinical and scientific methods to deal with all future oppositionists who speak out against Stalinism.

But it should not be assumed that this is a purely post-Stalin technique.

The journal reveals that the first lunatic asylum for oppositionists was set up before the last war in Kazan.

'After the war, a special colony was created in Sychevka, in Smolensk province... people who land up in this colony are reduced to a condition of complete mental collapse. [In other words, the colony was not to cure its "patients" of mental disorders, but to create them.]

In 1952, [one year before the death of Stalin] a special hospital was opened in Leningrad.'

### Expanded

As the opposition to Stalinism grew, so the number of such institutions expanded and took on more 'staff'.

Another 'hospital' was opened in 1965 at Chernyakhovsk, Kaliningrad province, one the next year at Minsk and yet another at Dnepropetrovsk in 1968.

# Soviet mental institutes A new Stalinist terror

BY ROBERT BLACK

The 'patients' in these institutions are kept in the same cells as genuine patients suffering from mental disorders, and are given the same treatment:

'[They are] subjected to injections of large doses of aminazin and sulfazin which cause depressive shock reaction and serious physical disorders... sometimes sodium aminate, a strong narcotic, is administered by injection to weaken the patient, and after the injection he is interrogated.'

All the patients are under the tender care of MVD officers who wear white overalls over their uniforms.

Conditions are so harsh in the institutions that camp prisoners who have feigned mental illness to get away from the labour camps often beg to be sent back.

### Barbaric

Apart from Grigorenko, many other oppositionists are now undergoing this barbaric treatment.

They include Victor Fainberg, who was interned in the Leningrad institution after protesting against the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The diagnosis made of his 'disease' was described as 'schizoheterodoxy', in other words, he suffered from ideas different to those of his Stalinist captors.

This diagnosis creates a pre-



Oppositionist Pavel Litvinov attacked by the bureaucracy after protesting over writers' trials

from those of the current occupants of the Kremlin are not only a crime, but a disease, officially diagnosed as 'schizoheterodoxy'.

This hideous new development within Stalinism does not reflect the strength of the Soviet bureaucracy.

### Fear

They fear an open confrontation with their growing numbers of opponents, who now include not only small groups of intellectuals, but members of the powerful Soviet working class.

Industrial workers now sign petitions and open letters to the Party and state leaders with increasing frequency. The bureaucracy knows that an open trial of Grigorenko, an avowed Leninist, would become a rallying point for this new layer within the opposition.

Neither can they stage the show trials so beloved of their master and tutor Stalin.

Behind Grigorenko, Yakir and Litvinov stands the immensely powerful Soviet working class.

Czechoslovakia has proved, as did Hungary and Poland in 1956, that the working class will fight Stalinism, while remaining loyal to the principles of socialism.

Stalin was able to break the will and spirit of Lenin's old comrades only after huge defeats had been inflicted on the international working class following Lenin's death.

Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Radek and the rest were crushed by the same forces that betrayed the German working class to Hitler and the Spanish workers to Franco.

### No excuse

That is not the situation today, and both the bureaucracy and its enemies know it.

But confidence in their final victory must not serve as an excuse for complacency or silence.

We denounce the barbaric and cynical methods used by the Stalinist bureaucracy in silencing the voices of those who wish to return to the road of Lenin.

We also denounce what has been until now the silent acquiescence of the British Communist Party leaders in this onslaught on the Soviet opposition.

Gollan's 'opposition' to the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia is exposed as a fraud when he fails to speak out against the identical methods being used in the Soviet Union—and especially against those who stand in solidarity with the Czech people.

Yakir, Litvinov and others take to the streets of Moscow, defy the pogroms mobilized by the Stalinist secret police, and raised their voices and their banners against a return to the dark days of Stalin.

Cannot the leaders of the British Communist Party, from the safety of their King Street offices, speak out with them against this crime?

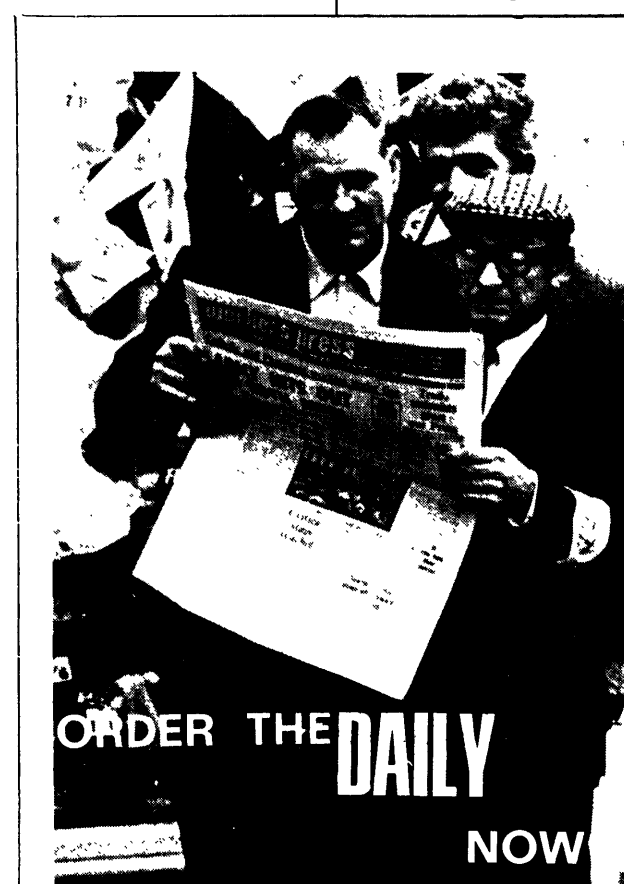
We appeal to all Communist Party members to join with us in demanding that the entire labour movement, in the name of socialism, call for the release of all oppositionists in the Soviet Union and an end to the Stalinist inquisition.



Piotr Grigorenko, now in an institute

cedent unparalleled even in the 40 years of Stalinist barbarism, repression and political betrayal.

Now thoughts different



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