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# United States of Europe

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What we think

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The Association says that if this threat has to be carried into effect, the plan of action would be a ban on overtime working and withdrawal of co-operation in certain areas of the Post Office and a oneday strike on January 22, then a series of guerrilla strikes.

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FROM THE LONDON 'Times' and the Moscow 'Izvestia' comes the same message: Europe must

How each paper sets about justifying the need to unify Europe reveals in its clearest possible form the linked crisis of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy.

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YOUR LAST CHANCE TO TAKE

ADVANTAGE OF NEW PARK

**PUBLICATIONS'** 

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Where did this come from?

Why has the press got it

when the members know nothing about it?' the Union

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Reports of the inquiry—

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**ANTHOLOGY Editor Isaac** 

Deutscher

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# VIETNAM: Stalinism





The purpose of our 'Stop Wilson's Visit to

# prostrate before WILSON

THIS is the beginning of a correspondence on the 'Stop Wilson's visit to Washington' campaign in which we invite Communist Party members to take part.

Young Socialists

THE National Secretary of the Young Socialists sent the following letter on December 10 to Barney Davis of the YCL.

Dear Comrade, In a recent issue of "Challenge" you call upon "all workers" to "abstain from attending their place of employment on January 1" under the caption "Take the holiday you ought to have".

The Young Socialists have launched a campaign against the war in Vietnam to "Stop Wilson going to Washington at the end of January.

This, in our opinion, is an opportunity to establish a relationship between the growing hostility towards Wilson's antiworking-class policies and opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The money which the Labour government is squeezing out of the working class, by deliberately allowing the cost of living to rise at the expense of

American bankers in interest

☆

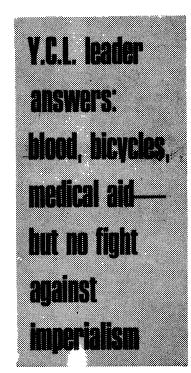
In turn it goes towards financing the war in Vietnam.

We believe that your demand for a "holiday" on January 1 should be politically broadened by an appeal for workers to strike on January I as a protest against Wilson visiting

The National Committee of the Young Socialists therefore proposes a joint campaign along these lines to the Young Communist League.

We would be pleased to discuss the matter further with a delegation from your organization and look forward to hearing from you.

Yours fraternally, Sheila Torrance.



December 18, 1969

Dear Mrs Torrance, Thank you for your letter from the National Committee of the Young Socialists. The delay in reply inferred in 'Workers Press' (December 16) is not wholly our fault, but that of the Post Office and the Christmas Mail Rush.

We welcome the fact that you are launching a campaign against the war in Vietnam. We welcome all efforts to end that war. As you are launching this campaign, we are sure that your members and readers would like to hear what the Young Communists have been

doing on Vietnam for many

years now. The basis for our

campaigns have always been

do what our Vietnamese com-

the principle that we

rades want us to do. Thus in 1965 we launched the first ever campaign for youth for Medical Aid for Vietnam. Our members collected over £2,500 worth of medical supplies to complement the £100,000 plus collected by the Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam. We

70,000 people signed. Our members have also played a leading part in getting the urgent blood supplies to Vietnam including our own blood donor session held under the auspices of 'Challenge'. which brought in over 280 pints.

also launched a petition in

1967 calling for 'All US troops

to get out of Vietnam'; over

We are sure you will be pleased to hear that the 3,000th pint was collected just recently. In 1968 we were ization in Vietnam to send supplies of material aid. Our members rallied to the call and we sent over 100 bicycles, six electric generators, two motor cycles, radios, bales of cloth for camouflage etc. valued at over £6,000.

As you will know we were one of the leading organizations that campaigned for October 27, 1968 bringing out over 100,000 young people onto the streets of London against the war. In this year we have seen the involvement of the industrial working class. The first worker's demonstration on Vietnam was held in Sheffield on March 1 this year

**REGIONAL I.T.V.** 

**SATURDAY** 

and was initiated by our comrades there. This was repeated in Manchester.

Since then the Scottish Area of the National Union of Mineworkers have invited over the NLF. The Kent Area of the NUM centred on Deal, invited the Provisional Government Revolutionary alongside the 300 representatives of the French miners and the trade union lobby of parliament had representatives of 3,000,000 workers present.

This is some of the activity we have taken part in and often initiated. As you can see we can say that we have not confined ourselves to exhortations and demonstrations but have directly aided our Vietnamese comrades. We are, of course, in full support of the

PRG and NLF programmes. Our materials are now in use in Vietnam, our blood and medical aid have saved the lives of many Vietnamese. We have numerous letters from

ULSTER: 12.55 p.m. London. 5.05 Ulster Sports Results. 5.15 Land Of The Giants. 6.10 News. 6.15 Wheel Of Fortune. 6.45 London. 8.05 Feature Film: 'The War Lover'. 10.00 News. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 11.10-12.05 a.m. Seaway: 'Billy The Kid'.

YORKSHIRE: 12.15 p.m. Paulus. 12.25 The Adventures of Seaspray. 12.55 London. 5.15 Cowboy In Africa. 6.10 News. 6.15 The John Davidson Show. 7.00 Never A Cross Word. 7.30 Edgar Wallace. 8.30 'Taste Of Fear'. 10.00 News. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 11.10 Masterson Of Kansas. 12.25 a.m. Late Weather.

GRANADA: 12.30 p.m. Stingray. 12.55 London. 5.15 Garrison's Gorillas. 6.10 News. 6.15 Never A Cross Word. 6.45 The Saturday Western. 8.00 Cartoon Time. 8.10 The John Davidson Show. 9.00 Strange Report. 10.00 News. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 11.10-12.10 a.m. Journey To The Unknown.

TYNE TEES: 12.55 p.m. London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 News. 6.15 Batman. 6.45 London. 8.00 Film: 'The Beauty Jungle' with Jannette Scott, Ian Hendry and Edmund Purdom. 10.00 News. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 The Name Of The Game. 12.35 a.m. O For A Closer Walk With God.

SCOTTISH: 12.55 p.m. London. 5.15 Cowboy In Africa. 6.10 News and Weather. 6.15 The John Davidson Show. 7.00 Never A Cross Word. 7.30 Saturday Feature. 9.25 Scotsport. 10.00 Weather and News. 10.15 Satur-day Night Theatre. 11.10 The Sixties— Tennent Style. 12.10 a.m. Late Call.

Vietnam pointing out how our political and material support is valued. We have had unity meetings with our brother organizations in Vietnam as well as representatives from the DRV and the NLF.

We are sure that these experiences will help you and your members and readers of 'Keep Left' to help the Medical Aid Campaign. The address is: P.O. Box 100, 36 Wellington Street, London, W.C. 2. As you point out we are

calling for an extension of worker's holidays. The more people who stay away from work on January 1 the sooner employers will have to make New Year's Day a holiday. We believe that the strike

weapon should be used by the workers for both political and economic ends. But as you know the ground work must be thoroughly laid before such action is taken otherwise it is no more than hot air.

For example when a token strike was called for February 27 this year against Barbara methods you are going to use. The real issue at this time is what Wilson is forced to say whether he is in Downing Street or the White House.

We find it a little difficult to comprehend your call for 'unity'. Gerry Healy said in February 1969: 'When we talk of unity with an opponent organization it is to get rid of that organization, we are in arms against you. . . .'

Therefore we are not sure if you are still connected with Healy's Socialist Labour League or whether he had retracted that statement or if there has been a complete reversal of policy. The National Committee of the Young Communist League is the elected leadership of the YCL that body will meet in February 1970 and your letter will be placed before them.

with best wishes, yours fraternally,

Barney Davis, National Secretary.

members of a

Vietnamese village 'selfdefence unit are given instruction in their continuing determination American



imperialism.

# **B.B.C.** 1

on loans.

12 noon Weatherman. 12.05 p.m. Casey Jones. 12.25 Zokko! 12.45 Grandstand. 12.55 FA Cup Review. 1.15 International Ski Jumping. 1.35, 2.05, 2.35, 3.05 Racing From Haydock Park. 1.55, 4.30 Motor-Cross. 3.25 Rugby League: Leeds v. Hull. 4.50 Results Service. 5.15 Dr Who. 5.40 The Debbie Reynolds

6.05 News and Weather. 6.15 It's Cliff Richard.

6.45 High Adventure: 'Broken With James Stewart and Chandler.

Western with sympathetic Indians.
8.15 Val Doonican Show. Vanity Fair: Serial. Match Of The Day.

Midlands and East Anglia, South and West: 11.42 p.m. Weather.
North of England: 11.42 p.m. News.
Scotland: 5.00-5.15 and 10.00-10.45 p.m. Sportsreel. 10.45-11.00 Se'ur Beatha. 11.42 Weather.
Wales: 12.25-12.45 p.m. Cadi Ha. 5.40-6.05 Disc A Dawn.
Northern Ireland: 5.10-5.15 p.m. Sports Results, News. 11.00 Square One.

## **B.B.C.** 2

3.00-4.10 Saturday Cinema: 'Davy Crockett, Indian With George Montgomery. Legendary American frontiersman. News, Sport and Weather. 11.20 Colour Me Pop.

Gardéners' World.

Rugby Special: Bedford v. Bristol. One Pair Of Eyes:

Is the Law an Ass?
Buddy Rich in London: With jazz guest stars.

9.45 Review:
Twelve World Premieres and Portrait of a Rebel. 10.30 The Jazz Age:
'Lily Christine' by Michael

11.50 News.

11.55 Midnight Movie: 'The Last Hurrah'.

With Spencer Tracy. An Irish-American politician fights his last campaign.

## I.T.V.

12 noon RAC Road Report. 12.05 p.m. Thunderbirds. 12.55 News. 1.00 World Of Sport. 1.05 On The Ball. 1.20 They're Off. 1.30 Ayr. 1.45 Sandown. 2.00 Ayr. 2.15 Sandown. 2.30 Ayr. 2.50 Sandown. 3.00 Ayr. 3.10 International Sports Special: The Rose Bowl from Pasadena, California. (American football) 4.00 Wrestling from Huddersfield. 5.00 Results Service. 5.15 Doctor In The House. 5.45 News From ITN. 5.50 Bonanza. 6.45 The John Davidson Show. 12.05 a.m. Outlook '70

7.35 Never A Cross Word. 'Rocky Mountain'.
With Errol Flynn Patricia Wymore, Scott Forbes and Slim Pickens.

9.35 News. 9.45 Saturday Night Theatre: 'Suffer Little Children' with Lee Montague and John Le Mesurier.

10.40 The Untouchables. 11.35 All Our Yesterdays: Round-up of the last six months of 1944.

Weatherman.

11.00 Braden's Week.

CHANNEL: 12.55 p.m. London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 News. 6.15 Wheel Of Fortune. 6.45 London. 8.05 The Saturday Film: 'Treasure Island' with W. Berry and Lionel Barrymore. 10.00 News. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 Manhunt. All regions as BBC-1 except at the following times:

SOUTHERN: 12.52 p.m. Weather. 12.55 London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 News. 6.15 Michael Miles Quiz. 6.45 London. 8.05 The Saturday Film: '80,000 Suspects', with Clair Bloom, Richard Johnson and Cyril Cusack. A killer epidemic and marriage troubles face a doctor and his wife. 10.00 News. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 Southern News Extra. 11.20 The Naked City. 12.15 a.m. Weather followed by Inquiry Into Christmas.

WESTWARD. As Channel except at following times: 12.25 p.m. All Our Yesterdays. 12.05 a.m. Faith For Life. 12.11 Weather.

HARLECH: 12.30 p.m. Tinker And Taylor. 12.55 London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 News. 6.15 Wheel Of Fortune. 6.45 London. 8.10 Saturday Cinema: 'Trapeze' with Burt Lancaster and Tony Curtis. 10.00 News. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 Cinema: 'Woman In Green' with Basil Rathbone and Nigel Bruce. 12.25 a.m. Weather.

Harlech (Wales) as above except: 12.05-12.30 p.m. The Owl Service. 6.45-7.35 Hyd A Lled.

ANGLIA: 12.55 p.m. London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 News. 6.15 Wheel Of Fortune. 6.45 London. 8.10 'The Proud And The Profane' with William Holden and Deborah Kerr. 10.00 News, Weather. 10.15 Saturday Night Theatre. 11.10 Court Martial. 12.10 a.m. Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12 noon All Our Yesterdays. 12.25 p.m. Captain Scarlet. 12.55 London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 News. 6.15 Parkin's Patch. 6.45 London. 8.10 Feature Film: 'No Time To Die' with Victor Mature, Leo Genn and Anthony Newley. 10.00 News. 10.15 Theatre. 11.10 I Spy, Weather. GRAMPIAN: 12.25 p.m. High Living. 12.55 London. 5.15 Cowboy In Africa. 6.10 News followed by Highland League Results. 6.15 Wheel Of Fortune. 6.45 London. 8.05 Saturday Night Cinema: 'Separate Tables', with Spencer Tracy. 10.00 News and Weather. 10.15 Theatre. 11.10 Adam 12.

in the work places where the work had to be done there was a great response to this political strike with 150,000 workers participating.

On May 1 again this year the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions called another strike with three quarters of a million workers out and magnificent demonstration after magnificent demonstration all over the country.

The newspapers were shut down in London, 20,000 workers marched through the City. Again another political strike forced an emergency TUC and the government to drop its laws in that form.

More recently the apprentices on the Clyde did the groundwork, and the majority of factories and shipyards apprentices pledged to come out if they did not get the five year apprenticeship cut down to four years. The employers were forced to concede now every young engineer with this benefit.

So our comrades have quite an experience gained from being rooted in the working class. We would consider that it would be difficult at this stage, to get a strike to 'Stop Wilson going to Washington' as you propose.

Therefore:

(i) It is premature (but if you do have success with your 'call' we would be glad to hear the list of factories you bring out).

(ii) Whether Wilson goes to Washington or not is not the issue, however, if you consider that it is we would be pleased to hear how you are going to stop him and what Sheila Torrance hilantrophy? Or victory for the Vietnamese ani neasanis

December 31, 1969

Thank you for your letter of December 18, 1969.

To judge from your concluding remarks it seems to us that you have misread our our letter. We did not propose a 'call' to bring out factories on strike. This, in fact, was what we said:

'We believe that your demand for a "holiday" on January 1 should be politically broadened by an appeal for workers to strike on January 1 as a protest against Wilson visiting Nixon.

'The National Committee of of the Young Socialists therefore proposes a joint campaign along these lines to the Young Communist League.'

As you can see we proposed a joint campaign of the YS and the YCL for securing industrial action. We made no

You refuse to support our

campaign to link the Wilson

visit with the domestic and

foreign issues facing the work-

ing class because as you state

have always been on the prin-

ciple that we do what our

Vietnamese comrades want us

dangerous and reactionary 'principle' to base any policy

of solidarity on, because it

pre-supposes that anything the

NFL leaders think is good for

them is automatically good for

Must we remind you that

the same criterion applied in

the early years of the CPGB and the YCL in relation to the

defence of the USSR was the

principal cause for the re-

formist degeneration of these

organizations—and the aban-

doning of proletarian inter-

If today you find it so easy

to do 'what the Vietnamese

comrades ask you to do' it is

only because in the past you

were trained to do only what

the 'Soviet comrades' asked

submission not only led your predecessors in the YCL, like

Gollan and Monty Johnstone, and Jimmy Reid to defend and

justify the countless crimes and betrayals of 'Comrade Stalin', such as the Moscow

Trials, Third Period adventur-

ism and Popular Frontism,

but, even worse, it alienated

large numbers of workers and

intellectuals from the cause of

Party and YCL members after

the 20th Congress (and even

Betty Reid will agree that

none of them were infiltrators

and spies) and the continued

decline of YCL and CP mem-

bership is but one of the con-

sequences of this reactionary

further. Unlike you Stalinists,

we do not consider the de-

fence of any workers' struggle,

whether it be a strike or re-

volution, as an end in itself.

Vietnamese revolution, like the

defence of the Soviet Union

against imperialism, is a tacti-

cal task subordinate to the

To us the defence of the

Let us explain this a bit

and disastrous policy.

The massive exodus of

This policy of uncritical

nationalism.

you to do.

communism.

revolution.

class.

the British working class.

We think that this is a

'The basis for our campaigns

ington.

explicitly:

to do.'

'call' to any factory.

Before we deal with the numerous distractions and distortions which fill up the major part of your reply, we should like to comment on your attitude to the campaign against Wilson's visit to Wash-

If you agree—then how do

the Soviet invasion?

There is no contradiction between this aspect of NLF policy and the collection of medical aid-which, however worthy its aims are, remains an exercise in condescending charity and does not commit its sponsors to any struggle against Wilson and the British

Is it for this reason that you omit, significantly, to tell us about the subsequent fate of the blood that was donated to the Committee?

After the intervention of David Frost and in order to maintain an unprincipled alliance with the liberals and anticommunists, the Committee agreed in 1967 to distribute the blood 'impartially' between the victims of imperialism and counter-revolutionary forces in South Vietnam!

you, Mr Davis!

only blood and not bullets! Do not think that the YS is opposed to the donation of blood or money to the antiimperialist cause but, we insist, such a campaign must form an integral part of the struggle of the metropolitan working class to overthrow imperialism in its citadel.

policy of the YCL is indefensible.

Despite the impressive inventory produced by you and the thousands of signatures on your petition, not to mention the exaggerated figure of 100,000 who marched on October 27, the policy of the YCL in relation to Vietnam, because of its adherence to 'peaceful co-existence', remains a mixture of sterile reformism and demagogy.

Your omissions in this respect are truly monstrous. You do not mention the formation of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign despite the fact that the YCL collaborated at a later stage with this revisionist parody.

Why not? Was it because

general strategy of the world If at any time the policies of the leadership of any workers' state comes into conflict with this strategy we do not hesitate to criticize it and even dea-vis the Vietnam war.

nounce it in public. As the Stalin-Hitler Pact. and the purge which preceded it proved, the methods of defence employed by the Soviet bureaucracy do not coincide with the historical interests of the Soviet working

Far from strengthening the nationalized property established by the October Revolution, these methods undermined it considerably. The best defenders of the

Soviet state, paradoxically, are its most ruthless and principled critics—the Trotskyists. The defence of the Vietnam-

ese Revolution as well as the USSR demands of all revolutionaries that they prosecute the class struggle against their own capitalists and landlords uncompromisingly.

But here we must part company with the YCL for the simple reason that the NLF nowhere and at no time calls on the British working class to fight Wilson and the British bourgeoisie.

The policy of the NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government-with which you agree completely-does in fact call for a 'neutral South Vietnam'. Neutral between what and whom? An independent Vietnam could never be neutral in the struggle between imperialism and the working class.

'Neutrality'-and this is not to deprecate the heroism and tenacity of the NLF-is another formula for 'peaceful coexistence' with world imperial-

ism. Our differences with the 'Vietnamese comrades' do not merely relate to incidental tactical questions. As you know the NLF leaders condone the murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists by the late Ho Chi Minh's agents in the period after the Saigon uprising of

1946. The Trotskyists such as Ta Thu Thau were assassinated because they fought for unconditional independence and opposed the 1947 compromise which included Vietnam within

the French Union. Our support for the Vietnamese Revolution is a vigorous as any and more principled than most, but we do not

A clear example of how this policy and tradition of the NLF militates against the interests of the world working class is shown in the Soviet invasion

of Czechoslovakia.

Even you, Mr Davis, will agree that the Soviet occupation was wholly reactionary and a crime against socialism.

you reconcile this with your complete support of the NLF which in the interests of a spurious 'neutrality' supports

imperialists.

There's philanthropy for

Isn't it a good thing it was

From this standpoint the

the YCL and the CP representatives were expelled at its inception for refusing to support the demand for 'Victory to the NLF' as opposed to 'Peace by negotiation'?

We too broke from the VSC. but for entirely opposite reasons, namely, for refusing to surrender our right to criticize the policy of the Kremlin vis-

It is a well known fact that the YCL only rejoined the VSC after the VSC leadership decided, quite arbitrarily, to drop all criticism of Stalinism and convert the VSC into a 'singleissue non-exclusionary' band-If today you can speak of

the VSC only in a retrospective sense it is due entirely to your brand of politics which dominated the campaign-even though the YCL tried to avoid the violent and adventuristic manifestations of the movement.

The extremely short life of the campaign and its failure to achieve a single one of its objectives is surely worth an investigation. Why is this? It is not pos-

sible within the compass of this reply to answer fully and exhaustively the issues raised by VSC, but let us state, at least, that it failed because it was a pacifist-reformist protest movement based almost exclusively upon the petty-bourgeoi-

It was pacifist because its sponsors believed that imperialism and militarism were separate issues and that the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism by the working class led by a revolutionary party was not an indispensable precondition for world peace.

In other words, the task was not to construct a revolutionary leadership to overthrow US perialism, but rather to achieve a consensus of opinion by means of sit-ins, teach-ins, parades, petitions and meetings and hope that the imperialist rulers would be sufficiently impressed to stop bombing and withdraw the

troops. It was no different in purpose from the bankrupt campaigns conducted around the 'Stockholm Peace Petition' for general and universal disarmament by the Stalinists in the

There is evidence to believe that the same people who helped organize that charade were also present, in the form of the British Peace Council. in this one as well. As the French say: The

more things change, the more they remain the same. Your policy, Mr Davis. is

completely opposed to the programme of Lenin and the Bol-

practically nothing of what was

Star' lyingly proclaimed in its editorial: 'What is needed is

the biggest possible movement

and the biggest possible united

demonstration to change the

government's policy, to end

the bombing, and to get the US to quit Vietnam.'

everything except a change in

the government's policy and a

withdrawal from Vietnam! Yet,

as the same editorial stated,

the purpose in marching past

Downing Street and not Gros-

venor Square was that the

marchers would address their

demands 'primarily to the Brit-

ish government' in order 'to

get the Wilson government to

change the government's policy

on October 27 or any other

time. The fact that you have

not organized anything like it

since is as good as admitting

that you can never change the

government's policy by march-

that it is easier to get socialism

in Britain than it is to convince

Harold Wilson to 'disassociate'

This brings us, finally, to the

First of all we would like

campaign to stop Wilson's

to point out that it is not our

policy to start a campaign only

on the condition of an infal-

lible guarantee of success,

which is what your letter seems

The purpose of this cam-

paign primarily is to convince

the largest possible number of

trade unionists, students and

intellectuals of the necessity to

link up the struggle of the

Vietnamese people for self-

determination with the strug-

We want to show the

organic connection of the war

with the decline of British

imperialism which is driving

the British capitalists and the

Labour government to attack

the living standards of the

working class, cut social ser-

vices, introduce racialist legis-

unions in the state.

of blood.

lation and integrate the trade

It is, above all, a campaign

of political clarification within

the working class and not a

manoeuvre to exploit the out-

raged sentiment of middle-

class humanitarians who would

like to salve their consciences

by donating a few more pints

limit our campaign merely to

'ending British complicity in

the Vietnamese war'. Even to

secure this modest aim it is

first of all necessary to tear

the most advanced layers of

workers decisively away from

This, however, cannot be

the Wilson-Feather leadership.

done (as we have already

shown) by bringing 'pressure

on Wilson to change his

policy'. Wilson is not a politi-

acknowledged representative of

a parasitic Labour bureaucracy

serving the interests of Anglo-

dence in him automatically

give their confidence to imper-

Wilson's stake in the Vietnam

war is not a spiritual or ab-

stract one which can be dis-

pelled by argument, persua-

By soliciting enormous loans

**REGIONAL I.T.V.** 

Those who place any confi-

You know very well that

US imperialism.

ialism as well.

sion or pressure.

salamander but the

Unlike the YCL we do not

gle for socialism in Britain.

The moral of October 27 is

You failed lamentably to

hange its policy'.

ng through London.

visit to Washington.

from Nixon.

to imply.

Well, Mr Davis, you got

On October 26 the 'Morning

desired of it.

sheviks which states: "... the watchwords of paciinternational disarmafism. ment under capitalism, the founding of courts of arbitration [read UNO] etc., are something worse than reactionary Utopianism: they are a direct fraud upon the workers, aiming at the disarmament of the proletariat and at diverting it from the task of disarming the exploiters . .

'Nothing but the proletarian, the communist revolution can lead humanity out of the blind alley in which it has been placed by imperialism and imperialist wars.' (Programme of the Communist Party of Russia, adopted at the 8th Party Congress, March, 1919.)

The VSC, we say, was reformist because it did not at anv stage counterpose to Wilson and the Labour 'lefts' an alternative revolutionary programme and leadership.

Such a programme would have helped win sections of the working class from the reformists and laid the basis for real unity between workers and students against the Wilson government's foreign and domestic policy.

By turning its back on the working class and revolutionary theory and indulging the reactionary, nihilistic prejudices of the middle-class students, the VSC doomed itself to a short and impotent exist-

The VSC and the October 27 demonstration in particular was the swan song of pettybourgeois radicalism in Western Europe and Japan.

The operational assumption of all the student radical movements led by Rudi Duetschke in Germany, Cohn-Bendit in France, Tariq Ali in the UK, the Zengakuren in Japan was the same: that capitalism could be reformed and that the petty-bourgeois, i.e. students, were destined to lead the working class.

The YS quite correctly re-

cracy with their theory of 'pressure'.

pated the sophistry of Davis by 50 years.

Philistine masquerade

not because we were habitual

abstentionists, but because we

were not prepared to deceive

ourselves and the working

class about the real nature of

class society and the prospects

This is not a new problem

for Marxists. Marx himself

made some very pertinent ob-

servations regarding the Cohn-

Bendits and Tariq Alis of 1848

and 1851—the period of the

second French Revolution-

which was aborted after the

coming to power of Louis

Referring to the petty-bour-

geoisie and their zeal to

revolutionize society, Marx

commented with acid disdain:

means proposed for the attain-

ment of this end may be, how-

ever much it may be trimmed

with more or less revolutionary

notions, the content remains

mation of society in a demo-

cractic way, but a transforma-

tion within the bounds of the

'Only one must not form the

narrow-minded notion that the

petty-bourgeoisie, on principle,

wishes to enforce an egotistic

class interest. Rather, it

believes that the special condi-

tions of its emanicipation are

the general conditions within

the frame of which alone

modern society can be saved

and the class struggle avoided.

Just as little must one imagine

that the democratic representa-

tives are indeed all shopkeep-

ers or enthusiastic champions

'This content is the transfor-

'However different the

before us.

Bonaparte.

the same.

petty-bourgeoisie.



The reformist policies of the YCL, as expressed on this banner on the October 27 1968 VSC march, have achieved absolutely nothing. Far from the Paris talks ssucceeding since the bombing stopped, rising casualities on both sides have reduced the talks to a farce.

time as a noisy and bloodless farce which marked the terminal point of the protest movement in the 1960s.

There can be no return to this era for the simple reason that the emergence of the working class on the historical arena has blocked all the exits for the romantic and idealist commune builders.

The failure and impotence of the protest movement not only exposes the bankruptcy of middle-class politics and the middle-class indifference to the theory of scientific socialism, it underlines also - and very strongly—the unalterable truth of Marx's declaration in the 'Manifesto': 'Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolu-

If the VSC is a bankrupt organization, the Medical Aid

thoroughly discredited one. It

is surprising that you should

speak of it so boastfully when

its secretary, John Rankin MP,

can cynically and publicly

betray its objectives by voting

in parliament against the

motion of the Labour 'lefts' to

withdraw troops from Vietnam

and disassociate Labour from

the early-day motion spon-

sored by the 'lefts' on Viet-

erate enemies of the colonial

peoples and must be fought

and exposed in the labour

movement. What do you pro-

pose to do about it, Mr Davis?

the working class on the Viet-

nam issue is confusing—to say

the least. Surely the task of

Marxists is not to 'involve' the

workers in a manifestly pacifist

crusade of lobbies and peti-

tions, but to establish the inde-

pendence of the working class

from its treacherous middle-

class 'allies' through the strug-

gle for a revolutionary pro-

Your reference to involving

He did this after he signed

Such persons are the invet-

IN typical Stalinist fashion, Davis and the YCL try to conceal

the counter-revolutionary character of British social demo-

analysis of the origins and growth of this malignant cancer

within the workers' movement in the epoch of imperialism.

'Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism' (1920), antici-

ment between Bolshevism and social-democratic reformism,

Lenin explained this division as a consequence of the 'para-

sitism and decay of capitalism which are characteristic

features of its highest historical stage of development, i.e.

imperialism . . . capitalism has now brought out to the front

whole world simply by "clipping coupons"....

handful of very rich and very powerful states which plunder

Obviously, out of such enormous super-profits . . . it is

This view is completely contrary to Lenin's scientific

Lenin, in his preface to the French and German edition of

Referring to the international split of the labour move-

**EXPOSE** the Labour leaders—LENIN

fused to participate in this for Vietnam Committee is a few months later sold out the concerned to make the rally

gramme expressing the interests and solidarity of the Vietnamese and British workers?

Workers were also 'involved' in October 27. But whose politics prevailed? Let us quote one example.

There were many banners on that demonstration calling for victory to the NLF and AEF. (The AEF was still negotiating the £2 wage demand.)

In our opinion this was dangerous nonsense because it equated the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people with the reactionary intrigues of the AEF leadership which in the end sold out the wage demand, as well as the demand for equal pay, and opened the door to the introduction of productivity deals throughout the engineering industry. The same leadershipwhich your organization still

supports, nay commends—a

quite possible to bribe the labour leaders and the upper

stratum of the labour aristocracy. And the capitalists of the

thousand different ways, direct and indirect overt the covert.

the principal bulwark of the Second International . . . and

. . the principal social (not military) support of the bour-

geoisie. . . . In the civil war between the proletariat and the

bourgeoisie they inevitably, and in no small number, stand

side by side with the bourgeoisie, with the "Versaillese"

solution of the practical problems of the communist movement

and of the impending social revolution unless the economic

roots of this phenomenon are understood and unless its

'Not the slightest progress can be made towards the

against the "Communards" (Emphasis in original).

And Lenin adds this trenchant reminder:

political and sociological significance is appreciated.

Ford workers in their fight

against penalties and in the

summer betrayed the fight

against the anti-union laws by

agreeing to the Trojan Horse

the anti-Vietnam war move-

ment, least of all you as far

as we recall, had anything

critical to say in relation to

The workers were 'involved'

Mr Davis, only that they might

be so easily 'conned' at a later

Another virtuoso of 'disso-

ciation', Lawrence Daly, sup-

ported the Campaign and the

War Crimes Tribunal as stren-

uously as any Labour 'left'

obligingly lent him the plat-

form so that he could enhance

his reputation as a 'left' leader

in the NUM and more easily

retreat on the great miners'

cally reprehensible about Octo-

ber 27 was the efforts of the

YCL and your parent organiza-

What was even more politi-

strike in the autumn.

You and the revisionists

could.

Nobody in the leadership of

proposals of the TUC.

'advanced" countries are bribing them; they bribe them in a

'This stratum of the "labour aristocracy" . . . serves as

tion, the CP, to harness the Anglican Church to the cause of anti-colonialism. This reactionary and medieval institution has never failed to support every imperialist war in history and even sanctified (together with the 'Daily Worker' and the CP) the dropping of the atomic bomb on Nagasaki and

Hiroshima. Yet the 'Morning Star' on the eve of the rally invoked the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury in order to legitimize the march in the eyes of an apprehensive middle

Immediately under the headline 'All is set for a great rally' came the paragraph in bold 12 point letters: 'As preparations went ahead yesterday for a great united demonstration in London tomorrow against the Vietnam war, the Archbishop of Canterbury called on all

peaceful and successful (sic).'

anything without seeking the

moral sanction of an estab-

stance of Lenin and the Bol-

sheviks trying to solicit the patronage of the Metropolitan

Patriarch or other church dig-

The policy of the YCL on

October 27 was largely devoted

to one issue which was sum-

med up on the banner of one

of your delegates: 'Stop the

bombing for Paris peace talks

This was a reference to the

bombing of North Vietnam. Shortly after October 27 John-

son, it appears, got the message

But did the talks succeed

Mr Davis? Did they? In fact

not a single problem has been

settled, apart from the shape

of the conference table and the

Not one problem we repeat.

distribution of the delegates.

The grim paradox is that

casualties on both sides have

SUNDAY

and stopped the bombing of

lishment personage?

nitary?

to succeed'.

North Vietnam.

Is it not possible to organize

Can we recall a single in-

climbed steeply since the talks from the US bankers to save began. Now the talks have British capitalism and sterling turned into a farce in which from ruin over the last five the US, after the resignation years, Wilson has tied himself and the British economy irreof Cabot Lodge, are not properly represented and the Vietvocably to the chariot wheels namese have virtually withof US imperialism. drawn. The talks, need we

Through the payment of huge sums of interest on these remind you, have been going on for one and a half years.

And what did October 27 loans the British working class is being forced to finance, quite achieve? The results were in substantially, the operation of inverse proportion to the the US murder machine in number of people who marched Vietnam. —that is to say it achieved

Therefore to 'end British complicity' means to nationalize the banking system without compensation and stop, immediately, the payment of interest on US loans.

We can assure you that Wilson would rather die than cherish such a prospect.

Do we need to remind you of Lenin's epochal struggle to win the European working class from the political predecessors of Wilson?

To support Wilson's policies or to repose any confidence in his government is to betray everything for which Lenin stood.

Our task is not to criticize Wilson in order to support him, but to organize an outright opposition to his laws and policies.

That is why we support the

vote of Mr Norwood MP against the reactivation of Part Two of the Prices and Incomes Act—while your organization remains inscrutably silent or supports the cowardly, unprincipled abstainers who prefer to see the working class betrayed and destroyed, as the German working class was in the 1930s, rather than fight Wilson. Do you think that this policy of crawling before Wilson will deter the Tories from

returning to power in the near future? Of course not! More and more, as the crisis worsens and the struggle escalates, it becomes very clear that all those, like yourself, who refuse to fight for a socialist alternative to Wilson are opening the door to the return of

the Tories under Powell. For these reasons we reject as worthless, contemptible and utterly reformist your statement that 'the real issue at this time is what Wilson is forced (!) to say whether he is in Downing Street or the White House'.

As we have pointed out many times, your campaign of pressure in the past has produced precious little to commend it.

Your insistence on this method now is somewhat

grotesque-even from your standpoint. You state that Wilson must be 'forced' to change. But Wilson, so far after five years, has proved intractable and since there is little likelihood

he will change his mind in the next month, you still support his visit to Washington knowing full well that he will support Nixon! Do you hope that the pres-

sure exerted in London will, for some inexplicable reason, work in Washington? Why?

On the other hand, if you seriously stand for a policy of 'disassociation' then, don't you think, this provides a splendid opportunity to disassociate Wilson from Nixon?

In conclusion we would like to state again the great urgency and importance of our campaign against 'Wilson's Visit to Washington'.

Wilson has no moral or political right to represent British labour anywhere in the world.

His visit has a most sinister purpose: to renew the alliance Anglo-US imperialism against the colonial and metropolitan workers as well as the USSR and China. Therefore it must be opposed.

Sheila Torrance.

'SUBSISTENCE ECO-NOMY' plays a minor role in the basic econo-

The centre of the mass of the economy in all African countries is neither peasant production, nor local bourgeois production, which is negligible, but production in mines, plantations and linked fields owned and controlled by capitalists in Britain, western Europe and United

In the imperialist countries there is much talk about the

The aim of this propaganda is to compel the workers in these countries to swell the profits of the capitalists by driving wages down in the 'national interest'.

And the fact is that there

never really has been a trade gap, i.e. an excess of the value imported over the value exported. The reason for this has

always been simple, just as it has always been carefully hidden by Labour and Tory governments alike. The reason is that Britain

Secondly, on the import side, are the invisible imports,

capital have always been and and still are in Africa, Asia and 'Latin' America.

It was this which formed a main reason why Lenin, in his the essential criterion of imperialism was the export of capital.

Thus the deficit in the trade figures hide a basic element of imperialism, the export of capital to the so-called underdeveloped countries, i.e. the economic colonies which imperialism 'underdevelops' means of the way in which the capital is employed — a question we hope to look at

On the import side, the invisible earnings whose nonappearance in trade figures regularly produce a deficit out of a surplus, consist fundamentally of super-profits wrung out of the economic colonies in Africa and elsewhere.

These invisible earnings consist of dividends on investments, of banking 'services', of insurance and commercial 'services' and of the vast shipping business directly connected with imperialism.

A hundred years ago foreign trade figures for Britain showed a visible trade gap of about £80 million a year, on average.

At this time the invisible income amounted to £30 million from investments directly and £90 millions from the associated 'services' of these investments.

And this did not take into account the export of capital

caused Britain to lose £1 billion' of foreign investments. either in war destruction or to her rivals, especially the United

In addition, two-thirds of Britain's huge merchant marine

(So much for those who, like Ernest Mandel talk of a 'rise' in capitalism. They forget trivia like two world wars, which are an essential feature of imperialism, as the epoch of

workers' revolutionary movement during and after the war by social democracy, Stalinism in the imperialist states and by both plus petty-bourgeois nationalism in the colonies and semi - colonies, imperialism patched itself up after the war.

The merchant navy

mics of Africa.

States.

The property relations of Africa may be described as follows: 99 per cent of the people of Africa own nothing but their own labour power, while the main means of production are in the hands of foreign imperialism, private and state.

'trade gap'.

The fact is that Britain, for example, has had a trade gap for a century, during which time this crisis has rarely been out of the news.

exports not only commodities but also vast quantities of capital, which are counted as exports, from the value point of view.

In reality this export is not a loss, but a means of obtaining profit.

which have seldom failed to balance or more than balance the trade figures. The most profitable areas of investment of the exported

book 'Imperialism', stated that

in those days. There was, therefore, a 'healthy' surplus in the foreign trade figures. The two imperialist wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945

States.

was sunk.

decline of capitalism.)

Due to the betrayal of the

## B.B.C.-1

day '70. 5.30 Ivanhoe: new series. 5.55 Clangers.

6.15 Religion In The Sixties.

7.25 Paul Temple.

8.15 The Sunday Musical: With A Song In My

Circus.

11.45 Weatherman.

10.15 Omnibus:

Ian Fleming, creator of James Bond myth. 11.15 Monty Python's Flying

10.05 News and Weather.

All regions as BBC-1 except at the following times:

Midlands and East Anglia: 11.47 p.m. Weather.

North of England, South and West: 11.47 p.m. News and Weather.

Wales: 1.25-1.50 p.m. Farming. 2.30-2.55 The Doctors. 2.55-3.20 Rugby Union. 3.20-3.40 The Doctors. 3.40-4.00 Cadw Cwmni. 6.50-7.23 Dechrau Canu, Dechrau Canmol.

Scotland: 10.30-11.00 a.m. Morning Worship. 6.15-6.50 p.m. Sunday Set. 11.15-11.45 Herbert Von Karajan talks about his life and work.

Northern Ireland: 1.25-1.48 p.m. Farming, Weather. 11.47 News, Weather.

The Incredible Humming- 10.20 Rowan and Martin's birds.

Laugh-In.

I.T.V.

11.00 a.m. Church Service. 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session: Katie Stewart Cooks. 12.40 Taste and Style. 1.05-1.30 You and Your Child. 1.50 Doctor On Call. 2.15 Face The Press: Brian Clough. 2.45 Sports Arena. 3.15 The Big Match. 4.15 The Owl Service. 4.45 The Golden Shot. 5.30 Julia.

6.15 Friends and Neighbours.

7.25 Frost On Sunday.

8.25 'Ice Palace'. With Richard Burton Robert Ryan, Carolyn Jones and Martha Hyer. 10.10 News.

10.20 'Ice Palace' continued. With David

11.50 Outlook '70.

CHANNEL: 11.00 a.m. London. 12.15-12.40 p.m. Sunday Session: Doctor On Call. 2.13 Today's Weather. 2.15 Star Soccer. 3.15 Feature Film: 'Gentle Gunman' with John Mills, Dirk Bogarde, Robert Beatty and Elizabeth Sellars. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 National and Channel News. 6.15 London. 7.25 Feature Film: 'The Frightened City' with Sean Connery and Herbert Lom. 9.10 Strange Report. 10.10 News. 10.20 Frost. 11.20 David Nixon. 12 midnight Epilogue, Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except at following times: 12.40 p.m. London. 2.00 Farm And Country News. 12 midnight Faith For Life. 12.06 a.m. Weather.

Harlech (Wales) as above except: 5.30-6.00 p.m. Testun Trafod.

ANGLIA: 11.00 a.m. London. 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session: Doctor On Call. 12.40 London. 1.05-1.30 100 Years At School. 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 followed by Weather. 6.00 London. 7.25 'The Tunnel Of Love' with Doris Day, Richard Widmark and Gig Young. 9.10 Strange Report. 10.10 London. 10.20 Frost On Sunday. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. Men Who Matter.

ULSTER: 12.15 p.m. Doctor On Call. 12.40 London. 1.05-1.30 100 Years At School. 2.20 The Baron. 3.15 London. 5.30 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 London. 7.25 Peyton Place. 8.15 Star Movie: 'Jessica' with Angie Dickinson, Maurice Chevalier and Noel-Noel. 10.10 London. 10.20 Frost On Sunday. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon.

With David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. Late Weather.

Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Morning Service. 12.40 London. 1.00 100
Years At School. 1.25 All Our Yesterdays. 1.55 The Secret Service. 2.25
Julia. 2.55 Football. 3.50 The Saint.
4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service.
6.00 London. 7.25 The Big Picture:
'The Seventh Dawn' with William Holden and Capucine. Malaya in 1953.
9.40 The Felony Squad. 10.10 London.
10.20 Frost On Sunday. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon.

With David Nixon.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 a.m. London. 12.15 p.m. All Our Yesterdays. 12.40 Play With A Purpose. 1.05-1.30 London. 2.00 Farming Outlook. 2.30 Shoot. 3.25 Sunday Matinee: 'Ha'penny Breeze'. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 News. 6.15 Gladsome Mind. 6.35 London. 7.25 It Takes A Thief. 8.25 Film Premiere: 'Moment Of Danger'. 10.10 News. 10.20 Frost. 11.20 David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. The Fishouses: A Poem.

SCOTTISH: 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session: Doctor On Call. 12.40 London. 1.05 100 Years At School. 1.30 All Our Yesterdays. 2.00 Diane's Magic Theatre. 2.15 Mr Piper. 2.45 London. 3.15 Feature Film: 'Train Of Events' with Jack Warner, Peter Finch, Valerie Hobson and John Clements. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 7.25 Hogan's Heroes. 7.55 The Bogart Festival: 'Treasure Of Sierra Madre' with Humphrey Bogart, Walter Huston, Tim Holt and Bruce Bennett. 10.10 London. 10.20 Frost On Sunday. 11.20 Tonight With David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. Late Call.

GRAMPIAN: 12.15 p.m. Sunday Session: Doctor On Call. 12.40 London. 1.05-1.30 100 Years At School. 1.45 Far mProgress. 2.15 All Our Yesterdays. 2.45 London. 3.10 Edgar Wallace Thriller Hour. 4.15 London. 5.30 The Double Life Of Henry Phyfe. 6.00 News. 6.15 London. 7.25 Marcus Welby MD. 8.25 The Big Film: 'Sapphire'. 10.10 News and Weather. 10.20 Frost. 11.20 Sunday Talks.

raised to 22.5 million tons, compared with 17.4 million tons in 1939). Invisible imports carried by shipping alone rose from £90

million a year before the war

Britain, for example, was

to some ten times that amount in value. Banking, insurance, tourism and commercial services made an 'invisible' income of over £2 billion a year, some 12 times more than the nominal pre-war value (the actual increase was less, due to con-

under American rivalry and pressure). Reliable figures of income from investments became harder to come by as the super-profits from the superexploitation of Africa and other semi-colonial areas rose after the war, especially in the

stant 'devaluation' of sterling,

'independent' states. Direct dividend returns to the imperialists in Britain rose to over £1 billion a year, not counting the re-investment of profits in the semi-colonial

fields of investment. By 1965 Britain's capital abroad was over £12 billions, including massive investments in 'independent' Asia and

The direct and indirect effects of these investments was to bring in an 'invisible income' of £2.5 billions by

1965 and some £3 billions at present. This income annually rescues the ruling class of Britain and at the same time

gives it its regular pretext to cut wages in Britain. The truth is that the trade is 'balanced' by the working clas, taken internationally, and particularly in areas - like

Africa.

It is 'balanced' by the superexploitation of cheap labour throughout the whole length and breadth of Africa, Asia and 'Latin' America.

The expansion in merchant shipping, for instance, is taken by people with Mandel's point of view to indicate an 'upsurge' of capitalism and 'new' forms of capitalism.

If one looks at what the ships actually do, it is not only modern, but absurd. The vast number sailing down the West Coast of Africa and up its East Coast, for example, and back again, perform an anachronistic function, to put it mildly. For what are they doing?

Tens of millions of tons of shipping are built and sail the Atlantic and Indian Oceans around Africa and look very modern, even 'upsurging', especially the multi-100,000 ton oil tankers. But have a look in their

cargo holds and see how modern their function is. For they are carrying minerals and raw materials taken out of Africa by British and other imperialist capital.

They systematically and literally strip and impoverish Africa of materials for industrialization. Then they come all the way back again, returning some of the materials as 'finished products', all the way back to where they would, under a modern system of production, otherwise have been

processed. This is the picture of shipping on all the African lines, apart from the investors and tourists carried to see how their investments are 'working' and the products of the investments, i.e. of the cheap labour making their investments super-profitable.

It is not only a crazy and irrational picture of capitalist rationalization, but is a true mirror of the nature of imperialism: the export of capital into fields of primary production in Africa.

# 'According to their education and their individual posi-

of shopkeepers.

tion they may be as far apart as heaven from earth. What makes them representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie is the fact that in their minds they do not get beyond the limits which the latter do not get beyond in life, that they are consequently driven, theoretically, to the same problems and solutions to which material interests and social position drive the latter practically.'

The quote from Marx is brilliantly prophetic. We would only wish to make a minor reservation on it: whereas in 1848 history repeated itself as a lurid tragedy, in 1968 however, it repeated itself a second

9.00-9.30 a.m. Nai Zindagi-Naya Jeevan. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and Believing. 1.25-1.50 p.m. Farming. 2.00 The Education Programme: The Minister of Education answers parents' questions. 2.29 News Headlines. 2.30 A Film For The Family: 'Goodbye My Lady'. 4.00 Billy Smart Circus For Children. 5.00 Holi-

6.05 News and Weather.

6.50 Songs Of Praise.

With Susan Hayward. The life story of singer Jane

Midlands and East Anglia: 11.47 p.m.

**B.B.C.-2** 

Weather.

5.15-6.15 p.m. Time Machines: New series. 7.00 News Review and 10.00 'Morning Story':

8.15 Music Now.

7.25 The World About Us:

9.15 Yesterday's Witness:

11.15 Line-Up.

6.35 Seven Days.

New series. 'The Battle of Cable Street'. Play with Lee Montague and written by Alan Rees.

11.10 News Summary.

11.05 Tonight Nixon.

Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00 a.m.-12.05 p.m.
Morning Service. 12.12 Regional
Weather Forecast. 12.15 Sunday Session: Doctor On Call. 12.40 London.
1.05 100 Years At School. 1.30 All Our
Yesterdays. 2.0 0Farm Progress. 2.25
Bonanza. 3.15 Southern Soccer. 4.05
The Beverly Hillbillies. 4.35 Southern
News. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl
Service. 6.00 News. 6.15 London. 7.25
Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.25
The Sunday Film: 'Hot Enough For
June' with Dirk Bogarde and Sylva
Koscina. A very reluctant spy gets
entangled in a web of laughs, love
and intrigue. 10.10 News. 10.20 Frost.
11.20 David Nixon. 12.05 a.m. Weather
followed by Inquiry Into Christmas.
WESTWARD. As Channel except at

Weather.

HARLECH: 11.00 a.m. London. 12.15 p.m. Doctor On Call. 12.40 London. 1.05-1.30 100 Years At School. 2.00 Survival. 2.25 Parkin's Patch. 2.55 Football. 3.50 Court Martial. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 7.25 Strange Report. 8.20 Screen On Sunday: 'Until They Sail' with Jean Simmons and Paul Newman. Four sisters whose father and brother died in the Second World War face desperation and loneliness in New Zealand. 10.10 Frost On Sunday. 11.20 A Very Humble Prince: Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia. 11.50 Weather.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 a.m. London. 1.45 p.m. Cannonball. 2.15 Star Soccer. 3.15 'Look Before You Love' with Margaret Lockwood, Griffith Jones, Norman Wooland and Phyllis Stanley. 4.45 London. 5.30 The Forest Rangers. 6.00 London. 7.25 Feature Film: 'Just For You' with Bing Crosby, Jane Wyman and Ethel Barrymore. 9.10 Strange Report. 10.10 News. 10.20 Frost. 11.20 David Nixon, Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 a.m. London. 12.15 p.m. Doctor On Call. 12.40 London. 1.05-1.30 100 Years At School. 1.45 All Our Yesterdays. 2.15 Soccer. 3.15 'Mandy' with Phyllis Calvert, Terence Morgan, Mandy Miller and Jack Hawkins. Parents learn that their child is deaf. 5.00 Woobinda. 5.30 The Owl Service. 6.00 London. 7.25 Hawaii Five-O. 8.20 'Autumn Leaves' with Joan Crawford, Cliff Robertson and Vera Miles. A lonely spinster marries a younger man. 10.10 London. 10.20 Frost On Sunday. 11.20 Tonight

# Whither Europe in the 1970s?

## • FROM PAGE ONE

That was a full 33 years ago. Socialism, Stalinism tells us, was built in total iso-lation from the rest of the world economy, without the aid of the more advanced countries and therefore without using the advantages of the international division of

Yet Patolichev now says the following:

'There is no doubt whatsoever that if agreement was reached on questions collective security in Europe, a favourable atmosphere would also be created for mutually beneficial co-operation on the broadest scale among nations with different social systems, for the fuller use of the benefits of the international division of labour' (emphasis added).

For more than 40 years the Stalinists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere claimed that the Soviet economy had no need of this 'benefit', that socialism could be and in fact was constructed within the Soviet Union purely on the basis of its own national

If this was indeed the case, why the call today for collaboration between 'nations of different social systems'? What need can there be for the Soviet Union to harness the economies of countries which were allegedly surpassed in 1935 with the final victory' of socialist

The Stalinists deliberately confused the vital difference between property relations and the building of social-

Total nationalization of the economy is not yet socialism, though it is an essential prerequisite.

## **Transition**

Socialism, as a higher form of social, political, economic and cultural life than capitalism, must surpass capitalism in all these fields. Until it does so, it is not yet socialism. It is a society in

That remains the position of the Soviet Union and even more so of the East European states ruled by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Like European capitalism, the Soviet bureaucracy constantly feels the economic. military and political pres-sure of US imperialism, and is compelled to come to terms with it. This is the meaning behind the following comment:

'In the conditions of the arms drive and continuing tension in the world, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are also compelled to spend a considerable amount of money on defence.'

Then follows the points on collective security and economic collaboration with

At the core of the Stalinist and capitalist crisis is the almost overpowering contradiction between the produc-tive forces developed under capitalism and the fetters placed upon their further expansion both by the capitalist mode of production and the bureaucratic restriction of socialist property ward areas of the world.

These two sets of contradictions now merge in the struggle of both capitalism and Stalinism to unify the European economy without abolishing the underlying contradictions of the nation state and the dominance of capitalism in the most eco-nomically and culturally advanced regions of Europe.

Both capitalism and Stalinism make their bid to unify Europe in the name of stability. This was the case with 'The Times', so it is with the Soviet bureaucracy:

## Shades of 1914

Foreign trade, more than any other form of international relations, depends on stability in international affairs. Its successful development depends on firm and lasting peace, on a policy of peaceful co-existence'.

Shades of the pre-1914

The pressure of the big European monopolies on the Soviet economy is enormous. Until nationalised by socialist revolutions, they hold the key to the problems and distortions within the Soviet

This is openly recognized

'The expansion of economic ties would enable various countries jointly to work out and implement big projects on a European scale. in power, engineering and

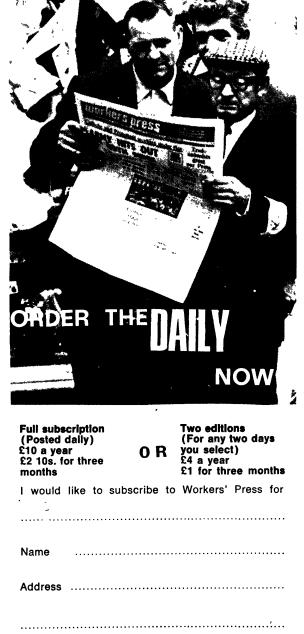
'Such projects include the construction of big trans-continental oil and gas pipe-lines, the creation of a single system of internal waterways linking European rivers, the construction of big power grids and the organization of a unified European power system.

All of this, we are assured without in any way under-mining or challenging cap-italism in western Europe! In fact, the article makes clear that the idea is to

European capitalism:
'The establishment of good-neighbourly relations between countries in western and eastern Europe would also make it possible to bring about a considerable expansion in the sphere of scientific and technical cooperation. This, in turn, would accelerate the rate of technical progress and would bring tangible advantages to all states' (emphasis added). The 'Izvestia' article then illustrates this point by

giving some examples of recent Soviet-capitalist collab-'Co-operation between the USSR and France is devel-

oping successfully . . . The permanent Soviet - French commission is doing a great



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Clapham High Street, London, SW4. (Tel: 01-720-2000)

deal to explore opportunities for expanding specialization in different branches of industry at an international level and for extending foreign trade. Numerous contacts have been established with Italian firms too. 'The Italian Fiat concern

is co-operating with Soviet organizations in the production of motor cars; Olivetti is co-operating in the field of computers and Montedison in the chemical industry.'

Fiat has, of course, been the main target of the Italian strike wave of re-cent months. Its boss Angeli, is an outspoken advocate of a tough, anti-working-class regime willing and able to impose a wage freeze on the Italian

Needless to say, Angeli's reactionary politics are anything but an obstacle when it comes to dealing with the Kremlin.

After all, it was none other than Khrushchev who toasted the health of war criminal and emplover of Soviet slave labour, Alfred Krupp.

The pressure of monopoly capital always makes itself felt on the bureaucracy in Patolichev's article repre-

sents an important new stage in the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy. All the bluster and brag-

ging of the Stalin era has now been dropped. Socialism may have been built in 1935, it is saying, but to maintain it now we need the help of Fiat and Olivetti! The productive forces and

techniques developed under capitalism batter against the barriers of the nation state and private property with such force that even the capitalists themselves are forced to seek adjustments to this

So too are the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies, either, as in the case of Rumania, through direct relations with imperialism in-dependent of the Soviet Union, or through the Soviet bloc economic organization Comecon.

But the most acute expression of this contradiction is to be found in the United States, where the same technology that can conquer space is also being used to lation of South Vietnam

## **Relations**

The struggle for a socialist United States of Europe therefore has to take into account not only the internal problems of Europe, deep and complex as they are, but the relationship of Europe, and the Soviet

Union, to the United States. This problem was constantly studied by the leaders of the early Communist International, and no more so than by Trotsky.

In his criticism of the draft programme of the Communist International presented to its 6th Congress in 1928 (Trotsky had by this time been expelled from the Bolshevik Party and had been exiled to Alma Ata in Soviet Asia) Trotsky drew attention to the world nature of modern economy, the dominant position that the United States held

'Linking up countries and continents that stand on different levels of development into a system of mutual dependence and antagonism, levelling out the various stages of their development and at the same time immediately enhancing the differences between them, and ruthlessly counterposing one

economy has become a mighty reality which holds sway over the economic life of individual countries and continents' ('The Draft Programme of the Communist International: A criticism of Fundamentals' New Park Publications, p. 12).

country to another, world

But, as Trotsky is quick to point out, these countries and continents do not stand equal relation to one

'It is precisely the international strength of the United States and her irresistible expansion arising from it, that compels her to include the powder magazines of the whole world into the foundations of her structure, i.e., all the antagonisms between class struggle in old Europe the uprisings of the colonial masses, and all wars and revolutions' (p. 14).

Although these lines were written over 41 years ago, they throw more light on world politics and the crisis of US imperialism today than all the scrawlings of the Stalinists and the revisionists put together.

From this analysis of world economy, and the relationship between Europe and the United States, Trotsky then proceeded to the question of the Socialist United States of Europe, which had been omitted from the Stalinist draft programme after its acceptance by the International in 1923.

## Raised in 1915

This question was not a new one for Trotsky.

He first raised it in 1915: 'A more or less complete economic unification of Europe accomplished from above through an agreement between capitalist govern-ments in a Utopia [precisely the formula proposed in 'The Times' editorial]. Along this road matters cannot proceed beyond partial compromises and half-measures.

'But this alone, an economic unification of Europe, such as would entail colossal advantages both to the producer and consumer and to the development of culture in general, is becoming a revolutionary task of the European proletariat in its struggle against imperialist protectionism and its "instrument-militarism" ' (p.

That is why Europe can-ot be unified by either capitalism or Stalinism.

Both remain mortal enemies of the socialist re-But unity 'accomplished from above', as Trotsky put

it, against the working class, is now being forged between the Soviet bureaucracy and the big mon western Europe. monopolies of Here Wilson, Brandt, Pom-

pidou and Brezhnev stand on common ground. Behind the diplomatic language of 'technical co-operation' the bureaucracies are cementing a counter-revolutionary conspiracy with European capitalism bolster up the sagging and crisis-ridden economies of

the West. Here Stalinism takes over the classic role once performed only by social demo-cracy—with this vital differ-ence: its efforts are supplemented by all the resources of the Soviet state and economy, which the bureaucracy now offers to the more friendly European capitalist powers as a means of overcoming their crises.

So economically, as well as politically, Stalinism plays an openly counter-revolutionary role.
Sooner or later the lead-

ist Party will fall into line behind this new Kremlin

European security confer-It is only a small step to endorse this new call for economic integration.

the Communist Party closer to the more 'progressive' and European-minded sections European-minded sections of the ruling class [for which 'The Times' clearly speaks].
The Italian Communist Party, the first to call for greater independence from Moscow, was also the first

Drawing steadily closer to their native capitalist classes, the Stalinist Parties of western Europe will be compelled to adapt to the drive towards the Common Market, and so, in the last analysis, to the pressure of

US imperialism on Europe.
This new development

smashed or the working class handed over for joint exploitation by the European and monopolies, under es that will make under Hitler's fascism appear phil-

# ers of the British Commun-

campaign for a

## Adapt

natives. Either the Socialist United States of Europe— or the barbarism of big

willingness to fight Israel.

Brandishing a machine-

gun presented to him at

the rally, which took place

on Thursday night, he de-

500,000 men on the front

and we are proceeding to

build an army of one million

Nasser rejected the latest

JS proposals for a Middle-

East settlement, denouncing

continuing to supply arms to

**Praise** 

he Soviet bureaucracy:

political support.

November

past.)

He reserved his praise for

'We thank the Soviet Union

for all its support, not only

in the form of arms, but also

(This 'political support' in-

cluded the endorsement of the November 1967 United

Nations Security Council re-

solution on the Middle East, which has been publically

attacked by Nasser in the

But even more hypocritical

Nixon's administration for

men.'

have deployed

strategy.
They already support the

on Czechoslovakia is of great assistance in bringing Stalinist Party to openly support the Common

poses big dangers as well as big opportunities for the working class. Stalinism and social demo-cracy, personified by Brandt and Wilson, will either be

These then are the alter-

working-class policies. Here Gollan's 'liberal' line

But a new survey on comprehensive re-organization for this year, published by the Comprehensive Schools Committee, reveals that only slightly under a third of secondary-age pupils are in schools 'termed comprehensive', that many of these are far from fully comprehensive and-most impor-

### takes in September 1969 was about the same as 1968, but the numbers due to open next

Nasser

double-talk

again

ADOPTING a militant stance during his visit

to the Sudan, Egypt's President Nasser told a

Khartoum rally of 60,000 of his government's

Only two Whereas previously the committee received dozens of new schemes for inclusion in their surveys, this year there were

only two new ones.

Cases where authorities have fully re-organized on comprehensive lines are 'very few indeed' in the detailed, 30-page report.

Only a small number of authorities have given definite dates even for beginning re-

By a foreign corresponde

attempt to placate Pompidou and assist him in white-washing the French govern-

ment after the scandal sur-rounding the affair of the five

Nasser reveals in this speech all the reactionary con-

cepts of bourgeois national-

The real 'friends' of the

Arab people in their struggle

gunboats sold to Israel.

# comprehensive schools By an education correspondent

Many adopt devious means of retaining grammar schools within the new systems.

Labour backslides

THE LABOUR PARTY'S public relations men

have gone out of their way to present the government as a revolutionizing force in educa-

At the Brighton Con-

ference, Alice Bacon pledged legislation to force comprehensive education

on reluctant Tory local

authorities . . . which

were, of course, obligingly

helped to power by the

Labour government's anti-

tant—that 'the pace of

re-organization is slowing

The CSC says that the number of schools receiving

their first comprehensive in-

September and the one after

are going to be down quite

Very little new forward lanning has taken place in

Could this be because the government, despite brash threats of legislation, is preparing for a Tory return to

## 6th-form colleges

The survey notes that in one field there has been great activity—namely, towards a greater concentration of post-16 work (i.e., 'sixth-form colleges').

In Exeter, sixth forms have disappeared from maintained

However the supporters of CSC appear favourably disposed, or at least equivocal, towards this development . . . which has the full backing of Edward Short.

We have continually warned in the Workers Press that sixth-form colleges are designed to economize, will shear secondary schools of specialist teachers and will intensify the drive towards 'streaming' and selection within secondary educa-

Such equivocation on the part of CSC is hardly sur-

Its sponsors embrace a full colitical spectrum — 'Black Paper' supporter Rhodes Boyson, Tory Simon Jenkins, Labour 'left' Peter Townsend and Stalinist Brian Simon.

## Abstract principle

Comprehensive education has been elevated to an abstract principle. It is all

While it has made con-

siderable headway in the past decade, its content is often very different from its formal appearance.

adopted it does not and cannot solve any of the probof education in this

Even where it has been fully

on

More and more, in fact, it simply houses and concentrates these problems in one

A policy of socialist comprehensive education for all can only be forged in the struggle against Labour's cuts; by exposing the fraud of Wilson's policies on all fronts.

It cannot be done by committees including Tories calling for 'well-organized and perpetual community pressure for re-organization'.

Such tactics play into the hands of the government.

Stop Wilson • FROM PAGE ONE

shop stewards from Swindon's British Rail, Plessey, Pressed-Steel Fisher and Vickers' plants have now also signed the Swindon resolution reported in yesterday's Workers Press. This reads:

'These utterances', they say, 'show complete contempt for the working class and the de-cisions of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, 'We are convinced that Wilson's proposed visit to Washington will be expressly to give comfort and sympathy to Nixon in continuing the

Vietnam war.

'We, therefore, call upon all sections of the labour movement to tell Wilson: 'No visit to Washington!

'The Americans must withdraw from Vietnam!

# **China-Soviet** border talks to

THE SOVIET-CHINA border talks are likely to resume soon with the return to Peking yesterday of Vasily Kuznetsov, head of the Soviet negotiating

Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov has been in Moscow since December 14, when he flew back with his second-in-command, Major-General Vadim Matrosov, Chief of Staff of the Soviet border troops.

The official reason for their return to Moscow was the opening of the year's-end financial session Supreme Soviet, of which they are both members.

**ALL TRADES** UNIONS ALLIANCE **PUBLIC MEETING** Lessons of the 1969 Ford strike and the fight

**BASILDON** 

Wednesday, January 7 8 p.m. The Bullseye

# WEATHER

(For 24 hours from Friday

west or north-west, but light tonight. Normal. Maximum 6C

Central Northern England: Occasional rain at first. Clear periods tonight with frost. One or two spells of snow later.

rain. Wind moderate to fresh westerly. Rather cold. Maximum 6C (43F).

morrow and a few showers. Wind moderate or fresh west or north-west. Rather cold. Maximum 7C (45F).

and of snow later. Some bright intervals. Frost tonight. Wind moderate or fresh west to north-west, light tonight. Rather cold. Maximum 5C

Edinburgh: Bright or clear periods. One or two spells of snow. Frost tonight. Wind mainly moderate westerly. Rather cold. Maximum 4C

some bright or clear periods. Frost inland tonight. Wind fresh north-west. Rather cold. Maximum 3C (37F). Outlook for 48 hours: Cold

with night frost and coastal snow showers with a few longer periods of snow.

# Coal prices to go up

● FROM PAGE ONE

on house coal sold to the merchants and probably more than this for the house-

Unable

Other coals, such as anthracite and Phurnacite, will go up by £1 to 25s a ton. In some areas, mainly in the East Midlands, the cost of coal is already so high that the NCB has been un-able to raise the price by as much as 10 per cent for fear that no-one would buy it. Yesterday's increase, ex-pected to raise £65 million a year, was introduced on the pretext of preventing the NCB's deficit exceeding the statutory limit of £50 million.

Change

National Union of Mineworkers' leaders are asking for a meeting this month with

the government to 'ask' for a change in policy over the Board's deficit. The coal industry is in fact profitable, making £29 million in 1968/1969, but is

pulled into the red by crippl-

interest converted the profit to a 'loss' of £9 million.

Not only do these huge sums of money go into the pockets of the bankers, but much of the interest burden

Unlikely

stems from the compensation paid to the pits' former

How unlikely it is that the NUM leaders will raise the correct demand of immediate suspension of all interest payments and nationalization of the banks is shown by the actions they propose before the talks with the government. The NUM leaders are ex-

pected to call on the NCB first to 'check that their policy . . . is in line with current Coal Board thinking before putting it to the Minister'(!) Having worked with determination to sell out the miners' strike, they now go

cringing cap-in-hand to beg

for a change in government policy—policy which every-one knows is dictated by the

international bankers.

This is the reason why the Labour government attacks the through allowing coal prices to rise and continuing closures and speed-up in the pits. .

# White collar

• FROM PAGE ONE ment's need to cut their labour costs in the interests

Scanlon, is 'no redundancy before suitable alternative jobs are found'-the same demand which was put before the management of GEC-EE earlier last year when they announced 3,000 redundancies in the Merseyside area. This 'stand' was obviously farcical in an area of 30,000 unemployed, and remains absurd in the context of growing national unemployment. 1,000 members of the AEF will lose their jobs if the Rolls-Royce cutbacks are allowed to go through.

of 'improved efficiency'. Speakers: And the official AEF policy under the 'left' leadership of I. Power

> **MANCHESTER** The Wheatsheaf High Street

Tuesday, January 6, 8 p.m.

SOUTHALL Tuesday, January 6, 8 p.m.

# KEEP LEFT WEEKEND RALLY

Saturday and Sunday, January 10 and 11

KEEP LEFT INVITES ALL ITS READERS TO THE **ANNUAL GENERAL** 

### against imperialism and Zion-ism are the working classes of the imperialist countries and Soviet bloc — not the East India Hall, East India Dock Road capitalist and the Stalinist London, E.14

Big power Like all capitalist statesmen, Nasser thinks talks and acts within the framework of big-For all his talk of an army of a million men, Nasser has proved himself unable to ad-

vance the Arab revolution beyond the successful 1956 campaign to nationalize the Suez canal. Socialist leadership will be needed to settle final accounts with imperialism and Zionism.

## **ATUA-YS PUBLIC MEETINGS** Stop Wilson's visit to Washington

**BIRKENHEAD** Monday, January 5 8 p.m. Observatory Hotel Oxton Road

**OXFORD** Tuesday, January 6 7.30 p.m. Small Hall Blackbird Leys Community Centre (leading local trade unionist) P. R. Bush (Young Socialist)

(off Market Street) Speaker: Bill Hunter

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

## MEETING Saturday, January 10 2.30 p.m.

Young Socialist National Speaking Contest

DANCE IN THE EVENING East India Hall 8 p.m.-11 p.m.

The Crescendos The Element of Truth Special appearance

LONG JOHN BALDRY

East India Hall

8 p.m.-11 p.m.

# FILM MAKING AND THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

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

STOP WILSON'S WASHINGTON

VISIT!

FOR THE DEFEAT OF US

IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM! **DEMONSTRATION** 

**SUNDAY JAN. 11** ASSEMBLE: Speakers' Corner (Marble Arch),

MARCH: via Oxford Street, Regent Street,

Trafalgar Square past Downing Street. MEETING: Lyceum Ballroom, near Aldwych, Details from 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

Tickets for the whole weekend 12s 6d

# resume

The session ended on December 19, and it is thought that the two leaders of the negotiating team remained in Moscow to report on the progress—or lack of it—at the Peking talks.

for parity

Market Place

London area, SE and central Southern England, E and W Midlands: Occasional rain today. Clear periods tonight with frost. Bright periods with one or two snow showers tomorrow. Wind moderate,

Wind west to north-west moderate, but light tonight. Rather cold. Maximum 4C Channel Islands: Occasional

SW England: Occasional rain today. Clear periods tonight with frost. Bright periods to-

NW England, Northern Ire-

Glasgow area: Snow showers,

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