

Marxist monthly journal of the Workers Revolutionary Party

65p  
monthly

# LABOUR REVIEW

May 1982 Volume 6 Number 1



**MAKE WAR  
ON WAR . . .**

**Benn's travesty  
of Marxism**

**In Defence of  
Solidarity**

**Reagan's war  
on the Unions**

# LABOUR REVIEW

MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY  
VOL.VI NO.1 MAY 1982  
ISSN 0140-1270

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A PATCO STRIKER IN CHAINS —  
SEE STORY ON PAGE 8

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# DOWN WITH THATCHER'S IMPERIALIST WAR!

## HANDS OFF ARGENTINA!

THE THATCHER government's imperialist war against Argentina is a product of a new and violent stage of the world capitalist crisis. It expresses in every sense the break-up and decay of the gangrenous profit system. It is an utterly reactionary war being fought by an historically outmoded ruling class in order to try and perpetuate the imperialist enslavement of former territories, their peoples and resources.

We stand for the national self determination of Argentina and its territorial right to the Malvinas (Falklands). We unconditionally stand for the defeat of British imperialism. Its defeat will be a tremendous victory for the Argentine masses in making their own revolution and it will be a great victory for the British working class as well.

We denounce the disgusting fumes of patriotism, chauvinism, racism and imperialist war jingoism spread by the Labour Party leaders. Their treachery has been made easier by the wretched complicity of the revisionist groups — none of whom has made a statement in support of Argentina's right to the Malvinas. These groups have cravenly hidden behind appeals to the imperialist United Nations, remained 'neutral' on the spurious and reactionary grounds that Thatcher and Galtieri are somehow 'equal' and, in the case of the 'Militant' group, helped to sponsor the Tory war aggression by calling on British trade unions to boycott Argentine trade!

We say down with Thatcher and Reagan's imperialism. It means massive unemployment, hunger and war for the working class and oppressed of the world. We call on the working class, its middle class allies, the trade unions and the youth to mobilise against the Tory government, drive it from office and open the floodgates for the development of the socialist revolution.

THE EDITORS wish to welcome readers to this new series of **Labour Review**. We have incorporated many changes: the format has been enlarged to magazine size, colour and black and white photographs have been introduced, and the range of topics under discussion has been extended.

The new **Labour Review** will be more attractive to a wider readership, especially in the trade unions, the universities, among youth and the labour movement in general. It is in line with the Workers Revolutionary Party's long-established insistence on the development of the world scientific outlook of Marxism as the theoretical and practical key to the world socialist revolution.

The editors take pleasure in inviting readers to submit articles, letters, book reviews or any other suggestions to advance the theoretical tasks of **Labour Review** and its circulation.

EDITORIAL

## A REPLY TO BENN'S 1982

LENIN was fond of noting that all great revolutionaries after their death tended to share the same fate. In life vilified and hounded by the ruling class, they are invariably subsequently canonised, converted into harmless icons.

Marx was certainly no exception to this rule for 'today the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the Labour movement concur in this doctoring of Marxism. They omit, obscure, or distort the revolutionary side of this theory, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie'. (Lenin, *State and Revolution*)

Thus it was and thus it remains. The odious and demeaning task of 'doctoring' Marxism in this manner, of rendering it palatable for sections of the middle class, has in Britain always fallen to the lot of the Fabians, in which task their efforts have been supplemented by various brands of revisionism.

These gentlemen have always been prepared to discover in Marx certain 'positive' features, on one strict condition: that the essence of Marx's life and teachings were suppressed, namely his unremitting struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the liberation of the working class from its oppressors. As long as this 'element' was purged from the body of Marxism, why, it could even be included in that *mélange* of influences — Methodism, humanism, evolutionism, utilitarianism, temperance, gradualness — which go to make up what are supposed to be the 'traditions' of the British labour movement.

The latest recruit to the ranks of these assorted priests who would exorcise from Marxism its 'dangerous' aspects and transform it into something fit to discuss in front of the children is the Rt Hon Anthony Wedgwood Benn. Benn had the dubious honour of delivering this year's Marx Memorial Lecture. Given on March 16, extracts of his speech were printed in the *Morning Star* (March 18, 1982) and *The Guardian* (March 22). The full version will be carried in the May issue of *Marxism Today*, 'theoretical' organ of the British Stalinists.

Now one might think Benn a surprising recruit to those self-proclaimed and middle class experts on Marxism. For in the past he has had little if anything to say on this subject. Indeed, in company with all those left parliamentary reformists who inhabit the circles of *Tribune* and whose prejudices and insularity Benn shares, he has maintained a truly deafening silence in the past on the question of Marxism. But times have changed. Throughout the world, the social revolution proceeds with enormous pace under the impact of the world economic crisis — in El Salvador, the Middle East, Africa, Western Europe,

a process being joined by the mighty movement of the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy at the head of which is the Polish working class.

These conditions provide the material basis for the rapid growth of Marxism, represented by the International Committee of the Fourth International. The bourgeoisie and its representatives can no longer preserve their cowardly silence about Marxism, no longer can they declare Marxism 'dead', buried by the Keynesian inflationary boom. But nor can they tackle it head on. Ideologically bankrupt as they are, they are forced, willy nilly, to rely on their agencies inside the working class movement to attempt to render Marxism harmless.

Hence the renewed efforts to 'humanise' Marx, to paint him as being little more than a good honest English liberal, a member of the 'Tribune' group before his

For Trotskyists this will hardly rate as news. But more is at stake, Benn tells us, for the British press and media generally treats Marxism as though it were synonymous with 'terrorism, violence, espionage, thought-control'.

But should we not pause at this point? For let us recall the fact that Benn is addressing a meeting sponsored by the **Stalinists** in Britain. Now if anything discredited and continues to discredit Marxism, if anything gave to the ruling class and to 'public opinion' generally the pretext for presenting Marxism precisely as a 'creed' based upon violence, terror and mass murder it was most surely Stalinism — which used all these methods, and more, to suppress and liquidate its opponents inside the international working class movement. And it still employs the same methods, not least in Poland.

Yet Mr Benn, who speaks high on moral

# MR BENN' OF MARXI

time. But the fact that it is Benn who now steps forward to attempt this task only serves to reveal the total ideological decline of the ruling class. In the 1930s the task of 'taming' Marx in England fell to the likes of intellectuals such as Harold Laski and G.D.H. Cole.

At least such people had a certain knowledge of the history of the working class and, in Laski's instance, a knowledge of the development of political theory in England. In short, in certain circles at least, they could be considered 'serious' thinkers. Not so the worthy Mr Benn. The most charitable thing that can be said for Benn is that his knowledge of Marxism is 'seriously' deficient.

Mr Benn, it seems, is worried. Marx has been getting a bad press recently. For the ruling class, complains Mr Benn, Marx is the anti-Christ against whom the full weight of official propaganda is directed.

questions, says not a word to offend his Stalinist audience. His silence speaks for his own morality! And this for very good reason: Benn is stretching out the hand of friendship to the Stalinists, for in Stalinism with its fetish for parliamentary democracy and its worship of the institution of the capitalist state, Benn sees himself. He is in effect assuring the ruling class that from this brand of 'Marxism' they have nothing to fear. And here at least he is indubitably correct.

Indeed, after making the usual statutory noises to his largely Euro-Stalinist audience, about the 'harassment' of those who advocate 'liberal' ideas in the Soviet Union (naturally Benn prefers a discreet silence about the fate of the Trotskyists who fought for a revolutionary programme and theory against Stalinism) he has the audacity to describe the states of Eastern Europe and the USSR as

# MARX MEMORIAL LECTURE

'actual existing socialist societies'.

Not only does Benn consciously deploy the same metaphysical language as the Stalinists, but he entirely concurs with the main plank of Stalinism, namely the theory of socialism in one country. It is interesting to speculate about the response Benn might expect from the working class of 'actually existing socialist' Poland, thousands of whom are currently in jail for the 'crime' of demanding and fighting for a free independent trade union movement to express their interests.

Indeed, Benn's lecture was not so much a discussion of Marxism as an attack on Trotskyism, that is, on the only tendency within the international working class movement which has sought to actualise Marx's theoretical conceptions and, in the spirit of Lenin, to develop them in the struggle to build in the working class a

ist' group Benn is more forthcoming: 'I am profoundly opposed to any attempt to outlaw, expel or excommunicate the followers of Leon Trotsky from the Labour Party', he assures his Stalinist listeners.

No prizes for guessing who he is referring to. Specifically it is the 'Militant' tendency of Mr Ted Grant whose claims to be 'Trotskyist' are on the same level as the 'Gang of Four's' to be 'socialists'. Then there are a collection of other fake 'Trotskyists' who dwell in the shadow of Mr Benn's political umbrella: Mr Tariq Ali's misnamed 'International Marxist Group', Mr Alan Thornett's 'Socialist Organiser', the horrendous 'London Briefing' grouping and various other dubious converts to social democracy.

To take Mr Grant's 'Militant' tendency, it has, in theory and practice, done everything in its power to besmirch the name of Trotskyism and discredit it in the eyes of

laments. On the basis of his Marx Memorial Lecture he certainly cannot be numbered amongst this apparently small band. Let us sample him on the question of the class struggle and its place within Marxist theory:

'Marxism is feared because it contains an analysis of an inherent, ineradicable conflict between capital and labour — the theory of the class struggle. Until this theory was first propounded, the idea of social class was widely understood by the upper and middle classes in England until Victorian times and later. But when Marx launched the idea of working class solidarity(!) as a key to the mobilisation of the forces of social change and the inevitability of the victory that would secure, the term 'class' was conveniently dropped in favour of the idea of national unity — around which there existed a supposed common interest in economic and social advance within our system of society.'

Here is complete confusion, not to say utter distortion. Anybody with even a slight familiarity with the work of Marx knows that he many times repudiated the idea that he had discovered that the class struggle was the driving force of history and it is also well-known that Marx also rejected the notion that a mere recognition of the class struggle constituted the essence of Marxist politics. Long before Marx, a number of French bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois political economy (in the shape of Ricardo and others) had investigated the economic anatomy of the various classes in society. What Marx did which was revolutionary was 'to prove':

1. that the **existence of classes** is only bound up with the particular historical phases in the development of production
2. that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat and
3. that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the **abolition of all classes** and to a classless society. . . ' (Letter of Marx to Wedemeyer, March 5, 1852)

In other words, liberals, reformists, parsons and sundry others may 'accept' the class struggle. They may even consider such a struggle to be 'irreconcilable'. But Marxism involves the recognition that this struggle has to be taken to the point of overthrow of the capitalist state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class.

And on this matter Benn maintains a telling silence. Or rather he advances a thinly-disguised Fabian notion of the

# S TRAVESTY SM

## BY GEOFF PILLING

revolutionary party which can lead the working class to victory over the capitalist class and establish socialism.

Naturally enough, it was this attack on Trotskyism which the decrepit *Morning Star* chose to concentrate on in its edited version of Benn's lecture. And for good reason. Benn merely repeats the slanders which were actually invented by the Stalinists in the 1930s and have been their stock-in-trade ever since. Thus, it is alleged, Trotskyists 'dismiss' the role of parliamentary democracy; we are ludicrously accused of opposing the struggle for reforms because they are supposedly synonymous with 'betrayal'; and we are held to believe that socialism can be achieved by some 'industrial coup'.

Benn is either too coy or lacking in an ounce of political principle to name the alleged Trotskyists who hold these views. But in relation to one self-styled 'Trotsky-

the working class. The activities of this group at the April 1982 annual conference of the Labour Party Young Socialists — the leadership of which lies in their soiled hands — explains why Benn should continue to offer them cover inside the Labour bureaucracy. For not only at that conference did they support Britain's continued membership of the imperialist war alliance NATO and denounce the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), they also joined in the reactionary call for a trade union boycott of all Argentinian goods in the face of the imperialist war which British imperialism launched against the Argentine people.

We shall return to Benn's lies about the attitude of Trotskyism to parliamentary democracy presently, but let us return now to Mr Benn's qualifications as an expositor of the principles of Marxism. Few comprehend Marxism, Benn



Benn

state, one which he knows will be perfectly acceptable to his Stalinist sponsors. He thus speaks of the state power as consisting of 'administrative justice and law enforcement' which Benn informs his audience is 'an expression of the established order.' Here again his style is his politics. For Marxism the state consists in essence of 'special bodies of armed men' (Engels) which are not 'an expression of the established order' but are instruments of violence and force for the defence of the bourgeoisie and its property.

For a man of such stern Christian moral fibre Mr Benn certainly commits more than his fair share of sins of omission. For he also remains silent on the little matter of parliament. Is parliament a part of the state machine, or is it not?

You will look in vain in Benn's speech for any answer to the question. But just as the lie always serves a social function in the class struggle, so such sins of omission also serve a specific social function. Benn

remains silent on the nature of parliament in the epoch of the violent decline of the capitalist order because his purpose in presenting this lecture, just as his aim in general, is to join forces with all those who wish to tie the working class to parliament and thus aim to prevent it realising its real revolutionary strength against the class enemy.

Benn is clearly no expert in the field of the Marxist conception of the class struggle; nor does he fare any better in the Marxist appreciation of the state. But this matters little. For his chosen field of expertise lies in the moral sphere. Benn finds objectionable, repugnant even, the Marxist conception of morality.

**'Marx seemed to identify all social and personal morality as being a product of economic forces, thus denying to that morality any objective existence over and above the inter-relationship of social and economic forces at that moment in history.'**

'I cannot accept that analysis,' Benn the understanding Christian informed his audience somewhat pompously. Benn is free to accept whatever he likes. But he is not free to distort Marxism in so blatant a manner. For we must ask our expert on matters moral: what is **personal** morality?

There is in fact no such thing. Morality is **entirely** a social and historical phenomenon. Its **sole** basis lies in the changing social relations of production. And because the social relations of production are — in class society at any rate — antagonistic, such morality serves the interests of definite social classes in their struggles. There is no abstract morality of the sort beloved by the reformist and the Christian alike.

Marxism, Benn told his Communist Party audience, is a '**faith**' akin to all the religious faiths of the past. This is arrant rubbish. Marxism is the world scientific outlook which despatched faith, religion, candles, holy water, confessions and absolution more than a century and a half ago. Marxism rests on the unshakeable foundations of **materialism** or, to be more precise, the foundations of dialectical materialism. It is based on the understanding that the material world exists independently of, and prior to, consciousness.

All ideas are a reflection of the ever-changing material and social world of which man is an integral part and with which his fate is entirely bound up. Marxism has no place for nor need of religion in any form: it has as little room for faith in God as it has for faith in professional parliamentary centrists of the Benn variety to secure for the working class its liberation from capitalism. Marx is quite explicit, and in numerous places, that there can be no 'moral sphere' separate from material life, of the type in which the Christian and the reformist alike profess to believe.

**'The phantoms formed in the brains of men are also necessarily sublimates of their material life-process, which is empirically verifiable and bound to material premises. Morality, religion, metaphysics, and all the rest of ideology as well as the forms of consciousness corresponding to these, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. (Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*).**

Does this mean that moral codes and ethical codes have no possible function to play in society, as Benn implies is the position of Marxism? Here, of course, he is playing the old discredited game of the bourgeoisie and the reformists: he sets up a caricature of Marxism and then 'rejects' it. But in no sense does Marxism conceive

of the superstructure as a mere mechanical outgrowth of the social relations of production. This was the vulgarised version of Marxism imposed on the Communist International by Stalin and a version to which many in Benn's audience no doubt faithfully subscribe.

Far from being the mere passive reflection of any social order, morality plays a crucial role in the preservation of all social orders, and above all capitalism. For capitalism is based on the antagonistic relations between the exploited who constitute the vast majority and a clique of parasites who live exclusively on the surplus value pumped out of the working class every day of the year through sweated labour. As Trotsky put it:

**'Such a regime could not have endured for even a week through force alone. It needs the cement of morality. The production of this cement constitutes the profession of the petty-bourgeois theoreticians and moralists. They radiate all the colours of the rainbow but in the final analysis remain apostles of slavery and submission. (L.D. Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours*, New Park 1968 p 13).**

Like the heavenly host of anti-communists before him, Benn pretends that Marxism is a-moral. It requires a 'strong moral code (without which) the ends can be argued to justify the means.' But from whence this 'strong moral code' emanates Benn fails to tell us.

What is the attitude of Marxism to morality? It is an attitude which flows directly from its materialist standpoint. That which assists in the development and furtherance of man's struggle against nature is alone justified; all those forces which impede that struggle are immoral. More specifically, in connection with the class struggle within capitalism, Marxism holds that only those actions which strengthen the struggle of the working class, give it confidence in its ability to do away with capitalism and all its agencies, are truly moral. And it thus follows that only those means which further this end — the end of the social revolution — are justified.

It is because the working class alone is the force which can finally overthrow capitalism that anybody who lies to the working class, who sets out to deceive it, to mis-educate it about the nature of its tasks and the manner in which these tasks can be accomplished, is as immoral as he is reactionary.

What is Benn's plea for the observance of 'some inner call of conscience,' or 'inherent human rights and moral values' based on the teachings of Christ if not the call for some supra-class morality? But

there is no such supra-class morality and to suggest that there is is a lie and a sham.

The ruling class harbours no such illusions. Its aim, an aim which becomes a dire necessity in times of crisis, is to impose its morality, its notion of justice and its notion of freedom — in essence the freedom to continue its system of exploitation with all its attendant violence and brutality — upon the working class. Anybody who transgresses this moral code — the moral code of the exploiter — is deemed immoral and if necessary is subjected to the full panoply of that violence which is concentrated in the capitalist state.

So Benn's plea that he 'accepts' the class struggle is a lie. For he is preaching an abstract moral code based on all the passivity, rottenness and corruption which is contained within the present-day Christianity of the capitalist class. It is a moral code designed to tie the working class to a decaying system. Again, Trotsky had the full and complete measure of the Benns of this world, itself an expression of the vast superiority of materialist dialectics as against the moral humbug favoured by the lackeys of capitalism:

**'The bourgeoisie, which far surpasses the proletariat in the completeness and irreconcilability of its class consciousness, is vitally interested in imposing its moral philosophy upon the exploited masses. It is exactly for this purpose that the concrete norms of the bourgeois catechism are concealed under moral abstractions patronised by religion, philosophy or that hybrid which is called "commonsense". The appeal to abstract norms is not a disinterested philosophical mistake but a necessary element in the mechanics of class deception. The exposure of this deceit which retains the tradition of thousands of years is the first duty of the proletarian revolutionist'.**

In the middle of the last century the working class was regularly subjected to a whole series of cheap charlatans who paraded quack remedies for every ailment under the sun. Among the thousands of essences, balsams and pills they sold was the notorious 'Dr Godfrey's Cordial'. Made from a series of opiates, it claimed to be a universal panacea able to deal with all illnesses from constipation to diarrhoea, but was in fact highly dangerous, especially if taken in large doses.

Benn also has the universal remedy for every conceivable ailment — but in this case Dr Benn's Cordial is composed entirely of 'democracy'. Parliament is to be 'democratised'; the press is to be 'democratised'; the monopolies and other institutions of the state are likewise to be

transformed by his magic potion.

Dr Benn's democracy is just as much an opiate as was the good Dr Godfrey's. For as the ruling class prepares, under the impact of a rapidly deteriorating world economic crisis, to smash all basic democratic rights and lay the basis for the naked rule of capital which would sweep away all parliamentary institutions, Benn proposes to lull the working class to sleep with . . . democracy. And this democracy is as empty of historical and social content as was his morality.

For Benn there is a metaphysical democracy, pure and simple, a democracy existing independently of time and space. But just as there can be no abstract morality, so there can be no democracy in the abstract. For Marxists there is bourgeois democracy and there is proletarian democracy, and parliament is part of bourgeois democracy, that is, one of the forms and mechanisms of the dictatorship of capital over labour.

Benn is guilty of creating deliberate confusion between bourgeois democracy on the one hand and democratic rights established through the struggle of the working class on the other. In many capitalist states — though by no means all — the right to vote was extended to sections of the working class. But the gains made through such an extension of the franchise were strictly limited from a historical standpoint.

The epoch of imperialism — with its wars, slumps and tendency towards fascism — completely transformed this situation. For in the epoch of imperialism all political forms of rule — including that of parliamentarianism — were seized hold of and transformed into the means for the brutal subordination of the working class to the direct needs of capital.

Benn, like all reformists, has a touching faith not only in parliament, but in British 'exceptionalism': revolution may be appropriate for foreigners but is quite unnecessary in Britain given the existence of bourgeois democracy. Parliamentarianism is, in fact, a system of government in which the people fall under the illusion that it is in control of events whereas in reality power remains firmly in the hands of the capitalist class, or, more strictly speaking, in the hands of a small minority within this class. In fact, the very forces which make the capitalist class feel the need to extend the right to vote are paralleled by the growing centralisation and concentration of wealth and power into ever-fewer hands.

It goes without saying that the Workers Revolutionary Party and its predecessor

organisations have never rejected parliamentary forms of activity, evidenced by our regular participation in national and local elections. But we have never lulled the working class into the quite false belief that capitalism can be fundamentally transformed on the parliamentary arena.

Our parliamentary activities are entirely subordinate to our strategic goal — the smashing of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a dictatorship which will be based, not on parliament but on soviets. All those, such as Benn, who — against every shred of historical evidence — pretend that the transition to socialism can be carried out through parliament are in fact aiming to prevent the working class from establishing its independence of the capitalist state and its representatives.

Nor should we let Benn's implied charge that the Trotskyists stand opposed to the struggle for reforms go unanswered. **'It is, I believe, a major error to argue that the advocacy of reform, rather than of revolution, is synonymous with betrayal and capitulation. . .'** As our record shows we have never, on any occasion, failed to support the struggle in the working class for even the smallest reform. Indeed, we have given our support to some of Mr Benn's reforms, and some of those have been exceedingly small.

But for Trotskyism it is necessary to speak clearly about the nature of the epoch. We live in the period of the historical crisis of capitalism, the epoch of its break-up and decline. In such an epoch there can be no systematic reforms for the working class or even for limited sections of it. As history has all too clearly revealed throughout this century, in periods of acute crisis the ruling class is driven, in the form of fascism, to take away from the working class its most elementary and basic rights as well as the gains it has achieved in the past.

Thus while we will always support the struggle for reforms in the working class, unlike large numbers of Labour parliamentarians, we will always insist that the struggle for such reforms is inseparably tied to the struggle for the social revolution which demands as an imperative necessity the building of a revolutionary party based on the principles of Marxism.

Finally, in considering the fetish which Benn makes of bourgeois democracy, his slanders against Trotskyism on this matter must be answered. As we have already noted, Benn informed his Stalinist audience that Trotskyism dismisses the role of parliamentary democracy. It is the height

of irony that Benn should repeat these slanders to his Euro-Stalinist sponsors. For it is precisely Stalinism which historically has been guilty of confusing parliamentary democracy with other forms of bourgeois rule.

While parliamentary democracy may be **in essence** a form of the rule of capital over the working class (and it certainly is) Trotskyism has never deduced from this correct proposition the false conclusion that the working class is thereby indifferent to the various forms of rule employed by the capitalist class. In the period immediately prior to the rise to power of Hitler this was precisely the counter-revolutionary line followed by Stalinism.

All forms of bourgeois rule were declared the same just as the reformist parties were declared to be identical with the parties of fascism (a special term 'Social fascism' was coined to describe social democracy).

This ultra-left, sectarian line resulted in wholesale confusion and division in the European working class, divisions which allowed Hitler to come to power in Germany. It was Trotskyism alone which fought, at every stage, in Germany and throughout the international working class movement, against this disastrous line. It was Trotsky and his followers who alone insisted in the years prior to the triumph of Hitler and fascism in Germany, that the working class, far from being at that stage historically defeated, must make every use of what democratic rights it retained to wage a united struggle against the threat of fascism, in the course of which struggle the communists would be able to expose the inability of the social democratic leaders to defend the working class against the threat of capitalist dictatorship.

So we say to Mr Benn: if you wish to lecture anybody on the dangers of conflating all forms of capitalist rule, you should turn your fire on the Stalinists, that is, against those who foisted this dangerous and reactionary conception in the working class in the 1930s and with such disastrous consequences.

In conclusion let us consider more specifically the morality of Mr Benn. Let us do so in the form of a series of questions. Whose class interests did Mr Benn serve by remaining a member of successive Labour governments from 1964 onwards, governments which not only began the attack on the unions and their legal rights; which began from the summer of 1966 the attacks on the social services which have been carried forward to new heights by the

Thatcher government; which in the summer of 1969 first sent troops into the north of Ireland to unleash a reign of terror against the Catholic minority and provide a training ground for the army in its coming struggles with the British working class?

And furthermore, whose class interests are served by Benn's assertion that we have 'actually existing socialism' in the USSR and Eastern Europe, when everybody knows that what we in fact have there is a monstrous and reactionary bureaucracy which is entirely parasitic on the nationalised property relations established as result of the 1917 Revolution and its subsequent development?

And whose interests are served by your sinister silence on the question of Poland, your failure to condemn the Stalinist bureaucracy in that country and your failure to support the legitimate aims of Solidarity? To ask these questions is to answer them. Only the interests of the ruling class and its agencies within the working class are served by such actions.

Some 60 years ago Trotsky characterised the ideology of the British Labour leaders. Speaking specifically of Arthur Henderson his words apply exactly to Benn, his religion and his abstract, bourgeois conception of morality:

**'For in the hands of the Hendersons the fundamental elements of bourgeois education and the fragmentary scraps of socialism are welded into one by the traditional cement of religion. The question of the economic emancipation of the British proletariat cannot be seriously put as long as the labour movement is not purged of such leaders, organisations and moods, which are the embodiment of timid cringing, cowardly and base submission of the exploited to the public opinion of the exploiters. The inward policeman must be cast out before the outward policeman can be overthrown.'** (L.D. Trotsky, *Between Red and White*)

The 'inward policeman' Mr Benn has his travesty of Marxism published in this month's issue of *Marxism Today*, a Stalinist magazine which has nothing to do with Marxism today, yesterday or tomorrow. It follows last month's issue which featured an interview with Chief Constable John Alderson, an 'outward policeman' replete with whistle, truncheon and computer files. As for *Labour Review*, our ideological and theoretical struggle will be against the capitalist class and the reformist traitors, policemen both inward and outward. That is what Lenin meant when he said that Marxism is 'warlike from head to foot'.

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# REAGAN'S WAR ON THE UNIONS

BY MARTY MORAN

IN HIS first year in office President Reagan used his executive powers to legally destroy an entire trade union. As far as the White House and the judiciary are concerned, PATCO, the air traffic controllers' union, ceased to exist on August 5 last year when almost the entire membership was sacked for engaging in a strike.

It was followed by incidents which rocked the complacency of the American labour movement. Air traffic controllers were thrown into jail bound hand and foot with chains, PATCO was outlawed as the bargaining representative of the membership, vast fines were levied against the union's assets, while FBI agents and federal marshals monitored picket lines and visited workers' homes to intimidate their families.

With 11,500 fully-qualified air traffic controllers sacked, the control towers were put into the hands of ex-military personnel and raw recruits who were given crammers' courses. It has already been suggested that this hazardous policy has resulted in two air crashes and more than a dozen 'near-misses'.

PATCO president Robert Poli resigned on December 31 in the belief that his position might have become an obstacle to a settlement. He was the first trade union leader ever to call an official strike against the Federal government. But it was not his sole decision: 95 per cent of the membership voted for strike action.

PATCO's walk-out was the first major industrial conflict faced by the Reagan administration which had waltzed to power in November 1980 with the near-unanimous support of the trade union bureaucracy. The president's ruthless response has put the labour leaders on their knees, but has aroused bitter enmity from workers across America.

Although it goes unreported in the American mass media, the strike is still officially on. Many of the strikers are now enduring enormous family hardships but there remains a grim determination not to back off. Their presence at union rallies is an indictment of the trade union bureaucracy which has left them high and dry.

The legal assault on PATCO coincided with a quarterly meeting of the highest body of the AFL-CIO, the Executive Council. The trade union leaders were outraged — not with Reagan, but with PATCO! United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser called the strike 'ill-timed', saying that Reagan was 'too popular' and that the strike 'could do massive damage to the labour movement'.

Machinists' Union president William Winpisinger, whose members include the mechanics at most airlines, said that he would love to help PATCO, but could not act unilaterally. A mild social democrat, Winpisinger said, 'I get so mad I could scream at this administration'.

The leader of the Air Line Pilots'

Association, John J. O'Donnell, played an openly strike-breaking role, denouncing PATCO's statements that air traffic was unsafe without 11,500 professional controllers. He ordered pilots to continue flying and ignore the picket lines and the safety hazards.

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland was angry with Poli for not checking with him before calling the strike and said the repressive measures against the strikers was 'brutal overkill'. He rejected any thought of a general strike, saying it would 'destroy the labour movement'. The Executive Council passed a motion of 'moral support' and during the lunch hour spent a few minutes on the picket line at Chicago Airport. This was the full extent of the bureaucracy's support.

The Professional Air Traffic Controllers' Organisation was founded on January 3, 1968, by workers deeply dissatisfied with their wages and conditions. Until then they belonged to a toothless Federal employees' union, the National Association of Government Employees, which was not even affiliated to the AFL-CIO, the US equivalent of the TUC.

PATCO organised a series of local showdowns with the Federal Aviation Administration culminating in the month-long 'sick-out' in March 1970. (A sick-out is when workers do not report for work because of organised illness). It snarled air travel and established PATCO's ability to mobilise and rep-



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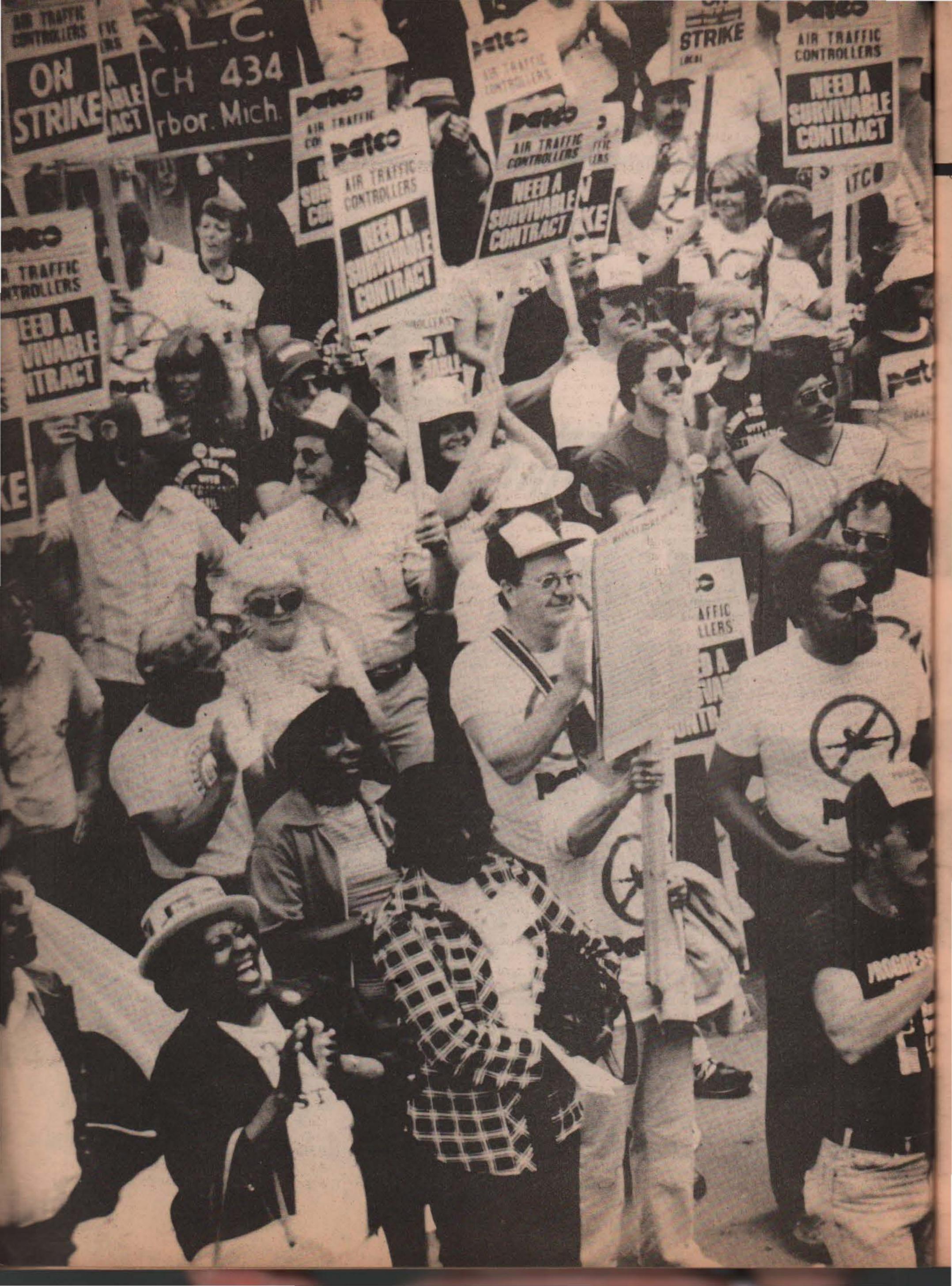
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## PATCO contingent on the Labor Day rally in Detroit

resent all air traffic controllers.

Although PATCO won a measure of official recognition in 1973, when it negotiated the first agreement with the FAA, the relationship between the two sides was one of virtually non-stop industrial warfare.

The entire US airline industry is under private ownership, with the exception of the air traffic control system which is operated by the FAA as a tax-subsidised service for the airlines. For a long period the wages and working conditions of air traffic controllers lagged far behind those for equally skilled workers at the private airlines because, under US law, federal workers are denied both the right to strike and the right to a closed shop, and even the right to negotiate a binding union contract.

The air traffic controllers, therefore, had to wage a long, semi-legal struggle engaging in slowdowns, 'sick-outs' and other forms of wildcat action to bring pressure to bear on the FAA. The first contract in 1973 did not even specify salaries, but only concerned work rules, grievance procedures and improvements in the operation of the air traffic control system.

The controllers repeatedly raised the issue of safety, demanding more computerisation, better radars, improved warning systems and the hiring of more controllers to handle the expanding workload. Above all, they fought for conditions to ease the terrible strain of the job, both physical and psychological.

According to official government figures, 89 per cent of all controllers fail to make it to normal retirement age, and are forced to retire early because of disability, such as heart disease and nervous disorders.

The conflict between PATCO and the FAA came to a head under the Carter administration, which took office in January 1977. FAA Administrator Langhorne Bond, an Illinois Democrat, was an anti-labour politician with no experience in aviation. His job was to carry out the policy known as 'deregulation', which Carter experimented with in the airline industry, and which the Reagan administration is extending to every section of big business.

'Deregulation' is a code word for removing all constraints to profit-making, such as safety requirements, work rules protecting jobs, and restrictions on mergers and cut-throat competition. In the airline industry, the leading proponent of 'deregulation' was the 'liberal' Democrat, Senator Edward Kennedy.

The purpose of this policy was to

resolve the economic crisis of the airline industry by dropping unprofitable routes, driving out the weakest airlines through rate wars, and undermining wages and benefits in one of the most solidly unionised areas of the US economy.

The crisis of the airlines came to a head in 1980, their worst ever year, with a net operating loss for the industry of \$137 million. They fell \$201 million more into the red in the first quarter of 1981. This spawned a whole series of measures to force airline workers to pay for the crisis.

- A series of completely non-union airlines were established, in some cases as subsidiaries of existing unionised companies, while in other instances by greatly expanding minor regional carriers into national companies through cut-rate pricing made possible by scab labour and cutting corners on comfort, services and safety.

- Braniff and Eastern imposed wage cuts on unionised workers, with the threat of mass lay-offs if the unions resisted. (The union leaders buckled beneath this blackmail, but the job losses went ahead later).

- A Reagan administration task force recommended reducing crew levels for the new Boeing 737 jets from three pilots to two.

- A series of mergers took place which was followed by the slashing of routes and staff. Pan Am merged with National, North Central with Southern, and then Texas International acquired Continental.

- On July 30 last year, only four days before the official PATCO strike began, United Air Lines signed an unprecedented agreement with the Air Line Pilots Association, representing 5,000 pilots. Under the terms of this agreement, \$75 million in 'sacrifices' were imposed on the pilots, including two-man crews for United's 39 Boeing 737s, an increase in cockpit hours from 62 a month to 81-85, and the elimination of pay during periods spent waiting for bad weather to clear.

The 24 per cent pay increase was more than compensated for by the 30 per cent increase in cockpit working time. In return, United temporarily dropped its threat to set up a scab airline subsidiary, and agreed not to reduce the work force below 4,539 pilots during the life of the contract. *Business Week* magazine gloated that this was 'the first step toward a significant restructuring of union wages and work rules in a deregulated airline industry. The pilots granted concessions that eventually could cut United's pilot labour costs by millions of dollars'.

The cost-cutting profit drive of the air-

lines is completely irreconcilable with safety. The attitude towards safety is the same as it is in other industries — it is completely subordinated to the requirements of capitalist profit-making. The determination to cut costs and wipe out jobs has been extended to the FAA for which the air traffic controllers work.

Like all federal agencies, the FAA is hit by the Reagan administration's budget axe. While PATCO members view their work as vital to safe air travel, from the standpoint of profit-hungry capitalism, every penny spent on the FAA is a drain on profit. One of the main policies of the Reagan administration has been to introduce 'cost-benefit' analysis into all regulatory decisions. This has severe implications for airline safety, since it means setting a standard, not to guarantee the safe arrival of every plane and its passengers, but to balance the cost of safety (controllers, pilots, maintenance of planes and airports, quality standards in aircraft production) against the benefits (hundreds of thousands of lives).

The January 13 disaster at Washington's National Airport, when a Boeing 737 crashed on take-off hitting the 14th Street Bridge, demonstrated the horrendous impact of government policies on air traffic safety. Seventy-six people were killed.

While the precise cause is under investigation by the National Transportation Safety Board, observers have pointed to a number of dangers created deliberately by government policy: the airline, Air Florida, was one of a number of non-union airlines which had greatly expanded under the Carter administration's 'deregulation'; the air traffic controllers in the National Airport tower were strikebreakers; the crew of the Boeing 737 consisted of only two pilots rather than three because of the rule changes introduced by the Reagan administration early last year; and the plane was forced to wait a long time on the runway for flight clearance because of the greater spacing between flights ordered by the FAA as part of its strike-breaking plan. This gave longer time for ice to form on the wings.

On top of this, the National Airport has been permitted by Congress to waive normal safety standards and operate with shorter runways for jets. This was done by congressmen to preserve the convenience of an airport ten minutes away from Capitol Hill.

Ten days before his resignation, Poli wrote an extraordinary letter to the AFL-CIO's Lane Kirkland expressing his anger at the bureaucracy's betrayal.

'Unfortunately, the support which we had received during the early stages of our strike has virtually evaporated. As of this date our resources have been almost totally exhausted. This trend must be reversed. If aid is not forthcoming immediately, all of our efforts will be for naught.

'Last month,' he continued, 'the AFL-CIO convention adopted an Executive Council resolution which called upon federation affiliates to continue supporting PATCO. It is imperative that organised labour fulfil that commitment'. He then directly challenged Kirkland to make good AFL-CIO policy: 'Therefore, I request that you inform all AFL-CIO departments, state and local councils and affiliated unions that PATCO's strike has not ended and urge their assistance in pro-

viding a full range of logistical and monetary support.

'Labour's assistance must be forthcoming immediately. Otherwise PATCO will die. And, with that death, we will be witnessing not only the destruction of a segment of organised labour, but more importantly, the crushing of a relatively small union whose courage has generated a resurgence of commitment and pride within the ranks of labour.'

Poli's appeal did not even receive an answer. An AFL-CIO spokesman said the leadership was preoccupied with events in Poland and therefore 'too busy'. Indeed, in the past two months Kirkland and other union bureaucrats have shared platforms with Reagan, Haig and Weinberger to make anti-communist propaganda from the struggle of the Polish working class

against Stalinism.

Gary L. Greene, PATCO local 442 president, is one of the five air traffic controllers convicted of striking against the government and sentenced to 90 days in jail. He spoke for thousands of air traffic controllers and much of the labour movement when he wrote to Kirkland earlier this year:

'The time has come for us (LABOUR) to unite and place an end to Reagan's union-busting tactics. When management refuses to bargain in good faith and when all other means are exhausted, the only remaining tool is to withhold your services. We did that and the results have been firings, jail, fines and a move to destroy all unions.

'Many people have stated that the United States government is following the example set by the government of Poland. I suggest that the government of Poland is following the example set by the government of the United States. You sat by President Reagan and condemned Poland's refusal to negotiate with Solidarity. It is ironic that this occurred on the same day that I was receiving my prison sentence.

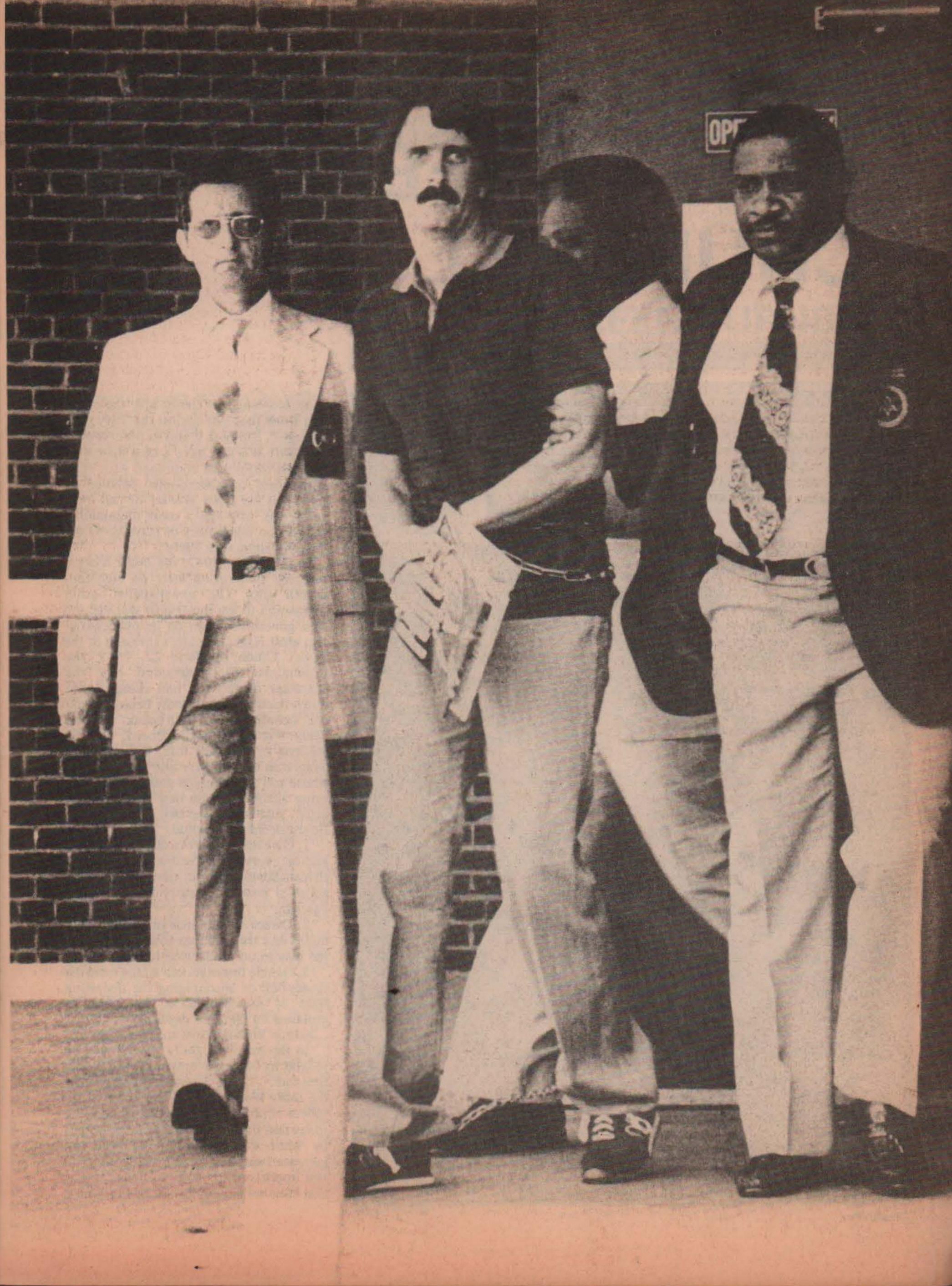
'The only way to bring this struggle to an end and to restore credibility to union leaders is a NATIONAL STRIKE. I do not call for a national strike only for the benefit of PATCO, but on behalf of all working people. The rank-and-file are ready to fight and the only resistance is coming from the leaders. As I have previously stated, I have been fired, convicted and sentenced, but I have not been beat. I was right on August 3, 1981, and I remain so.

'In closing I will once again state that I am a striking air traffic controller and extremely proud. I have had an opportunity to stand up and fight for what I believe in. Although my prison term and conviction is currently being appealed, I fully expect to serve the time given me. I accept this and sincerely believe that this is a small price to pay for sticking to my beliefs.'

PATCO's strike has sent a chain reaction through the entire US labour movement. It has exposed forcefully the prostration of the labour bureaucracy in the face of Reaganomics and deepened class divisions which had been blurred by the post-war 'boom' and written out of existence by the 'New Left' sociologists. Its most decisive impact has been to arouse the necessity to break from the capitalist two-party system (Democrats and Republicans) and build an independent party of labour.



Reagan



# WHEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY CHEERED FOR CHURCHILL



Churchill

THE *Morning Star* claims it is 'the paper that leads the fight against the Tory government'. But both it and its predecessor, the *Daily Worker*, have a long history of lies and distortions combined with blatantly class collaborationist policies. A review of the *Daily Worker* of just forty years ago, provides a most illuminating chapter on this history of betrayal by the British Communist Party.

In September 1942, the *Daily Worker* resumed publication after an eighteen-month gap. The newspaper's earlier opposition to the imperialist war had led to a government ban on its publication. But after Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Communist Party declared that the character of the war had changed and threw itself wholeheartedly behind Churchill's coalition. 'We shall speak,' said the *Daily Worker* Editorial Board, 'for the millions of ordinary folk, the men and women in the industry and the Services, whose toil and courage and sacrifice will bring victory and the new world of security'. Just before the ban was lifted, the Board declared it would:

'1. Give full support to the Government and do everything possible to strengthen British-Soviet unity in the fight to bring about a people's victory over German Fascism;

'2. Direct its influence in the factories, mines and trade unions towards securing the maximum production for victory;

'3. Handle international affairs from the standpoint of encouraging the liberation fight of the people in the countries enslaved by German Fascism.

Editor William Rust told his staff:

'In the main the *Daily Worker* will be judged by its achievement on the industrial front. . . the strongest claims of what the *Daily Worker* will be able to do in the sphere of production. It is no exaggeration to say that the *Daily Worker* stands or falls by what it achieves in the fight for increased production; this will be the main test applied to it.' The Stalinists argued that they were helping the Soviet Union

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**BY MAUREEN TURNBULL**


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by supporting every move by the British government to maximise its war efforts. This included banning certain strikes and encouraging all forms of trade union collaboration with the employers. But British imperialism was not concerned with the defence of the Soviet Union, as post-war events proved. By rejecting internationalism and espousing the most fervent chauvinism, the *Daily Worker* helped to marshal the British working class behind Churchill and the coalition. The following extracts will show, perhaps to the surprise of many present-day Communist Party members, the extent of its gruesome patriotism.

Attempts are frequently made by historians to claim that World War II was a time of 'unity' of the British people. For example, reformist historians G.D.H. Cole and Raymond Postgate wrote about the period: 'The history of the British common people cannot be separated from that of all nations. . . It is for once not untrue to say that few in any class failed to do their utmost for the community.'

But in fact there were a great many war-time strikes and disputes against the employers' wage-cuts and against the repressive legislation of the government. Many resulted in jailings of strikers. The employers rushed to maximise profits, and drive down wages and conditions as much as possible. In this they were backed by various government measures designed to outlaw many strikes. The Emergency Works Order empowered an employer to drag a worker before the courts if he 'behaved in such a manner as to impede production'. The Trade Disputes Act of 1927, the Coal Mines Act of 1911, the Employers and Workmen Act of 1875 and the war-time National Arbitration Order were all used against workers. The *Daily Worker* supported the use of those reactionary laws against the working class. Anyone — above all Trotskyists — who challenged them was denounced as 'Hitler's agents'.

Throughout the war, the paper enthusiastically backed the drive for




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Harry Pollitt

increased production in the factories. It congratulated a woman munitions worker in a story headlined 'She wants to get even with Hitler', telling how a Birmingham mother with five children under 12 was working 11 hours daily one week and 12 hours a night the next. (*Daily Worker*, December 10, 1942.) A man 'with eight months to live' was described as a model worker setting 'production example' in a munitions factory to Middlesex. (*Daily Worker*, December 23, 1942.) Increases in production were gleefully commended as were 'production committees', corporatist bodies of management and workers. As J.R. Campbell put it: 'A Production Committee in every factory and every worker enthusiastic behind the Production Committee must be our first aim.' He advocated 'inter-factory competitions putting every management and group of workers on their mettle'. (*Daily Worker*, January 4, 1943.)

Another scheme was setting up 'Shock Brigades' to drive production up quickly. One report read:

'Enthusied by the success of two weeks' Shock Brigade activity, the workers management of a Dagenham engineering works are endeavouring to get the scheme put into operation in every factory in the area. They have decided to request the Mayor to convene a town's meeting at which representatives of workers and management shall be present. Johnny Allen, George Harwood and two other young workers in one department increased production by 300 per cent during the first week... Eighteen-year-old Ron Collins works at a big aircraft factory in North-West London. He normally attends two capstan lathes. One day last week when other operators were elsewhere he worked eight lathes.' (*Daily Worker*, October 9, 1942.)

Nonetheless, many strikes broke out. The Tyneside shipbuilding works where Trotskyists were active was one major centre of struggle. Workers struck on October, 1942, over the alteration of the system of calculating weekly wages. The strike was denounced by the *Daily Worker*, which said when it was over: 'The British people will rejoice that the disastrous Tyneside strike is now over.' (*Daily Worker*, October 13, 1942.)

The paper warned: 'Workers must beware playing the same game as the pro-fascists. Every hour lost in the factory is an hour gained by Hitler.' (*Daily Worker*, October 20, 1942.) The *Daily Worker* continually commended the role of the Communist Party in 'exposing Hitler's agents', referring to 'valuable information given in exposing the disruptive work of Trotskyists in the labour movement and inside factories.' (March 31, 1943.)

During 1943 the wave of strikes intensified on the docks and in the mines. In August, troops were brought in to break a strike of 12,000 Merseyside dockers. They had had no increase in their basic

rate since 1924 and struck over the suspension of 34 men who had refused to work overtime for inadequate rates. The *Daily Worker* editorial said:

'The *Daily Worker* is against strikes in war-time and its entire influence, as the Government knows quite well, has been exercised on the side of negotiation and co-operation. In our view war production and the fight against fascism must come first... To the workers we say: Strengthen your trade union and factory organisations and your participation in the joint production committees. This is your strength. Do not be provoked into strike action...' (*Daily Worker*, August 20, 1943.)

Every retreat by the union leadership was applauded. For example, under the notorious Trades Dispute Act of 1927 civil service unions were banned from affiliating to the TUC. The Communist Party was on record as having opposed the Act — now it was accepted. The *Daily Worker* commented:

'The decision of the Union of Post Office Workers to withdraw their application for affiliation to the Trades Union Congress deprives the enemies of trade unionism of an argument with which they hoped to befog the issue. If the union had affiliated to the Trades Union Congress, the Press would have been filled with claptrap about 'The TUC defies the law', 'Trade unions challenge the Government', 'The Constitution is in danger' and so on... Nothing could be more dangerous to national unity than an assumption on the part of the Conservative Party that it has won a great victory over the unions. A breathing space has been provided during which justice can be done. Let the Conservative Party use this breathing space in order to show itself as mindful of national unity as the Post Office workers have been.' (August 21, 1943.)

The Communist Party worked hard to end stoppages in the mines where it had a certain amount of support. But again and again miners struck over wage cuts through changes in their piece work systems. In February, 1943, 1,100 men at Bowhill colliery, Fife, struck work against a wage cut of 2d. per ton being imposed by the Fife Coal Company. They resisted threats of dismissal followed up by call-up into the army. It took Willie Gallagher, Stalinist MP for West Fife, and Abe Moffat, another Communist Party member on the executive of the Scottish Miners Federation, to get them back to work. This move was fully backed by the *Daily Worker* — meanwhile the owners were making record profits.

In June, 1943, 20 men from Tavani Colliery in South Wales, were fined £20 for 'impeding production'. When they refused to pay, they were jailed for a month. Sympathy strikes broke out in five pits and were halted after the intervention of Arthur Horner, Communist Party

leader of the South Wales' Miners Federation. Again the *Daily Worker* welcomed the sell-out.

The government was having difficulty recruiting miners because of the appalling and dangerous work conditions in the pits. Deaths in the mines averaged 1,000 a year during the war, while one out of every four boys between the ages of 14 and 16 who worked in the pits was killed or terribly injured. This did not deter the Stalinists, who said: 'A new call for volunteers has gone out, not for the Armed Forces, but for the Service which ranks equal in importance — for Service underground in the mines. That call will be answered. It must be answered. Coal means victory. History can never record that Britain's workers failed Britain's fighting men in this hour of supreme opportunity for victory over Fascism.' (*Daily Worker*, August 30, 1943.)

In September, 15,000 Nottingham miners struck because of the imprisonment of a youth who refused to work underground after seeing an injured man brought from the pit. Sidney Page, 18, served a month in jail and then agreed to go down into the pits. The *Daily Worker* commented: 'We deplore strikes in a war that is yet far from being won' and implied that there was no reason for Page not to work underground.

In the same month, 5,000 Barrow engineers employed by Vickers Armstrong struck over the government's delay in implementing a wage settlement by the National Tribunal. They were supported by over 2,000 electricians, foundry workers and tradesmen in nine unions. The *Daily Worker* raged against 'Trotskyist' influence in the strike and anti-Trotskyist specialist J.R. Campbell wrote:

'The Barrow strike has reached a stage when all honest trade unionists should ask themselves some searching questions. For there are Trotskyist elements active in this strike from outside the engineering industry... Having made their protest against the Vickers' autocracy, the strikers should return to work... A continuation of the strike can only harm the united national movement.' (*Daily Worker*, September 27, 1943.)

On October 4, the *Daily Worker* devoted an entire editorial to 'Trotskyism', saying: 'Nothing can be more misleading than to represent the Trotskyists as being merely an anti-Communist sect. They are a pro-fascist gangster outfit. They hate the great Soviet Union which crushed the efforts of the Russian Trotskyists to play the Fascist game. Because they stand for the defeat of the Soviet Union and its Allies, they hate the anti-Fascist unity and determination of the British people.'

The *Daily Worker* initially came out in support of the regulation, George Sinfield writing that it 'recognises and safeguards the legitimate activities of shop stewards and trade union leaders'. (April 12,

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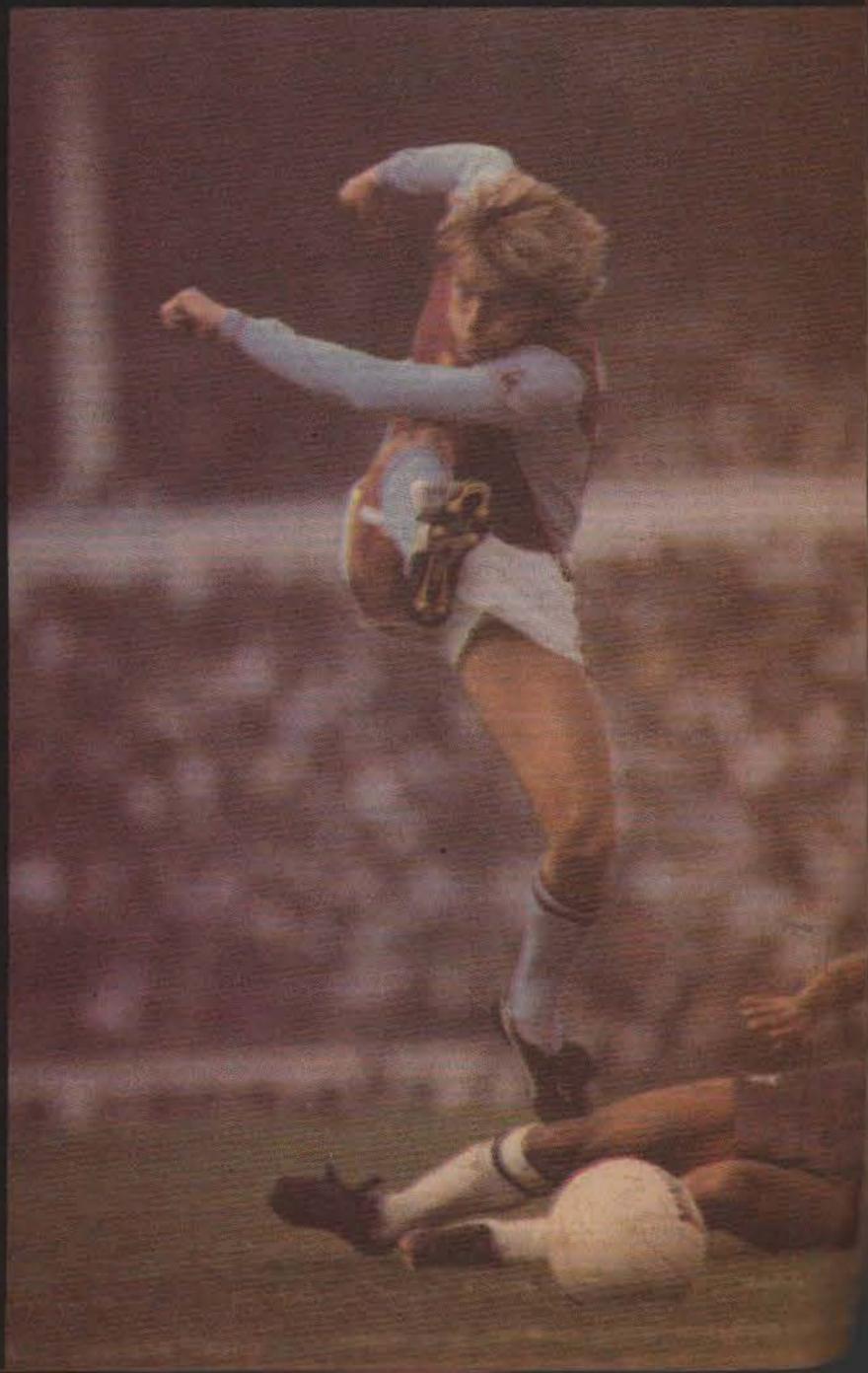
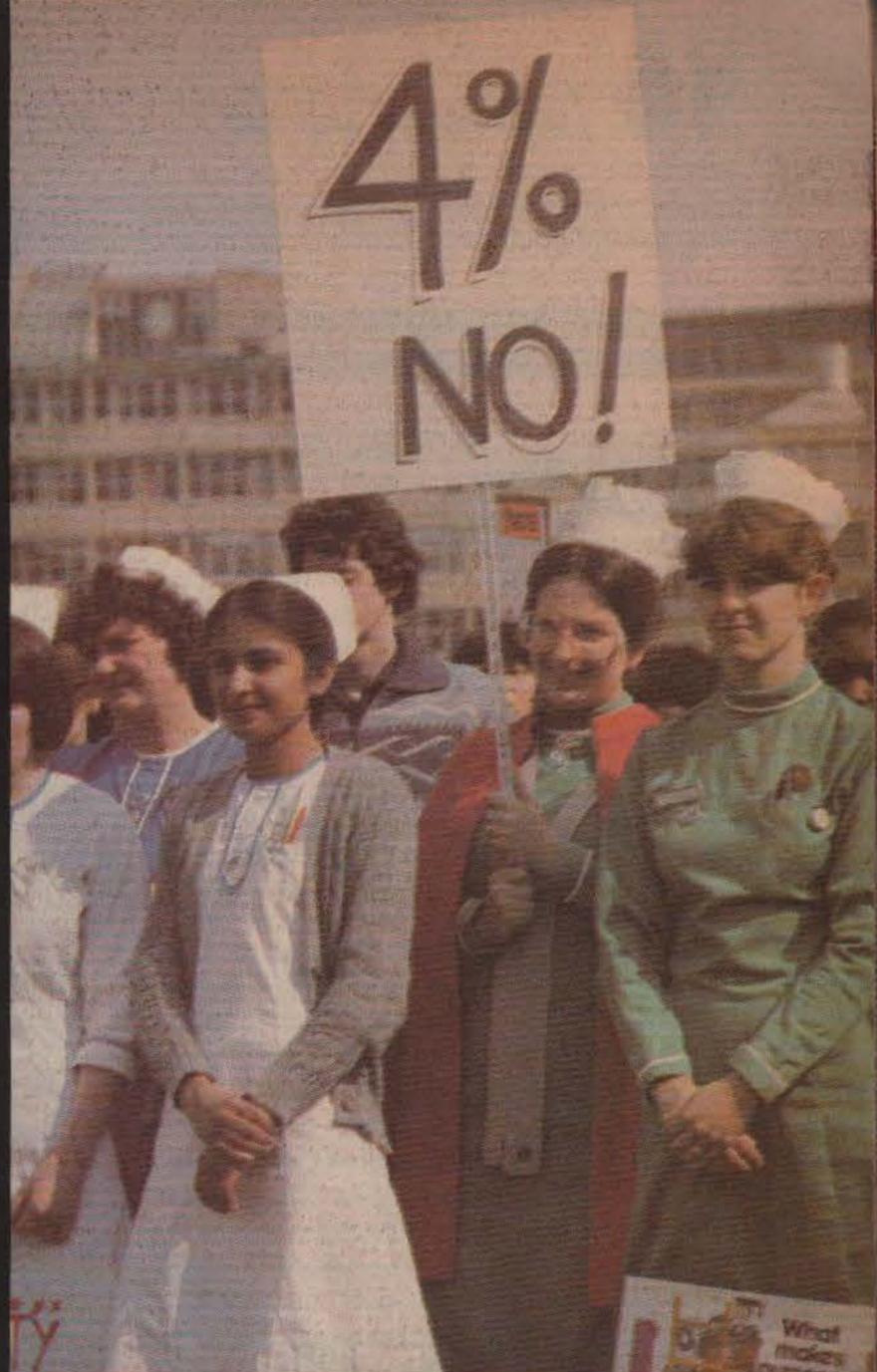
Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office  
Published by the News Line  
21b Old Town, Clapham  
London SW4 0JT

**Circulation: 01-622 7029**

**Only 14p each day**

84 pence each week delivered to your door  
One year: £82.68 (312 issues)  
6 months: £41.34 (156 issues)  
3 months: £20.67 (78 issues)

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Ernest Bevin with Molotov in September 1945



1944.) But after a storm of protest against the new legislation, the Communist Party changed its line and fellow-travelling Labour MP D.N. Pritt said the regulation was not necessary because the Trotskyists could be suppressed under existing laws. He demanded that the Trotskyists be jailed under the same regulation which had been used against Mosley and his British Union of Fascists — regulation 18b — and also that the government should shut down the Trotskyist paper *Socialist Appeal*.

Soon four leading Trotskyists were arrested and charged under the Trades Disputes Act of 1927 for supporting the Tyneside apprentices' strike. The four were Jock Haston, Ann Keen, Heaton Lee and Roy Tearse. They were brought to trial in Newcastle in May, 1944. The charges were conspiring to act in furtherance of an illegal strike, acting in furtherance of an illegal strike, inciting others to act in furtherance of an illegal strike, and aiding and abetting William John Davy, a 19-year-old apprentice and secretary of the Tyne Apprentices Guild, and others to act in furtherance of an illegal strike.

The trial made legal history as the first case ever to be brought under the Trade Disputes Act passed by the Tories after the defeat of the General Strike in 1926. The trial of the Trotskyists took place in May and June 1944. The *Daily Worker* gave it extensive coverage, reporting the virulent accusations in great detail but not the words of the defendants. Ben Francis, who had reported the Moscow Trials in 1936 and 1937, was sent up to Newcastle to cover the proceedings which were held in camera. The explanation given for this was that the police had not completed their investigations against other alleged offenders.

In June the trial of the Trotskyists ended. They were found not guilty of inciting the strikes but concerned with furthering them. Jail sentences of 12 months were imposed on Haston, Tearse and Lee and one of 13 days on Keen. Many sections of the labour movement were outraged by the verdicts and a wide measure of support for the Trotskyists was mobilised. None of this was mentioned in the *Daily Worker*. Nor was there any comment when in August the Appeal Court quashed the verdicts, a great victory for the labour movement.

Throughout the remaining months of the war the *Daily Worker* maintained its programme of opposition to workers' industrial demands. It kept up its support for the Trade Disputes Act, and opposit-

ion to the government's regulation was confined mainly to reporting resolutions from union branches. The *Daily Worker* simply referred to it as 'an undemocratic measure'.

Just how useful the government found the Communist Party's support of its industrial policy was revealed in the war-time Ministry of Labour and National Service papers opened to the public in 1972.<sup>4</sup> Ernest Bevin and his civil servants were very worried about the mounting industrial unrest. In November 1943 Ministry official Sir Frederick Legget wrote: 'I believe that a very difficult period is before us and that we shall be lucky if it does not become almost unmanageable when the menace from Germany is further reduced or removed.'

The Ministry files contain very full notes on the strikers, including leaflets, bulletins and information from spies. A strikers' leaflet condemning Frank Foulkes, national organiser of the ETU and a leading Communist Party member, reports that the chairman of the strike committee told the future ETU ballot-rigger: 'Mr Foulkes, after having heard

your points I am of the opinion that you are a very dishonest person and came here with only one object — to divide the ETU from the AEU. However you have failed completely, not only have you failed but in fact you have now cemented the strike committee more fully together than ever before!'

On September 25, 1943 the Chief Constable of Barrow wrote to the Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office about a strike meeting addressed by Pat Devine, Lancashire district organiser of the CP: 'Information from reliable sources indicates that an alleged Trotskyist organiser named Ronald Tarse believed from Nottingham, and an Independent Labour Party member named Paduley or Padmore (neither of whom is known to be employed in this borough) are on or secretly associated with the strike committee. Allegations of this nature were made by Devine at the meeting and were not denied. Devine refused the use of the platform to H.C. Andrews of the strike committee who wished to reply to Devine's allegations because Andrews was declared to be a member of

the ILP.' Such information was useful in the prosecution of the Trotskyists in the following year.

A further tribute to the efforts of the Communist Party was included in a letter from an official of the Glasgow office of the Ministry writing to London during the Rolls Royce strike of November 1943. The author, H. Galbraith, condemned the militant shop stewards adding: 'In fairness it should perhaps be stated that the Communist Party of Great Britain did everything possible to maintain continuity of production.'

The Stalinists will argue that the war was a war against fascism and that to win it the class struggle in Britain should be halted if not put into reverse. Perhaps some readers will think that behind the *Daily Worker's* enthusiasm for production lay concern for defence of the Soviet Union. But the paper's opposition to the independent mobilisation of the working class served imperialism as did its support for the framing and execution of the Red Army leaders and the Nazi-Soviet pact.

But the strike wave continued to spread and in November 70,000 London dockers

Harry Pollitt (left) with John Gollan



## STRIKE CRISIS

A NATION at war with a deadly Fascist enemy is entitled to protect itself from actions that would imperil its victory.

The Government is therefore fully justified in deciding to take firm action to bring the present reckless and unnecessary strike movement to an end.

But hasty action may defeat its purpose, as the worsening of the situation in Belfast clearly shows. The courageous appeal issued yesterday by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress is an evidence of strong leadership, which will not pass unheeded in factories and mines.

This implies no toleration for the Trotskyists, who seek to inflame every dispute into a strike. Let the Government deal with those saboteurs with a strong hand.

But at the same time let it draw a clear distinction between these rogues and those whom they have deceived.



It must not be forgotten that we are in the fifth year of the war, and that signs of fatigue and strain are evident in the heavy industries of the country.

The stagnation in military operations, which will soon, we hope, be ended by the

struck against a 7d per hour wage cut. Troops were brought in to break the strike. This was soon followed by a week-long strike by 24,000 Scottish engineering workers which the *Daily Worker* described as 'definitely harmful' and 'not justified'.

During the early months of 1944 strikes involved miners, engineers and shipyard workers. There were many disputes over the so-called 'Bevin Boy' scheme brought in in December, 1943. Under this, young men called up for the forces were selected by ballot for work in the mines. This was unpopular with skilled miners who frequently lost earnings when put to work with untrained youth. And most of the Bevin Boys themselves hated the scheme for they were paid very little and lived in appalling conditions. They went on strike several times, earning themselves the wrath of the *Daily Worker*.

The biggest wave of war-time miners' strikes followed the Porter pay award of January, 1944. The minimum wage was then £5 underground and £4.10 on the surface. The union claimed £6 and £5.10. Porter gave rises of 17s calculated in a complicated way that meant that in some cases miners finished up worse off. Despite bitter opposition from the leadership, strikes began in Lancashire and spread throughout the Midlands, Yorkshire, Wales, Durham, Northumberland and Scotland. The 70,000 strikers were lambasted by the *Daily Worker*:

'The country's war effort, the prestige of trade unionism, and public sympathy for the miners are imperilled by the dangerous strikes in the coalfields. . . ' (March 30, 1944). An editorial on April 6 read: 'The strikes are inflicting a deadly blow at working-class progress. They are encouraging every group of employers which favours non-unionism and desires to set limits to working-class advance' (March 30, 1944.)

The same month the Tyne Apprentice Guild demanded the exemption of apprentices from the Bevin Boys mining scheme. Some 5,000 Tyneside apprentices were joined on strike by 20,000 on the Clyde and 1,000 in Huddersfield. Like the miners they were savagely attacked by the union leaders. When the dispute spread to the Teesside where the apprentices were in the ETU, they were told by the union executive that unless they returned immediately they would be

The *Daily Worker* on April 6 1944 supports the government's strike breaking measures

expelled from the union which would then co-operate with the management in depriving them of their apprentices' rights, which meant they could be called up to fight.

The Tyneside apprentices were supported by the newly-formed Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), a forerunner of the Workers Revolutionary Party. The *Daily Worker* now set about fuelling the witchhunt against the Trotskyists. According to one editorial: 'A nation at war with a deadly Fascist enemy is entitled to protect itself from actions that would imperil its victory. The Government is therefore justified in deciding to take a firm action to bring the present reckless and unnecessary strike movement to an end.' (April 6, 1944.) The Trotskyists 'seek to inflame every dispute into a strike. Let the Government deal with those saboteurs with a strong hand'. The day before police had raided the headquarters of the RCP in London, Glasgow, Wallsend, Nottingham and Walker-on-Tyne.

J.R. Campbell chose the moment to weigh in against 'These Trotskyist Saboteurs'. Trotsky is viciously slandered as trying to organise within the Soviet Union 'a campaign of terror and sabotage with a view to overthrowing the Soviet Government'. Campbell continued: 'To carry on these nefarious plans Trotsky (outside of the Soviet Union) and his associates Zinoviev, Bukharin and others (inside the Soviet Union) entered into close relations with the Nazi government and obtained assistance in carrying out their policy of sabotage. This widespread conspiracy was exposed in a series of important trials and the Trotskyist pro-Fascist fifth column in the Soviet Union was by 1938 completely liquidated.' (April 10, 1944.)

On the same day as the raid on the Trotskyists, Bevin met the Cabinet and discussed his plans for changes in the law. The War Cabinet minutes read:

'The Minister of Labour and National Service said that he had discussed the question of industrial stoppages with the TUC earlier in the day and had obtained their support for a new defence regulation which had been approved in principle by the Lord President's Committee to enable action to be taken against instigation of strikes.

'There was definite evidence that members of a political organisation were fomenting trouble, especially in the Sheffield area and the question whether action could be taken against them, either under the Trade Disputes Act 1927, or by use of Defence Regulation 18b was being discussed.'

As it happens, the government decided not to wait for new powers but to proceed against the Trotskyists under the Trade Disputes Act. However, new legislation was needed for future use and the Cabinet discussion opened to the public thirty

years later reveals that fear of the Trotskyists was a major consideration. So the *Daily Worker's* anti-Trotskyism complemented the government's repression.

Later in April the new regulation was brought in, making it an offence to urge strike action in any essential service. As Bevin made clear to the parliament on April 28: 'We have taken under the umbrella of essential services practically every operation in the country.' Whether the strike took place or not made no difference — 'the mere instigating or inciting is itself an offence'. Picketing, collecting or administering strike funds, the holding of unofficial meetings to support strikers, or the printing of pamphlets or articles supporting strikes were all banned.

The Trotskyists through their paper *Socialist Appeal* fought to tell workers the truth about the war and to break through the chauvinism being engendered. They agreed that in certain specific cases where production was directly for the Soviet military effort strikes should not neces-

sarily go ahead. But they stressed that the best way to help the Soviet Union was by workers' control of the manufacture and despatch of arms to decide where they went. They distinguished between the Nazis and the German working class and linked the interests of the British trade union movement with the latter. This meant supporting the coal miners and other strikers as a blow against the common enemy, the employing class.

The militancy of the working class during the war deserves study because it is frequently glossed over. The size of the Labour vote in 1945 is only intelligible in the light of the growing confidence and strength of the working class in the preceding years. Encouraged by full employment, workers in their hundreds of thousands asserted their rights. Some of that militancy is reflected in the fact that up to March 31, 1945, there had been 18,436 convictions under the Essential Works Order for 'absenteeism' or 'persistent lateness' and of these 1,323 had

been jailed.

During the war years, the Stalinists were able to win some important positions on shop stewards' committees and, in the case of the ETU and the T&GWU, on national executives. But these victories were won on the basis of the unprincipled political positions outlined above, and laid the basis for the post-war treachery of the Communist Party. Thousands of its members were miseducated and confused by such policies. The ballot-rigging scandal in the ETU was the logical outcome of such a course.

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Harry Pollitt with Italian CP leader, Palmiro Togliatti (left) and French CP leader, Maurice Thorez

# SALVADOR MASSACRE OF 1932

BY BILL VANN

IN 1932, the ruling oligarchy of El Salvador carried out the bloodiest act of genocide in the entire history of Latin America. Under the watchful eye of US imperialism which sent its navy to lend a hand, the dictatorship of General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez massacred at least 30,000 workers, peasants and students.

This took place in a country whose total population was only about 1.4 million. A comparable death toll of a country the size of the United States would be more than six million.

This was one of the first great 'wars against communism' to be fought by US imperialism and the native ruling classes in Latin America. The dictatorship provided itself with 'evidence' that a revolt by the peasant masses was organised by 'foreign communists' — in this case, a few Slavic peddlers who were shot in the course of the mass killings.

Using the same type of disinformation, the Duarte military junta has surpassed the massacre of 50 years ago. But now the US-backed junta is confronting the organised armed resistance led by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNLF) and the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR).

The Wall Street Crash of 1929 sent coffee prices tumbling and conditions of life for the rural workers and peasants, already miserable, became intolerable. Wage levels which, before the Great Depression stood at 25 cents a day for the campesinos, fell to 10 cents.

The wholesale expropriation of small holdings by the rising coffee barons had vastly expanded the size of the landless peasants. Concentration of land ownership reached such a point that it was said that 14 families ruled El Salvador. This has not changed until the present day.

At the same time a new force was emerging in El Salvador and throughout Central America — a small but highly determined working class. Inseparably linked with the working class movement is the name of its first great leader — Augustin Farabundo Marti.

For more than 18 years during this period, El Salvador was ruled by a dynastic dictatorship of the Melendez-Quinonez family. The first of these, Carlos Melendez, ruthlessly suppressed all opposition and, after six years, handed over to his brother Jorge. He, in turn, passed the presidency to his brother-in-law Alfonso Quinonez.

Quinonez adopted the style of a social

demagogue with the cynical aim of defending the interests of the 14 families. He relied heavily on the 'Liga Roja', or Red League, formed in 1917 as a government-controlled institution designed to divert workers from revolution.

The League even used the red flag as its symbol, called itself the 'vanguard of the working class' and promised to fight for reforms such as free trade unions, better pay, public education and social justice. The group was led by elements closely linked to the land-owning oligarchy and it employed numerous thugs to repress any genuine opposition in the working class to the capitalist government and the landowners.

But by this time, the working class had begun to organise and develop its own independent momentum. By 1921, the first major strikes broke out in San Salvador with the shoemakers, tailors and bakers walking out to demand better conditions and pay.

In 1924, the first major unions were organised into the Regional Federation of Salvadorean Workers which in turn affiliated with the Central American Labour Council (COCA). Strongly influenced by Marxism and the Bolshevik

Demonstrating in support of the FMLN in London recently

Revolution of 1917, these unions set about organising the working class, building peasant leagues and launching a campaign for the eight-hour day.

Farabundo Marti was one of the key leaders of this movement. Exiled from El Salvador in the early 1920s for revolutionary student activities, he returned in 1925 to develop the struggle of the young labour movement. Due to the fight of the unions, the oligarchy was forced to grant the first social legislation and to lift a long-existing state of emergency.

In 1928, the Regional Federation took the decision to send a contingent to Nicaragua to join the forces of General Augusto Sandino who was battling the US marines who had occupied the country. Farabundo Marti went to Nicaragua to take part in the armed clashes with the Yankee invaders and soon won the respect and confidence of Sandino, whom he served as a confidential secretary. A colonel in Sandino's army, Farabundo Marti was placed in charge of the international relations of the Sandinista movement.

The Salvadorean revolutionary broke with Sandino in 1930 over a fundamental disagreement over perspectives. Farabundo Marti was a revolutionary communist whose struggle was for the liberation of Central America through the social revolution. Sandino, on the other hand, was essentially a revolutionary nationalist fighting solely for the liberation of his country from Yankee imperialism, not for the overthrow of the native ruling class.

Two years later, moments before facing a firing squad, Farabundo Marti explained he had broken with Sandino after the Nicaraguan leader entered into political relations with Emilio Portes Gil, a former president of Mexico and an open imperialist agent. But he declared: 'In these moments in which I am two steps from death, I want to declare categorically that I believe in Sandino, that he has not sold out to the Americans and that he is a sincere man'.

These powerful bonds between the Nicaraguan and Salvadorean revolutions continue until today when both are confronted with imperialist aggression from the United States.

With the beginning of the Great Depression, small and medium peasants lost their land because low coffee prices left them unable to pay off loans to the usurers. In most cases, these financiers were the direct agents of the 14 families and land was added to their huge estates. The peasants raised a clamour for a

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moratorium on debt repayments, but the government ignored their demand.

In 1930, savage anti-labour laws were introduced. Workers' meetings were prohibited, communist publications outlawed and union newspapers banned. Those arrested on political charges were forced to work on chain gangs. The police and army stepped up repression, using the ban on meetings to carry out a number of massacres.

On August 1, 1930, the Regional

Federation organised a mass demonstration against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union. The rally was met with tremendous police violence and hundreds were arrested. The next day, street battles erupted throughout the capital and some 1,200 more were taken into police custody.

In the midst of these growing confrontations, the most open elections in Salvadorean history were held. Arturo Araujo, an admirer of the British Labour

Party and a self-proclaimed reformist, was elected. He called his party the Partido Laborista.

Elected with Araujo, and holding the position of both vice-president and War Minister, was the right-wing officer, General Hernandez Martinez. It soon became clear that Araujo's reformist phrases were little more than a cover for the general's violent repression.

In September 1931, workers and their families at the Asuschillo hacienda began a violent protest against the violation of their rights by the landowner. He called in the police and units of the national guard. Firing on the workers and their wives and children resulted in 15 killed and 33 more wounded.

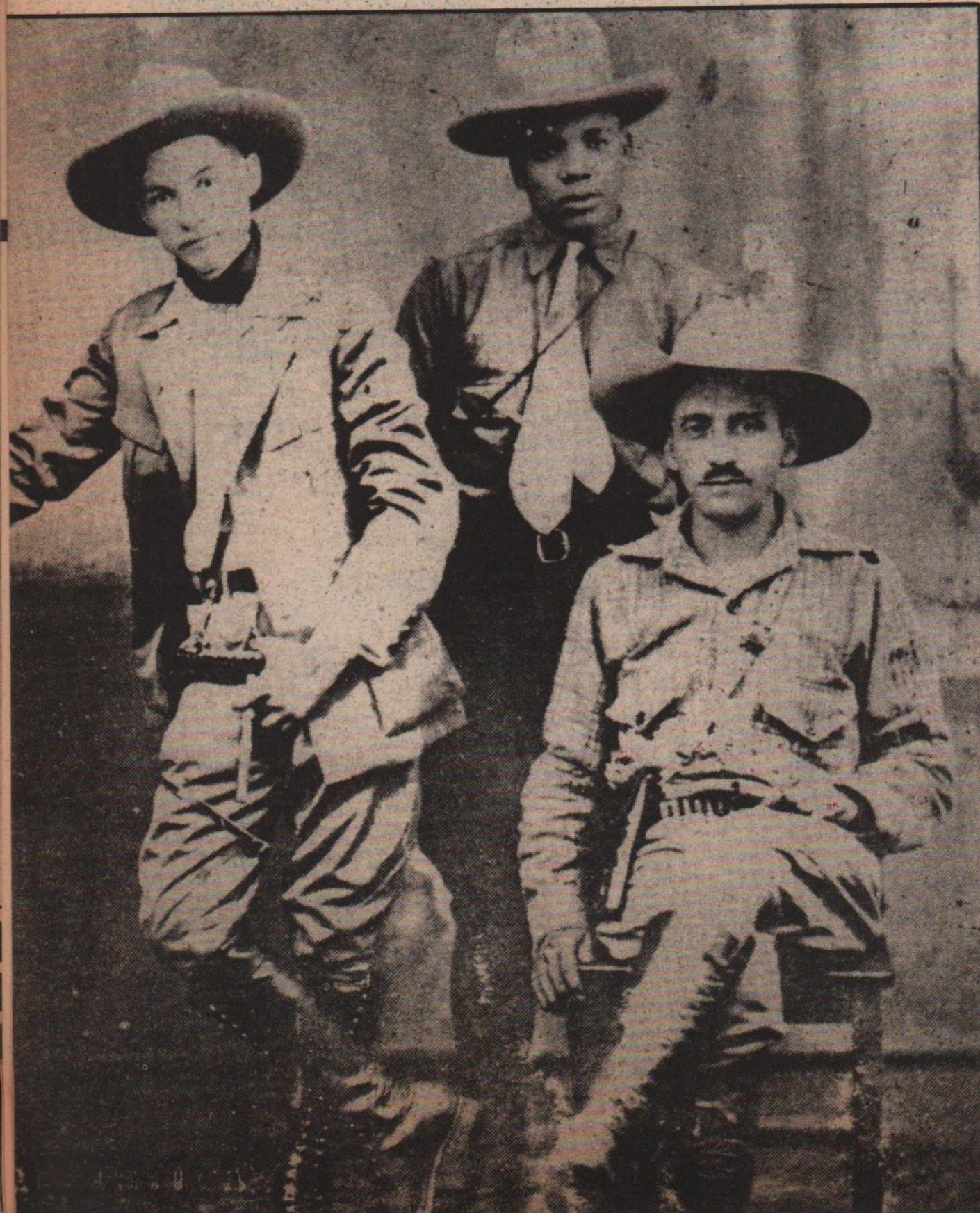
Farabundo Marti, as the head of the Socorro Rojo Internacional (Red Aid International), went to Araujo to protest against the brutal murders. He was immediately imprisoned. Araujo demanded that he leave the Communist Party and join his Partido Laborista, taking a place in the government at the same time. Farabundo Marti contemptuously rejected the deal.

He was released only to be rearrested a few days later. Finally, he was released a second time after spending 27 days on hunger strike and backed by mass demonstrations demanding his freedom.

On December 2, a coup was launched by a group of younger officers in the armed forces. The overthrow of Araujo's government was generally approved by the masses who had suffered increasing poverty and repression under the so-called 'Labour Party' government. Almost immediately, however, the officers handed control back to a new junta headed by General Hernandez Martinez.

Despite the coup, the military rulers announced that the elections would go forward for municipal councils and the Legislative Assembly. The Communist Party led by Farabundo Marti decided to participate.

The party, which was officially formed in 1930, was described by Marti's biographer, Jorge Arias Gomez, as being



Farabundo Marti (right) posing with Augusto Cesar Sandino (left) and Captain Gregorio Gilbert from the Dominican Republic

THE SALVADOREAN MASSES ARE NOT GOING TO TURN BACK NOW



'loosely associated with the Third International'. Marti himself wore a red star on his lapel with a picture of Leon Trotsky. This was almost three years after the Stalinist bureaucracy had launched the purge of Trotskyists from communist parties all over the world. Not surprisingly, Marti got little support and even less help from Moscow because of his political views.

The military suspended the elections in many towns as the victory of the communists appeared imminent. In those towns where the voting wasn't stopped before the CP candidates won, the elections were annulled.

The peasant masses drew their own conclusions from the election fraud. A wave of strikes broke out only to be met by bloodier repression. The killing of a popular young peasant leader named Gualan set the entire eastern region of the country into open rebellion.

It was at this point that the Communist Party Central Committee requested an extraordinary meeting with General Martinez to discuss a compromise. Martinez

said he was unable to meet the workers' leaders, but sent his War Minister instead. The minister appeared agitated and rejected any discussion.

But as they left the presidential mansion, they were approached by General Hernandez's personal secretary who told them: 'The government does not want any deal with you. It is going ahead to confront the situation. If the troops and police have rifles to fire, the workers also have machetes to sharpen'.

The party fixed the date for an insurrection. Three days before the deadline, the underground headquarters of the CP were raided by troops and Marti and two other leading members were captured. The government found evidence of the plans for the uprising and immediately declared a state of siege.

The Central Committee met again and decided that it could not call off the insurrection, despite the concern for Marti and the other prisoners, and despite the fact that the regime was forewarned of the

plans and was ready to counter-attack.

At midnight on January 22, 1932, thousands of peasants, armed only with machetes, farm implements and a few shotguns, took over a number of towns and fincas and surrounded army forts. Faced with a military machine which had heavily fortified its positions and had incomparably superior fire power, the uprising was put down in four days.

Still, only a relatively small number were killed in the battles. It was after the abortive insurrection that the real butchery began. Army 'Expeditionary Forces' sent out by the dictatorship began the greatest act of mass killing in Latin American history.

The oligarchy, with the support of sections of the urban middle class, organised its own detachments known as 'civic guards'. These units, incorporating the young men of El Salvador's high society, embarked on some of the most ferocious assaults, killing workers, peasants, students, raping and killing women and massacring old people and children. These 'heroic' exploits were boasted about for years afterwards over glasses of whiskey at San Salvador's exclusive clubs.

The armed forces killed every peasant and Indian they could find. Huge groups of men were taken, tied together by their thumbs, then lined up and machine-gunned. Corpses were burned and often just piled up in drainage ditches by the side of the road. The entire western region of El Salvador was over-hung with the stench of rotting flesh.

At the end of January three warships arrived at the port of Acajutla — the US battleship *Rochester* and the British vessels *Skeena* and *Vancouver*. The officers asked the local Salvadorean military officials for permission to land their marines to join in the fight against the communists.

General Calderon, the commander of the region, sent a message to the US admiral saluting him but declaring that 'the communist offensive has been completely defeated and has reached complete extermination. Already 4,800 Bolsheviks have been liquidated'. But most estimates put the number as more than 30,000.

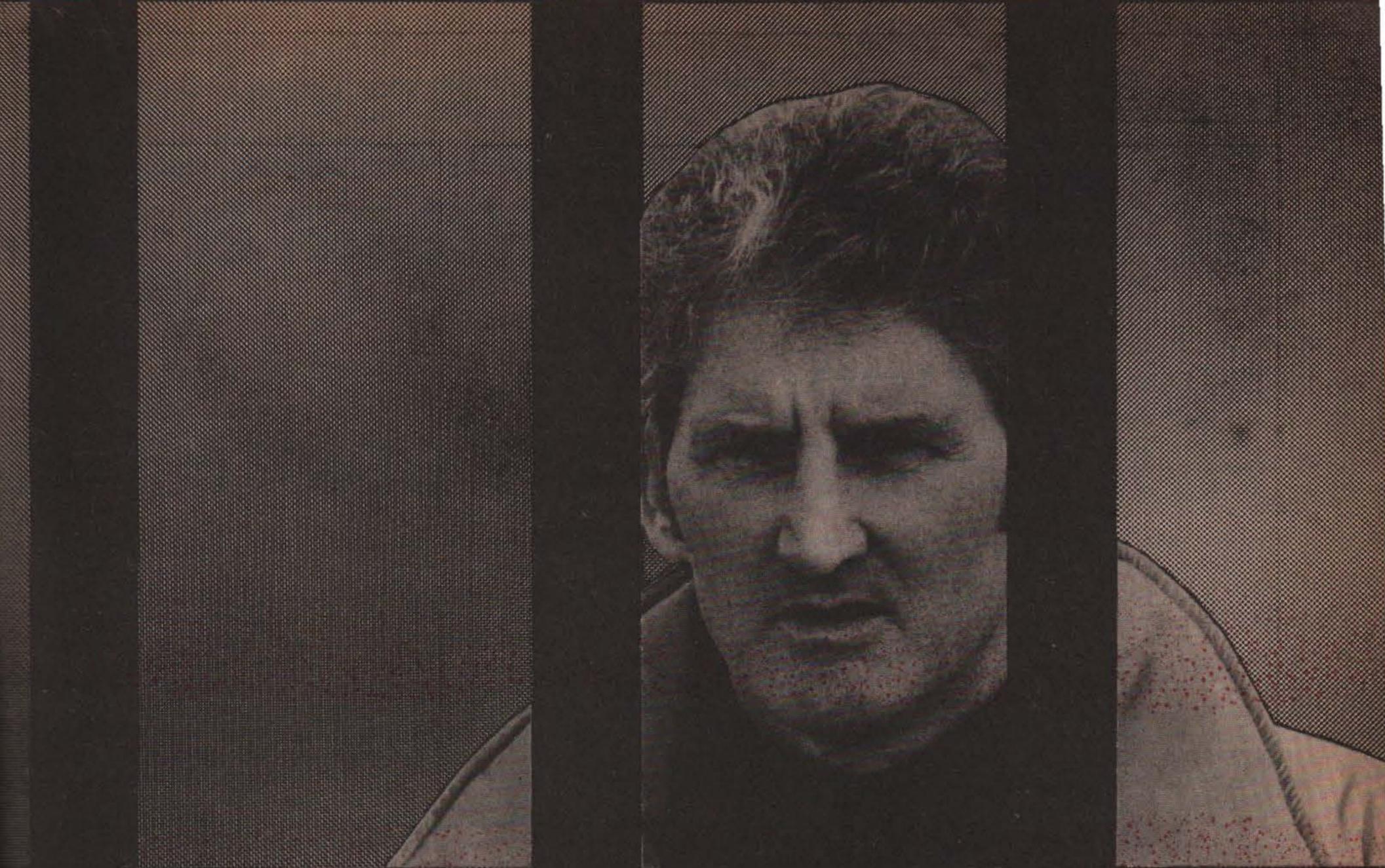
Meanwhile, Farabundo Marti refused to take part in his military trial except to declare that the trial was of one class against another, and that all his comrades were innocent, that he alone was responsible for the insurrection.

He and his comrades, Mario Zapata and Alfonso Luna, remained calm until the very last, demanding that they not be blindfolded before the firing squad. As the order was given, Marti called out, 'Viva el Socorro Rojo'.

The massacre of 1932 inaugurated an unbroken chain of military dictatorships which have continued in El Salvador for 50 years. Following the victory in neighbouring Nicaragua, the Salvadorean masses are not going to turn back now.



A blood-stained effigy of Reagan



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# STATEMENT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

## DOWN WITH THATCHER'S IMPERIALISM

### FULL SUPPORT FOR ARGENTINA'S SELF DETERMINATION

THE International Committee of the Fourth International totally condemns the Tory government's imperialist war plans to regain control of the Falkland Islands. We denounce it as an act of imperialist banditry and naked aggression against the right of national self-determination of the Argentine people.

Argentina has the inalienable right to occupy and administer the islands since they were stolen by force by British imperialism in 1833. For the past century and a half successive Argentinian governments have asserted their right to the islands only to be thwarted by the superior arms of the Western imperialist powers.

The Thatcher government has no right to violate the territorial integrity of Argentina and we denounce the declaration of the 200-mile war zone which has been imposed in the region. This is a continuation of the annexationist policy which British imperialism has pursued throughout its bloody history of colonial

plunder, repression and piracy.

The International Committee denounces the imperialist war jingoism being drummed up by the Tories, the Liberals, the SDP and the Labour Party leaders. This is designed to obscure the menacing military measures aimed against the Argentinian masses and to build 'national unity' around the ultra-reactionary Thatcher government.

The launching of Thatcher's naval task force is part of a wider imperialist strategy to annex a large area of the south Atlantic and Antarctica in pursuit of oil, natural gas and coal. The Tory warships and nuclear submarines have been despatched to deny Argentina any access to these resources.

The British working class and the Argentinian masses share a common enemy in this impending war conflict — British and American imperialism. That is why the main question for British workers is to mobilise their strength and energy to

drive the Tories out of office. We say that in peace or war the main enemy is at home!

A victory for the Thatcher government will not only be a defeat for the Argentinian masses but the British working class as well. It will encourage every reactionary conspiracy of imperialism to try to defeat the forces of national liberation from Iran to Palestine, and from Nicaragua to El Salvador. It will allow the Thatcher government to prosecute even more vigorously its ruthless attacks on workers' living standards, jobs and basic democratic rights, including an onslaught on trade union rights using the misnamed Employment Bill.

Conversely, if Thatcher's gunboat diplomacy is thwarted in the southern Atlantic, her whole government will be as well. But to ensure this crushing defeat is inflicted, the British working class must exert every effort to break the economic and political boycott of Argentina and



# ERIALIST WAR!

# MINATION

hold mass anti-war rallies, demonstrations and protests all over the country.

The International Committee calls on the Argentine workers and peasants not to leave the struggle for national self-determination in the hands of the CIA-backed military junta. The Argentine masses must organise and act independently to resolutely oppose British and US imperialism. On no account must they be tied to the junta and its opportunist subordination to US policy.

The first step towards an independent policy is the arming of the masses and the formation of a workers' militia. Together with this we raise the demand — expropriate all imperialist property in industry, land and banking. This is the only answer to the trade boycott of Western Europe and the diplomatic blackmail of General Alexander Haig, the US Secretary of State.

Argentina's war, despite the junta, is entirely progressive. Britain's war is imperialist and predatory. The International Committee does not for one moment justify or obscure the crimes and atrocities of the military junta against its political opponents and the working class. But the form of government does not change the historical content of the contradiction between British imperialism and a semi-colonial country.

The history of the 20th century is replete with such wars often led by reactionary despots against foreign imperialism. The revolutionary movement has never made it a condition of support that the bourgeois national regimes should renounce their despotic practices. As Trotsky wrote of the Chinese-Japanese war:

**'The working class movement cannot remain neutral in a struggle between those who wish to enslave and those who are enslaved. The working class movement in China, Japan and in the entire world must oppose with all its strength the Japanese imperialist bandits and support the people of China and their army. This does not at all suppose a blind confidence in the Chinese government and in Chiang Kai-Shek. In the past — above all in 1925-1927 — the general was already dependent upon working-class organisations in his military**

**struggle against the Chinese generals in the north, agents of foreign imperialism. In the end he crushed the working-class organisations by armed force in 1927-1928.**

**We must learn the lessons from the experience which resulted from the fatal policies of the Comintern, in participating in the legitimate and progressive national war against Japanese invasion, the working-class organisations must preserve their entire political independence from the Chiang Kai-Shek government. . .**

**'At the same time the remedy does not lie in the working-class organisations declaring themselves "against all wars" and folding their arms in an attitude of passive treason, but rather in participating in the war, aiding the Chinese people materially and morally, and simultaneously educating the masses of peasants and workers in a spirit of total independence of the Kuomintang and the government. We do not attack Chiang Kai-Shek for conducting the war. Oh, no. We attack him for doing it badly, without sufficient energy, without confidence in the people and especially in the workers.'** (Taken from Trotsky's *Writings 1937-1938*).

The International Committee unequivocally opposes the 'shuttle' diplomacy of General Haig and the conciliation of the Tories by the Argentine generals. Only the working class under a Trotskyist leadership can summon the Latin American masses to a victorious struggle against imperialism.

The first condition of such a victory is the complete repudiation of the policies of the radical and revisionist groups — like the Mandel and Moreno group — which subordinated the working class politically to the leadership of General Peron. It was their policy that enabled the junta to come to power and any attempt to create a Popular Front regime with so-called 'progressive generals' would lead inevitably to even greater disasters for Argentine workers.

British imperialism can and will be defeated when the workers and poor farmers of Argentina tear themselves out of the political grip of the Argentine bourgeoisie and turn the war of national resistance into a social revolution against

imperialism and its native agencies in the junta.

What drives General Galtieri to a negotiated compromise is the mortal fear of the awakened masses and the spectre of revolution.

The International Committee says:

● No compromise over the Malvinas! The territorial integrity of Argentina is not negotiable. Prepare for war!

● Call on all Latin America to boycott British goods and nationalise British property!

To the West European and British workers we say: this is not our war. Like the Zionist annexation of the Golan and the bombing of Beirut it is a reactionary war to strengthen the power of the capitalist state against the working class and to facilitate military dictatorship. Our main enemy is at home! Thatcherite imperialism represents a mortal danger to British workers and not any foreign junta. The Tory policy must be opposed all down the line.

This means, firstly, the complete repudiation of the Labour traitors who have committed the working class to this war and implicitly justified the imposition of new burdens to pay for the war. The cost of despatching the armada has alone cost £50 million and Treasury Secretary Lawson has announced that the whole operation will have to be financed from higher taxation and more cuts in public spending.

In West Germany the working class must resolutely oppose the war and the German trade boycott by demanding that Chancellor Schmidt be repudiated by the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions. We call on the French working class to oppose the charlatan-socialism of Mitterrand who has already displayed his support for Beigin's annexationist policies.

● Not a man, not a penny, not a gun for Thatcher's imperialist war banditry!

● Mobilise the mass movement of the working class to drive Thatcher's government out of office!

● Unconditional support for the Argentine working class and their war of self-determination!

● Complete independence from the military junta!

● Down with secret diplomacy!

● Long live proletarian internationalism!

● We call upon our Latin American sections to help build a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International in Argentina without delay!

April 14, 1982

THE Reagan administration has boosted US military spending to the highest levels since the Second World War. Military research spending alone is due to rise to \$24,469 million in 1983, a 20 per cent rise over this year, which itself was a 25 per cent rise over last year.

But the civilian science and space exploration budget has been subjected to devastating budget cuts. Compare the military funding with the mere \$230 million to be spent on the protection of the environment in 1983, a cut of 27 per cent from this year. Energy research and develop-

ment is to be cut by over 13 per cent to \$3,917 million.

The total government research budget for 1983 runs to \$42,997 million. Of this, over half goes to weapons development, the remaining \$18,528 million must be divided between the following departments of research in order of Reagan's priorities: space, energy, health, 'pure science', agriculture, and environment.

Over two years, \$129 million has been slashed from the basic research and education programme of the National Science Foundation. The cuts are to increase each

# WAR IN

year, amounting to a staggering \$546 million over the next four years.

All new projects intended for this year's budget have been suspended for 'future consideration.' The office said that the physical sciences would be favoured, since the behavioural, social and economic sciences were 'less critical.' This means they are considered to be irrelevant to the Pentagon's military build-up.

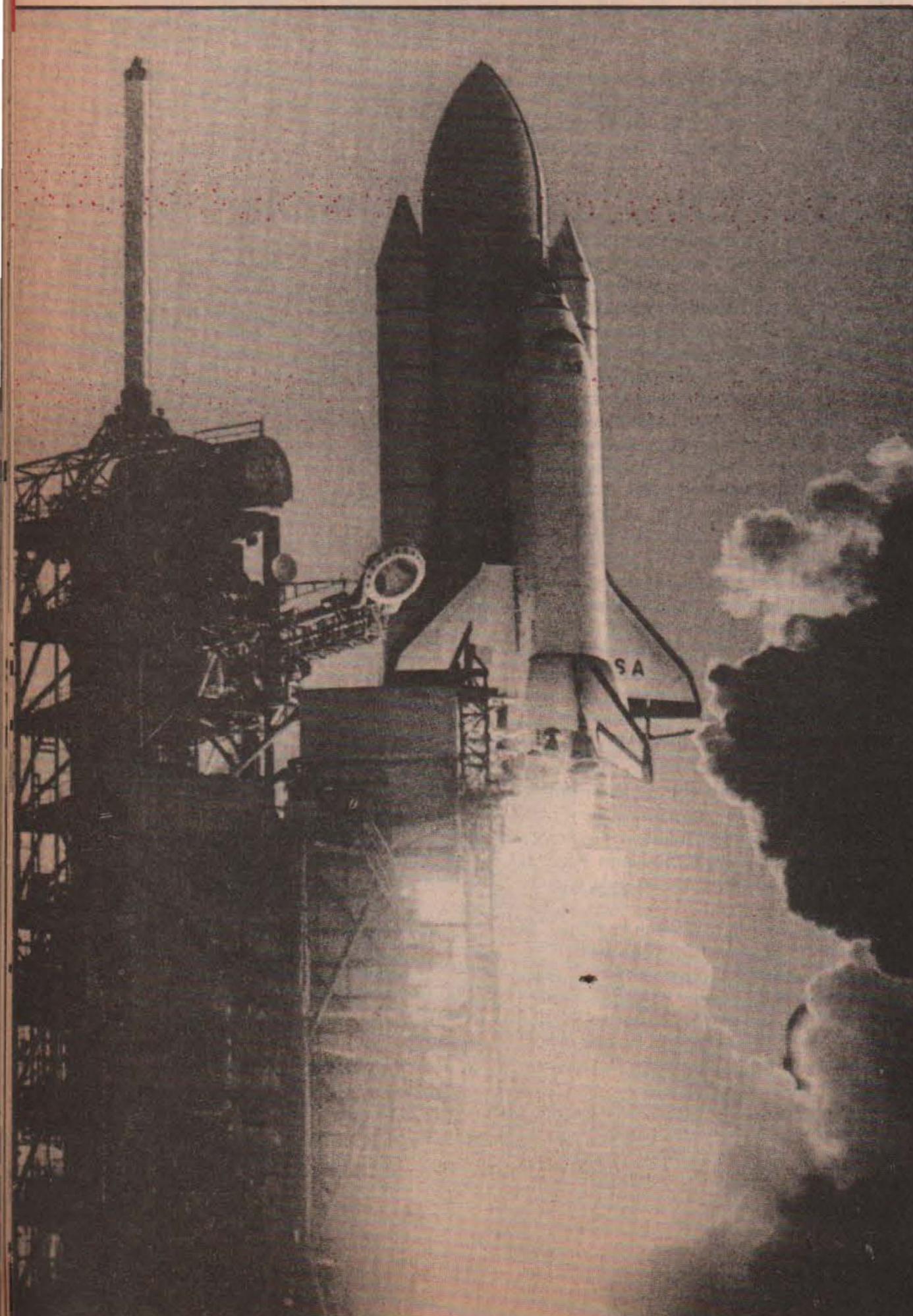
The budget for the National Aeronautical and Space Administration (NASA) will be cut by \$640 million. All remaining funds are to go almost entirely to the Space Shuttle — which is designed to build weapons' platforms in space, and will be taken over soon by military controllers and a secret army base.

Resources for projects with no immediate military return have been cancelled or severely curtailed.

- The Venus Orbiting Imaging Radar, scheduled for 1986, has been scrapped.
- The Gamma Ray Observatory launch is delayed from 1986 to 1988.
- The Landsat D satellite series, planned for remote surveying of forests and agricultural land to improve production, has been cut in half. Two of the four satellites will never go up, and the other two have been delayed. A congressional report on the cuts even stated: 'Termination of these activities would have a pervasive impact on both state governments and non-profit institutions' and that they 'would represent a breach of NASA's charter. . .'
- The fantastic technical success of the Voyager missions to Saturn will be followed by more than four years of silence before the craft reaches Uranus. NASA was also forced to switch off the sensors on the Viking probe which landed on Mars in 1976. NASA administrators decided it was too expensive to continue to receive

The Space Shuttle —  
under the control of the military

Civilian satellite projects to be



# SPACE

BY BEN RUDDER

the priceless signals, and pulled the plug. The overall cut in the analysis of data from planetary missions will go from \$61.8 million in 1981 to \$26.5 million in 1983. The Pioneer spacecraft is also due to be switched off, long before its expected lifetime.

● Another irreplaceable scientific opportunity is about to be lost through the cancellation of the fly-by of Halley's Comet. The famous comet, due to come closest to earth in 1986 on its 76-year orbit, will not return until 2062. Joint operations with the European Space Agency (ESA) for a very advanced study of the sun involving two satellites passing over opposite poles simultaneously, have been scrapped. Despairing scientists from both Europe and the US made impassioned pleas to the Reagan administration, but to no effect. The ESA has

already spent \$100 million on their half of the project, which is now next to useless.

On the ground, science research is faring no better. Funds for the fusion nuclear reactor, a safer alternative to the increasingly dangerous US nuclear fission reactors, have been cut in half. But the fission reactors, which provide material for nuclear weapons, are the only area left untouched.

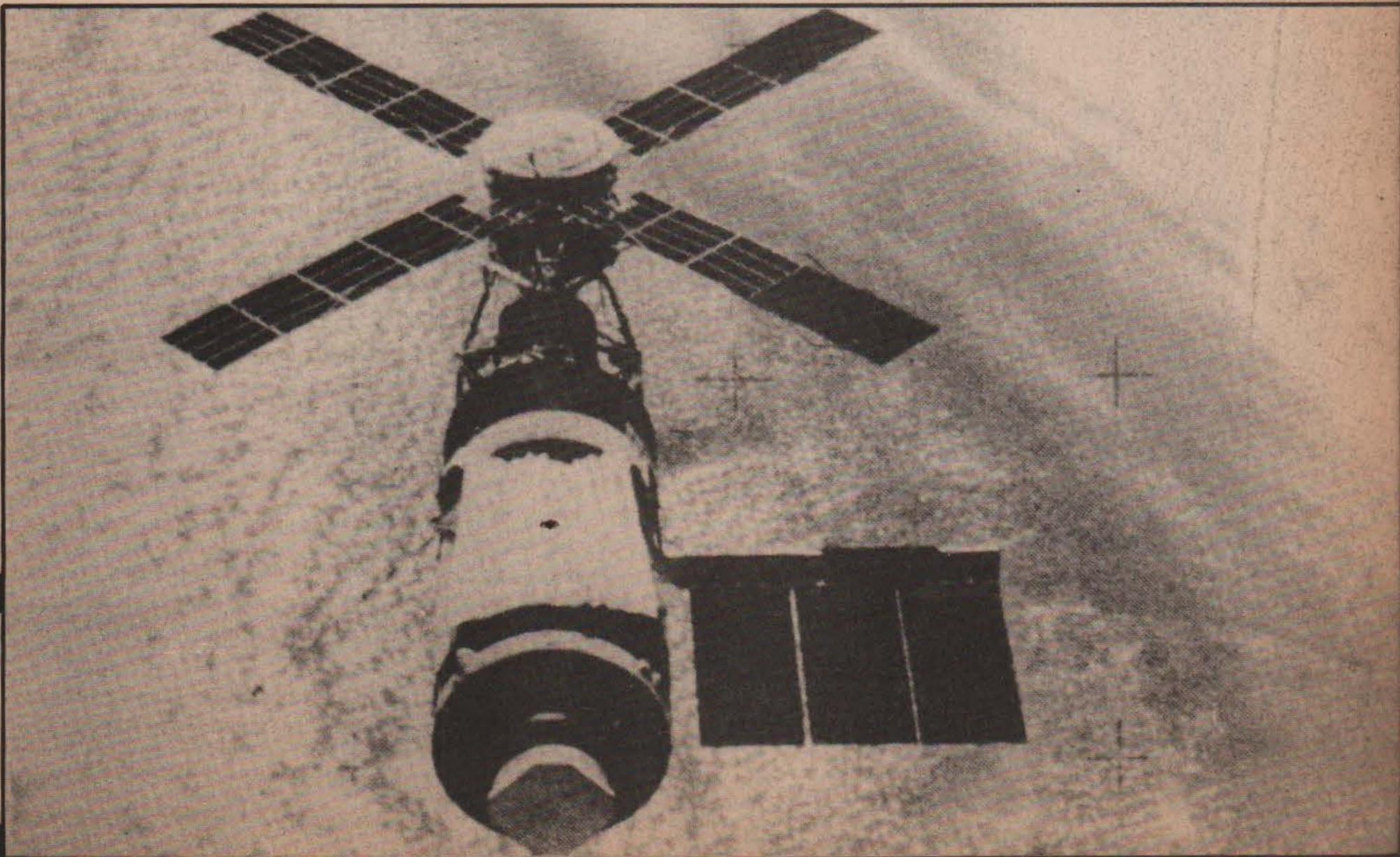
Research into fossil, solar, biomass and other renewable energy sources has been reduced from \$814 million this year to a mere \$315 million next year. Construction work on the ISABELLE proton-proton particle accelerator at Brookhaven National Laboratory, Long Island, NY, is to be halted. The National Science Foundation has also abandoned plans for a major ocean floor survey which was to have been conducted from the

former spy ship, 'Glomar Explorer'.

Alongside the attack on basic civil research has come a new directive from the Reagan administration — more university research must be funded by the Defence Department. By increasing military spending, and cutting civil research, Reagan intends to turn the universities into appendages of the Pentagon. Approaches made to university departments have allegedly been passed from the Defence Department through sympathetic members of the National Academy of Science, the US equivalent of the Royal Society. The policy has triggered off protests throughout the academic community.

Once again, Reagan's crash militarisation programme is most clearly seen in the military takeover of the Space Shuttle. In the publicised programme for the shuttle, 'civilian' flights have been reduced from 48 to 34, while the entirely secret military flights have been increased to 21. This is despite the openly military application of most of the 'civilian' experiments and tests.

The commander of the US Air Force Space Division, Lt. Gen. Richard C. Henry, who will control the secret military missions said recently: 'Everything we put up is supportive of our national security. Space is the high ground. It is crucial for collecting and disseminating information, for reducing the confusion of battle, even for improving our combat efficiency.'





ENHANCED IMAGE OF SATURN'S CO

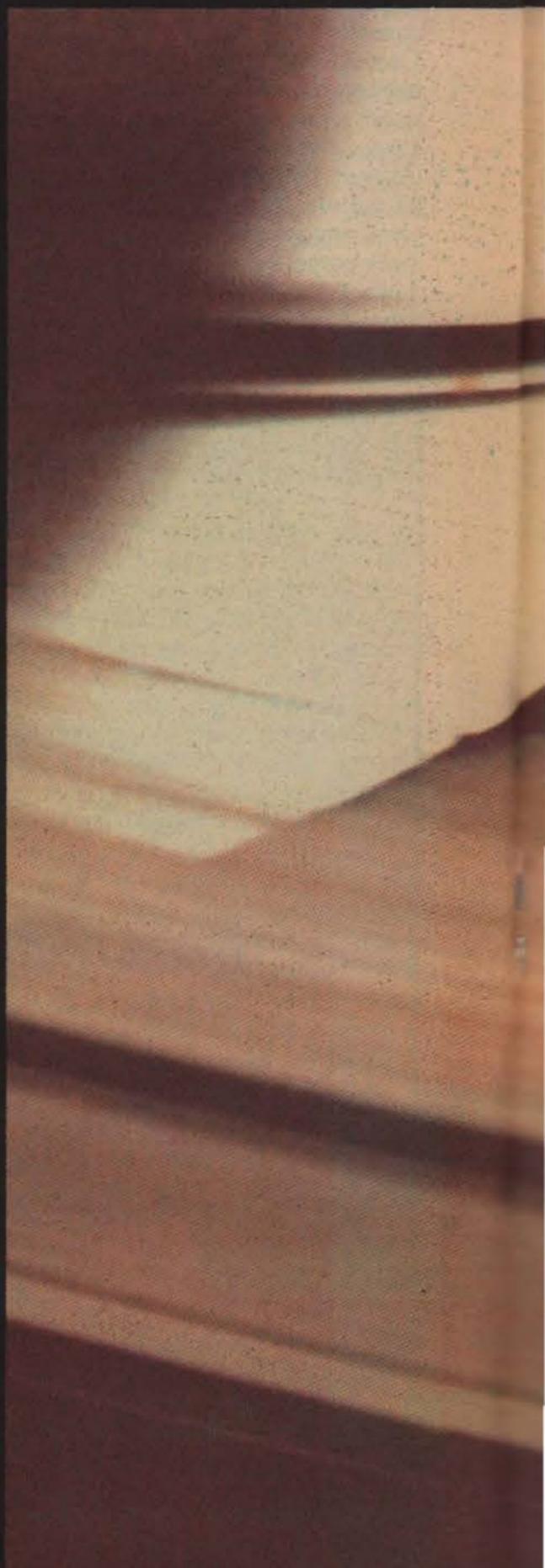
V  
AND MIMAS

ENHANCED IMAGE OF THE GIANT FA

# SATURN THE GAS GIANT

Ever since Galileo observed the 'ears' of Saturn through his telescope in 1610, the giant planet has fascinated mankind. It is the sixth planet outward from the sun, and the second largest (after Jupiter) in the solar system. It is about 815 times larger than the Earth. It takes almost 30 Earth years to orbit the sun, but its days are short: about 10.5 hours.

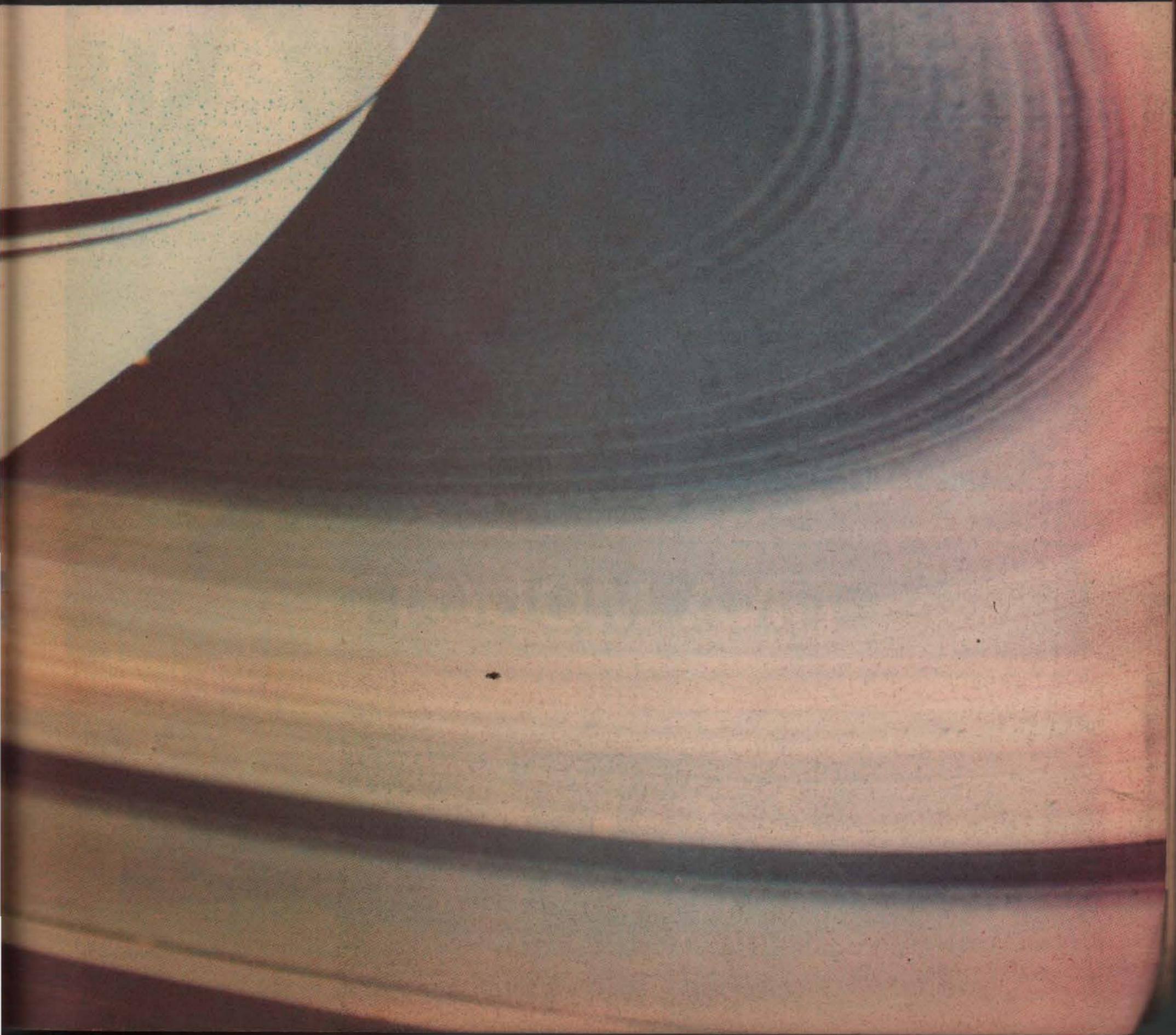
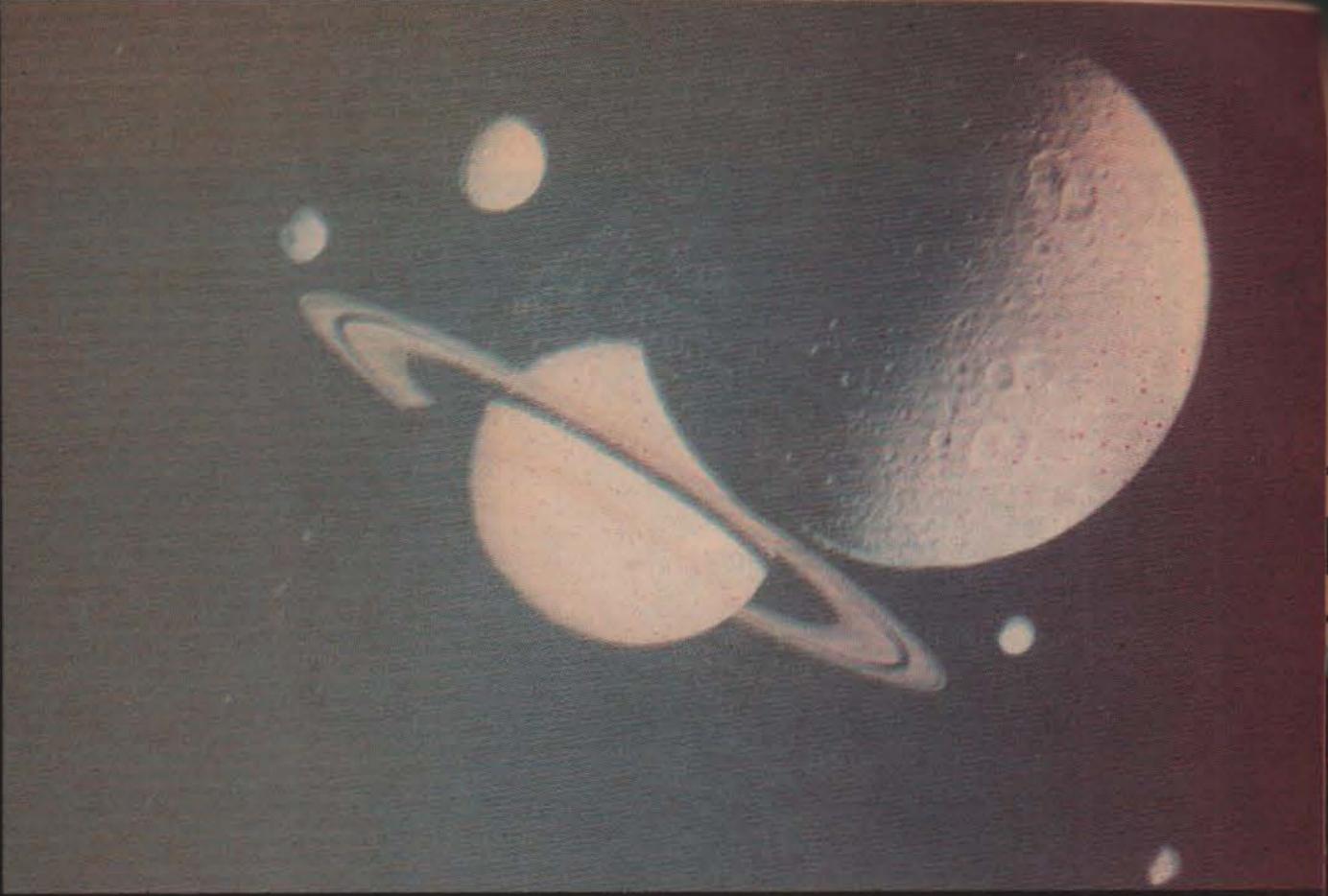
The Voyager missions sent back these stunning photographs of Saturn which have helped to answer many questions about the gas giant but have posed many new ones. However, the space exploration budget has now been drastically cut. The Reagan administration has diverted these funds to the military uses of the Space Shuttle.



MOONS

MONTAGE OF SATURNIAN SYSTEM  
WITH ITS MOONS DIONE, FRONT, TETHYS  
AS, RIGHT, ENCELADUS AND RHEA, LEFT,  
AND TITAN, DISTANT TOP

PLANET AND ITS RING SYSTEM





**TINA MODOTTI**

**AGENT OF**

**BY HERBERT MOLDERINGS**

TINA MODOTTI'S name is rarely mentioned in books on the art of photography. It is only in Beaumont Newhall's *History of Photography* that a note appears in the index at the end of the book. It says simply, 'Tina Modotti (1896-1942)'.

This is a notation of her pictures 'Mother and Child from Tehuantepec' in the chapter entitled 'Documentary', in which her work appears as the historical link between the photographs of Lewis Hines and those of the photographers of the US Farm Security Administration. In the text, however, there is no remark about her life or work.

Tina Modotti's photographs are now undergoing a 'revival' in Western Europe and North and South America, particularly since they were exhibited in Italy's 'Venezia Fotografia' in 1979.<sup>1</sup> Feminists and students of photography have been unceremoniously duped about Modotti while her real life story has been buried beneath a canvas of rose-tinted inventions.

In London this March, Modotti's photographs and Frida Kahlo's paintings went on exhibition at the Whitechapel to the shameless drools of the revisionists and Stalinist fellow-travellers. Mr Guy Brett writing in the weekly magazine *City Limits* introduced his lavish review by saying: 'Modern feminism has reasserted the intimacy of the personal and the political, and one result has been the rediscovery of neglected women artists'. (*City Limits*, March 26-April 1, 1982). Ironically, his article was entitled 'Out of the Shadows'. It would have been more appropriate to call it 'Still in the Shadows', since it perpetuated the lying myths about Ms. Modotti who was nothing more or less than an unscrupulous GPU agent.

There are two main published sources of information on Modotti's career: *Tina Modotti - Photographer and Revolutionary*, published by Vittorio Vidali, in Milano 1979<sup>2</sup> and the biography written by Mildred Constantine: *Tina Modotti, a Fragile Life*,<sup>3</sup> the main source of which is

also Vittorio Vidali. But Vidali is in no way the most adequate witness for an objective chronicle of Modotti's life.

He was one of Stalin's GPU executioners during the Spanish Civil War. He then transferred to Mexico where he was a key member of the GPU team which carried out the murder of Leon Trotsky, the founder of the Fourth International and Lenin's co-leader in the Russian Revolution of 1917. Vidali is alive and well and living in northern Italy. Despite his advanced years he is still a leading pillar of Stalinist orthodoxy in Enrico Berlinguer's Communist Party of Italy (PCI).

The exposure of Vidali and GPU agents like Modotti would not have been possible except for the investigation into Trotsky's assassination launched by the International Committee of the Fourth International seven years ago, and which is continuing to unearth the network of Stalinist and imperialist agents who penetrated world Trotskyism with the aim of destroying its leadership and its influence in the international workers' movement.

Tina Modotti was born in the north Italian town of Udine. Her father was a carpenter who emigrated at the beginning of the century to San Francisco. His daughter followed him in 1913. She first worked in a textile factory, and later as a dressmaker. She was one among the thousands of young immigrants whose hard-working and tough life Lewis Hines captured in his photographs.

In 1915, she met Roubaix de L'Abrie Richey, a painter and poet of French-Canadian origin. They married in 1917 and went to Los Angeles. The change from her proletarian milieu to the bourgeois environment of her new life was a sharp one. Richey's studio was the meeting point of the libertarian writers and bohemian artists and through friends she came into contact with the actor's world of Hollywood. In 1920 she played in several films, mainly in the role of a gipsy or a 'femme fatale'.

Her meeting with the photographer

Edward Weston in 1920-21 providing the next change in her life. She posed for him at his studio in Glendale, Los Angeles, and became his girlfriend.

At the end of 1921 Richey travelled to Mexico, where he contracted mumps and died. Modotti went to the funeral and stayed several months there. She became enthusiastic about the country which was going through a great revolutionary upheaval. On returning to the United States she convinced Weston to quit Los Angeles and to come with her to Mexico. In July 1923 they settled down in Mexico City, where they lived together until the end of 1926.

In these heady days Mexico had a magnetic attraction for sections of the American intelligentsia. The country's natural beauty was combined with a swirling social landscape in which the names of Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa evoked enormous passions. It was an early wave of Che Guevarism. At the centre of an artistic renaissance were the frescos of Montenegro, Rivera and Crozco which ornamented the walls of public buildings in the country.

Modotti knew the Spanish language and she quickly won friends among the most important painters and writers in the city, above all Diego Rivera and his wife Lupe Martin, Jose Clemente Orozco, the young painter Xavier Guerrero, Pablo O'Higgins and Jean Charlot, the senator and revolutionary Galvan, Dolores del Rio, the writers Frances Toor, Anita Brenner and many others.

She became much in demand as a model for these artists. Jean Charlot and Diego Rivera drew her portrait. Rivera chose her to represent the figure of the Tierra Virgin in the frescos at the State High School for Agriculture in Chapingo. And she remained the preferred model of her companion, Weston, who painted a number of nude portraits of her.

Around 1923 she took up photography under his direction and soon mastered the art herself. In his *Daybooks* in Mexico for

**THE GPU**



A picture of Vittorio Vidali, taken by Tina Modotti, on their way to Moscow

May 1924, Weston notes: 'Tina printed her most interesting abstraction done in the tower of Tepotzotlan. She is very happy over it and well she may be. I myself would be pleased to have done it. She printed from the enlarged positive, so she has a negative print and shows it upside down'.<sup>4</sup>

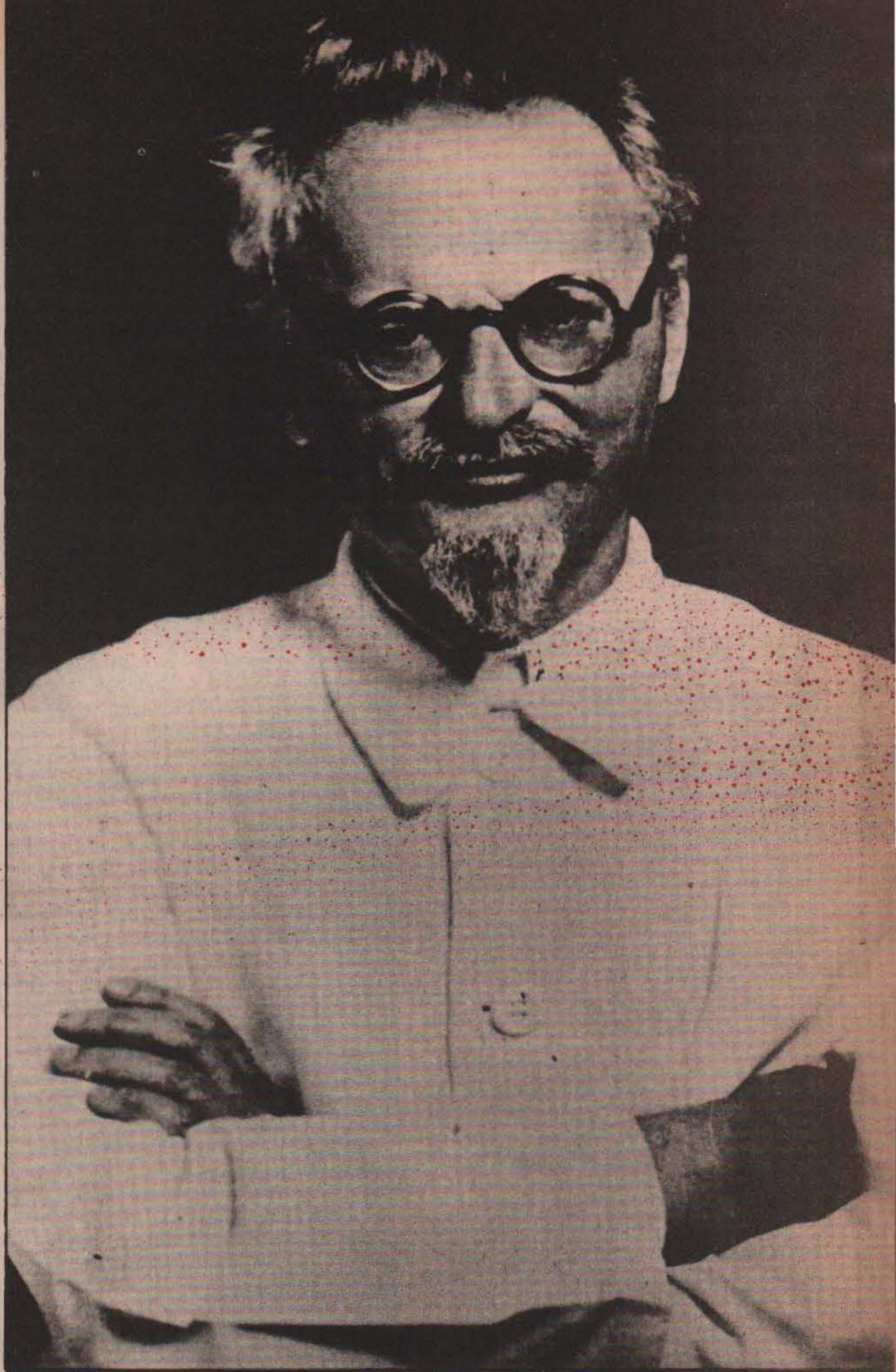
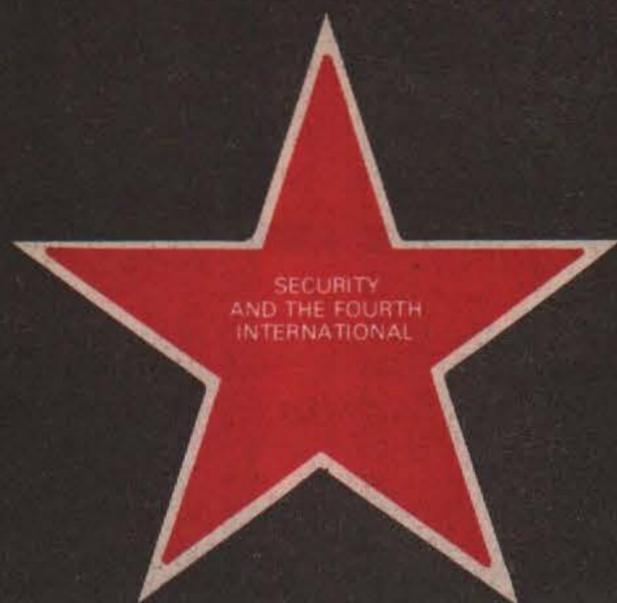
At the time of her first exhibition in November 1924, Weston commented: 'Tina and I for the first time are showing together; indeed, it is her first public showing, and I am proud of my dear "apprentice"'. Under the auspices of the Secretaria de Educacion Publica we hung ten prints each in the Palacio de Minerva . . . Tina's lost nothing by comparison with mine — they are her own expression'.

In November 1926 when Weston went back to California, his companion remained behind. She joined the Communist Party of Mexico and became engrossed in the turbulent political life. Her closest confidantes were Diego Rivera and Xavier Guerrero, the leader of the party who was also her new boyfriend. She began to working in the 'Hands-off-Nicaragua' Committee and in the Anti-Imperialist League of South America.

In this same period Modotti began to produce a collection of new photos, 'propaganda pictures', as she called them: still-lives of the symbols of the Mexican revolution, pictures of peasant demonstrations, of day-to-day street scenes and poverty in the city. In December 1929 the National Library of Mexico City organised a major exhibition of her work, which attracted much attention. It was the peak of the short-lived photographic career of Tina Modotti.

Three months after the exhibition, in February 1930, Modotti was expelled from Mexico by the government. Her expulsion followed events which started on January 10 1929. On that day the Cuban Communist Party leader Julio Antonio Mella with whom she had been living for four months was assassinated in her presence. The murderer was never arrested and the case remains unsolved. Modotti's contradictory statements about the circumstances aroused immediate suspicions that she had been involved in the crime.

The question has persisted: was she part of an internal settlement of accounts in the Communist Party? Mella was one of the



# HOW THE GPU MURDERED TROTSKY

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leading members of the party who took a position against the policies of violence which Stalin ordered to smash Trotsky's Left Opposition. It was later revealed that Mella had been threatened with death at a meeting of the Political Bureau by the envoy of the Comintern: 'Oppositionists like you only deserve death'.<sup>5</sup>

This envoy, called Eneas Sormenti, was none other than Vittorio Vidali. He and Modotti left Mexico together in February 1930 and it was Vidali who organised her journey via Berlin to Moscow. Modotti had a new boyfriend.<sup>6</sup>

In his book, *The Assassination of Trotsky* published in France in 1970, Julian Gorkin refers to the unsolved murder case in a chapter headed 'Contreras — Sormenti — Vidali', a reference to Vidali's aliases. 'There is a tragic figure involved in the life and dark activities of Sormenti. Tina Modotti, an artist and model, the former companion of Mella. After his death she became the girlfriend and collaborator of Sormenti. Everything indicates that she had been his accomplice in the murder of the Cuban student leader: the police found among her belongings the plan of the street through which she brought the victim on the fatal day and a black point marked the exact location at which the unfortunate victim collapsed'.

In Moscow Modotti dropped photography and started a new career in the service of the GPU-controlled Comintern. She wrote to Weston on January 12, 1931: 'I am living a completely new life, so much so that I almost feel like a different person, but very interesting.'

While we are relatively well-informed about the final chapter of Modotti's life, we know relatively little about her 'new life' from 1930 until her death in 1942. One detail, however, is certain. She was active under the name of Maria Ruiz together with Vittorio Vidali in Spain from 1935 to 1939.

It was the period of the civil war. All workers' parties ostensibly belonged to a common front to face the fascist attack of Franco against the Republic. However, behind the lines another war took place: the horrifying campaign of murder by the Stalinist secret police, the GPU, against thousands of anti-Stalinists, Trotskyists, left-wing socialists, anarchists and radicals.

The GPU crime during the civil war which had the biggest impact on the international workers' movement was the assassination of Andres Nin, the Minister of Justice in the Catalonian government and the secretary of the influential Unified Marxist Party, the POUM. After the war

Jesus Hernandez, the strong-man in the Spanish Communist Party during the civil war and one of two Stalinist ministers in the government, revealed that the assassin was Vittorio Vidali, Modotti's companion.

His book, *La Grande Trahison*, (*The Great Betrayal*), created a sensation in 1953 when he revealed the following: 'The solution (how Nin was to be eliminated) was proposed by the most diabolical collaborator of General Orlov (the GPU chief in Spain), the "commandant Carlos".'<sup>7</sup> In a note to this sentence Hernandez added: 'A delegate to the Comintern in Mexico since 1928 and one of the organisers of Trotsky's murder in 1940, "The Commandant Carlos Contreras" was one of the main hangmen of the GPU during the civil war in Spain. At present he is the leader of the Communist Party in Trieste under his real name Vittorio Vidali'.

At the beginning of 1939 Modotti, alias Maria Ruiz, and Vidali, alias Carlos Contreras, went back to Mexico. His mission was to prepare the murder of Leon Trotsky, the last of the great leaders of the Russian Revolution, who was living in exile in a suburb of Mexico City. A first attempt against his life in May 1940, which was led by the Stalinist painter David Alfaro Siqueiros,<sup>8</sup> failed. The second one, carried out three months later by the trained GPU killer Ramon Mercader, alias Jacques Mornard, was successful.<sup>9</sup>

The Stalinist legend is that Modotti was in Mexico to resume her photographic career. But there is no record that she took any pictures at all. What is recorded is that she had dinner with Vidali on the night of January 5, 1942, and then left in a taxi complaining of stomach pains. The police later found her dead in the abandoned cab. The doctor's verdict — heart attack. What really happened was that Vidali and his ruthless gang liquidated her because she began to lose her nerve and the GPU feared that she might start to talk.<sup>10</sup>

● Remarks: This article is an edited version of a radio programme, which was presented by Rencontres Internationales de la Photographie in Arles (southern France) and in the Musee National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1981.

#### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> See the catalogue of the exhibition 'Venezia '79 La Fotografia', Venedig, 1979, pages 120-126.

<sup>2</sup> Idea Editions, Milano and London.

<sup>3</sup> Paddington Press, New York-London 1975.

<sup>4</sup> *The Day Books of Edward Weston*, Vol 1 Mexico, published by Nancy Newhall, New York 1973.

<sup>5</sup> Julian Gorkin, *L'assassinat de Trotsky*, Juliard, Paris.

<sup>6</sup> One episode throws light on Modotti's Stalinist fervour. In the autumn of 1929 Diego Rivera, one of the founding members of the Mexican Communist Party, was expelled from the party because of his anti-Stalinist positions. Immediately afterwards Modotti broke from Rivera, despite the fact that she had him to thank for protecting her from the fire of the press and the police following Mella's murder. After Rivera's expulsion from the party she wrote in a letter to Weston: 'I think his going out of the party will do more harm to him than to the party. He will be considered a traitor. I need not add that I shall look upon him as one too and from now on all my contact with him will be limited to our photographic transactions'. See M. Constantine, Page 166.

<sup>7</sup> Jesus Hernandez, *La Grande Trahison*, Ed. Fasquelle, Paris, 1953, page 105.

<sup>8</sup> Siqueiros was arrested after the attempt, and then released on bail from custody. The man who allowed him to slip out of the hands of the Mexican police with a false passport was Pablo Neruda, who shortly afterwards composed a poem on the death of Tina Modotti and dedicated it to 'Carlos Contreras'. Neruda was then the Chilean consul in Mexico. As his help in the escape of Siqueiros was known, he was stripped of his functions through the intervention of the Socialist Chilean ambassador, Hidalgo y Plaza.

<sup>9</sup> See Gorkin, *L'assassinat de Trotsky*, especially the Chapter 'Vidali, the second head of the murder', page 274-276. The reader can find further details in the book: *How the GPU murdered Trotsky*, New Park Publications, London 1981. The list of books on the political crimes of Vidali could be extended by a dozen more. We refer here to Dante Corneli's 'Lo Stalinismo in Italia e nell'emigrazione antifascista — Amare Verita' Sulla Guerra Civile di Spagna', Rome, August 1979.

<sup>10</sup> Gorkin writes in *L'assassinat de Trotsky*: 'Shortly before her death, she told a close friend that Contreras was "a dangerous murderer".' page 271. In an interview with the author in June 1981 Gorkin revealed the identity of that friend — Frances Toor, the publisher of *Mexican Folkways*, and old friend of Modotti's since her arrival in Mexico in 1923.

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# TROTSKYISM AND THE CRISIS OF REVISIONISM

ALEX CALLINICOS is a prominent member of the revisionist group, the Socialist Workers Party, and a past editor of its 'theoretical' journals *International Socialism* and *Socialist Review*. Before turning to the details of Callinicos' book it is necessary for those unfamiliar with this organisation to say something of its origins, programme and theory. The Socialist Workers Party was founded on the theory of state capitalism. This anti-communist theory asserts that the Soviet Union is 'state capitalist' and as such does not differ in a qualitative sense from capitalism in Western Europe and the United States.

Implied in this idea is the conception that the Russian Revolution of 1917 constituted an historical abortion and that there is nothing progressive in the existing property relations of the USSR, Eastern Europe and China. It was on the basis of these fundamental political and theoretical questions that the present Socialist Workers Party was founded when, in 1949, breaking irrevocably from Trotskyism, it refused to defend North Korea and China in their war against British and

upon the actions and policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy but is based solely on the nationalised property relations brought into being nearly 65 years ago.

One of the most salient features of the 'theory' of state capitalism was that it was, and remains, thoroughly imbued with **scepticism**, scepticism about the socialist revolution. For the state capitalists — and the history of this reactionary theory can be traced back to the period immediately following the Russian revolution itself — the development of the world revolution after 1917 has 'proved' definitively that the proletarian revolution is impossible; it must always lead to horrendous deformations of the sort associated with Stalinism. In this way Callinicos and his ilk simultaneously vest the greatest possible power in bureaucracy while rejecting the revolutionary role of the working class as the only power which can overthrow capitalism, and at the same time defeat its bureaucratic agencies within the labour movement.

The significance of the present book is that this **political** scepticism is directly reflected in the **philosophical** scepticism which informs its every page. One of the central tasks of the revolutionary movement today — and one to which the International Committee of the Fourth International has directed all its material and theoretical resources — is to expose revisionism at the most fundamental level, the level of philosophy. During the inflationary boom the revisionists attempted to obscure these philosophical questions in order to hide their rejection of dialectical materialism as the philosophy of Marxism by concentrating their attention on a series of immediate so-called 'concrete' questions: Should one work in the Labour Party? Did one support this or that strike? etc.

One great advantage of the deepening world capitalist crisis is that it now presents the revolutionary party with the greatest-ever opportunity to take the struggle against revisionism to the highest level and to demonstrate before the most advanced layers in the working class that all these various revisionist groups share one thing in common — they have broken irrevocably from revolutionary Marxism at the most fundamental level. This task is by no means of purely abstract theoretical interest; nor is it to be carried out in the interests of some irrational wish for

theoretical purity, as the revisionists commonly claim. For us it is a vital preparation for the gathering socialist revolution.

Here it is necessary to be clear about the specific role which revisionism plays in the maintenance of capitalist rule. As Lenin long ago explained, in the epoch of its decline capitalism is no longer able to rely on its own direct strength to preserve its rule. It must increasingly rely upon its agency within the working class — today constituted principally by the Stalinist and social democratic bureaucracies. But its reliance by no means ends with this bureaucracy. It is the peculiar role of revisionism to provide for the ruling class those ideological supports which it is unable itself to provide. For the central concern of revisionism is its unremitting effort to establish that Marxism is in some respect or other fundamentally 'deficient'. And having established this proposition to his satisfaction the revisionist then proceeds to 'repair' this deficiency by incorporating into Marxism one or other strand of bourgeois thought.

Thus in the period after 1905 certain Russian Marxists discovered that the 'latest trends' in bourgeois philosophy (associated principally with the work of Ernst Mach) constituted the basis for the 'enrichment' of Marxism. In *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* Lenin mercilessly exposed this attempt for the reactionary attack on Marxism which it was. In particular he demonstrated that the 'latest philosophy' so much trumpeted by the revisionists at that time in fact involved a return to the scepticism or agnosticism of Kant and Hume and in the extreme case to the open idealism of Bishop Berkeley.

The first chapter of Callinicos' book carries the heading 'The "Crisis of Marxism"'. Callinicos is not the first to discern an alleged 'crisis' for Marxism. This was a matter which also obsessed Eduard Bernstein, leader of the revisionist wing of pre-1914 German social democracy. Before considering Callinicos' book in detail it will be instructive to consider the thrust of Bernstein's arguments and the conclusions he drew from them, if only because they have much to tell us about this would-be 'theoretician' of the Socialist Workers Party.

Bernstein took as indubitable the fact that many of Marx's predictions made in the *Communist Manifesto* had not been

American imperialism. Instead, the 'state capitalists' chose to adopt a reactionary anti-communist position under the slogan 'Neither Washington nor Moscow but International Socialism'.

The Workers Revolutionary Party and its predecessor organisations, following the lead of Trotsky, have always rejected this counter-revolutionary position. We have always distinguished between the nationalised property relations brought into being by the 1917 revolution and its subsequent development on the one hand, and the Stalinist bureaucracy on the other hand, a bureaucracy which in the 1920s usurped political power from the working class. Despite all the crimes of this Stalinist bureaucracy, the gains of the 1917 revolution have not been lost. It is for this reason that the Workers Revolutionary Party, as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International, has always unconditionally defended the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China against the predatory threats of imperialism. The word 'unconditional' signifies the fact that this defence rests not one whit

## Is There a Future for Marxism?

by Alex Callinicos. Macmillan pp 263 £6.95

'confirmed' either by the subsequent course of capitalist development or by the evolution of the class struggle. Social relations, claimed Bernstein, had not become more aggravated in the half century after the Manifesto's appearance in 1848; the number of capitalist businessmen had actually grown after this period and the middle class, while changing in character, had certainly not disappeared, as Bernstein claimed Marx held they would.

Added to this, Bernstein contended that the concentration of industry was proceeding very slowly and that the tendency towards economic breakdown was becoming even less pronounced. In his charge that Marxist theory had been falsified by the so-called 'concrete' development of capitalism Bernstein was of course merely echoing a section of bourgeois opinion of his day and arriving at similar conclusions: that a peaceful solution to the class struggle and the 'social problem' was possible and desirable.

Like Callinicos today, so Bernstein — his spiritual grandfather — proposed that this alleged crisis of Marxism could only be resolved if socialism was prepared to take into account these so-called 'new facts' and consider the 'contribution' which the 'latest research' of the bourgeoisie could make to the 'enrichment' of Marxism. Callinicos considers that G. V. Plekhanov belongs to the 'vulgar' tradition of Marxism, along with Kautsky and Stalin. We shall have more to say on this matter in a moment, but suffice it to say at this point that whatever Plekhanov's weaknesses, he certainly replied most effectively to the attack of Bernstein some 80 years ago, an attack which in its essence, is returned to by Callinicos.

At one point in his polemic against Bernstein, Plekhanov draws attention to the opinions of Hermann Greulich, a fellow revisionist of Bernstein and leader of Swiss social democracy. At a party congress in Stuttgart, Greulich came out in support of Bernstein: 'I am deeply convinced that our cause can only gain from criticism. German social-democracy has received a great heritage from the great thinkers, Marx and Engels. But we are dealing here, not with the ultimate truth, but science, which must always take fresh account of the facts'. (Quoted in G. V. Plekhanov's 'What Should We Thank Him For?' *Selected Philosophical Works*,

Vol II 1976).

Plekhanov replied with words which apply exactly to Callinicos: 'Nothing could be truer, but does Comrade Greulich really think that the great heritage handed down to us by Marx and Engels stands to gain anything from an eclectic fusion with the doctrines of bourgeois economists? Can he, forsooth, make so bold as to call criticism something that is an absolutely uncritical iteration of these doctrines?' (ibid. p.344). Commenting on this method adopted by Bernstein and others, Plekhanov went on to say: 'There are others of our scholarly comrades who find a fleeting pleasure in trying to prove that they can be "critical" even of Marx himself. With that end in view, they take his theory in the distorted form it has been given by its bourgeois opponents and then triumphantly unleash their "criticism" with the aid of arguments borrowed from these opponents' (ibid. p.344).

One other point is worth noting in connection with Bernstein's attack on Marxism and its relevance for a consideration of Callinicos' work: the attitude of Bernstein to Hegelian dialectics. Like the main current of revisionism today, Bernstein was of the firm opinion that Hegel's dialectic had exerted a deleterious effect on Marx and Engels. In certain respects prefiguring the sort of attack against Marxism launched by Althusser (a revisionist much-admired by Callinicos) Bernstein considered that Marx's re-working of Hegelian dialectical idealism from the standpoint of materialism (the 'standing of Hegel on his feet' as Marx puts it) was an entirely misconceived project.

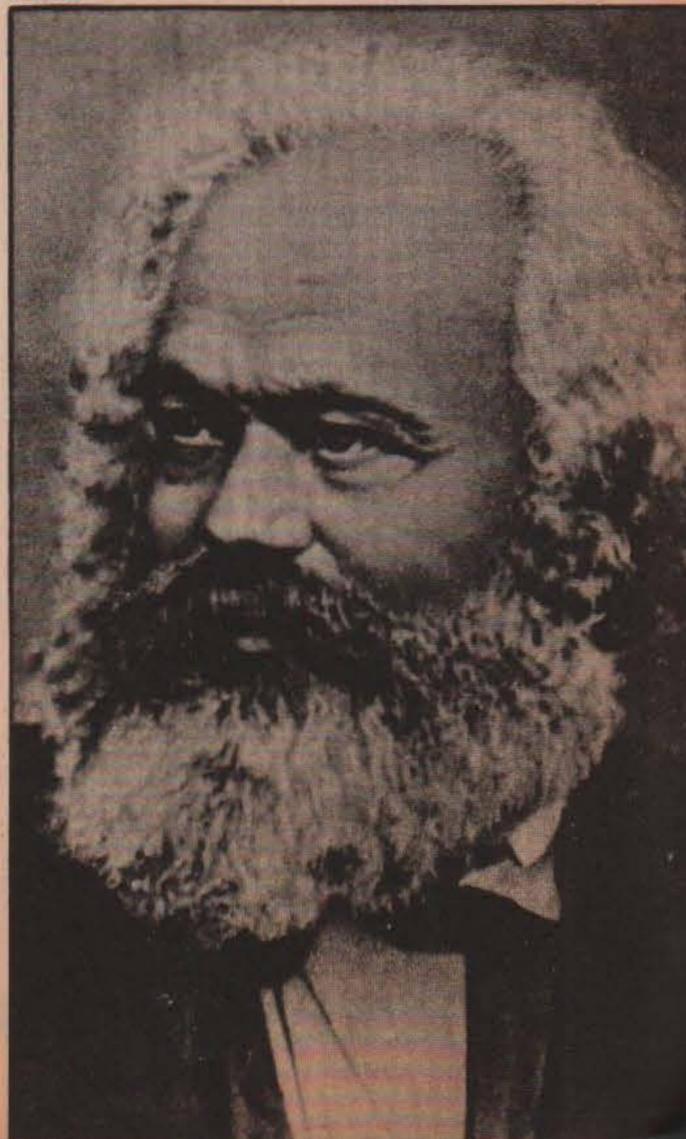
This was so 'for as soon as we abandon the ground of empirically established facts and begin to think by by-passing them, we find ourselves in the world of derived ideas; if, in that case, we follow the laws of dialectics as established by Hegel, we shall find ourselves, before even being aware of that, again in the clutches of the "self-development of notions". Herein lies the danger of the logic of contradictions.' (Eduard Bernstein, *Historical Materialism*, as quoted in Plekhanov's 'Cant against Kant or Herr Bernstein's Will and Testament' in Plekhanov, op.cit. p.353). This last point is especially noteworthy because Callinicos, following the latest revisionist fashion, also rejects 'the logic of contradictions' in favour of purely formal logic, a matter which we shall deal

with presently.

Let us now consider how Callinicos starts his examination of what he sees as the current 'crisis' gripping Marxism. In a move no doubt designed to put his more naive reader off the track, he begins by asserting that his 'basic reference point' is provided by 'classical Marxism', this classical Marxism being represented by the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Gramsci, as against the tradition represented by Kautsky, Stalin or Mao (p.4). Right from the outset, Callinicos manages to confuse a series of crucial matters.

In the first place, it is a gratuitous insult to Kautsky that he be lumped together with Stalin or Mao. For Trotskyism, the central focus for all basic revisions of Marxism in the period since 1917 has been Stalinism; as is now widely acknowledged inside the Soviet Union today, Stalin made absolutely no contribution to the development of Marxist theory in any field — political economy, history or philosophy. In fact, his version of Marxism — which from the late 1920s onwards became the only acceptable version inside

Marx



the Third International — involved a return to the crudest forms of mechanical and even vulgar materialism which had characterised Marxism in the period prior to the development of **dialectical** materialism by Marx and Engels from the 1840s onwards.

One object of Stalin's vituperation — as well as of his firing squads — were those who sought to emphasise and establish the role of Hegel's dialectical idealism in the foundation of the dialectical materialist world outlook. For Stalin, Hegel's philosophy was thoroughly reactionary, a reflection of the aristocratic reaction to the French revolution of 1789. It was on the basis of these ludicrous historical distortions that serious scholars and philosophers such as Debordin were ruthlessly suppressed inside the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s. We shall see pre-

respect forgetting the severe difficulties which a long period of imprisonment brought for him, it must not be forgotten that on the philosophical level he remained deeply influenced by Crocean idealism and that on the political level he had an ambiguous position on the central question of the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin as this struggle unfolded from the mid-1920s onwards. One of the many disservices to the memory of Gramsci (Rosa Luxemburg is another case in point) for which people such as Callinicos and those who move in the circles of the 'New Left Review' have been responsible, is to play on the weaker sides of Gramsci as part of their attack on revolutionary Marxism, that is, upon Trotskyism.

It should be clear from the outset that Callinicos' declaration that he stands within the tradition of 'classical' Marxism

ings represent the most important contribution to marxist philosophy since Lukacs' *History and Class Consciousness*. (p.71). If any further evidence should be needed of the absolutely spurious nature of the claim by Callinicos and the revisionist group to which he adheres to have anything remotely in common with the traditions of Trotskyism it is contained in statements such as this.

We shall return in detail to Althusser, but suffice it to say at this juncture that Althusser's work is characterised by a consistent rejection of dialectical materialism and the advocacy of a variety of French structuralism which seeks to analyse society in terms of a series of fixed parts and not as a dialectical, intrinsically contradictory process. And this perversion of dialectical materialism is actually stood on its head by Callinicos and

The Soviet bureaucracy usurped political power from the working class



sently that this reactionary attitude to the contribution made by Hegel on the part of Stalinism is by no means unimportant in considering Callinicos' work, for in several respects he shares the same position. Whatever the limitations of Kautsky's contribution to the development of Marxist theory in the period prior to 1914 — and there were, of course, serious limitations which tended to distort Marxism and take it in the direction of vulgar evolutionism — his position can in no way be lumped alongside that of Stalin who was the main instrument — and from the mid-1930s onwards a **conscious** instrument — in the attempt to destroy revolutionary Marxism.

In the second place, Callinicos perpetrates another historical distortion by his lumping together of Gramsci with Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg. Trotsky always held that Lenin and Luxemburg, together with Liebknecht (the three 'Ls'), had they lived, would have fought alongside him in the ranks of the Fourth International. The same tribute certainly cannot be extended to Gramsci. Without in any way seeking to detract from Gramsci's great courage in the face of Mussolini's fascism, nor in any

is a thoroughly bogus one. And this is underscored by his remarks immediately following his declaration of adherence to Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Gramsci, the so-called 'classical' Marxists. For Callinicos then says:

'However we cannot simply "return" to the classics. We shall in the course of this book discover some of the contradictions and silences present even in *Capital*. Classical marxism (sic) is not a monolith, a seamless robe. Its gaps, aporias, too-hasty answers created the space in which vulgar marxism emerged.' (p.4)

Nothing could be clearer: From the very start Callinicos tells us that the source of the vulgarisation of Marxism lay ... within Marxism itself.

Having decided the main question — that Marxism is replete with 'silences', 'contradictions' and 'aporias' — Callinicos now embarks on his task with some relish. He sets out to repair these alleged gaps by resort to a veritable host of revisionist opponents of Marxism. His list of figures with whose aid the crisis-ridden body of Marxism is to be revived is indeed impressive. It includes the French Stalinist philosopher Louis Althusser whose 'writ-

hails as 'the most important contribution' to Marxism. Needless to say, Trotsky's unremitting struggle for dialectical materialism in theory and practice carried out against the prevailing orthodoxy of Stalinism rates not even a mention in Dr Callinicos' pantheon. Here is a measure of the real contempt in which Callinicos holds both Trotsky and Trotskyism.

But Callinicos' praise far from ends with Althusser; his English epigones, Barry Hindess and Paul Hirst are also paid their due respects for having highlighted the 'dogmatic dangers involved in insisting that all scientific statements conform to some set of principles which have a privileged relation to reality.' (p.180). In other words, they are praised for having attacked materialism. Here again we shall return to Messrs. Hindess and Hirst but at this point we can merely note that their attack on Marxism has been launched always from the direction of an idealism that would separate theoretical concepts from the reality from which they derive.

The noble Callinicos is still far from finished. Lucio Colletti is called into the action as one credited with having pro-

vided 'a valuable corrective' to those Marxists who believe that certain universal 'laws of the dialectic' can be derived from Hegel as the foundation for the methods of the sciences (Engels' *Dialectics of Nature* is a prime example of this approach). In other words Colletti is introduced into the act as one of a long line of opponents of Engels and of the dialectics of nature. Without going through the whole list of those on whom Callinicos calls as part of his supposed intent of correcting the deficiencies within Marxism, mention can be made of Sir Karl Popper, arch opponent of Marxism — whose central objection to the dialectic is unquestioningly accepted by Callinicos — as well as his successor as Professor of Logic at the London School of Economics, Imre Lakatos, elevated by Callinicos in status to 'the most outstanding of contemporary philosophers of science' (p.170), whereas in fact Lakatos is a thinly-disguised empiricist.

Callinicos examines the work of each of these writers — as well as several others — and despite his 'criticism' of them on several points he finds something 'positive' in each. Here is expressed the method of a sheer eclectic. No effort whatsoever is made to locate each of these thinkers in the development of Marxism and the struggle against it. But Callinicos' eclecticism plays a definite philosophical not to say class role: he is concerned not with the repair of the alleged 'deficiencies' in Marxism as he claims, but with the use of a number of notorious opponents of dialectical materialism — such as Althusser and Colletti — to attack and attempt to discredit Marxism. Callinicos' sympathies can be gauged from the fact that according to Callinicos the suicide of Nicos Poulantzas — a member of the most reactionary wing of Greek Stalinism — was a tragedy (p.23) surpassed only by the 'shattering' death of Helene Rytman, strangled to death last year by her husband, the aforementioned Professor Althusser.

One of the features of Callinicos' book is that its central concern is with a series of philosophical matters; whatever the author's intentions, this can only be of benefit to the revolutionary movement, concerned as it must be with the defence and development of dialectical materialism against all attempts to undermine it. Before embarking on an examination of some particular questions in the book, it is important to say a little about Callinicos' philosophical odyssey. He started out in Oxford as a conventional follower of the vulgar empiricist-inductivist tradition which has long dominated that university; he then fell under the spell of Professor Althusser (Callinicos' *Althusser's Marxism* is a qualified defence of Althusser at a time when the author was having some small doubts about the Paris guru). He then moved his scene of operations to the London School of Economics, the celebrated bastion of Fabianism, where it

seems that he became somewhat infatuated by the positivism of Popper and Lakatos. In other words, Callinicos has been brought up in a bad school, a school not only accepted but positively encouraged throughout by Tony Cliff and the Socialist Workers Party, who attempted to build up Callinicos as a 'theoretician', a task supplemented by the Fabian *New Statesman* in whose review pages Callinicos regularly appears.

Where has Callinicos ended up after this long philosophical journey? As this book tells us beyond any doubt he has ended up as an arch sceptic on the most basic question of all in philosophy: the problem of the relationship between our ideas and the material world. In his chapter 'For and Against Epistemology' Callinicos says at one point (p.184): 'Then there is the question of the materialist theses.' What is the basic 'thesis', as he chooses to call it, of materialism? It is that the material world, existing prior to and independently of man is the sole source of consciousness. In other words it is the statement that matter is primary to spirit. But how does Dr Callinicos view this matter, the question that Engels rightly characterises as the basic question in philosophy? Referring to what he describes as one 'ham fisted' attempt by Bhaskar to 'prove' this thesis of materialism, Callinicos goes on to give qualified approval to a statement from David Hilliel-Ruben's *Marxism and Materialism*. The passage which Callinicos quotes from this book is as follows:

'Ultimately the choice between materialism and idealism is the choice between two competing ideologies. The choice is not an "epistemological choice" to be made on grounds of stronger evidence or more forceful argument, but is a "political" choice made on class allegiance.' (Quoted in Callinicos, p.184).

Despite certain 'grave dangers' in this statement, Callinicos believes that 'it is closer to the truth' than is Bhaskar. If Hilliel-Ruben is 'closer to truth' than Bhaskar (we have not read the latter's work) the latter's book must be unimaginable!! For the essence of Hilliel-Ruben's position — which Callinicos accepts — is that there are no objective means by which the struggle between idealism and materialism can be resolved. They both share the same status as mere ideologies; some will accept materialism, others will accept idealism. One is reminded immediately of Trotsky's quip about Max Shachtman's scepticism, 'Sorry, I don't smoke'.

In point of fact Callinicos is even more forthright than Hilliel-Ruben in championing the cause of scepticism for,

'... if some one should choose to be, say, an absolute idealist there is no set of criteria itself lacking any philosophical presuppositions which could establish that this position is further from the truth than,

say, materialism. There is nothing surprising about this situation, or there should not be, once we realise that there are no indubitable first principles on which our knowledge can rest. Beneath the apparently stable structure of the sciences there is only an endless struggle of ideas.' (p.185).

Here is an openly declared scepticism, which must lead inexorably to solipsism, that most stupid form of idealism: to the belief that the world exists 'only for me'.

In these passages Callinicos has made clear that his philosophy involves a denial of the objective basis for knowledge. Whereas for materialism, science is that process through which man probes ever deeper into the material and social world, discovering in the process ever new facets and properties of this world, for Callinicos, science is just a 'struggle of ideas'. We are back with a vengeance to Mach and the neo-positivism which Lenin demolished in *Materialism and Empirio Criticism*. (At least in the case of Mach one can say that unlike Callinicos he did make some contribution to the development of natural science in his day!)

One of the implications of Callinicos' defence of scepticism is that for him there is no connection between Marxism and the natural sciences. In this he is at one with his early mentor Althusser who as we shall see presently draws a similar metaphysical distinction between sciences on the one hand and philosophy on the other. Engels in *Anti-Duhring* and elsewhere insists that 'the unity of the world consists in its materiality' and that this has actually been established, proven, not by a few juggled phrases 'but by the long and wearisome development of philosophy and science'. This was Engels' position and it is our position. The correctness of the Marxist world outlook has been continually verified by the development of the sciences which have increasingly established, not merely man's dependence upon the material world of which he is part, but have shown in all spheres that the material world is a process of continual change and development. The fact that Callinicos, taking his cue from the attack launched against Marxism from the standpoint of neo-Kantianism, is forced to deny the objective nature of science and advocate the most vulgar form of relativism, indicates the reactionary depths to which revisionism has now sunk and the gulf which divides it from dialectical materialism.

It is no accident that Callinicos' attack on Marxism should be launched from the standpoint of a thorough-going scepticism. Callinicos joined the revisionist movement in the early 1970s in the aftermath of the euphoria created by the events of 1968 in France. Talk of 'revolution', of 'student power', of 'Red Bases' (the first of which was appropriately established in those heady days at the LSE) was cheap and easy. Protest was in vogue and every radical, would-be intellectual was a self-

proclaimed 'Marxist'. Needless to say the various revisionist groups, with Cliff's Socialist Workers Party to the fore, sprang forward to make what capital they could out of this confusion. Callinicos is a prime example of the product of this period, as well as of the corrupting role played by revisionism.

Now the world situation — of which the situation in Britain is an integral part — has changed dramatically. The world economic crisis drives the ruling class into preparations for violent dictatorship and the disposal of parliamentary forms of democracy. The material basis for the 'radical protest' in which Callinicos and others indulged during the 1970s has now vanished. So the 'radicals' of yesterday, imbued with the deepest pessimism and scepticism about the coming struggles for power, now increasingly renounce their former 'Marxism', turn their fire openly on 'orthodox Trotskyism' and move in the direction of open philosophical scepticism.

This scepticism is summed up, as it has been in all past struggles against Marxism in the slogan 'Back to Kant!'. As we shall see later, Callinicos' scepticism is directly reflected in his attack on Marx's *Capital* and his denial that the contradictions of capitalism provide the material basis for the struggle for socialism. But before dealing with this matter we can consider Callinicos' treatment of the work of Lucio Colletti. As we have already noted, Callinicos' opinion is that Colletti has provided a 'valuable corrective' to the work of Marx. What is the nature of this 'corrective' which so appeals to Callinicos? As we have said there is little doubt that the central figure inspiring the most important attacks against Marxism throughout the twentieth century has been Immanuel Kant; Colletti, along with his Italian mentor Galvano Della Volpe, has been unique however in openly avowing his allegiance to neo-Kantianism. In an interview given in 1974 Colletti openly espouses the cause of Kantianism, so openly that this is one passage that Callinicos coyly avoids:

'But from a strictly epistemological point of view, there is only one great thinker who can be of assistance to us in constructing a materialist theory of knowledge — Immanuel Kant.' ('A Political-Philosophical Interview', *New Left Review*, no 86, July-August 1974)

This is the man Callinicos recommends as having given a 'valuable corrective' to the supposed Hegelianism of Marx! Along with Callinicos, Colletti shares a deep hostility to Engels and the *Dialectics of Nature*.

'While in the case of Engels, one of his major writings is indubitably the *Dialectics of Nature* — a work 90 per cent of which is hopelessly compromised by the ingenuous and romantic Naturphilosophie, contaminated by crudely positivist and evolutionist themes.' (ibid)

Colletti and Callinicos are here involved in the old and now discredited

game of counterposing the allegedly 'dialectical' Engels against the supposedly 'anti-dialectical' Marx. For Colletti dialectical materialism is 'a scholastic metaphysic'; following in the footsteps of Kant, Colletti draws an absolute distinction between nature and society. 'All Marx's work is essentially an analysis of modern capitalist society. His basic writings are the *Theories of Surplus Value*, the *Grundrisse* and *Capital*: all the rest is secondary.' (ibid) And to emphasise the point Colletti declares that 'Marxism is a theory of the laws of development of human society and nothing more.' (emphasis added) (*From Rousseau to Lenin*).

Neither Colletti nor Callinicos are opening up a new path in their advocacy of Kant and their concomitant attack upon Hegel. Perhaps the first to take this route was the reactionary Arthur Schopenhauer, who, following the defeat of the 1848 revolutions and the turn to reaction by the bourgeoisie in the face of growing struggle of the working class, proposed that the contributions to the development of philosophy represented by Hegel be cast aside in favour of a return to Kantian metaphysics. As is well known, the attempt to resurrect Kantianism was a central feature of the revisionism of Bernstein and later of Conrad Schmidt and Max Adler.

This attempt to separate Marx from Hegel which has characterised the history of revisionism can find no support at all from the pen of Marx. Indeed he quite clearly states the very opposite, notably in a famous passage in the 'Afterword' to the second German edition of *Capital*:

'I criticised the mystificatory side of the Hegelian dialectic nearly thirty years ago, at a time when it was still the fashion. But just when I was working on the first volume of *Capital*, the ill-humoured, arrogant and mediocre epigones, who now talk large in educated circles began to take pleasures in treating Hegel in the same way as the good Moses Mendelssohn treated Spinoza in Lessing's time, namely as a "dead dog". I therefore openly avowed myself a pupil of that mighty thinker, and even, here and there in the chapter on value, coquetted with the modes of expression peculiar to him. The mystification which the dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands, by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general forms of motion in a comprehensive and conscious manner.'

Over a decade later, Engels in *Ludwig Feuerbach* spelt out without ambiguity the relationship between Hegel and Kant and the fact that he firmly considered that Hegel's work constituted a definite advance on that of Kant:

'In addition there is yet a set of different philosophers — those who question the possibility of any cognition (or at least of an exhaustive cognition) of the world. To them, among the moderns, belong Hume and Kant, and they have played a very

important role in philosophical development. What is decisive in the refutation of this view has already been said by Hegel, in so far as this was possible from an idealist standpoint.

Like all the important revisionists before them, Colletti and Callinicos are inexorably drawn to Kantianism. Why is this the case? What undoubtedly attracts them is that Kant's philosophy was in essence an attempted compromise in the struggle between materialism and idealism, a struggle which has dominated the whole history of philosophy, just as it dominates contemporary philosophy. Prior to Kant, the materialists had held that the external world was the only source of ideas which entered the mind through sensation. This the idealists disputed; they claimed ideas came from the mind only. Given the lack of development of science — which was confined until the nineteenth century almost entirely to the domain of mechanics — it was impossible

Kant



in practice to settle this dispute in favour of the materialists, whose materialism remained limited, mechanical and inadequate.

Kant's 'critical philosophy' aimed to reconcile the claims of materialism and idealism by uniting what Kant saw as positive in both schools. Kant started from the basic proposition that all our knowledge is derived from experience and in so doing agreed with the empiricists. At the same time Kant held that the raw materials of experience were in fact filtered by the mind which because of its very constitution was able to order experiences in a rational form. In this attempted compromise, Kant divided reality into two aspects; the 'thing-in-itself' (in fact the objective world) which remains unknowable and the 'thing-for-us'. The realm of thought and the realm of the objective world for Kant constituted two quite separate spheres.

One of Hegel's major contributions to the development of philosophy was his refusal to accept this absolute distinction between subject (the mind) and object (the external world). Hegel, unlike the sceptics, held that the world can be truly known and he also rejected the Kantian notion that the raw material given in experience is completely unformed, while the forms of thought exist only in the mind. In opposition to this view, Hegel held that there was and could be no content independent of its definite form and no form without a content. Callinicos starts his discussion of the significance of the work of Colletti with a summary of the latter's well-known distinction between 'real opposition' and 'logical opposition'. Logical opposition is, for Colletti, contradiction, and a contradiction is not a real opposition; for a contradiction is necessarily false, so that nothing in reality can correspond to it; that is to say contradictions in reality are logically impossible. By the same token, oppositions in reality are non-contradictory. Hence, says Colletti, the notion of a 'dialectic of nature' is a nonsense.

This view is of course derived by Colletti from Kant, as he has always readily admitted, unlike some of his fellow revisionists who are usually 'shame-faced' Kantians. For Kant, the category contradiction existed only between propositions and as such was a purely mental phenomenon, reflected in language. The source of this contradiction in thought for Kant remained always hidden — in fact, of course, he held that its source lay with God. Hegel rejected this standpoint; for him contradiction was an inherent and objective quality of all things. In this respect, he moved partially in the direction of overcoming the subjectivism and dualism which characterised Kant's philosophy, although his idealism prevented him from realising this task.

Now, after summarising Colletti's form of Kantianism, Callinicos makes the telling remark: 'The argument is fine as far as

it goes, which is not very far.' (p.114). On the contrary, Dr Callinicos, Colletti has indeed gone 'far': for in his denial of the objective nature of the contradictory essence of all things — in nature, society, and in human thought — Colletti, following his philosophical inspiration Kant, has rejected the essence of dialectical materialism. It is thus perfectly correct that Colletti, on this basis, should reject dialectical materialism as a 'scholastic metaphysic'.

Far from claiming that Colletti's work provides a 'valuable corrective' to 'vulgar Marxism' as does Colletti, Marxists must spell out in ringing terms the consequences which flow from Colletti's repudiation of materialist dialectics. If they were to be followed or accepted, 'as far as they go', as Callinicos proposes, the entire philosophical foundation of Marxism would be destroyed. Indeed the consequences of the path which Colletti and his bagman Callinicos have taken is very clear in the former's theoretical work. For Colletti there are no contradictions in reality, merely fixed oppositions. But what about the contradictions of capitalism? Though there are no contradictions in reality, Colletti has to admit that for Marx, there were contradictions within capitalism; the conclusion would seem to be inescapable: for Marx, capitalism cannot be a part of reality.

Colletti cannot regress to this obviously absurd position, and is obliged to qualify his point. Capitalism for him is an upside-down reality, the reality of fetishism and alienation. Marx is thus split into two; there is Marx the 'scientist', who is forced to accept that there are no contradictions within reality, and Marx the 'philosopher', who seeing the inverted nature of capitalism, is obliged to criticise the political economy of the bourgeoisie (Smith and Ricardo) and propound a theory of revolution. In this way, Colletti in effect seeks to destroy the entire foundation of scientific socialism. For on the one hand, there is science which is purely descriptive and positivist, being neutral as between ends. On the other there is socialism, which is philosophical and has no connection with the contradictions of capitalism and is based on an abstract conception of morality.

Colletti is of course merely accepting and giving new expression to the neo-Kantian distinction between the question of what *is* and the question of what *ought* to be, a distinction given notorious expression in Bernstein's dictum 'The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing', the watchword of all reformism in its struggle against revolutionary Marxism. One can understand the popularity of Colletti in the pages of the *New Left Review* and why, whatever his incidental criticisms, he should win the approval of Callinicos: for the effect of Colletti's neo-Kantianism is to tear out the materialist roots of the revolutionary movement and transform Marx into a harmless

humanist.

It is inevitable that Callinicos should take such objection to Marx's clear statement in Chapter 32 of the first volume of *Capital* that the proletarian revolution arises 'with the inexorability of a natural process'. Marx did not mean by this that the proletarian revolution was a purely mechanical process; but he did insist — and this insistence is at the very foundation of scientific socialism — that the basic material conditions for the transition to socialism were provided by the very contradictory development of capitalism itself. This is a matter to which we shall return.

As we have seen, Callinicos accepts with scarcely a blush the quite Kantian proposition advanced by revisionists such as Colletti that contradiction is a phenomenon located merely in thought. But he is far from finished at this point. His next port of call is the positivism of Karl Popper. Callinicos correctly notes the similarity between Colletti's attack on the dialectic and that provided by Popper, who as we have already noted was one of Callinicos' several philosophical mentors. Before we deal with Callinicos' treatment of Popper, we should note the special and specific role which Popper has played in the struggle to discredit Marxism. As Professor of Logic and Scientific Method at the London School of Economics for over twenty years, he played a key role in inoculating those students who were attracted to Marxism throughout the sixties and seventies. One central object of Popper's ignorant and prejudiced attack on Marxism has been against all those great thinkers, Marx and Engels included, who have attempted to formulate a historical conception of the development of society. For this reason, Plato and Hegel have been the chief objects of his vituperation, apart from Marx himself.

One feature of Popper's work has been the attempt to discredit the dialectic by aiming to show that the acceptance of the principle of contradiction is the acceptance of a principle which runs counter to the very foundation of all science. This proposition is completely accepted by Callinicos, as the following rather convoluted passage will demonstrate (p.114). Callinicos is here referring to the work of Colletti and Della Volpe:

'Implicit in much of what they have to say is an argument which is never clearly stated. A version of this argument is offered by Karl Popper in his article "What is Dialectic?", but it is valid despite these anti-marxist credentials [emphasis added — GP]. It goes as follows. The principle of non-contradiction, which prohibits the assertion of a proposition and its negation — in symbolic terms, (p-p) — is an essential pre-supposition of materialist epistemology. For it is an elementary logical truth that a contradictory proposition (p-p) entails every other proposition. To assert p-p is, therefore, to assert everything and thereby to deny

oneself the possibility of delimiting any determinate state of affairs.'

Before considering the implications of this particular passage let us consider in more general terms Popper's notorious 'What is Dialectic?' which despite its 'anti-Marxist credentials' (!) seemingly contains a 'valid argument'. Popper's article is in fact a crude attack on Marxism from the standpoint of positivism. The notion of contradiction in reality is, says Popper, 'without the slightest foundation' (p.316); 'a theory which involves a contradiction is therefore entirely useless as a theory.' Appealing to what he calls 'ordinary logic' and the 'trial and error' method in science, Popper claims that the only progress made in science involves the con-

expressed in thought when that movement is grasped as a unity of opposites. To put the matter from another angle: materialist dialectics aims not to 'eliminate' contradiction — this would be a purely formal, idealist exercise — but to grasp and demonstrate in concepts how the contradictions which it is studying are actually in reality, in practice, resolved; 'resolved' not in the sense of being eliminated but in the sense of being negated, that is simultaneously preserved and terminated in a higher, richer, more concrete unity.

Does this mean that dialectical materialism rejects formal logic, as Popper asserts in the article from which Callinicos quotes? Most certainly it does not, and here again Popper is consciously mis-

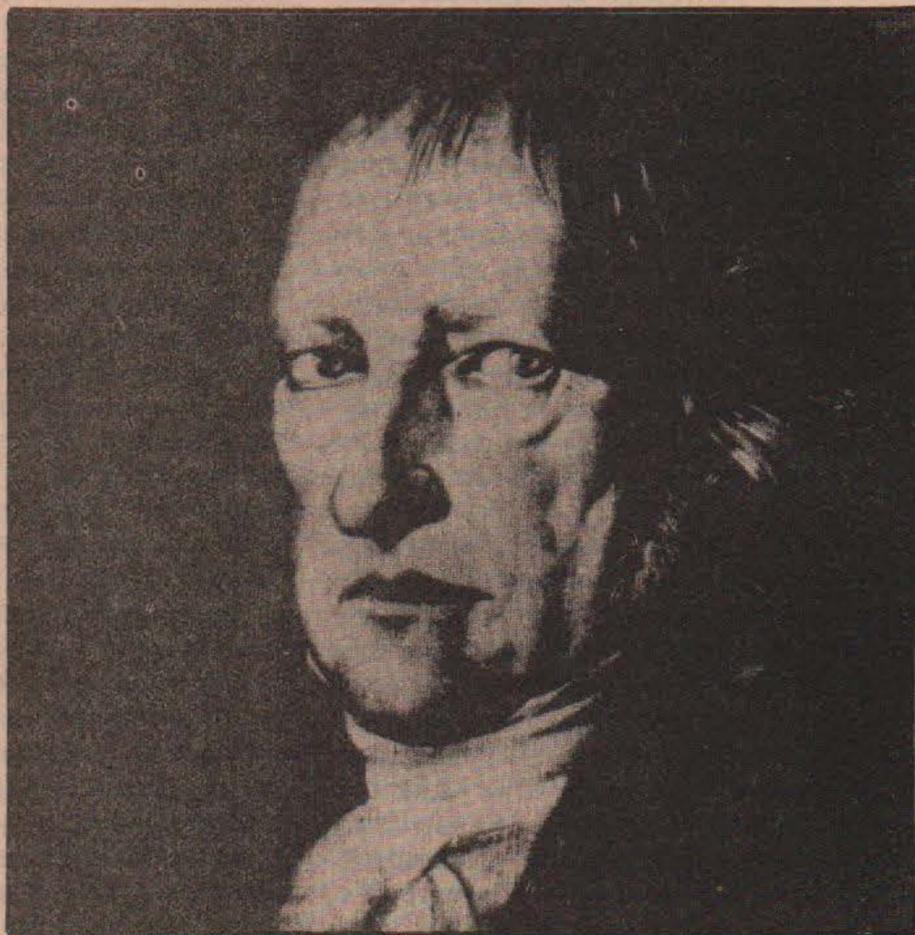
Having made some comments on Professor Popper let us return to his philosophical comrade-in-arms, Dr Callinicos. 'This argument is fine' he tells us of Popper's frontal attack on dialectical materialism. Why is it 'fine'? 'For acceptance of the principle of non-contradiction does not in itself entail acceptance of materialism, at least in the sense of the thesis that there exists a reality prior to and independent of thought which the latter in some way merely reflects.' (pp.114-15). (Leaving aside the word 'merely' we can ask Callinicos in what other sense can the term materialism be employed, at least by Marxism?)

What is Callinicos saying here? He is saying that adherence to a purely formal logic (that is the acceptance of the principle of non-contradiction) does not necessarily entail the acceptance of materialism. In other words, says Callinicos, one can accept formal logic as the only valid logic and still be an idealist (he quotes the example of Bishop Berkeley). Now what Callinicos says on this point is undoubtedly true; the only problem is that it does nothing to answer Popper's attack against dialectical materialism! For Popper claims that to be a materialist it is necessary to reject dialectics and confine oneself to the realm of formal logic. It is this argument which Callinicos has accepted as 'fine, as far as it goes'.

Here the issue is clear. Popper has rejected the central thesis of dialectical materialism and Callinicos has gone along with him, implying that while what Popper says is 'fine' it is of little importance! The most basic question of all in the history of philosophy, as Engels stressed, concerns that of the relationship of thinking to being. The materialist asserts that this 'being' is primary to thought, that is to say it existed prior to thinking and is the sole source of thought. The idealist disagrees. For him thinking is prior to being. Between these two positions there can be no consistent 'middle' position.

Is a natural world existing independently of thought and reflected in thought the sole basis for the development of human thought? To this question the materialist answers unambiguously in the affirmative. In other words, the movement of nature is the sole basis for the movement of thought. To say that thinking is confined to the limits prescribed by purely formal logic is in fact to separate it from its source, the dialectical movement of nature. We are back to the fundamental question of the dialectic of nature. Is the movement of nature the source of the movement of thought? And does movement reveal itself only in the form of contradiction?

Those who deny not merely the possibility but the necessity of contradiction are driven inexorably in the direction of idealism because they are forced, implicitly or otherwise, to deny the source of this contradiction. For dialectical materialism, the source of the contradictions in thought lies



Hegel

scious elimination of all contradiction from thinking. Thus elsewhere Popper has claimed that '... science proceeds on the assumption that contradictions are impermissible and avoidable, so that the discovery of a contradiction forces the scientist to make every effort to eliminate it.'

Here Popper shows his adherence to a purely formal logic and his deliberate distortion of dialectical materialism. Materialist dialectics starts from the understanding that the source of all contradictions resides in the material world and that such contradictions arise only in thought because they have their origin in the material objective world. Thus a contradiction in thought (assuming it is not an incorrect, absurd thought) is the expression of a real contradiction in the material world; the aim of thinking which seeks to reflect accurately the material and social processes it is studying is not therefore to eliminate contradiction but to express conceptually the source and nature of the contradictions it is studying. And such contradictory movement can only be

representing Marxism. The proposition that  $A = A$  is true, but is true only within certain objective limits, and once those limits are transgressed this truth is transformed into its opposite. In other words, unlike Popper and Callinicos, dialectical materialism does not make an absolute of formal logic. Purely formal logic is, as Lenin repeatedly points out in his *Philosophical Notebooks*, a logic without living content. It assumes that its categories of thought are fixed and valid for all time; before it can be 'applied' formal logic demands complete concepts and relations that are fully established and worked out in both their range and content; the material it proposes to process must have, by definition, a fixed content. But the entire history of philosophy and science — and especially the most recent developments in science — has shown that the world is indeed not a series of fixed immutable things, but a process of continual change and development and that dialectics is alone able to grasp the nature and driving forces behind such changes.

in the objective movement of matter. It is matter in motion which is the source of all contradiction, but a contradiction which formal logic — which takes as its main premise that of non-contradiction — can never grasp. For the formal logician contradiction is invariably an indication of a fault in thought, and a fault to be eliminated by the procedures laid down by formal logic. That is why those who accept formal logic as the only logic, a logic outside of historical time and space, are necessarily forced towards idealism.

The question which Trotsky put to Burnham in the struggle in the American Socialist Workers Party at the outbreak of World War II can equally be asked of Callinicos today:

'I know of two systems of logic worthy of attention: the logic of Aristotle (formal logic) and the logic of Hegel (the dialectic). Aristotelean logic takes as its starting point immutable objects and phenomena. The scientific thought of our epoch studies all phenomena in their origin, change and disintegration. Do you hold that the progress of the sciences, including Darwinism, Marxism, modern physics, chemistry, etc., has not influenced in any way our forms of thought? In other words, do you hold that in a world where everything changes, the syllogism alone remains unchanging and eternal . . . If you consider that the syllogism is immutable, i.e., has neither origin nor development, then it signifies that to you it is the product of divine revelation.' (L.D. Trotsky, *In Defence of Marxism*. New Park Publications p.91)

As we have said a decisive influence on Callinicos was provided by the Stalinist philosopher Louis Althusser. We have already noted that for Callinicos Althusser's work constitutes the most significant contribution to Marxism for the last sixty years. The alert reader will however note an immediate contradiction: how is it the case that Althusser, a leading French Stalinist for over thirty years, can be the source of such contributions to Marxism when Callinicos has earlier told us the only creative Marxism is that associated with the 'classical' tradition, for him represented by Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Gramsci? Of course the answer to this 'contradiction' lies in the fact that Callinicos' pretended adherence to his 'classical Marxist' tradition is a fraud. His entire book consists of an eclectic picking over of the work of any revisionist or open opponent of Marxism whose work can be deployed to challenge Marxism at the most fundamental level.

Indeed, in a telling remark, Callinicos praises Althusser for precisely this same type of eclecticism.

'The result (of Althusser's work) is a theoretical system of undoubted power and originality, one that responds to the challenge of the "revolution in language" by integrating many of its themes into Marxism.' (p.71, my insertion — GP).

What is this 'revolution in language' many of the themes of which Althusser

has 'integrated' into Marxism? Callinicos is referring to the work of the French structuralist school, a school which, as is widely known, was a powerful influence in determining Althusser's particular brand of anti-Marxism. A key figure in the development of French structuralism was the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, as Callinicos notes. Saussure's major work in the field of linguistics was carried out at the turn of the century and in many respects was a reaction against the traditions established by linguists during the nineteenth century, which was principally interested in the history and development of language. Saussure held that language constituted a closed system, endowed with its own structure and operational rules. Language was a system of signs, but only one such system of which others were rites, customs and other social phenomena which could also be studied in the same manner as could language — as structured systems of communication. But let Dr Callinicos summarise the central thrust of Saussure's work:

'Saussure begins his discussion of the general principles of linguistics by criticising those who "regard language, when reduced to its elements, as a naming process only — a list of words, each corresponding to the thing it names": "this conception lets us assume that the linking of a name and a thing is a very simple operation — an assumption that is anything but true". He insists that "the linguistic sign unites not a thing and a name but a concept and a sound image . . . Thus the sound "tree" is linked to the concept of a tree rather than the entities which in the real world fall under this concept."' (p.27).

There is only one fitting description for this passage and the many others which Callinicos quotes: it is *idealist rubbish*. In the hands of the structuralists — Levi-Strauss is the most important instance — language becomes a self-contained system, separated from that material life which is in fact its only source of origin. How does Engels pose the matter? In *Dialectics of Nature*, in examining the role played by labour in the development of man he says:

'Mastery over nature began with the development of the hand, with labour, and widened man's horizon at every new advance. He was continually discovering new, hitherto unknown properties in natural objects. On the other hand, the development of labour necessarily helped to bring the members of society closer together by increasing cases of mutual support and joint activity, and making clear the advantages of this joint activity to each individual. In short, men in the making had arrived at the point where **they had something to say** to each other. Necessity created the organ; the undeveloped larynx of the ape was surely but slowly transformed by modulation, and the organs of the mouth gradually learned to pronounce one articulate sound after

another.' (Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p.173)

This is the only way of posing the matter from the standpoint of materialism. Language is a form of existence of thought and a form of its expression, and materialism holds unswervingly to the proposition that thought is a product of the material world. It is this which structuralism, at root, denies.

In reality, structuralism, with which Callinicos is so impressed, is merely another form of neo-positivism. The positivist — deriving his basic position from neo-Kantianism — asserts that it is impossible to know the world as it really exists. All we can know are the **appearances** of the world and these appearances are to be processed by the observers according to certain rules of the 'mind', rules which, of course, remained unexplained and thereby unjustified. It is for this reason that Althusser as well as openly-declared structuralists such as Levi-Strauss have asserted that any study of history is in principle impossible. History, says Levi-Strauss, is never history as such but 'history-for'; in other words it must of necessity be subjective and arbitrary. One man's conception is as good, or as bad, as another. It is a short step from such subjectivism to the conclusion that 'all history is bunk'.

This contempt for history has been a central feature of Althusser, in Callinicos' opinion the 'outstanding Marxist' over the last sixty years. Althusser's attack on history is no accident, merely the result of some theoretical aberration. It is connected, in the sphere of theory, with the effort to liquidate Marxism into the dominant school of French rationalism, which is reflected in Althusser's persistent claim that any concern on the part of Marxism with the empirical represents a capitulation to bourgeois ideology. If only because of Callinicos' continuing infatuation with Althusserian rationalism we must examine the questions surrounding this issue in some further detail.

As others have pointed out, Althusser's 'philosophy' reduces itself to a wilful confusion between the empirical as a moment in development and empiricism as a theory of knowledge. It goes without saying that Marxism rejects the claims of empiricism to provide an adequate theory of knowledge. The conception that all knowledge is based exclusively on experience — and this is the central point of the empiricist theory of knowledge — leaves open the question of the source of such experiences. The positivist for instance is prepared to accept that all knowledge starts from perception or sensation; but he treats as meaningless or absurd the question of whether we can know the objective world through such sensations.

In other words, he denies the cause of our perceptions, that is, objective reality, or he denies the possibility of a true knowledge of such causes. Marxism is based firmly and consistently on the under-

standing that it is nature, independent of consciousness, which is the sole basis and source of all sensations or perceptions. The movement of matter, existing independently of mind is given to man in his sensations. This is the standpoint of materialism. But this is not the issue with Althusser and his English imitators. For Althusser has falsely interpreted Marx's rejection of empiricism as a theory of knowledge to mean that the empirical has no place in the development of knowledge. As we have said this is part of his efforts to subordinate Marxism to the predominant bourgeois outlook in France, rationalism.

Let us look at the matter historically. Before Hegel (and Marx) the problem of the origin of knowledge had been posed in the form of a question: does knowledge arise from that which is given in sensation, or does it arise from the essence of phenomena. Hegel demonstrated that this was a sterile way of posing the matter. He argued that knowledge consisted of a continual movement, from that which is immediately given in sensation to the essence of things. In Hegel's hands, thought-forms thus ceased to be dead, but were for Hegel endowed with the life of the movement of thought itself. The important point to draw out here when considering the sort of distortions introduced by Althusser and followed by Callinicos, is that this allowed Hegel (and even more Marx) to introduce a proper consideration of practice in the growth of thought. Marx followed Hegel in insisting that thought involved the process of movement from the immediately experienced to the formation of concepts, a process in which man, through his social prac-

tice, penetrated ever more deeply beyond the immediate appearances assumed by things to the essence contained within these phenomena. Engels sums up the point at issue when he says:

'... natural science has now advanced so far that it can no longer escape dialectical generalisation. However it will make this process easier for itself if it does not lose sight of the fact that the results in which its experiences are summarised are concepts, that the art of working with concepts is not inborn and also is not given with ordinary everyday consciousness but requires real thought, and that this thought similarly has a long empirical history, not more and not less than empirical natural science.' (Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, Moscow 1947 p.20)

Two points are involved in this statement of Engels:

1). Engels is making clear that conceptual (abstract) thought does not arise spontaneously and directly from a direct confrontation with the empirical material given in sensation. This is the mistake and historically the one-sidedness of empiricism.

2). But if empiricism takes a one-sided (and therefore ultimately false) view of the growth of knowledge, this is true of the rationalism of the type propounded by Althusser and his supporters. Concepts, while not arising immediately from the sensations provided by the external world do not stand **absolutely** opposed to that world, as the rationalist holds. For dialectical materialism the empirical, the sensed, is an inescapable moment in the development of knowledge.

In fact the growth of all knowledge — in the fields of science and philosophy alike — takes place on the foundation of a dialectical working up of the material provided by the objective world and given to man through sensation. The course of human knowledge involves therefore a process in which the mind of man continually penetrates through the immediate appearance of phenomena and discovers the source of these appearances in the objective movement of nature and of society. Thus it is not at all a question, in the theory of knowledge, of mechanically counterposing the category 'essence' to that of 'semblance' and deciding which constitutes the basis for knowledge. Commenting on Hegel, Lenin says:

'The more petty philosophers dispute whether essence OR that which is immediately given should be taken as basis (Kant, Hume, all the Machists). Instead of OR Hegel puts AND explaining the concrete content of this "and".' (Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks*, Collected Works vol 38 p.134).

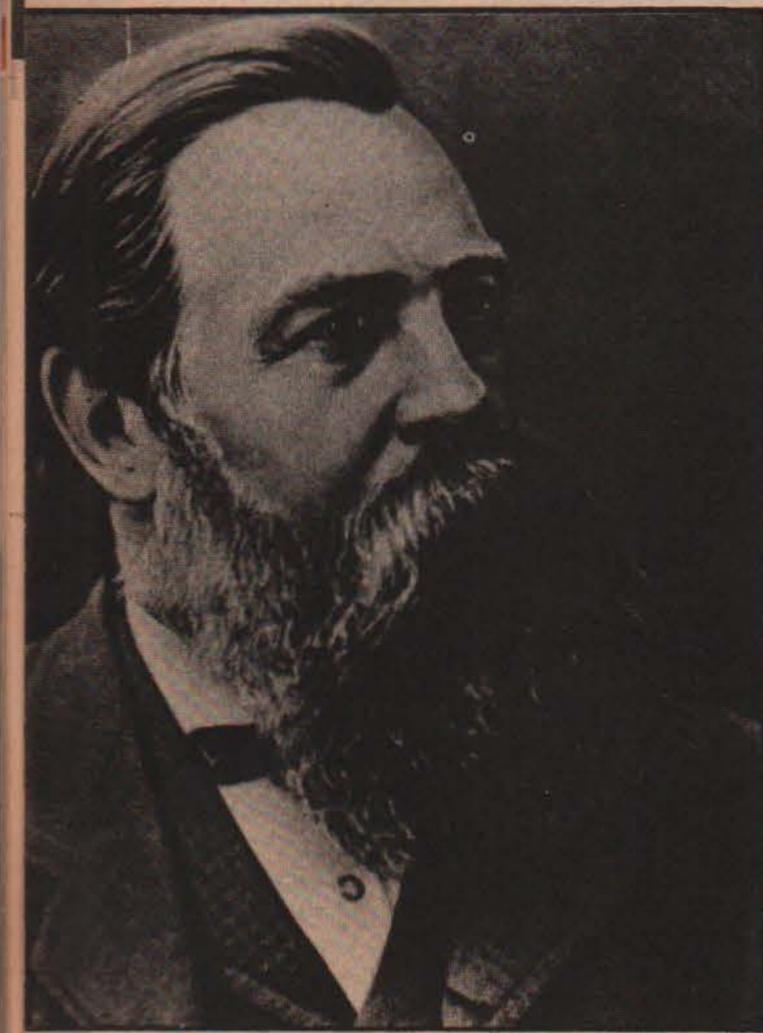
As we have earlier seen in this review it was Kant who erected a barrier between the world-in-itself and the world-for-us. In this respect Althusser follows in the footsteps of Kant. He attempts to pass off Marxism as being anti-empiricist in the sense that it holds that there is a distinct

reality which stands absolutely apart from the manner in which we come to know that reality, in the manner in which man comes to know it. On this basis 'thought' occupies a quite separate domain from 'reality'; this being the case thought is able to go its own way, change its mind as it likes, receiving no check or test from a confrontation with the material world. And all this is dressed up as 'anti-dogmatism'!

Althusser's celebrated distinction between what he chooses to call the 'real object' on the one hand and the 'object of knowledge' on the other — a distinction which so impressed Callinicos in his youth and which he went to such lengths to explain to his English readers in *Althusser's Marxism* — involves but a re-hash of the distinction which is the essence of all forms of neo-Kantianism, namely that between the (unknowable) 'thing-in-itself' and the 'thing-for-us'. It is the acceptance of this distinction which leads Althusser to propose that there is a complete distinction between science and ideology, a distinction which Colletti also accepts in his separation of Marx the 'scientist' and Marx the 'philosopher'. Althusser's absolute separation of science and ideology arises from the point above: from his metaphysical distinction between the world as it is in essence and the world as it appears to us in sensation. But for dialectical materialism there is no **absolute** distinction between essence and appearance. Although the whole of the world cannot, at any one moment be reflected through our images of it, definite **aspects** of this world most certainly are reflected in such images. To deny this is to deny the essential and basic point of the materialist theory of knowledge. The task of science and of human thought in general is precisely to **understand** such appearances — to understand the law of development of such appearances, in short to establish their **necessity**.

As we have already indicated, this 'return to Kant' on the part of Althusserianism plays a directly political role. For the 'outstanding' feature of this 'most outstanding' Marxist since Lukacs is his deafening silence on the outstanding event of this period — the rise of Stalinism! His few comments on the 'Stalin phenomenon' have been truly pathetic (see especially his *Essays in Self-criticism*); at his usual inordinate length he there tells us that the notion of the 'cult of personality' is inadequate to explain the emergence of Stalinism. Nobody with the faintest idea of the central propositions of historical materialism would of course ever believe such thing in the first place! It is Stalinism, following the example of Khrushchev, which has claimed to believe such idealist rubbish.

Althusser in torturing over the explanation for Stalinism — which after all involved the destruction of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International and the mass murder of millions of com-



Engels

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munists and workers throughout the world — has arrived at the amazing conclusion that Stalinism constituted a 'deviation'. Yes, a 'deviation'! And it was a 'deviation' based upon a false theoretical premise, that of economism! Needless to say Callinicos is quite unable to explain why for him the most significant and creative Marxist since the 1920s and one who has done much of a 'positive' nature to drive out the baleful influence of Hegel from Marxism should prove not merely so barren on the central question in the revolutionary movement since 1917 (the emergence of Stalinism) but should in fact

Stalin



cover up for the crimes of Stalin and Stalinism in the most corrupt and dishonest manner.

In concluding this consideration of Callinicos' book we turn to one further matter: his defence of the reactionary theory of state capitalism, the theory on which the group to which he belongs rests. What is significant about this defence of Tony Cliff and his group is that it is thoroughly imbued with the idealist method which dominates the rest of the book. Early in his defence of the theory of state capitalism, Callinicos quotes from Tony Cliff's *State Capitalism in Russia*:

'From a socialist standpoint . . . the decisive criterion is not the growth of production *per se*, but the social relations accompanying this tremendous development of the productive forces. Is it or is it not accompanied by an improvement in the economic position of the workers, by an increase in their political power, by a

strengthening of democracy, a reduction of economic and social inequality, and a decline of state coercion? Is the industrial development planned, and if so **planned** by whom, and in whose interests? These are the basic socialist criteria for economic advance.'

Callinicos proceeds, quite fairly for once, to characterise Cliff's method as exemplified in such a passage:

'Applying these criteria to the USSR led Cliff to the conclusion that the working class was separated from the means of production, that the latter were in the effective possession of the party-state bureaucracy, a social group with the essential attributes of a ruling class, and that production of means of consumption was subordinated to that of the means of production.' (p.207)

Here is a classical expression of idealism at work, an idealism unquestioningly subscribed to by Callinicos. Cliff starts with a series of 'criteria' which he then 'applies' to the USSR. Naturally enough he found that these criteria were not present and concluded therefore that not only was the USSR not socialist, but was positively **capitalist**, albeit capitalism in a peculiar variety. This was exactly the method which Trotsky attacked in his struggle against Burnham and Shachtman, who like Cliff was to do some ten years later, discovered at the outset of the Second World War that the USSR could no longer be defended in the face of imperialist attack. Trotsky correctly characterised this method as the normative method found in bourgeois sociology and one hostile to Marxism on every central question. Some 'criteria' are chosen (their choice is of course determined by predominant ideology forms of bourgeois society, forms which the revisionist, his protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, uncritically accepts) and are then 'tested' against the immediate empirical forms of bourgeois society. And if these appearances are found not to correspond with our preconceptions of what that reality 'ought' to be like, reality is condemned as having failed our idealist expectations of it. This was precisely the method employed by Cliff and all those who, at a decisive turning point in the development of the class struggle when the defence of the October revolution ceased to be a mere abstract propaganda task but a practical revolutionary task, 'discovered' that the Soviet Union had regressed to the point where a new form of exploiting society had established itself and the Stalinist bureaucracy had transformed itself into a **class**.

As Trotsky explained in *In Defence of Marxism*, the work written in reply to Shachtman and Burnham, such a proposition involved a fundamental rejection of historical materialism. For it is a central proposition of the materialist theory of history as elaborated by Marx and Engels that new classes only emerge in history on the basis of the **productive forces**.

The struggle for socialism in our epoch

is anchored firmly on the fact that the productive forces developed within the system of capitalism are now historically incompatible with the system of capitalist property relations. But without the development of the productive forces, to the point where it is now potentially possible to create for every person on this planet sufficient food, clothing and shelter, the struggle for socialism would lose its entire material basis. For state capitalism to hold the theory that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a new exploiting class signified that this new class had a great historically progressive role to play. Whatever rhetoric about the crimes of Stalin which Callinicos and company may from time to time employ, they are in fact imbued with the greatest respect for the Stalinist bureaucracy and for bureaucracy in general. And this is merely the analogue of their utter lack of confidence in the ability of the international working class to overthrow capitalism and in the process of so doing deal with all the bureaucratic agencies of capitalism in the working class. 'The master will always be on top' constitutes the essence of their politics, an essence topped up and supplemented by a series of suitable protests against the master's 'excesses' combined with pleas that he should be more 'tolerant' and 'liberal'.

Callinicos' defence of the theory of the supposed 'state capitalist' nature of the USSR thus involves him in the rejection of the basic points of historical materialism, and this is hardly surprising given that he has already abandoned dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism. Indeed the one follows inexorably from the other given that, as Lenin insisted, Marxism is forged from **one** piece of steel, a proposition which Callinicos along with Althusser and Colletti not surprisingly rejects.

Indeed Callinicos **explicitly** rejects the theory of historical materialism. He does so in the form of a denial that the **forces** of production are basic to the **relations** of production. They merely presuppose each other, Callinicos tells us: 'The relation of correspondence between the forces and the relations of production does not involve the causal primacy of either term but rather their mutual presumption' (p.147). Let us briefly review the basic elements in the Marxist theory of history. Man is an integral part of nature. As part of nature he is forced into conflict with it and it is in this conflict that he secures from nature his means of existence. It is in the course of nature that man builds up and develops the forces of production: these forces are not merely technical things (tools, equipment etc) but include all the knowledge about nature, including man's nature, expressed in the growth of scientific knowledge in all its forms. The productive forces also include as their basic and most decisive element human beings themselves: hence Marx's insistence in Volume Three of *Capital* that the most decisive productive force within cap-

italism consisted of the working class. In the development of the struggle against nature men enter into definite social relations which are objective, that is 'independent of their will and consciousness' as Marx puts it.

What is the basis of such social relations and what is the driving force behind the changes in them which take place from epoch to epoch? It is the development of the productive forces. The material basis for the transformation of society — the overthrow of feudalism and the establishment of capitalism for instance — lies in the fact that the forces of production have

reached a point where they can no longer be contained within the framework of the old social relations. For their further development the productive forces demand a change in the existing social relations and this change is brought about through social revolution or society regresses, collapsing into some previous social form. So in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx says, 'just as the hand mill gives us feudalism, so the steam mill gives us capitalism' and while this must be understood only as an epigrammatic statement of the materialist conception of history it does underline Marx's basic con-

tion that the material basis for the development of history is in the final analysis provided for by the growth of the productive forces.

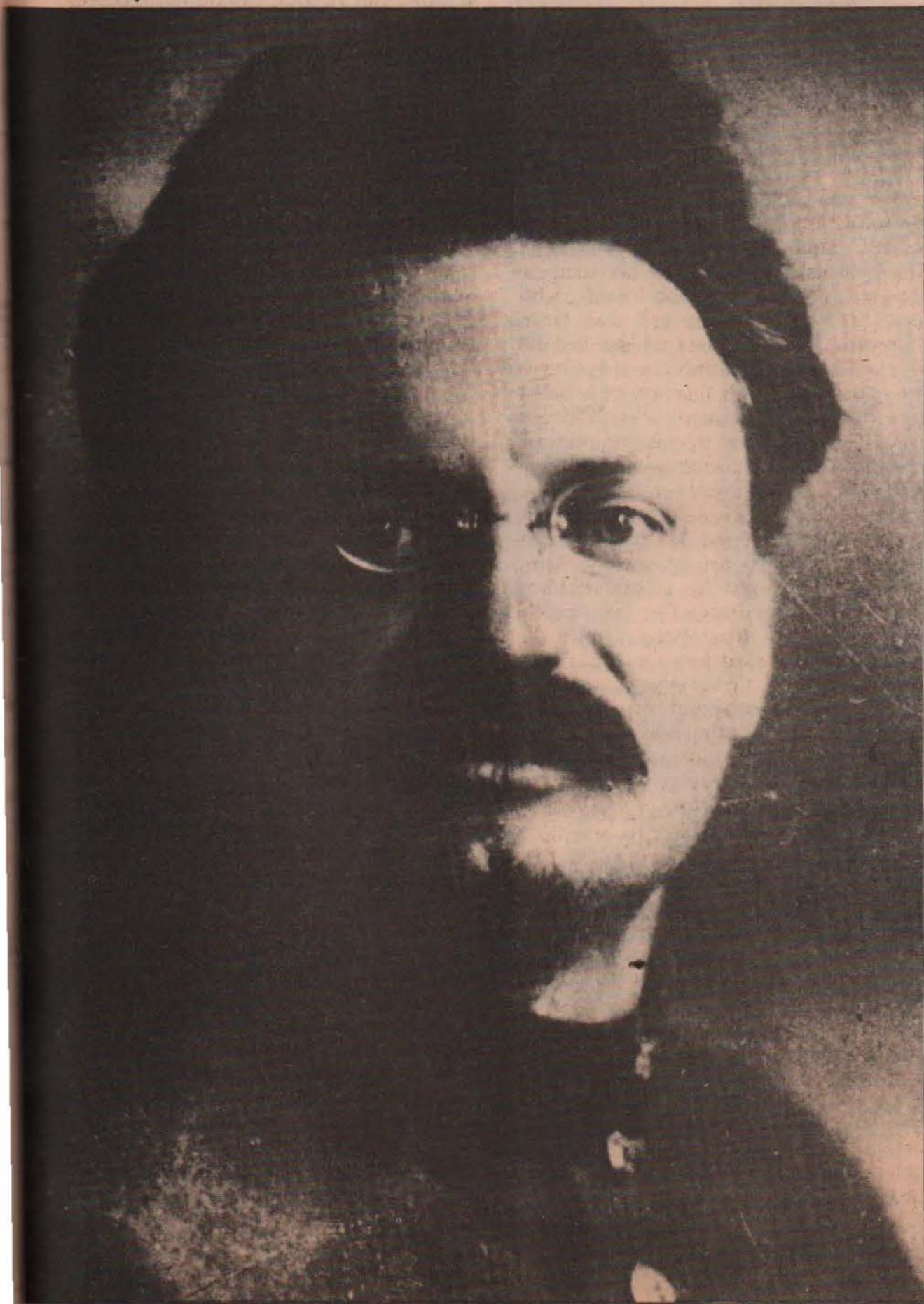
The theoreticians of state capitalism — if they can be graced with that word — have always felt a need to reject this proposition of the materialist conception of history. And this is no accident. For Trotskyism the origin of the Russian revolution of 1917 lay in the fact that on a world scale the forces of production developed by capitalism had outgrown the system of capitalist private property. This was the material basis and the driving force for the Russian revolution which occurred in that country where, for historical reasons, this contradiction found its most acute expression. State capitalism has always denied this proposition of Trotsky because they have to present the Russian revolution as an historical abortion brought about by a putsch imposed on the Russian masses by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. Needless to say this idea has been a stock-in-trade of every anti-communist for the last sixty years and more.

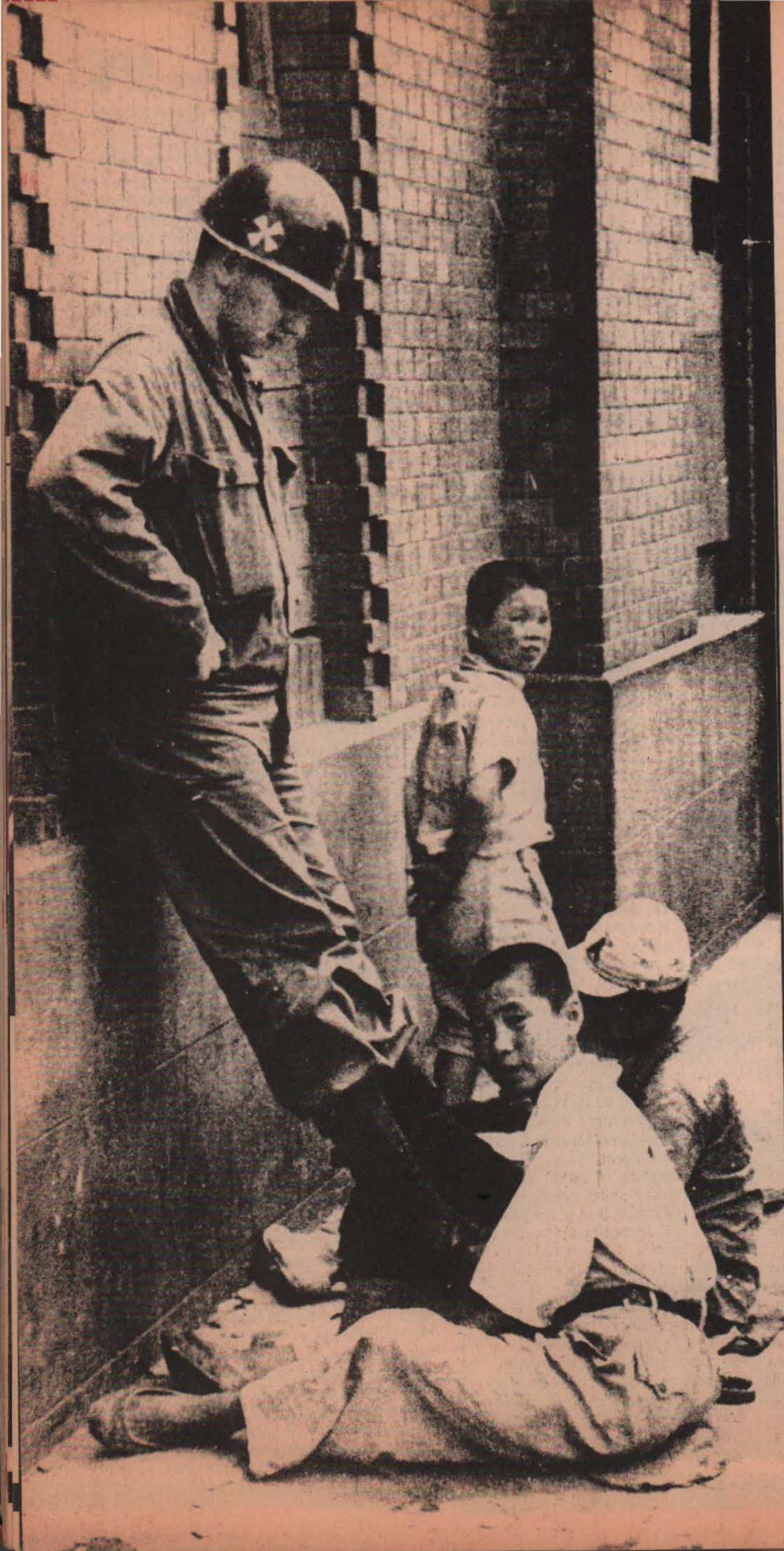
Callinicos has more immediate reasons for rejecting the materialist conception of history: it is directly bound up with his reformism and the reformism of the Socialist Workers Party. He starts by telling us, right at the outset of his work, that 'capitalism is, by common acknowledgement undergoing its most severe crisis since the 1930s' with the system 'in the grip of a lethal combination of inflation and overproduction'. (p.1) But this is merely words, a sham designed to impress the reader with the 'seriousness' of the author and his purposes. For when he gets round actually to discussing this crisis in the light of Marx's *Capital* he discovers that there is nothing in principle lethal about this crisis whatsoever. Speaking of the contradictions of capitalism Callinicos says:

'(They) do not imply any necessary outcome of the struggles to which they give rise. This statement is controversial, but it must be insisted on — the analysis of *Capital* does not imply that the proletarian revolution is inevitable. Thus, the discussion of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall in *Capital* Volume 3 Part III makes quite clear that this tendency involves counteracting principles some of which are intrinsic to its nature (for example the cheapening of the elements of constant capital).' (p.132).

Now we certainly do not need Callinicos to tell us that Marx didn't hold to a mechanical theory of revolution or a notion that capitalism would automatically break down. This was Stalin's caricature of Marxism peddled by his epigones in the 1930s. But this is hardly the point at issue here. For while capitalism does not collapse of its own accord, it is a system which tends, through its inherent contradictions, towards crises which increasingly threaten the very

Trotsky





foundations of the system. Without these objective tendencies towards crises there would be absolutely no material basis for the struggle for socialism, no basis on which to construct the revolutionary party to lead the working class to power. The working class would be condemned merely to struggle against its immediate exploitation with no hope or basis for the overthrow of capitalism. And this is precisely how the theory and practice of state capitalism seeks to confine the working class. It is because the entire basis of the Socialist Workers Party lies in its rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class and the need for a revolutionary party which fights consciously to resolve the crisis of working-class leadership that Callinicos is forced to distort Marx not only on the basic question but also on those of political economy. The development of the productive forces of capitalism reflected in the tendency for the organic composition of capital to rise is expressed in the tendency for the rate of profit to fall. And while this tendency does not express itself in a mechanical form (nor do any laws for that matter) it nonetheless lies at the very basis for those periodic crises which tend increasingly to engulf the entire capitalist system.

Space does not permit us to deal with every one of Callinicos' revisions of political economy. Suffice it to note that he trundles out the tired old theory of the 'permanent arms economy' to explain the stability of postwar capitalism. He rehearses the discredited thesis that capitalism can escape its contradictions through arms spending because such spending has no impact on the formation of the rate of profit within capitalist economy. This is only a thinly disguised version of bourgeois Keynesian economics; it was Keynes who first suggested that

The Korean war: the Americans sent in the G.I.s, but the state capitalists refused to support the workers' states against imperialism

capitalism could be made stable by employing men to dig holes in roads and employing others to re-fill them! The ruling class have now abandoned such reformist nonsense, leaving the field occupied by Callinicos and his fellow revisionists.

One more specific matter deserves comment before making some general concluding remarks about this work when viewed as a whole. Callinicos assures us at the end of the book that he fully subscribes to the idea of a revolutionary party. Further this revolutionary party will be based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky (he also includes Gramsci, a matter which has already been dealt with).

But what are these principles, as interpreted by Callinicos? He is anxious to assure us that such a Party is in no way sectarian, that it must seek to win the majority of the working class and that it must be a profoundly democratic one. The conception of the revolutionary party held by Lenin and Trotsky he tells us (p.221) was just such 'a profoundly democratic one'.

It is of course an elementary principle, and one which unlike the Socialist Workers Party the Workers Revolutionary Party has always carried out in its work, that the building of the revolutionary party can take place only in the closest relationship with the working class and the masses in general. This has been at the basis of our struggle, carried out in the face of the bitterest opposition of the Socialist Workers Party, to build the widest possible unity in the struggle against the Thatcher government. We have never let political differences with our opponents in the working class stand in the way of such a united campaign. For it is in fact only in the course of such actions that programmes and perspectives can be tested out in a manner that will lead to the clarification of the working class.

But this in no ways means that the revolutionary party is some club for liberals where 'anything goes' as Callinicos suggests. The revolutionary party is founded on the granite foundations of Marxist theory, dialectical materialism. This world outlook, dialectical materialism, is not and cannot be generated spontaneously within the working class. The disciplined nature of the revolutionary party, the centralisation of its leadership, the authority vested by the Party in its leading bodies is the reflection not of some narrow organisational considerations. Such centralism and discipline is an imperative necessity if all the experiences of the working class throughout the world are to be worked over and assimilated into the development of Marxism. The development of Marxism, of dialectical materialism, involves a **conscious** process which can only be carried out in and through an instrument created and developed for such a task — the revolutionary party.

Callinicos' efforts to present Lenin as a super democrat is doubly rich coming

from the organisation of which he has pretensions to be a leading 'theoretician'. For it was Cliff and his acolytes who throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s presented Lenin as the arch villain who believed in a Party which would 'substitute' itself for the working class; in this way, they lyingly claimed, Lenin laid the basis for the emergence of Stalinism. 'Bolshevism leads to Stalinism' was the slogan under which these anti-communists fought the Trotskyists. How does Callinicos square his present claim that Lenin was a firm believer in democracy and the widest possible participation of the masses in the struggle for power with what his political master Tony Cliff was spouting in the 1960s? Then Cliff wrote:

'... if the state built by the Bolshevik Party reflected not only the will of the Party but of the total social reality in which the Bolsheviks in power found themselves one should not draw the conclusion that there was no causal connection at all between Bolshevik centralism based on hierarchy of professional revolutionaries and the Stalinism of the future. ('The Revolutionary Party and the Class or Trotsky on Substitutionism', *International Socialism*, Autumn 1960).

In short Bolshevism was the foundation, or one of the foundations for Stalinism. And in the same article Cliff compounded his hoary old lie with a further one: that Trotsky had started off his life warning of the inherent dangers in Bolshevism but had eventually capitulated to Lenin's conception. (In fact, as Trotsky makes abundantly clear in *My Life* he characterised his early opposition to Lenin's notion of a Party of professional revolutionaries as a petty bourgeois opposition from which in 1917 he irrevocably broke, accepting fully Lenin's conception of the Party.)

We have dealt with several aspects of a work which is directed against the very foundations of Marxism in theory and in practice. 'We cannot simply "return" to classical Marxism; its silences and lacunae are too evident and filling them may involve transforming Marxism,' says Dr Callinicos on the penultimate page of his book. It should be clear that his intent is not to fill any alleged gaps in Marxism — in fact there are no such gaps. His purpose is quite different. Like all revisionists before him he is intent on destroying Marxism, of ripping out its revolutionary heart by diluting it with the so-called 'latest words' in bourgeois ideology, 'latest words' which in fact involve a regression to Kantian idealism. In this task he takes a definite direction which is one increasingly followed by revisionism as a whole. His 'borrowings' from Althusser, from Colletti, Popper, Lacan and French structuralism are aimed to destroy the historical connection between Marxism and the contribution made to philosophy by Hegel. They aim to expunge the dialectic from Marxism, to find in Kant and neo-Kantianism as a whole those weapons

which will reduce Marxism to some form of empiricism in theory and to opportunism in practice.

Lenin always insisted that Marxism was based on **all** the outstanding achievements of the whole of science and philosophy. Its principal sources and component parts were English political economy, French theories of socialism and classical German philosophy, brought to its highest point in the work of Hegel. It was Hegel who more than anybody else worked out the basic laws of dialectics, although his idealism prevented him from carrying this task through to conclusion. As Engels says in *Ludwig Feuerbach* it was Marx and Engels alone who carried forward to completion the work of Hegel, who was treated as a 'dead dog' in German professorial circles. This involved them in a thorough reworking of Hegel from the standpoint of materialism. It was on this basis, and this basis alone, that the world outlook of Marxism, dialectical materialism, was established.

Callinicos' claim that there are a series of 'gaps' in the Marxian legacy which must be 'filled' involves him in conscious deception, as does his warning about the dangers of dogmatism, of which crime 'orthodox Trotskyism' is naturally chiefly guilty. For Callinicos aims not to develop Marxism; he belongs to a revisionist clique which long ago abandoned such a task when it deserted Trotskyism for the cause of anti-communism. No, Callinicos has quite other purposes in view. His attack on Hegel is in substance an attack on Marxism. As Trotsky said in the fight against revisionism inside the American Socialist Workers Party some forty years ago: materialism without the dialectic is like a clock without a spring. This indicates the aim of revisionism as a whole: its slogan 'Back to Kant' is in essence an attempt to remove the spring from the revolutionary clock of Marxism. Engels's comment in *Ludwig Feuerbach* on the question of neo-Kantianism is a fitting epitaph on Callinicos' thoroughly anti-Marxist book.

'If... the neo-Kantians are attempting to resurrect the Kantian conception in Germany and the agnostics that of Hume in England... this is, in view of their theoretical and practical refutation accomplished long ago, scientifically a **regression** (emphasis added) and practically merely a shamefaced way of surreptitiously accepting materialism, while denying it before the world.'

One need only add to what Engels says that revisionism can no longer today accurately be described as 'shame-faced materialism'. As Callinicos' book so clearly reveals, it more and more openly champions the cause of reactionary idealism. Such is the nature of present-day revisionism and such is its hatred of dialectical materialism which remains the philosophy and the only possible philosophy of Marxism.

# IN DEFENCE OF SOLIDARITY

ARE there any miners, anywhere, who support the military regime of the generals in Poland against Polish miners and other workers? Mineworkers have always been in the forefront of struggle against suppression of trade union rights and persecution of the labour movement anywhere in the world.

It is of course obvious to every thinking worker that Prime Minister Thatcher and President Reagan, together with every anti-communist and anti-socialist in the world, has made use of the military repression in Poland to make their propaganda against communism and against the working class. They use it to show that capitalism and its fake 'democracy' is the only possible type of social system.

The paper published by the Yorkshire National Union of Mineworkers, the *Yorkshire Miner*, has attacked Solidarity as a right-wing, pro-capitalist and anti-socialist organisation, a tool of Western

capitalist powers. This is a pack of lies, believed only by a handful of blinkered old supporters of the Stalinist Communist Party. They cannot think beyond the idea that if the capitalist says something, you can find this truth by saying its opposite.

They conveniently forget that the Soviet Communist Party itself, through the mouths of Khrushchev and other leaders, long ago had to admit that brutal repression had developed as the method by which the privileged bureaucratic controllers, led first by Stalin, had defended their positions against the ordinary workers and against the real communists in Russia and Eastern Europe. That is the real reason behind Poland 1981, Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968.

True internationalist solidarity with the Polish miners' and their union, Solidarity, means opposing Stalinism and the military rulers in Poland, by our own, working-class methods. When we do this we strengthen the principles, the theory and the organisation of the working class. And this does not help the capitalists; it builds up the only force that can defeat them, that is a working class freeing itself from domination by the capitalist class and by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

To give leadership in that direction is the task of the Workers' Revolutionary

Party, carrying forward the work of Leon Trotsky and the real Bolsheviks who were butchered by Stalin's executioners and assassins. Only the Workers Revolutionary Party (British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International) has the training, the theory and the programme to carry out this political task. We stand for an implacable struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, but we do this on the basis of defending the gains made by the working class, and that means in the first place defending the nationalised property relations established by the October Revolution in Russia and extended after 1945 to Eastern Europe. Driving out the capitalist class in these countries was the first step in the transition to socialism. To complete the transition requires the defence of these gains and the extension of the socialist revolution throughout the world, above all to the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe, the USA and Japan.

The parasitic and corrupt bureaucracy which rules in Russia, Eastern Europe and China, will have to be overthrown by the working class of these countries. Their aim and programme will not be to restore capitalism but to preserve and carry forward the nationalised state property and drive out the bureaucrats. It is these bureaucrats themselves, concentrated in the Stalinist parties of these countries, who threaten to restore capitalism by their growing ties with Western banks and monopolies and their understanding with the imperialists.

When we say that the miners and other workers of Britain should support Polish miners and other workers by their own, working-class methods, what does this mean?

First, we must reject the line of those like the writers and inspirers of the *Yorkshire Miner* article, because to denounce Solidarity is to give support to the military dictators against the working class. Arthur Scargill must say where he stands, and reject this article.

Second, it follows from this that we must take an initiative to aid our comrades in Poland. The demand which can mobilise most support is a simple and a principled one: that the National Union of Mineworkers send a delegation, with others in the TUC, to investigate the actual position in the mining communities in Poland. Let's find out the truth about the strikes, the shortages, the occupations, the arrests.

If the so-called socialist regime in Poland will not admit such a team of observers, what conclusion can we draw?

Third, it is necessary for the full strength

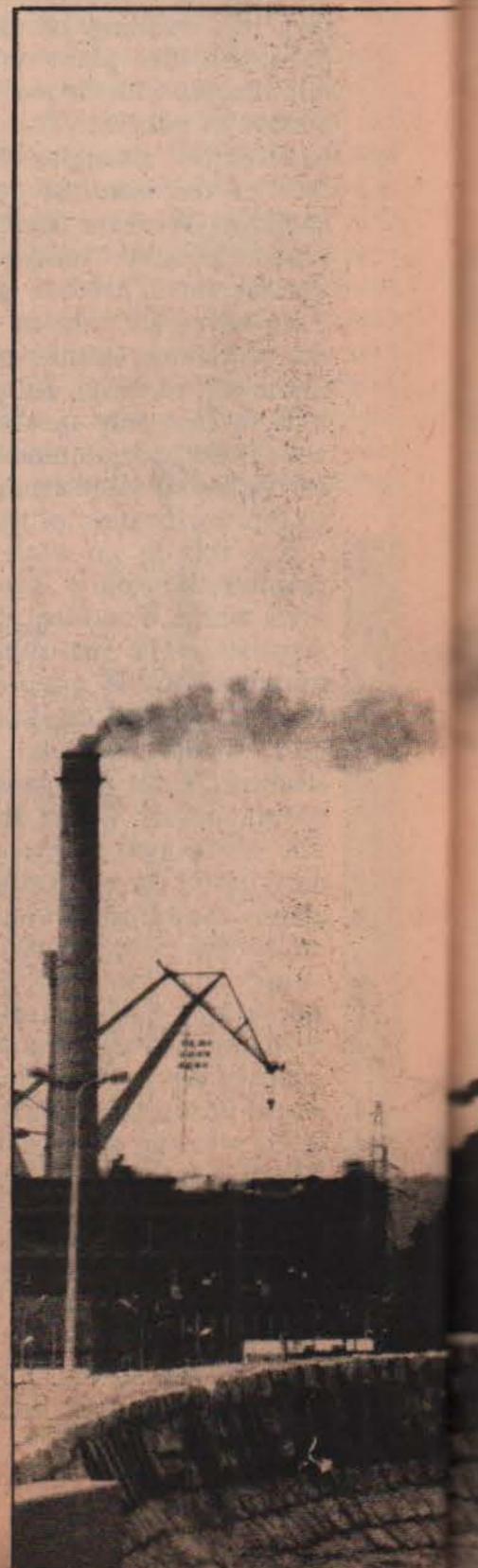
of the NUM and the TUC to be mobilised against the Tory government and its anti-union and other reactionary measures. This is the real way to weaken imperialist pressure on the Polish working class.

If we pursue these elementary demands, we shall begin to carve out a genuine revolutionary path, against those who simply want to protest against extreme measures in Poland and plead with the Stalinist dictatorship there to enter into a 'dialogue' with a castrated Solidarity, with the blessing of the Roman Catholic Church.

That is the line of the mealy-mouthed group which leads the British Communist Party, through their spokesman Monty Johnstone.

In *Marxism Today* this man has used criticism of the Polish military command

A monument to the hundreds of workers killed by the security forces in Gdynia, in December 1970



BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

# RITY

to enter a plea for something called 'democracy as a universal principle', which means the British Communist Party's fairy story of a peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism.

In the second part of this article I want to deal with a group calling itself the Socialist Workers Party, which is running a fake campaign in parts of the coalfields, supposedly in support of the Polish Solidarity.

This is a total fraud, and no mineworker should be taken in by the SWP and its 'leader' Mr Tony Cliff. It is their habit to cynically enter into any protest campaign which they think has some 'mileage' in it for them, regardless of the principles involved.

Let us first take a recent example — some four years ago, Mr Cliff led his SWP

in a tactic of almost total immersion in the 'Anti-Nazi League'. An organisation that grew briefly like a mushroom, and died at approximately the same speed.

Cliff told his unfortunate supporters that the Anti-Nazi League (ANL) would provide a great mass organisation, to be taken over by the SWP, who would then be in a powerful position as a big party of the left. It didn't happen. Single-issue gimmicks of this sort, directed at middle-class types of publicity, cannot make the necessary historical inroads into the working class.

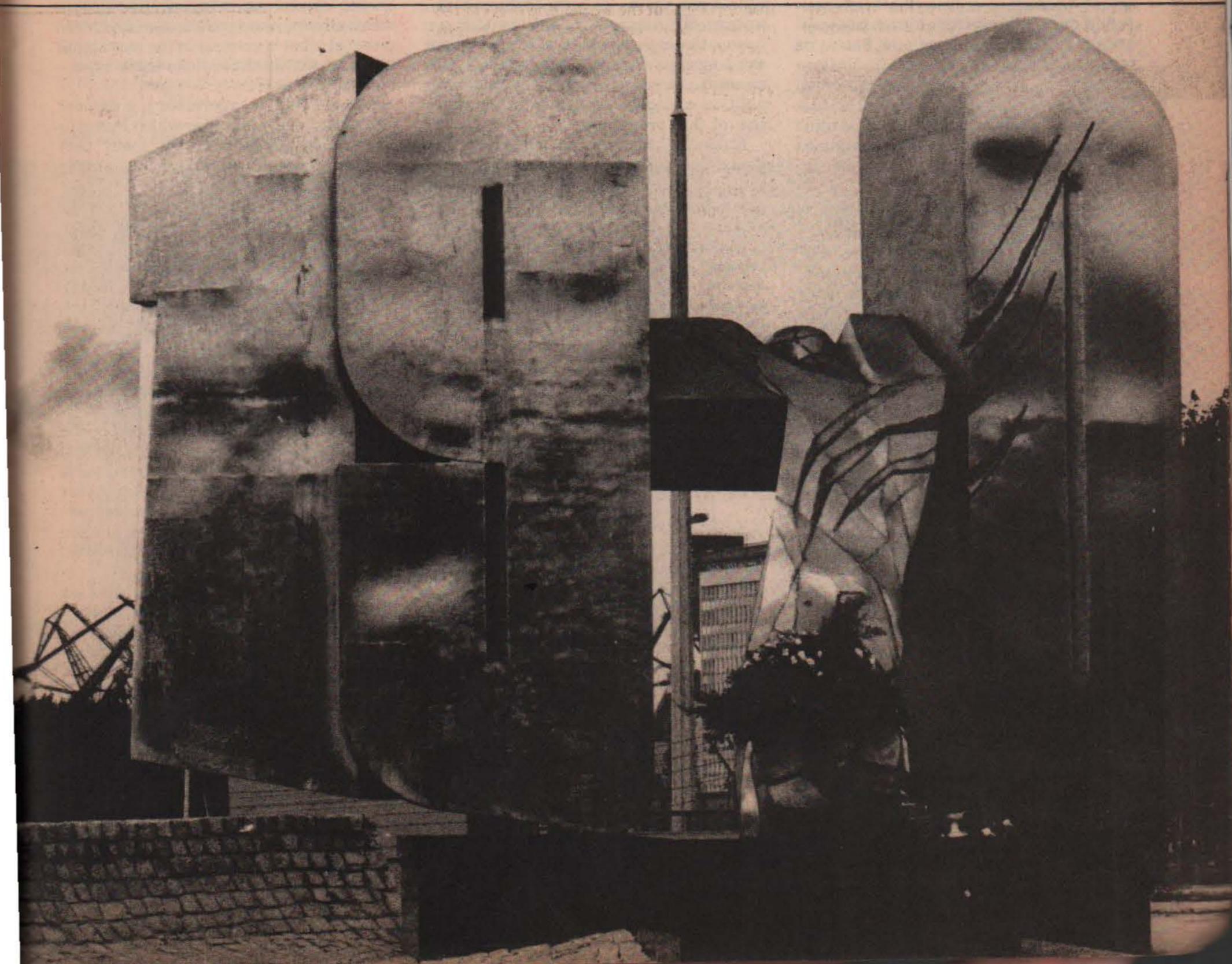
Subsequently, when the failure of this tactic was apparent to everyone, Mr Cliff told his members, at the SWP's annual conference, to look elsewhere: 'We have a corpse on our hands. Let's give it a decent burial,' he said. That kind of cynical ban-

kruptcy in politics needs no further explanation.

The SWP's line on Poland is even more unprincipled. This becomes very clear if we **start from where the SWP started**. Mr Tony Cliff and his supporters originate, politically, in a split away from Marxism. They were expelled from the Trotskyist movement because of their betrayal when the American imperialists started their counter-revolutionary war against North Korea and the new revolutionary China in 1950.

Cliff took the line that China, Korea and the USSR and Eastern Europe countries such as Poland are **state capitalist**, and therefore they should not be defended against US capitalism.

That is still Cliff's line, and the line of the SWP. For them there is **nothing to**



defend, for the working class, in the nationalised state property of Poland and the USSR. They do not distinguish between the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy and the US and British bankers and Tories.

Their poster 'Western bankers — hands off Solidarity' is a fraud. They give the impression that they oppose capitalist intervention and restoration in Poland, but they actually have as their basic programme the idea that capitalism has already been restored there.

For this reason they cannot develop a programme of working-class support for Solidarity by the working class's own methods independently of capitalism. This is because the basic programme of the workers in Solidarity is not restoration of capitalism, not a social revolution, but a political revolution to bring proletarian democracy in as the right way to defend and develop the gains already made, the state property.

In case anybody doubts these fundamental facts, let him or her read the current magazine of the SWP, called 'Socialist Review'. In a long article on Poland (called characteristically, 'A Defeat for Us All') the anonymous author says: 'Stalinism has meant that what happened during the youth of industrial capitalism in western Europe now has to be repeated during its old age in Eastern Europe. It is only through horrible, bloody experiences of trial and error, that the best workers will come to a Marxist understanding of the state capitalist societies and the historic role of their own class.' (p.11)

Here the demoralised hopelessness of the middle-class leaders of the SWP is backed up by the 'theory' that what exists in Eastern Europe is capitalism, still destined to go through a series of stages necessary for some natural process of growth of workers' class consciousness.

This is dangerous rubbish. The workers of the USSR and Eastern Europe are making their experience on the basis of long struggles to create workers' states and to combat Stalinist bureaucracy. They do not come out freshly hatched each day in order to go through some preordained set of experiences devised by a middle-class group in England.

Their experiences and their consciousness develop under the impact of the hammer blows and shocks of the greatest world capitalist crisis and the long-drawn out crisis of Stalinism itself.

All this is missed because the SWP restricts itself to Mr Cliff's theory of state capitalism in Russia, no real crisis of capitalism, no revolutionary party based on the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The editors of the SWP's *Socialist Review* are not content with more references to 'state capitalism' in their article on Poland. On the very next page they carry a lengthy item 'Books as Weapons: Tony Cliff's *State Capitalism in Russia*'.

Yes it is a weapon here being deliberately wielded to divert from Marxism, Trotskyism, any reader who turns to *Socialist Review* for information on Poland.

We have said that the SWP, a revisionist and middle-class group opposed to Marxism, cannot by its nature, conduct a political struggle for effective solidarity with the workers of Poland. For all their 'left'-sounding talk about the Polish bureaucrats being the same as capitalists what do they come up with?

'We have to be doing our utmost to help them in their hour of need, using whatever meagre levers are at our disposal to ease the level of repression and to provide material support.'

And that is all! Here is all the anti-working class character of these middle-class protesters and opponents of Marxism, nakedly revealed. In one breath they speak about 'the historic role of the working class, and in the next about 'the meagre levers at our disposal'!

By this means they avoid the fight to make the TUC and NUM leaders use the very powerful means at the disposal of the working class to press for an inquiry.

And they plead for an 'easing' of the repression (just as the Stalinists do) instead of bringing forward the Marxist, international programme which the Polish working class requires above all else. But of course they can never do — their very political existence derives from the rejection of that programme.

Behind all this there are absolutely fundamental differences of method and theory. Revolutionary Marxism was developed after Marx and Engels, by Lenin and Trotsky.

This struggle for building revolutionary parties based on dialectical materialism always involves a struggle against bourgeois ideology which results in driving out tendencies like that now represented by the SWP and Tony Cliff.

Their basic opposition to this dialectical materialist theory and practice is again expressed clearly in their recent article on Poland. After saying what everybody knows about the survival of Catholic nationalist ideas because of the betrayals of Stalinism in Poland, they venture to say how they see the development of revolutionary class consciousness.

Referring to one or two Solidarity spokesmen's remarks about the need for a new party, our SWP commentators say:

'Yet the formation of parties was conceived as something separate from, even if parallel to Solidarity. It was not thought of as a way of organising within the base structure of the union to coordinate the spontaneously developing struggles, regardless of what the "moderate" presidium wanted, leading them in the direction of state power. For the notion persisted that Solidarity itself could not take power.'

Of course, a revolutionary party of the working class does no more than a trade

union itself if it only co-ordinates spontaneous struggles. And a rank-and-file movement proceeding 'regardless' of the union leadership is the exact replica of the SWP's factions in unions like the NUT here in Britain.

They do not conduct a political struggle against the reactionary trade union bureaucracy by building revolutionary leadership on a socialist programme, but fight on single issues 'regardless' of that bureaucracy.

This does not mean that the SWP's article says nothing about programme. They say that 'activists' who 'share a common revolutionary conception of the way to resolve the crisis, work together'.

'In this way [In what way? — CS] they co-ordinate their experiences and offer a coherent lead to the rest of the class, supporting all workers' struggles even those disowned by the national union presidium, attempting to point them in a common direction of challenging state power and bureaucratic state capitalist property relations at every point'.

Again, not programmes, but 'coordination of experiences', whereas Lenin says that revolutionary theory is the basis of the revolutionary party, the fire in which all experiences are tested in order to arrive at what is essential in the movement of the whole which produces these experiences.

The worship of experience is a descent into vulgar empiricism, in which immediate reality appears to be given predominance but is a practice turned into an empty abstraction.

Only a party which constantly strengthens its theory and training through positing its practice, as well as all new developments — science, technique and social development on the theoretical essence abstracted in past struggles, can answer as a revolutionary strategy and tactics.

Against this, our image men of the SWP put forward a weird and wonderful theory of how consciousness develops:

'People's ideas are always shaped by the interaction of two things — the ideas that are dominant in the society around them and their experiences as they act together within that society. Which factor predominates depends to a large extent upon the degree of crisis in society and the level of collective struggle.'

'In "normal times" the ruling ideas are indeed the ideas of the ruling class — the notions that have been pumped into people's heads by the schools, the churches, the media, and by the humdrum routine of everyday life. At times of social convulsions and huge class conflicts new notions begin to emerge and to compete with these "ruling ideas". Consciousness is shaped by contradictory conceptions, some of which derive from collective self activity, others of which deny the very possibility of such self activity.' (p.7)

This is exactly what Lenin called the

worship of spontaneity that brings only opportunism and betrayal. The responsibility of Marxists is, through the work of their revolutionary party, to win the most class-conscious workers in a struggle **against** bourgeois ideology, and not to wait upon events which will somehow make alternative 'notions' 'emerge'!

The struggle to comprehend scientifically every new development, every step forward, every setback, every change in science and technique as in the development of the state, for example, (many of these things being by their nature remote from the experience of the working class) is the first responsibility of the revolutionary party in order to equip itself for the leadership. Without this struggle for the **Marxist world outlook**, there is no revolutionary party and there cannot be, it follows, any revolutionary comprehension of the Polish struggle and its part in the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

Instead of such a dialectical constant re-working of the whole, as the basis for understanding and acting on the parts (each nation-state, each strike etc.) we find, from the SWP, a set of abstract, empty principles or norms of development supposedly proper to each separate process.

We have seen in this article that the SWP campaign of so-called support for

Solidarity is a fraud. That is, basically, because the SWP opposes defence even of what has historically been gained by the Polish workers, namely, the expropriation of the capitalist class. For the SWP, Poland is 'state capitalist'. We have seen, further, that this position of the SWP's comes from their abandonment and betrayal of the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. They reject the basing of the revolutionary working-class party on Marxist theory, referring instead to some spontaneous experience of their middle-class advisers . . . in the SWP.

We have seen, next, that the SWP can see only a big defeat in the Polish events and the absence of any real strength — the British working class to act in solidarity with Solidarity.

The Workers' Revolutionary Party rejects totally this perspective. Capitalism is in its final, imperialist stage in the capitalist countries, and is threatened on all sides by the ever-expanding world revolution as well as its own internal economic contradictions. These two feed each other. Revolutionary struggles are immediately in the offing everywhere as the crisis plunges deeper.

These revolutionary struggles come together with the political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy (internationally imperialism's most important ally and agent) in Poland, East-

ern Europe and the USSR, deformed and degenerated workers' states.

The immediate tasks in building for these revolutionary struggles, is to demand that the NUM and the TUC take a delegation to investigate the repression in Poland. This is the first step, as part of the essential campaign to end the arrests and repressions and release all Solidarity political prisoners in Poland.

This means rejecting the line of those who wrote in the *Yorkshire Miner* attacking Solidarity and supporting Jaruzelski and the military regime. It means also rejecting the treacherous and lying claim of the state capitalist Socialist Workers Party to be supporting Solidarity. We repeat the working class must support Solidarity, must defend the gains made (nationalisation of previously capitalist property) in Poland and the USSR, and defeat the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy **by its own methods**. And that means, in intimate connection always with the preparation for the taking of working-class power in Britain, part of the world socialist revolution. The party necessary for the leadership of that struggle, the Workers Revolutionary Party, is built in and through the struggle for policies such as those outlined in this article.

Solidarity's First National Congress last October



# A COMMENT ON C. TALBOT'S COMMENTS ON OMELYANOVSKY'S 'DIALECTICS'

## SCIENCE AND FANTASY

The article by C. Talbot in Labour Review, December 1981, contained so many features which I felt were alien to Marxism, that in this brief comment I can only deal with one aspect. The importance of the relationship between Marxism and natural science must not be underestimated. Dialectical materialism, without which there can be no revolutionary party, can only remain alive if it continually abstracts from the latest developments in all branches of knowledge, and above all from those discoveries which underlie the growing potential of the productive forces.

That is why Lenin was right to stress the importance of the revolutionary changes in physics which emerged at the beginning of this century, and which are still continuing today.<sup>1</sup> It is also worth noting that the men who pioneered the new physics were far superior to their predecessors, in that they realised the profound philosophical implications of their work. Whatever weaknesses there may be in Omelyanovsky's book, one of its great virtues is that it does examine closely these efforts of Einstein, Heisenberg and the others to grasp the significance of their discoveries.

For Comrade Talbot, on the contrary, these men must be condemned for straying on to the domain of philosophy, or in other words, cursed for not being Marxists. And Omelyanovsky's crime, he tells us, is that he does not join in the ritual anathematisation.

Let us concentrate on just over a page of Talbot's article, which we quote in full:

'Let us consider, for example, Einstein's views on epistemology and what Omelyanovsky has to say about them:

'I see on the one side the totality of sense-experiences, and, on the other, the totality of the concepts and propositions

which are laid down in books. The relations between the concepts and propositions among themselves and each other are of a logical nature, and the business of logical thinking is strictly limited to the achievement of the connection between concepts and propositions among each other according to firmly laid down rules, which are the concern of logic. The concepts and propositions get "meaning", viz., "content", only through their connection with sense-experiences. The connection of the latter with the former is purely intuitive, not itself of a logical nature. The degree of certainty with which this relation, viz, intuitive connection, can be undertaken, and nothing else, differentiates empty phantasy from scientific "truth" . . . All concepts, even those which are closest to experience, are from the point of view of logic freely chosen conventions . . .'

Einstein then denies the possibility of a dialectical logic, which is the logic of evolution of concepts reflecting the dialectical development of matter, but supports free, creative, intuitive thinking. The last 30 years of his life were spent in the futile attempt to create such a theory of Universal Fields, which would encompass all previous physical theories. But what advice does Omelyanovsky offer?

'One has to agree with Einstein when he stated, with the formal logic in mind, that the axioms of physics cannot be deduced logically from the empirical data. The axioms of physical theories, he noted, could not be reached by the "logical path" but only by that of "intuition based on penetration into the essence of experience". The term "intuition", it seems to us, should be replaced by "fantasy"; the most rigorous science cannot do without fantasy, as Lenin aptly said in his *Philosophical Notebooks*. And this is not far from the idea that scientific creative

work and dialectics are always in harmony.'

The actual passage in Lenin is as follows:

'The approach of the (human) mind to a particular thing, the taking of a copy (— a concept) of it is *not* a simple, immediate act, a dead mirroring, but one which is complex, split into two, zig-zag like, which *includes in it* the possibility of the flight of fancy from life; more than that: the possibility of the *transformation* (moreover, an unnoticeable transformation, of which man is unaware) of the abstract concept, idea, into a *fantasy* (in letzter Instanz = God). For even in the simplest generalisation, in the most elementary general idea ("table" in general), *there is* a certain bit of fantasy. Vice versa: it would be stupid to deny the role of fantasy, even in the strictest science: cf. Pisarev on useful dreaming, as an impulse *to* work, and on empty day-dreaming.'

In other words, while Lenin recognises the role of fantasy he adds this almost as an afterthought to the main line of his argument here: that fantasy in the final analysis transforms the abstract idea into a divinity. Omelyanovsky has transformed Lenin's statement into a vindication of Einstein's idealism. That Einstein's abstract ideas developed into fantasy in his later years, as a result of his empiricism, seems to have escaped Omelyanovsky.'

Let us begin with the quotation from Lenin. It is prompted by the discussion in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* about the relation between the universal and the particular, between 'house' in general and particular houses.<sup>2</sup> Lenin refers to the same point in his essay 'On the Question of Dialectics', quoting Aristotle: 'for, of course, one cannot hold the opinion that there can be a house (in general) apart from visible houses'. Lenin comments: 'Consequently,

## CS IN MODERN PHYSICS'

the opposites (the individual is opposed to the universal) are identical: the individual exists only in the connection that leads to the universal.<sup>3</sup>

In the quotation given by Talbot, Lenin draws attention to the danger of idealism contained in every abstraction, precisely because abstraction is a contradiction. In *Capital*, Marx made the same point: 'If I say Roman Law and German Law are both law, that is obvious. But if I say, on the other hand, the Law, (this abstract entity) realises itself in Roman Law and German Law, (these concrete laws), then the connection becomes mystical.'<sup>4</sup>

Marx shows that this mystical inversion is not just a mistake, but reflects the basic relations of bourgeois society.

How can we avoid facing the danger of idealism, which Lenin and Marx showed to be inherent in every concept? Only by not thinking at all.

Talbot sternly accuses Omelyanovsky of covering up the idealism of Einstein with Lenin's use of the word 'fantasy'.

Unfortunately, we are given no specific indication of just where this alleged idealism lies, so we can only assume that Talbot objects to Einstein's contention that 'intuition' rather than 'logic' provides the connection between sense experience and concepts. Surely Omelyanovsky is right to interpret 'logic' as meaning 'formal logic' in Einstein's remark. Is Talbot going to argue that abstraction from sense experience is deduced from our senses by means of the syllogism? This would put him in some strange philosophical company.

Lenin did not see it that way at all. In examining Hegel's *Logic* he is more careful about the relation between thought and sense experience. 'Is sensuous representation closer reality than thought? Both yes and no. Sensuous representation cannot apprehend movement as a whole, it cannot, for example, apprehend movement with a speed of 300,000 km per second, but thought does and must apprehend it. Thought, taken from sensuous representation, also reflects reality; time is a form of being of objective reality. Here, in the conception of time, (and not in the relation of representation to thought) is the idealism of Hegel.'<sup>5</sup>

Talbot describes dialectical logic as 'the logic of the evolution of concepts reflecting the dialectical development of matter'. Very well. But how does this reflection take place? He is enraged at Einstein's talk of 'free, creative, intuitive thinking'. What would he say to this piece of gross 'idealism': 'What distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees, is that the architect raises his structure in imagi-

nation before he erects it in reality. At the end of every labour process, we get a result that already existed in the imagination of the labourer at its commencement. He not only affects a change of form in the material on which he works, but he also realises a purpose of his own that gives the law to his modus operandi, and to which he must subordinate his will.'<sup>6</sup>

Of course, the author of these lines was the notorious 'idealist' Karl Marx, who believed that the essence of things did not coincide with immediate appearance, but had to be penetrated by the conscious and passionate struggle for scientific knowledge.

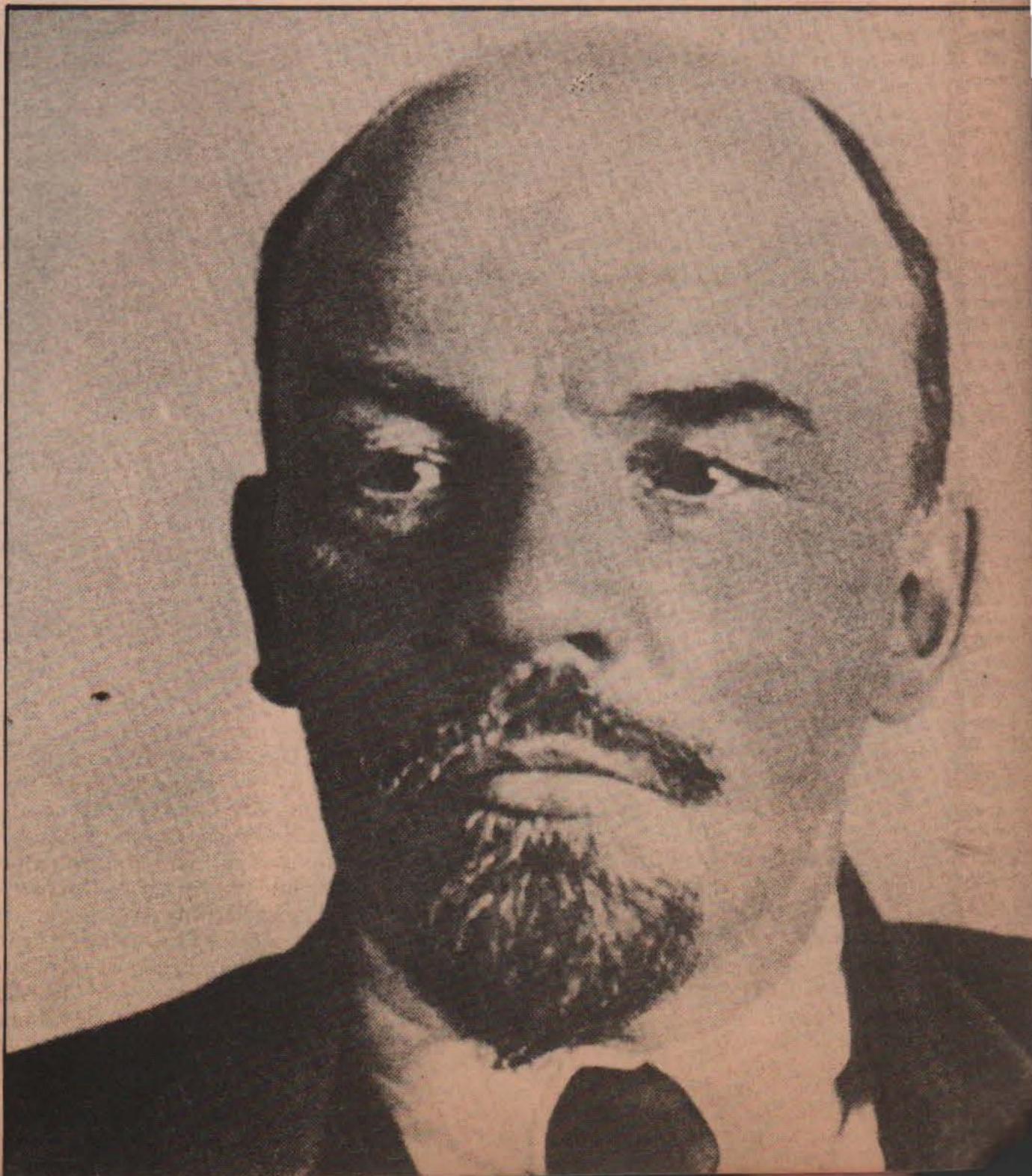
There was once a schoolboy — not at all a successful scholar — who asked the question: 'If I could travel on a ray of light,

what would I see?' How childish! What fantasy! No wonder that his schoolmaster told him: 'Einstein, you will never amount to anything.' However, in daring to answer this crazy question, this young man laid the basis for the whole of modern physics.<sup>7</sup>

A well-known story about Niels Bohr is relevant here. Pauli had described a theory about the movement of electrons to Bohr's Copenhagen group. In the discussion, Bohr remarked: 'I know Pauli's theory is crazy. What worries me is whether it is crazy enough to be true.'

The founders of modern physics were not Marxists, holding various views on philosophical and political questions, many of them wrong. But they knew that they were revolutionising the fundamental outlook on nature and that their results conflicted sharply with 'common

Lenin



sense'. We must study their work, so as to abstract from it every possible philosophical lesson, bringing our conception of matter into line with the discoveries of science.

Communism did not begin with Marx and Engels, but with those bourgeois

thinkers at the time of the break-up of the Enlightenment, who fantasised about a world free of capitalist, or any other form, of oppression and exploitation. Marx and Engels, basing themselves on both the rise of the workers' movement and the highest development of bourgeois thought,

struggled successfully to turn Communism from a Utopia into a science.

That is why Talbot's fear of the word 'fantasy' is worth serious consideration. Was this merely an 'afterthought' of Lenin? Well, as a matter of fact, it wasn't. Thirteen years before, in a book called *What is to be Done?* he had quoted that very passage from the revolutionary democrat Pisarev:

'There are rifts and rifts,' wrote Pisarev of the rift between dreams and reality. 'My dream may run ahead of the natural march of events or may fly off at a tangent in a direction in which no natural march of events will ever proceed. In the first case my dreams will not cause any harm; it may even support and augment the energy of the workingmen . . . There is nothing in such dreams that would distort or paralyse labour-power. On the contrary, if man were completely deprived of the ability to dream in this way, if he could not from time to time run ahead and mentally conceive, in an entire and completed picture, the product to which his hands are just beginning to lend shape, then I cannot at all imagine what stimulus there would be to induce man to undertake and complete extensive and strenuous work in the sphere of art, science, and practical endeavour . . . The rift between dreams and reality causes no harm if only the person dreaming believes seriously in his dream, if he attentively observes life, compares his observations with his castles in the air, and if, generally speaking, he works conscientiously for the achievement of his fantasies. If there is some connection between dreams and life then all is well.'

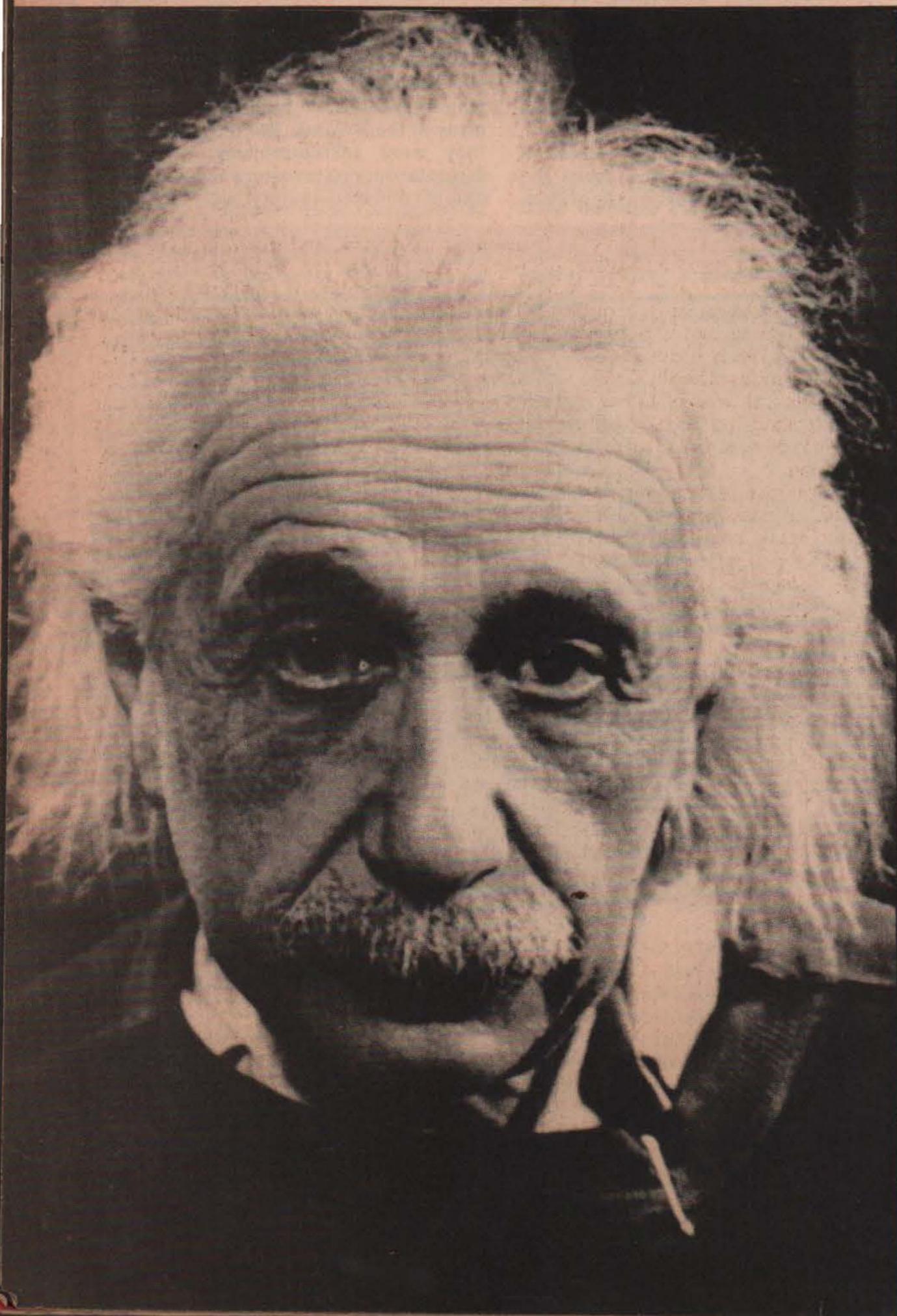
Lenin adds: 'Of this kind of dreaming, there is unfortunately too little in our movement. And the people most responsible for this are those who boast of their sober views, their "closeness" to the "concrete", the representatives of legal criticism and of illegal "tail-ism".'<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps Comrade Talbot would like to comment on this.

C.S.

NOTES: <sup>1</sup> *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Chapter V. <sup>2</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works* Vol.38, p.372. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.361. <sup>4</sup> *Value: Studies by Karl Marx*, p.37. <sup>5</sup> Vol. 38, p.228. <sup>6</sup> *Capital*, Vol.I, Ch.VII, Section 1. <sup>7</sup> We have no space to deal with Talbot's impudent suggestion that Einstein's successful attempt to confirm quantum theory with his theory of gravitation, on which he spent half his life, was futile fantasy. In our opinion, physics will necessarily achieve this confirmation, vindicating both Einstein's heroic efforts and the standpoint of dialectical materialism. <sup>8</sup> Lenin, Volume V, p.509-510.

Einstein



# SCIENTISTS AND THE DIALECTIC

Scientists are members of a society in struggle, and Marxists cannot discuss science, or its theories, in an isolated context of academic specialisation. Recognising this fact, does not however place a constraint on Marxism from exploiting an academic specialisation or from contributing to this specialisation and therefore I personally am delighted to see the recent interest in science in the columns of *Labour Review* and the News Line.

Idealism finds its most consistent defence perhaps in the work of academics and for the obvious reason that they can call upon specialist knowledge which is only accessible to other academics, not only in discipline, but more often than not in their specialised interest within this discipline. The ideological struggle can not be won by argument, but must be resolved through the development of Marxism by a party built to lead the working class to State power for the socialist transformation of society, which will release the potential of science for the development of mankind.

Marxism must however win the ideological struggle if it is to be successful in its struggle for power and this is not a conundrum, but a necessary recognition of the dialectical nature of the problem.

Science does not develop out of the class struggle and neither are the dialectical laws of physics, to take a specific example of the natural sciences, translatable to the dialectical struggle of the class struggle. This point is made clear in Engels' classic work *Dialectics of Nature* when he insists on the absolute differentiation even of science from science, i.e. the laws of physics can not form the basis of the science of chemistry although many laws of physics find application in

this sister science.

Recently, important questions have arisen for the revolutionary party from its philosophical and political struggle in the field of natural science and in particular physics. Comrade Healy has made fundamental contributions of late by developing the philosophical work of Lenin and has drawn extensively on the recent work of scientists in the Soviet Union on dialectical materialism.

I would like to make a few points about certain problems in the work of the party. Some of the work being discussed by Comrade Healy is of very old vintage, for example the importance of the duality of wave and particle nature of matter. This discovery is of fundamental importance to dialectical materialism and it is a measure of the betrayals of Stalinism that such an important discovery has not been assimilated by Marxism. The discovery of the duality of nature was made at the beginning of this century and a period of traumatic crisis for the old so called classical physics. The new physics was born out of this crisis and it was in this period of revolutionary change that the Russian Revolution was born, as were the new sciences of physics, relativity, and quantum mechanics.

I do not claim to be an expert in either of these sciences, but I have been able I hope to grasp the fundamentals of these two sciences and it appears to me that there are some misconceptions about these in the Party's literature which may discredit the important work of Healy if certain mistakes in the views of two of your science correspondents are not corrected. Firstly, may I point out that Chris Talbot in *Labour Review* Vol V No.7 quotes Neils Bohr and Heisenberg, two founders of

quantum mechanics, and discusses their reservations about the unbridled and unthinking application of mathematics. This science began with attempts to build models of atoms, nuclei and other molecular processes, but by the 1920s the leading workers had abandoned attempts to build models and had accepted that **mathematics provided the basis for the new sciences** and that models had exceeded their usefulness or scope. The lessons of this development have been hammered home by more than half a century of work of tens of thousands of scientists since that time, mathematics is not a fetishism, **it is in modern science more of a reality than any model.** Mechanical materialism would be horrified by this unmechanical discovery, but nature is not mechanical in a Newtonian sense, it is imbued with life and self-development, and Marxism must be the first to recognise this and not be afraid to accept the consequences of this recognition, i.e. models are limited and belong to the past.

Secondly, the consequence of this is that on the surface modern physics does indeed appear as a mathematical abstraction, but Talbot himself points out that even so called classical physics contains fundamental contradictions in its central mathematical definitions of infinitesimals which provide the basis for the description of the most fundamental of all contradictions, viz. motion. The laws of Newton are indeed conceptually limited and we can discover this by consulting an elementary physics text-book. Engels pointed out that this outlook based on the concept force was, even in the 19th century, inadequate and being replaced by a view based on energy through the work of Mayer, Joule, Helmholtz et al, who intro-

duced the so called Law of Conservation of Energy. The work of Einstein who introduced the Theory of Relativity showed that force is not invariant, i.e. it changes with different frames of reference and is not conserved, but he proved that **energy** and **momentum** are always conserved and that these are **the fundamentals of physics**. Einstein failed in his quest after his Relativity triumph to produce a generalised Unified Field Theory which would have been a supreme culmination of his life's work; in all probability he failed principally because of the inadequate level of experimental work on the fundamental particles of nature whose interactions form the basis of all forces (interactions) in nature, but today this work is proceeding very rapidly and developing

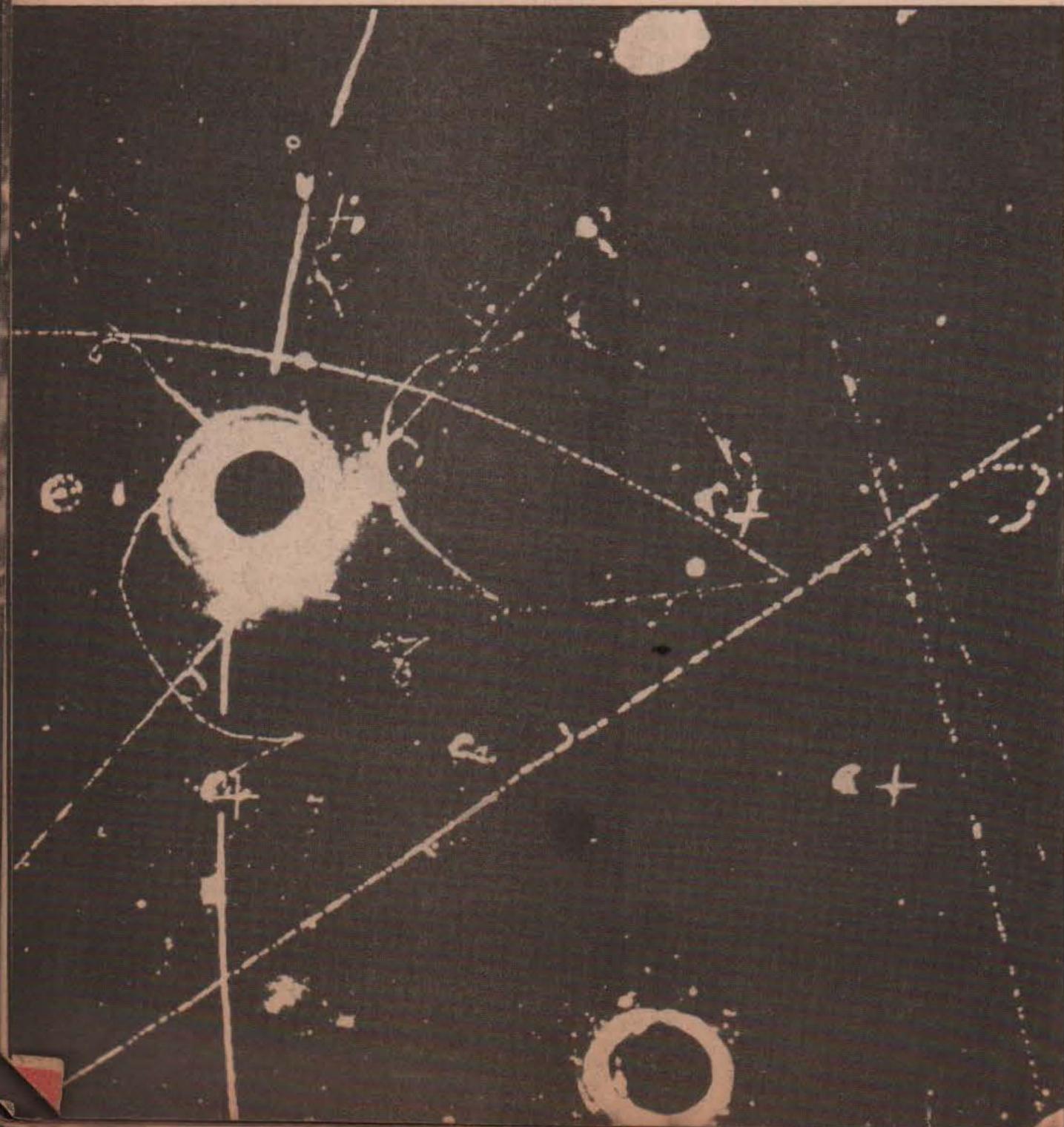
around the quark theory. There is not space here to discuss exhaustively the central role and importance of mathematics to the **new materialism**, but it appears to me to be the height of folly for Trotskyism to fail to understand this point, because it will not only damn itself in the eyes of any serious scientist, but it will also disarm it in its life and death struggle with idealism in the domains of science or, fundamentally for Marxism, philosophy. I am not here claiming that mathematics or physics, chemistry or other sciences is free from idealism, it is in fact contained within the framework of bourgeois sciences and must be restructured along the lines outlined by Trotsky who initiated in the Soviet Union an inventory of all sciences to discover what was useful and what was a

bourgeois misrepresentation. Neither should Talbot so uncritically associate mathematics in the natural sciences with the prostitution of mathematics in pseudo-sciences such as economics.

Thirdly, it appears that the Science Correspondent in The News Line on March 2, 1982 was confused in attempts to confound the Anti-evolutionists in the USA who claim that the Second Law of Thermodynamics supports the creationist view of nature, although after many readings of the article I have been unable to unravel exactly what is being said. He quotes Engels on the Second Law of Thermodynamics, but I think Engels is mistaken in claiming that there is a logical inconsistency between the First Law, the conservation law of energy, and the Second Law, the entropy or disorder law, and I doubt if today you will find a reputable scientist who would accept the first law excludes the second. It is also dangerous to downgrade the Second Law, which is to my mind the law of motion in thermodynamics, as this is an extremely general law of science finding applications in biology and chemistry determining the direction and limit of changes in bio and chemical systems and from this microscopic level it has an enormous sweep and in fact is being used as a fundamental theoretical tool in probing the nature of the most massive of macro bodies postulated in the universe so far, namely the black holes. While it is true that there is not the same basis for claiming the Second Law to be a universal law as the First, which finds its universal nature in Einstein's theory, it is dangerous to underestimate its importance.

The Second Law poses what has been called the problem of the heat death of the universe, when all matter devolves to a uniform temperature. While this is a real problem for materialists to face, it is wrong to suppose that this supports creativism. Certainly John Tyndall, the Irish scientist whose translation of Clausius' book from German to English introduced the Second Law in 1867, did not think so, as is revealed by his major contribution to the Evolution debate in 1874 at the British Association when he delivered his explicitly materialist Presidential Address at Belfast. Tyndall had advised Clausius during his epoch making researches and was well aware of the important philosophical consequences of

Traces of sub-atomic particles recorded by the Gargamelle bubble chamber at the CERN laboratory in Geneva



this work and indeed the earlier work on the First Law and it must be remembered that he and T.H. Huxley formed the vanguard in the so called Battle for the Origin. Despite their agnosticism, these two perhaps had greater confidence in the ability of scientists to resolve all these problems given time than some modern day materialists, but we must not run scared from such real theoretical problems or resort to quotations from authorities like Engels to confound our idealist enemies.

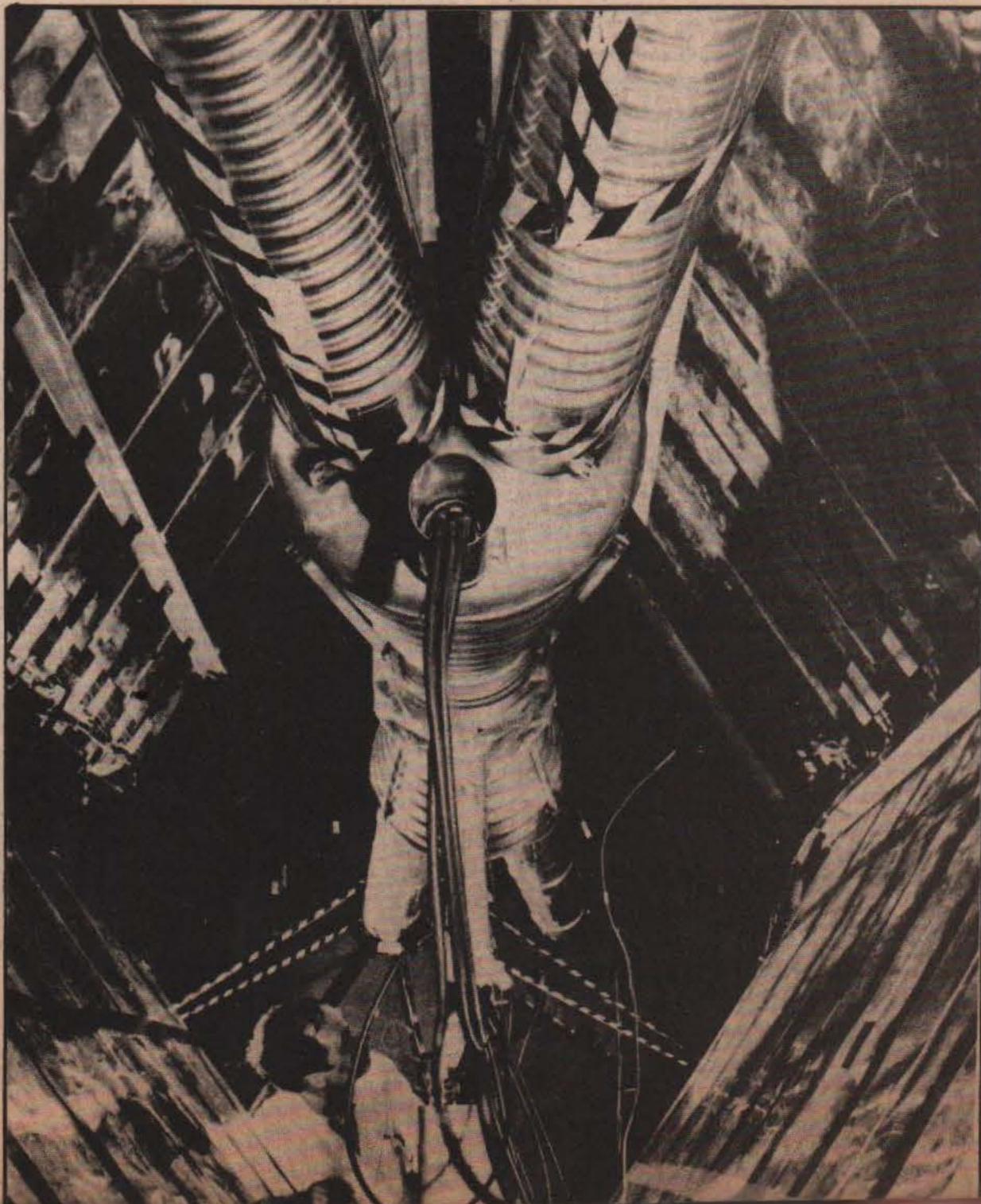
There is in fact a science devoted to studying the consequences of statistical phenomena, known as Statistical Mechanics, which has shown that entropy (a measure of disorder) can decrease in time, but that there is an overwhelming probability that it will increase. What laws of physics will apply within black holes remains to be discovered and how these and other astronomical entities fit into a theory of evolution of the universe is a matter of debate. The materialism of scientific theory has not as yet properly resolved the big bang theory's difficulties, but even accepting this prognosis, the facile appeal to a creative act of God is a circular argument as was explained by Karl Sagan in the last programme of his marvellous TV series and this is therefore no answer at all to the dilemma. The fact that physicists are attempting to use theoretical tools such as the Second Law to explore the physics of yet to be experimentally confirmed black holes is not a sign of strength of idealism, it is on the contrary an affirmation of materialism for as Tyndall insisted science can not stop when the microscope fails.

There is an important final point to make, Marxism insists it begins with the theoretical and confronts the practice of the party and thus rejects spontaneity and other manifestations of empiricism in the workers movement. A study of the methods of science will reveal that the origins of science lie in the practice of the early craftsmen in pre-history. In Greece we see the pre-eminence of a second scientific method, the theoretical deductive and logical. The practice of the craftsmen on which this society depended came to be despised. In the middle ages and Renaissance developed the empirical method and in our own time the modern method of science, theory leading practice. This modern method is essential today because scientists are investigating the unseeable atoms, nuclei fundamental particles and

so forth and obviously practice here can not lead theory. Theory has in fact to obtain from the microscopic, macroscopic predictions which can be checked in practice. It is not a coincidence that Marxism applies a similar method or that the development of class society led to the first scientific method of practice, slave society produced the second theoretical development of scientific method or that the appearance of the bourgeoisie on the historic stage was accompanied by the development of the method of empiricism. The working classes can not take power spontaneously and the destruction of class society can only come out of a conscious act of that class led by a party guided by Marxist method. Scientists will have to confront the contradictions of

their position in class society the same as all other members of this society in the coming revolutionary struggles, but Marxism must aim to gain the allegiance of these people, who are at present being used to provide in the West (*sic*) the brutal tools of exploitation and destruction for the capitalist class with which they plan to hold on to power. The surplus value the capitalists use to bribe scientists to simply concentrate unthinkingly in their specialisations will become so limited that they too will be driven to consider revolutionary solutions, theoretical clarity in the revolutionary party with respect to science will among other things expedite this nucleation of scientists around this party and this will in turn lead to a most important development in the party.

A.B.



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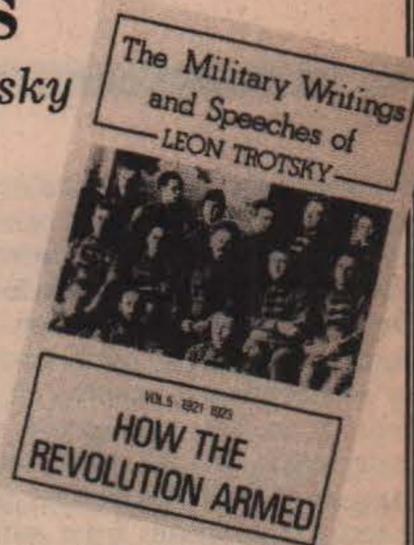
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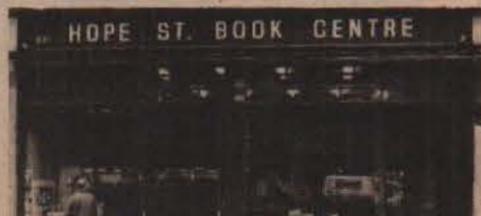
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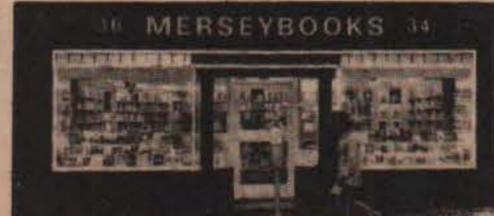
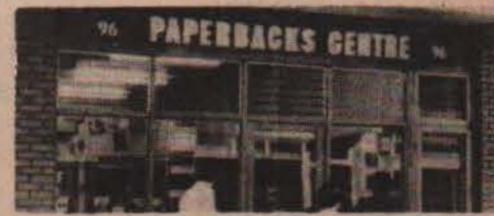
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