

**Fourth International**  
A JOURNAL OF MARXISM  
PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
Volume 7, No. 1 Winter 1970/71 | PRICE: 25p

**NATIONAL UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES  
BERMONDSEY GEN. BRANCH**

REG. N° 1386



**ORGANISE**

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Editors: Tom Kemp, Cliff Slaughter

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THE ARTICLES and statements in this issue of Fourth International are reprinted from the 'Workers Press' over the last few months. Several of these are devoted to the question of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement in relation to the British General Election of June 1970. It was necessary to deal with the Stalinists' outright capitulation to reformism, as well as the dangerous ultra-left argument of the revisionists that workers should not vote Labour, should even break up Labour Party meetings. In the first six months of the Tory Government, the Trotskyist movement in Britain developed the programme which is expressed in the 'Charter of Basic Rights'. In this Charter is expressed the historical necessity of a rapid transition from a reformist-dominated labour movement to the fight for a Labour government under entirely new conditions, with the immediate needs of the masses requiring socialist measures.

IN WRITING 'Ultra-Leftism in Britain', Mrs Betty Reid has without doubt created far more problems for British Stalinism than she has solved. This wretched attempt to 'disprove' Trotskyism and discredit the Fourth International is very much in the long and reactionary tradition of the old Stalinist diatribes.

This book refutes and demolishes every one of Mrs Reid's slanders, distortions and omissions. For the first time, the Fourth International wages a daily war against all those—and most of all the Stalinists—who distort the real history of the working class and its revolutionary movement. The days when the British Stalinists could churn out their anti-Trotskyist filth are finished once and for all.

They have only survived till now by virtue of two factors. The first has been the long period of recovery required by the working class internationally after its shattering pre-Second World War defeats. France and Czechoslovakia in 1968 prove that this period is drawing to a close.

The second factor is a subjective one, and it now lies within our power to overcome it. For over two decades after its foundation as an independent movement, the Fourth International was deprived, often by brute terror, of the basic material resources to hit back at its principal political enemies. That material weakness in no way reflected adversely on the movement's founders and supporters. Many worked in conditions of illegality, and in the case of its largest, Soviet section, perished to a man at the hands of the Stalinist counter-revolution.

Without exception, all Trotskyists worked in an epoch of counter-revolution and defeat. The Stalinist Terror, backed to the hilt, even applauded, by Dutt, Gollan and the rest, was the most hideous expression of this counter-revolutionary epoch.

Trotskyism survived this terrible period only by harnessing all its desperately small resources to the fight for Marxist principles and programme in all the major struggles of the working class. Completely contrary to what Reid alleges, Trotskyism has always been a movement of combat. It thrives today precisely because in the era of Hitler and Stalin, it clung on to the theoretical conquests embodied in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. **Leninism is at the very core of the Fourth International.** That is the basis of the hatred that all our revisionist and Stalinist enemies have for us.

Reid's pamphlet is not just another series of slanders. It is certainly that, but a lot more besides. It is also a particularly graphic expression of the new stage in the crisis of world, and British, Stalinism. The British Stalinist party is a doomed organization, and its leaders know it. Trotskyism is the force of the future inside the working class.

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This reply is intended to provide a basis for a comradely discussion with the rank and file of the Communist Party, a rank and file who are daily becoming more and more disturbed at the dangerous opportunist line being pursued by the Party leadership, above all in the trade unions.

The material presented in this book should be studied seriously for it is in a study of the differences between Trotsky-

ism and Stalinism, the key to so many of the urgent problems that face workers in industry, and which **The British Road to Socialism** does not even begin to answer.

This reply rests largely on documents and publications of the British Communist Party, the Third Communist International and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. **Here the Stalinists condemn themselves out of their own mouths.**

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## Preparing for Power

**WHEN THE Conservative Party was returned to office in the British General Election of June 1970, a new stage was reached in the political situation. This new stage was part of a change in the relation of class forces internationally and not only in Britain. Capitalist economists and politicians in every major country are agreed that the basic problem facing their system is manifested in what they call 'inflation'. The working class, basing itself on the living standards and organization built up during the unprecedented boom following World War II, now confronts the capitalists with wage demands and expectations of full employment which cannot be satisfied without endangering the rate of profit and even the survival of whole businesses, entire national industries, and the system itself.**

**The purpose of the ruling class must now be to organize a reaction powerful enough to repulse this working class decisively, to destroy everything it has gained. This is not a temporary measure, a question only of change of policy to meet a passing crisis. The functioning of modern monopoly tends inexorably towards the total disciplining of the worker. He must be reduced to an individual appendage to the plant. Every means by which he organizes and effects in favour of the working class the division between wages and surplus value must be liquidated. If not, then the capitalist cannot realize the maximum utilization of every minute of the life of his machinery and plant, installed at ever-increasing cost. And that would mean death.**

We are back to the political problems which suddenly confronted the countries of continental

Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, but now at a higher level of development: even more than in those years, there is no way out of the crisis except through socialism or fascism.

From the standpoint of monopoly capitalism, bourgeois parliamentary democracy, the political expression of the individualist basis of capitalist ownership and 'free' wage-labour, must be dispensed with. The last quarter of the 19th century saw liberal democracy stretched to include the whole or sections of the working class in the major capitalist countries. The reformist labour aristocracy, creamed off from the working class with the super-profits of imperialism during the 1890s and after, successfully collaborated with the ruling class in stopping the first wave of revolution after October 1917 in the European countries.

After this, monopoly capitalism turned more and more to the method of Fascism, above all in those countries which, late in establishing capitalist nationhood, had urgently to find a way to compete internationally as imperialist **nations**. To get into the imperialist world picture, the ruling classes of these countries had to settle accounts with their own working class in the name of a national revitalization—this happened in Italy, Germany and, in their own ways, Japan and Spain.

Parliamentary democracy survived longer in some other countries, but it has more and more become a mask for the growth of centralized and bureaucratic power in the state, reflecting the concentrated power of monopoly and finance-capital. The authority of the state, i.e. the instrument of the most decisive sections of the ruling

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Parliamentary democracy survived longer in some other countries, but it has more and more become a mask for the growth of centralized and bureaucratic power in the state, reflecting the concentrated power of monopoly and finance-capital. The authority of the state, i.e. the instrument of the most decisive sections of the ruling

class, can less and less afford to be obstructed by the rights and demands of a working class as defined with a parliamentary democracy, with its own unions and parties. The development of the world economic crisis now accelerates this tendency. Every monopolist and banker understands that intensified competition will mean the elimination of large blocks of capital, and that only the strongest will survive.

Hence the great tension of class relations today. The capitalist class is objectively compelled to attempt to inflict the greatest reversal of standards and expectations on the working class, to disturb the assumptions of 'democratic' rule in unprecedented fashion. But it has to do this against a working class more determined and able to defend these very things than ever before. Because of capitalism's requirements (they can no longer afford to 'rule in the old way'), the defence of these standards, including defence of the trade unions, takes on the character of a revolutionary struggle for power. From the struggle on apparently elementary demands—'basic rights'—the question of power itself is posed: how can these rights be preserved without the expropriation of the capitalist class?

In Britain this general crisis is acutely aggravated by the particular historical crisis reached by the nation's old capitalist structure. Of all capitalist countries, by very reason of its former uniqueness and predominance, Britain is in the least favourable position to carry out the necessary 'rationalization', both economic and political.

This is the reason why Heath had to talk, at the Tory party conference, about 'changing the course of history of this nation'. Time-worn customs and compromises must be hacked away, and most important among these are elementary democratic rights. Seen in this context, the decision to deport Rudi Dutschke from Britain has a historical meaning which must serve as a warning to the labour movement. This is no mere question of academic freedom, but a paramount question of civil liberties. Dutschke was condemned after appeal proceedings where all the state's witnesses gave their evidence in secret, so he had no chance of reply. Dutschke's defence representative claimed that the evidence collected against him was gathered by informers and secret agents. Since it is alleged against Dutschke that he consorted with 'subversive' groups, we can conclude that these groups came under the same surveillance. None of these intelligence reports is quoted in the Tribunal's printed report, in which the decision to uphold

the deportation of Dutschke is announced.

It is evident that the decision to expel Dutschke is only one of a series of decisions by a ruling class which senses strongly the need to make a historic change in the political relation of forces between the classes. The old situation, where the comparative strength of British capitalism remained sufficient to lean on the working class, through the trade union and labour bureaucracy, no longer exists.

The trade union bureaucracy is now called upon by the bourgeoisie to take its class-collaboration role to a qualitatively new level. First it must provide the conditions for the capitalists to rush through changes in the law designed to integrate the unions into the state. Then it must play its part in imposing the consequent repressions, or itself be repressed. These are the historical requirements, overriding all subjective will on the part of those concerned. To persist in reformist illusions is only to assure with even greater certainty that these results will come about.

The tenseness of the situation in Britain is a particular reflection of the world crisis. Unemployment continues to grow quickly despite the complete failure of all attempts to arrest inflation. Enormous pressure is on the capitalists everywhere to impose police-state measures on the working class. As we have already indicated, the paradox is that they must attempt these measures against a working class filled with the confidence and high expectations bred by the post-war boom.

The old reformist and Stalinist leaderships suddenly find themselves caught in a historical vice. Not a single demand of the working class can be fought for without coming up against the necessary political and economic requirements of the bourgeoisie. Every fresh section of workers and youth thrown into struggle today will want to test out the existing leadership of the mass organizations, but they will do so under conditions where the refusal of these leaders to take on the class enemy politically is exposed in the shortest possible time.

The Stalinist bureaucracy internationally is itself confronted by a new and great wave of struggle by the working class in Eastern Europe. After Czechoslovakia 1968 now comes Poland. The political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy goes forward by great leaps. The more desperate becomes the concern of the bureaucracy to avoid revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, the less do their policies accord with reality, and the less are they able to put themselves forward as the inheritors of

October.

What haunts Stalinism above all is the spectre of Trotskyism. The generation of workers now impelled towards revolutionary politics by capitalist crisis encounters a Trotskyist movement steeled for long years in the fight against Stalinism. This Trotskyist movement has been able, on the basis of adherence to principles and insistence on the building of independent revolutionary parties, begun to build up the resources which made real mass work possible.

In Western Europe and the United States, as well as in Britain with the daily 'Workers Press', the struggle for principles, the fight to train a cadre in battle against all revisionism and bour-

geois ideology, has now placed the forces of the International Committee of the Fourth International in a position to prevent the Stalinists and centrists from heading off the rising mass movement. The thesis of the Transitional Programme, that the historical crisis is now concentrated in the crisis of revolutionary leadership, now presents us with gigantic and immediate responsibilities: the task of Trotskyism is to defeat the agencies of reformism and Stalinism in the course of the day-by-day preparation of the struggle for working-class power. Never were there such favourable conditions for the development of Marxism and the march forward to the proletarian revolution.



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The tempestuous events which have transformed China and the world situation in the past 40 years and the tasks with which Marxist revolutionaries are confronted today have enhanced the importance of this book. This volume is invaluable for the light which it sheds on a crucial and tragic episode in the history of the Chinese working class and peasantry. But its principal concern is with the tactics and strategy of world revolution. It forms part of a continuous struggle for theory waged by Trotsky and the Left Opposition which began in the early 1920s and is continued today by the International Committee of the Fourth International.

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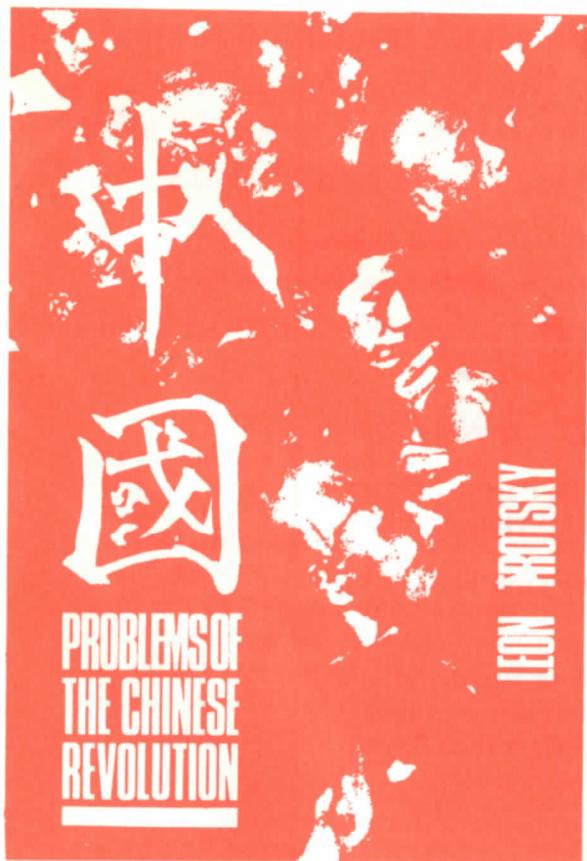
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# Keep the Tories out!

# Vote Labour June 18!

## Manifesto of the 12th National Conference of the Socialist Labour League

**THE TORIES must be defeated in the General Election on June 18. The working class must return a Labour Party majority to parliament. This will counter the plans of the employers, who urgently want the Tories back in order to 'discipline' the workers; stop wage increases, and impose unemployment.**

It is because of the deepening economic crisis that the election is called for June.

The Confederation of British Industries, the employers' organization, and the Treasury itself, have issued grave warnings that the present series of wage increases must be stopped, otherwise all the improvements in balance of payments will come to an end, and profits cannot be kept up. The Tories want government office in order to strike heavy blows at the working class.

The working class has smashed the incomes policy, compelled Wilson to withdraw the anti-trade union laws and pressed forward in militant actions for wage increases to defend its standard of living against price increases.

The Tories at Selsdon, announced their programme: increased unemployment; anti-union laws; 'law and order' through new repressive legislation; more use of racialism to split the working class.

The Tories are the enemy of all the reforms won in the past by the working class. They aim to cut back on

unemployment benefit, national assistance and the health service and on education expenditure. They want to 'solve' their economic crisis at the expense of the workers. They want to defeat the working class in a series of strikes if they can, and re-impose the conditions of the 1930s. They regard the power, confidence and strength of the working class as intolerable for one minute longer.

Voting Labour on June 18 is a necessary blow against these anti-working-class preparations of the Tories. It will weaken them at a decisive moment. All those sectarian groups, when they say 'abstain' are playing the game of the Tories; weakening the working class with the indecision of the middle class.

But we must fight, above all, for socialist policies against the Tories. The prospect of beating the Tories does not come from anything done by Wilson, who has betrayed all socialist principles, but from the decision of millions of workers to fight against Wilson's policies. This fight has to be carried through now. It is more than a wages fight.

Wilson, if returned, would, undoubtedly, attempt anti-union laws. Ever since 1964 he has served the capitalist class's interests, and he will do so again. So the fight for socialist policies, for socialist leadership, for the sacking of Wilson and his cabinet has to begin now. This fight is the responsibility of the working class under a socialist leadership.

The Socialist Labour League, in May 1969, called on the working class to 'refuse to be handed over to the Tories bound hand and foot by anti-trade union legislation'.

The struggle of the working class actually defeated these laws. So the Tories now want to get back.

**It is necessary, therefore, to keep the Tories out: in order to weaken the employers in their attitudes, and in order to have the best conditions for defeating Wilson and his anti-working-class policies, and replacing him with a socialist leadership.**

What is a socialist policy for the crisis, an answer to the employers' plans?

We say that measures should be put in hand immediately to re-organize the economy on socialist lines.

**NATIONALIZE:** To start with, the banks, building societies, finance and insurance companies and the land, together with the big industrial monopolies and large enterprises of all kinds, should be nationalized without compensation, under workers' control.

**WORKERS' CONTROL:** Existing nationalized industries must be placed under workers' control and all compensation and interest payments to ex-owners suspended immediately.

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unemployment benefit, national assistance and the health service and on education expenditure. They want to 'solve' their economic crisis at the expense of the workers. They want to defeat the working class in a series of strikes if they can, and re-impose the conditions of the 1930s. They regard the power, confidence and strength of the working class as intolerable for one minute longer.

Voting Labour on June 18 is a necessary blow against these anti-working-class preparations of the Tories. It will weaken them at a decisive moment. All those sectarian groups, when they say 'abstain' are playing the game of the Tories; weakening the working class with the indecision of the middle class.

But we must fight, above all, for socialist policies against the Tories. The prospect of beating the Tories does not come from anything done by Wilson, who has betrayed all socialist principles, but from the decision of millions of workers to fight against Wilson's policies. This fight has to be carried through now. It is more than a wages fight.

Wilson, if returned, would, undoubtedly, attempt anti-union laws. Ever since 1964 he has served the capitalist class's interests, and he will do so again. So the fight for socialist policies, for socialist leadership, for the sacking of Wilson and his cabinet has to begin now. This fight is the responsibility of the working class under a socialist leadership.

The Socialist Labour League, in May 1969, called on the working class to 'refuse to be handed over to the Tories bound hand and foot by anti-trade union legislation'.

The struggle of the working class actually defeated these laws. So the Tories now want to get back.

**It is necessary, therefore, to keep the Tories out: in order to weaken the employers in their attitudes, and in order to have the best conditions for defeating Wilson and his anti-working-class policies, and replacing him with a socialist leadership.**

What is a socialist policy for the crisis, an answer to the employers' plans?

We say that measures should be put in hand immediately to re-organize the economy on socialist lines.

**NATIONALIZE:** To start with, the banks, building societies, finance and insurance companies and the land, together with the big industrial monopolies and large enterprises of all kinds, should be nationalized without compensation, under workers' control.

**WORKERS' CONTROL:** Existing nationalized industries must be placed under workers' control and all compensation and interest payments to ex-owners suspended immediately.

The mergers and rationalizations of banks and industrial firms going on at a rapid rate in recent years, supported and often assisted financially by the Wilson government, make such a task easier.

They have, in fact, become ripe for taking over so that they can become the basis for the organization of a planned economy in which the needs of the people, and not the profits of a handful of rich men, would guide production.

**TRADE:** At the same time a state monopoly of import and export trade would be imposed.

The inflow of luxury imports for the rich would come to an end. Trade agreements with the workers' states (USSR, E Europe, China) and other countries in the course of economic development would be made.

**INVESTMENTS:** The immense investment held overseas by British banks, insurance houses, big corporations and wealthy individuals would be brought immediately under the supervision and control of the state.

**DEBTS:** All international short-term debts contracted for the defence of capitalism would be repudiated. All military expenditure incurred to protect the world position of British imperialism would be stopped and all troops withdrawn from foreign and colonial countries.

In this way the balance of payments problem, which results inevitably from the international monetary crisis, would be shown to be a product of capitalism.

Undoubtedly, however, such measures would cause a sharp aggravation of the crisis elsewhere and precipitate intensified struggle between the classes internationally.

It is only by making deep inroads into capitalist wealth and property that the source of the crisis can be removed. The idea that there is a solution of the crisis which leaves the capitalists' interests untouched is an illusion.

In fact it leads to the kind of attacks on working-class living standards and wages which the Wilson government has perpetrated and which would become even more vicious under the Tories.

**COMPENSATION:** Foreign capitalist investments in Britain would also come under the control of the state. Any question of compensation payments would be considered only after the domestic programme to meet the crisis was paid for.

Such compensation would, in any case, be paid only against guarantees of trade agreements and guarantees of no action by foreign capitalist governments against nationalized British companies in their countries.

Such measures would necessarily bring to an end the activities of the Stock Exchange and all speculators and profiteers. The power of the capitalist would be broken.

An immense example would be given to workers in other countries.

Once the result of these measures were seen, workers would never again want to see the Tories back, since this would mean the return of the capitalists and landlords.

**The carrying out of these policies would also necessarily mean the repeal of the anti-working-class legislation of the Wilson government.**

The Prices and Incomes Act must be repealed, as will all laws against the trade unions.

The Immigration Act would be repealed.

All charges in connection with the Health Service would be abolished.

All the cuts made in social services, housing and education would be restored.

**HEALTH SERVICE:** Measures would immediately be put in hand to re-organize and expand the Health Service and all the social services.

**ASSISTANCE:** An attack would be launched against poverty by raising benefits, abolishing the system of National Assistance with its prying and probing and enabling all elderly people to spend the rest of their lives free from material anxiety.

**HOUSING:** The whole building trade and the massive technological means now available would be mobilized to deal with the housing crisis and make possible the organization of housing as a social service.

Free from landlordism and the interest racket, a plan to end the slums, re-build the cities and provide a reasonable standard of housing for all would be put in hand as a matter of priority.

Immediate re-housing of the homeless in the mansions and luxury homes of the rich.

Sections of industry could be re-organized to turn over from war production and the manufacture of luxuries for the rich, to producing housing components and the basic equipment of living.

**SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS:** A special attack would be made on sub-standard school buildings. A plan would be drawn up for re-building and expanding hospitals and providing special facilities now non-existent or deficient.

Funds would be made available for medical research and to end the present shameful dependence on appeals for charity.

**INSURANCE AND PENSIONS:** All increases in insurance and pension charges will be cancelled. The funds will be re-couped out of levies on the wealthy and afterwards maintained by direct charges on production each year.

Considerable savings will thus be possible in administration costs.

**RENTS, RATES AND TAXES:** Rents, rates, taxes and interest rates will come under state control. Interest rates, severed from the international finance market by the monopoly of foreign trade and control of exchange transactions, would be lowered.

This would permit mortgage rates on housing to be drastically reduced. Purchase tax would be abolished, income tax on low and middle wages would be reduced and revenue raised from the wealth expropriated from big business.

All these charges would come up for revision in accordance with the general needs of a socialist financial policy and would be freed from the manipulations of speculators and the banks.

**A genuinely socialist Labour government would thus be pledged to carrying through a policy in the interests of the working class, aiming at a transition to socialism.**

Such a policy would require and obtain the support and co-operation of the class and its organizations and determined resistance to all those seeking to maintain or restore the old order.

**INDO-CHINA:** All support for the US imperialists' war in Cambodia and Vietnam must cease immediately, and relations must be established with N Vietnam.

**TROOPS:** All British troops must be removed from N Ireland and all overseas territories.

**NATO AND UNO:** A socialist government would unhesitatingly sever all connections with NATO—counter-revolutionary alliance—and with the UNO—docile tool of imperialism. There must be no more secret diplomacy or participation in summit meetings of the Big Four.

Without this programme, domestic and foreign, there could result only large-scale unemployment, cuts in the welfare state and impoverishment.

**The Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists have always fought for such a socialist policy and to build an independent socialist leadership fighting on all working-class issues.**

Many workers will vote Labour with illusions.

Basically they will vote in the belief that the experience of the last two years can be continued i.e., that no matter how treacherous Wilson is, militant union action can still preserve living standards.

This illusion will be shattered by experience, as Wilson returns to the attack and the economic crisis plunges downwards. Already many workers

- 
- Nationalization of banks, major industries, building societies and the land, under workers' control and without compensation!
  - Socialist policies to defend the unions and stop the rise in the cost of living!
  - No return to the 1930s!
  - Withdraw all troops from abroad!
  - End all support for the US war in Vietnam and Cambodia!
  - No to the European Common Market! For the Socialist United States of Europe!
  - No return of the Tories! Vote Labour!

May 25, 1970

—as in shipbuilding, civil aviation, and the docks—have had to raise nationalization as the only answer to their future security.

Despite the dangers in capitalism of depression and war, the situation is favourable for the working class.

The employers are forced to attempt to destroy the independence of the unions, but they must do so against a strong, confident and unbroken working class which will resist.

The election of a Labour government creates the best conditions for this fight back

and for the defeat of the capitalists. It is not a question, as the Stalinists maintain, of 'pressure' to 'turn Wilson left'.

The task of socialists is to mobilize the maximum opposition to the Tories, before and after the election, on all fronts, political and industrial.

This means above all to fight for independent socialist policies; build the circulation of the Workers Press; build the alternative leadership: the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

This is the essential preparation for the coming revolutionary struggles.

THIS book brings together for the first time in a single volume Trotsky's major writings on Germany during the critical years 1931-1933. But they must not be seen as of purely literary or historical interest. As the working class, particularly in Europe, enters a new and decisive stage of its struggles, the revolutionary movement has the responsibility of establishing amongst the most advanced layers of workers the lessons contained in the rise to power of fascism and the destruction of the organized German working class.

The material collected here reflects Trotsky's insistent warnings of the dangers to the German and international working class involved in the emergence of the Hitler movement. What added enormously to the dangers was the criminal and sectarian policy being followed by the Kremlin during this period, a sectarianism forced onto parties of the International, including the German Communist Party

Thus the greatest significance of the German events analysed in this volume was Trotsky's decision of 1933 to begin preparations for the new Fourth International. Despite the numerical weakness of his forces he decided that Germany proved beyond doubt the impossibility of reforming the Third International, which had been his perspective until this time.

Above all, Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism stands fully vindicated.

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# VOTE LABOUR!

## Expose Wilson's reformist policies

**IN MAY AND JUNE 1969 the British working class, despite a weak leadership, gave an unforgettable demonstration of its power and unity when it forced the Wilson government to shelve its reactionary White Paper.**

This was a double blow aimed not only against the traitorous Labour leaders, but also against the employers and the Tories who supported Wilson without cavil.

Today, although the line up of forces has been rearranged, the issue remains the same. It is the independence of the working class as a class and the defence of the most important conquest of the British working class—its trade unions—from the suffocating embrace of capitalist dictatorship.

While Wilson tried to open the door to state control and failed, the Tories are trying to batter the door down altogether.

**We declare unequivocally that June 18 is the direct continuation of the historic struggle begun by the trade-union movement last year.**

We further state that the only way to defend the tactical gains of 1969 is to keep the Tories out in 1970 and complete the struggle which has been going on, particularly since the enactment of the Prices and Incomes Act,

against the misleadership and treachery of the Fabian reformists.

### *Our task*

We will never concede the task of defeating Wilson to the bankers and businessmen of the Tory Party.

Wilson is a traitor to the working class, not to the employers.

If the Tories want to get rid of Wilson today, it is only because they want to get at the working class more effectively and also because they realize that Wilson's credibility in the working class is very low.

The existence of a Labour government paralysed by the massive resistance of the trade unions, which in turn is fed and strengthened by the victories and advances of the international working class from Cambodia to California, is an unbearable provocation to the Tories. It is not Wilson the Tories are after but us—the workers.

Wilson's betrayals are too well known to need repetition: the seamen's strike, the July 1966 measures, the attack on the dockers, devaluation in 1967, deflation in 1968, the

wage freeze and clause 4, unemployment, Vietnam, Mid-East, Rhodesia and now Ulster.

### *Nauseating*

It's a nauseating record and we make no apologies for it nor will we cease our struggle against Wilson.

Nevertheless as we have pointed out already, the political struggle against the Tories transcends (but does not negate) the struggle against the perfidy of the Wilsonite Fabians.

If Marxism is the science of contradictions, then the task of Marxists in this election is to determine which is the principal and which is the secondary contradiction in the struggle and not to lump the bureaucracy promiscuously with the employers.

Only sectarian idealists and middle-class muddleheads in the revisionist movement ask voters to abstain.

**Serious revolutionaries, however, who know where the real enemy lies and who have grasped the method of Marxism, will not be confused or distracted by sectarian diversions, but will vote Labour today.**

The General Election is more than a national event. It takes place in the context of the greatest economic crisis in the capitalist world since 1929 and at a time when both world Stalinism and imperialism are faced with the biggest and stormiest upsurge of the working class since 1917.

### *Integral*

In a distorted way the election represents an integral part of this world-wide struggle of the working class.

A defeat for the Tories today will have as much significance for the European workers as the defeat of de Gaulle in the 1969 referendum.

But whereas de Gaulle's defeat came in the aftermath of May-June 1968, the defeat of the Tories would signify the prelude to much bigger events in Britain.

**Not to vote Labour is to betray not only the British workers but the European workers and the entire struggle against the Common Market and for the Socialist United States of Europe.**

It would also seriously affect the prospects of the trade-union movement in the USA, which for the first time is beginning to participate in the anti-war, anti-Nixon movement and is taking the first tentative steps towards independent political action.

To vote Labour is not a surrender to Wilson.

In this struggle the Marxist opponents of Wilson will march separately but strike together with trade unionists and Labour Party members and co-operativists at the common enemy—the Tories.

In this way we will not only participate in the real experience of the workers, but, more important, we shall have the opportunity through the Workers Press and the work of the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists of introducing our programme to new layers of the class and of helping to raise its consciousness in the course of the experience during and after the General Election.

In this way we shall broaden the bases of the Socialist Labour League and raise the level of consciousness generally in the class.

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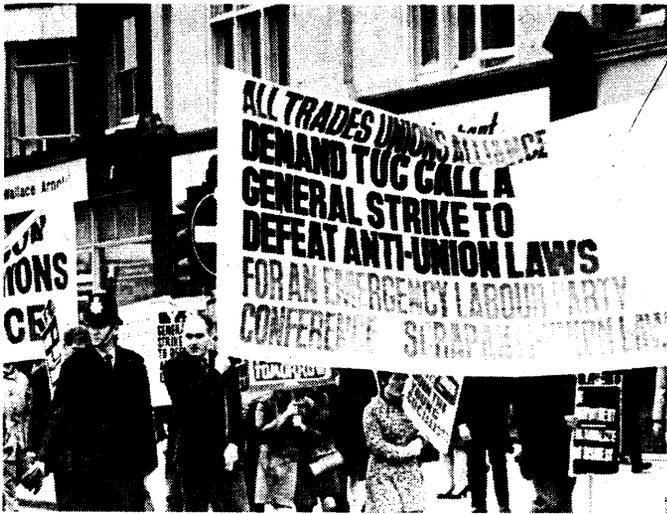
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The Young Socialist-All Trades Unions Alliance demonstration on June 5, 1969—the day of the special TUC conference to discuss anti-union laws. During this period the working class gave an unforgettable demonstration of its strength by pushing back government plans.

Unlike the revisionists we do not think that because we are a minority in the working class we cannot therefore play an important role.

On the contrary, it is not the numerical weakness of the League, but the strength of our cadre and the content of our policy and programme which is decisive and which must have a substantial effect on the more advanced as well as some of the more backward sectors of the class.

## Consciousness

'The proletariat,' as Trotsky once pointed out, 'moves toward revolutionary consciousness not by passing grades in school, but by passing through the class struggle, which abhors interruptions . . . the words in the Communist Manifesto which state that the Communists are not to be opposed to the proletariat, that they have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole, carry within them the meaning that the struggle of the party to win over the majority of the class must in no instance come into opposition with the needs of the workers to keep unity within their fighting ranks . . .

. . . The task of the party consists in learning from the experience derived from the struggle, how to demonstrate to the proletariat its right to leadership.' ('Germany: What Next?', L. Trotsky.)

The sense of this question is totally opposed to the sectarians of revisionism as much as to the opportunists of Stalinism.

The latter play an extremely pernicious and reactionary role in this election by posing, fraudulently, as the party with the 'only socialist policy'.

We appeal to Communist Party members and potential CP voters to reject the spurious socialism of the CP and vote Labour.

We say so because the CP programme is a reformist and reactionary programme which consciously deludes workers about the nature of imperialism and tries to reconcile the interests of the working class with those of its oppressors.

## Foreign policy

This is particularly revealed in its foreign policy or, as the CP statement says, its 'proposals for peace':

'Britain to support the demand for a conference of all European governments to establish a system of collective security in Europe, based on the recognition of the post-1945 frontiers and the existence of the two German states.'

We could not find a greater travesty and a more monstrous betrayal of socialism than this.

A Party that states unequivocally that it is prepared to collaborate with the reactionary regimes of Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy, France and Austria to keep Germany permanently divided is not a Communist Party, but a collection of reactionary patriots

who have no right to speak for communism.

'Collective Security' in Europe is 'security' for the capitalist class to oppress and exploit the working class and smash all democratic and socialist opposition.

It is the condoning of military dictatorship and police oppression.

It is the negation of communism which connotes the abolition of private property and the national state and, therefore, national frontiers.

## Chauvinist

It is indeed a measure of Gollan's chauvinism that the CP should be proposing two Germanies exactly 100 years after the unification of Germany, a historically progressive task which Marx and Engels critically supported.

We ask Gollan: why two Germanies? Why not unwind the spool of history and go back to the principalities of feudal Germany?

This policy of peaceful co-existence and collective security now enables the CP to whitewash the overt breaking of strikes in fascist Spain and Ireland with Polish coal and cement and Stalinist support for the reactionary junta in Greece.

It has nothing in common with the spirit of the Communist Manifesto which states categorically: 'The working men have no country.'

CP policy is a political expression of counter-revolutionary Stalinism and is a reformist diversion in the election.

More and more workers are beginning to see through the pacifist-reformism of the CP in the same way as they are seeing through Wilson and are fighting him.

## Votes fallen

That's why the CP vote has fallen so catastrophically over recent years.

The CP intervention does not help to unite the working class in a struggle against the Tories, nor does it prepare the workers for the struggle against Wilson after the election.

Since its policy is to persuade workers that Wilson can be changed by pressure from within and without the Labour Party, it leaves Wilson's control of the Labour Party intact.

For all these reasons we urge workers not to vote Communist, but to vote Labour today.

The Socialist Labour League is not standing any candidates in the elections for the reasons already advanced.

When the situation demands it we shall stand candidates with the same determination and success as when we launched the YS and the daily paper. This, however, is not the position today.

Our main task is to defeat the Tories today and use this tactical victory to prepare the ground for a major victory against Wilson, Powell and Paisley at a later date.

In the coming struggles as much as in this one socialist policies will play a decisive and preponderant role.

We urge all workers, in voting Labour, to read our policy for the crisis and support our struggle against the dangers of war, unemployment and capitalist dictatorship.

Only Trotskyist policies and leadership can and will guide the working class out of the chaos of capitalism to the successful establishment of socialism in Britain, Europe and the world.

# Only Trotskyism can prepare for a socialist victory and defend the working class

**OUR CALL** for the return of a Labour government in today's election is in no way a vote of confidence in Wilson's reformist leadership.

In 1914, the reformist leaders of the Second International drove millions of workers into the first imperialist war to defend the frontiers of the capitalist state. This was reformism in action.

It was only where the break from reformism and nationalism was total—in Russia under the leadership of Lenin's Bolshevik Party—that the working class seized power from the employers and the bankers, and began to lay the foundations of socialism.

**The First World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917 were and remain the parting of the ways between revolutionary and reformist socialism.**

In 1926, the reformist trade union leaders capitulated without a fight to the employers and the Tories when they had behind them the largest strike movement in the history of the British working class.

Faced with the alternatives of a struggle for power or a return to work on the terms of the employers, they unhesitatingly chose the latter.

Reformism is the theory of **class-collaboration**, which attempts to convince the

working class that it shares a common interest with its exploiters.

Labourism argues that capitalism can be changed bit by bit, through a combination of pressure from the trade unions and parliamentary legislation.

Five years later, the parliamentary allies of the TUC General Council—the MacDonalds and the Snowdens—completed the betrayal begun in May 1926.

## SPEARHEAD

They joined with the Tories to spearhead the most savage attacks launched on the British working class in this century.

**That is the treacherous record of British reformism between the wars.**

And when the bureaucratic group led by Stalin began to develop the nationalist theory that socialism could be built in Russia without spreading the revolution to the industrialized countries of the capitalist world, a new form of reformist thinking arose within the international workers' movement.

The dominance of this theory in the Communist International became an obstacle to the development of revolutionary struggles in the capitalist countries.

It subordinated the working class to the nationalist conception that without further revolutions in the capitalist world, socialism could be built in the Soviet Union.

This was a complete break from the programme of Marx and Lenin, who

both insisted that socialism could only triumph on the foundations of planned economy on a world scale.

It led directly to tragic defeat in Germany, where the Stalinists combined with the Social Democrats to split the working class and hand it over to Hitler's executioners.

**The Second and Third Internationals had proved themselves bankrupt and capable of organizing only defeats for the working class.**

Trotsky, who after Lenin's death had led the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, issued his call for the Fourth International.

Its programme was based not only on the victories of the working class, but a Marxist understanding of all its defeats, suffered under the leadership of the reformists and Stalinists.

Since Trotsky's murder in 1940, Stalinism and reformism have drawn even more close. Not only in Britain, but in every major capitalist country, the Communist Parties join with the social democrats in advocating the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism.

## EXPOSE

The more powerful the movement of the working class—witness the strike battles now erupting in every European capitalist country from Italy and Scandinavia to Britain and France—the further the Stalinists move to the right, even to the extent of strike-breaking on behalf

of the fascist regime in Spain.

Their role is the preservation of 'peaceful co-existence' between imperialism and the working class, in the interests of the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy.

The Labourites on the other hand serve directly the interests of the ruling class in Britain.

**The main task therefore is to expose the role of reformism in the workers' movement, whatever form it takes.**

Reformism still serves as the main support of capitalist rule within the British workers' movement.

The struggle for revolutionary policies and leadership, and in defence of trade union rights and living standards, can only go forward by encouraging the working class to test out the reactionary role of reformism, all the time building the revolutionary alternative leadership in the trade unions and the youth.

This has been our policy as Trotskyists both before and after Wilson came to power in 1964.

That is why we have placed at the centre of the election campaign the preparation of the revolutionary alternative to reformism, which is the Socialist Labour League, together with the Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance.

**A Labour vote today, on this policy and with this perspective, is a necessary part of the struggle to defeat reformism and build the revolutionary party.**

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**That is the treacherous record of British reformism between the wars.**

And when the bureaucratic group led by Stalin began to develop the nationalist theory that socialism could be built in Russia without spreading the revolution to the industrialized countries of the capitalist world, a new form of reformist thinking arose within the international workers' movement.

The dominance of this theory in the Communist International became an obstacle to the development of revolutionary struggles in the capitalist countries.

It subordinated the working class to the nationalist conception that without further revolutions in the capitalist world, socialism could be built in the Soviet Union.

This was a complete break from the programme of Marx and Lenin, who

both insisted that socialism could only triumph on the foundations of planned economy on a world scale.

It led directly to tragic defeat in Germany, where the Stalinists combined with the Social Democrats to split the working class and hand it over to Hitler's executioners.

**The Second and Third Internationals had proved themselves bankrupt and capable of organizing only defeats for the working class.**

Trotsky, who after Lenin's death had led the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, issued his call for the Fourth International.

Its programme was based not only on the victories of the working class, but a Marxist understanding of all its defeats, suffered under the leadership of the reformists and Stalinists.

Since Trotsky's murder in 1940, Stalinism and reformism have drawn even more close. Not only in Britain, but in every major capitalist country, the Communist Parties join with the social democrats in advocating the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism.

## EXPOSE

The more powerful the movement of the working class—witness the strike battles now erupting in every European capitalist country from Italy and Scandinavia to Britain and France—the further the Stalinists move to the right, even to the extent of strike-breaking on behalf

of the fascist regime in Spain.

Their role is the preservation of 'peaceful co-existence' between imperialism and the working class, in the interests of the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy.

The Labourites on the other hand serve directly the interests of the ruling class in Britain.

**The main task therefore is to expose the role of reformism in the workers' movement, whatever form it takes.**

Reformism still serves as the main support of capitalist rule within the British workers' movement.

The struggle for revolutionary policies and leadership, and in defence of trade union rights and living standards, can only go forward by encouraging the working class to test out the reactionary role of reformism, all the time building the revolutionary alternative leadership in the trade unions and the youth.

This has been our policy as Trotskyists both before and after Wilson came to power in 1964.

That is why we have placed at the centre of the election campaign the preparation of the revolutionary alternative to reformism, which is the Socialist Labour League, together with the Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance.

**A Labour vote today, on this policy and with this perspective, is a necessary part of the struggle to defeat reformism and build the revolutionary party.**

# Once again: Why vote Labour?

## REVISIONISTS ANSWERED

NOTHING SERVES to illustrate the political bankruptcy and hypocrisy of the revisionists more than their attempts to answer the elementary question: why vote Labour?

One group, led by Messrs Blackburn, 'The Red Mole', the paper of International Marxist Group (IMG) (Pabloites), Sedgwick and Triesman of International Socialism (IS) and Adrian Mitchell of 'Black Dwarf' gave a categorical 'No' to this question.

Mr Mitchell even called on voters to burn their ballots in front of the polling stations rather than spoil them where no one would see.

Mr Triesman, writing in 'The Times' Minority Viewpoint column, pontificated thus:

'A Marxist looks askance at the election because he knows that real discussions on real programmes occur when workers take over and control the means of production.'

Another group, no less dangerous for its eclecticism and theoretical impudence, is represented by Pat Jordan of IMG. This man condescendingly informed his readers in 'The Red Mole' thus:

'I am in favour of the victory of the Labour Party in the election. . . . However, it would be the height of foolishness to draw from this the conclusion that revolutionaries' main activity should be that of calling upon people to vote Labour. . . . This would, in effect, be adding our weight to those processes which enable the Labour Party to divert the working-class aspirations. . . . To concentrate upon the slogan "Keep the Tories Out" would be merely another way of saying "Vote Labour, under present circumstances".' ('The Red Mole', June 1-15).

Mr Jordan's lucubrations expressed in basic English can only mean one thing: wish for a Labour victory, but don't work for it.

On the contrary do everything to disrupt the Labour Party's election campaign even to the extent of encouraging 'Irish militants' to put up candidates against Labourites and the organization of demonstrations.

'Revolutionaries,' says Mr Jordan, 'should support all these protest actions. They should take the lead in calling for protest demonstrations and forming ad hoc committees to inject (?) into the election discussion—at all levels—real issues.'

(Practical proof of this 'tactic' was shown at George Brown's meetings.)

In these ways Mr Jordan hoped to satisfy the sectarian abstainers and 'Third Period' men like Blackburn without alienating others, such as Mandel and Harsen, who prefer to support Wilson and capitulate to him.

What these tendencies reveal is their complete remoteness from the real movement of the working class and their total indifference to Marxist theory. So much so that the objective consequences of their actions are quite reactionary and are, in fact, indistinguishable from the work of provocateurs.

They found themselves in a *de facto* alliance with Young Conservatives breaking up Labour Party meetings in Nottingham and elsewhere. This is the logical end of the protest politics of the Revolutionary Socialist Students' Federation (RSSF) and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC).

As we pointed out many months ago, the political content of the protest movement was middle-class reformism and pacifism and was therefore aimed against the working class and the struggles to build revolutionary leadership.

If yesterday the protesters believed that by protesting in Downing St they could force Wilson to turn the helm to the left, then today they imagine that by spoiling

Wilson's prospects of victory they can force the Labour Party, in opposition, to do what it would not do when it was in power: adopt a socialist policy and provide a left cover for the revisionists to operate in.

As Mr Triesman characteristically put it:

'We all eagerly anticipated [in 1964 and 1965] the millenium, but like all late-learners the message finally came through.' Alas!

Having prostrated themselves at the feet of the great god Wilson and scabbed on the Young Socialists when they were expelled by him, they have now — horror of horrors—discovered him to be a fallible Fabian and an imperialist agent to boot.

Strange as it may seem, the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists were violently accused by these reformist simpletons of being 'ultra-left', 'sectarian' and even 'disruptive' for pointing out the character and logic of Wilson's policy only six years ago.

We do not claim to be infallible but, unlike the revisionists, we do claim to have learnt consistently from the history of the working class.

We do know that Stalinism and Social Democracy are reformist, counter-revolutionary agencies of world imperialism, whose sole task is to betray the working class and prevent it from attaining a full socialist consciousness of its historical role and interests.

We consider these to be intrinsic features of these bureaucratic excrescences.

We further understand, by practical experience and theoretical analysis, that neither of these phenomenon will disappear because we condemn them or prove them to be reactionary.

Nor must we imagine that a minority of class-conscious workers and a few thousand outraged students can substitute themselves for the working class.

No revolution has yet been made, nor will it ever be made, by a minority.

**'The most indubitable feature**

**of a revolution is the direct interference of the masses in historic events.'** (Trotsky.)

Those who placidly imagine that the working class will spontaneously break off from their traditional organizations and leaderships and join the revolutionary ranks because of propaganda have still to explain the imponderable fact that seven million German workers continued to vote for the rotten socialist cadaver in the Reichstag right up until the Nazis took power in 1933.

They did this in spite of, and, more often, because of the formally correct but politically sterile criticism and sectarian tactics of the German Stalinists.

In politics impatience and impetuosity make a dangerous substitute for resourcefulness, tenacity and an infinite patience.

A socialist who tries to revenge himself on the slow, contradictory and oft-times, sluggish development of the mass movement by 'protests', stunts and adventures is like a midwife who not only confuses the first month of pregnancy for the ninth, but also tries to induce a normal birth by shouting 'revolutionary' exhortations to her patient.

In this sense the revisionist adventurer is nothing more than a political abortionist.

Trotsky, in his preface to the 'History of the Russian Revolution', gives some valuable advice to his readers on the dialectic of history:

**'Entirely exceptional conditions, independent of the will of persons or parties, are necessary in order to tear off from discontent the fetters of conservatism, and bring the masses to insurrection.'**

**'The swift change of mass views and moods in an epoch of revolution thus derive, not from the flexibility and mobility of man's mind, but just the opposite, from its deep conservatism.'**

Revisionists, Marxists, do not ignore this conservatism

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Revisionists, Marxists, do not ignore this conservatism

or make a virtue out of it. On the contrary, in countries with a long parliamentary tradition and a long history of trade-union struggles, the task of revolutionaries is to dialectically comprehend this 'conservatism' and anticipate the emergence of a new revolutionary content out of this old conservative form.

The revisionists with their static, one-sided meta-physical outlook are quite unable to see the unity and conflict of opposites within the working class.

For them everything is isolated and eternally changeless — and if they do change they do so not out of internal self-conflict and self-movement, but only from external causes and conditions—like the prodding of a 'revolutionary'.

Thus for them there are the advanced workers and the inert, conservative and amorphous mass of 'backward' workers living in two water-tight compartments, bearing no relation to each other.

For these people life is so simple.

There are no transitions, no nuances, no contradictions—everything is agreeably white or disapprovingly black.

Listen to 'The Red Mole' editor on elections and you will see what we mean: 'The real significance of our activities over the election period then lies not in our advice about voting, but in the type of propaganda we

make. We are talking at best to a small politically-conscious layer of the class, feeling its way out of the social-democratic embrace. The important propaganda point is to attempt to break the working class from the false idea that voting ever determined anything very much.' ['The Red Mole', June 1-15, 1970].

Floating around in a middle-class limbo the editor has managed to confound all the confusion and opportunist-abstentionist nonsense of revisionism in one paragraph.

Contrary to what the editor thinks, it is not the 'propaganda we make', but what we urge the working class to do that has the greatest impact on its consciousness.

Secondly, to address yourself exclusively to a 'small, politically-conscious layer' is the worst form of sectarianism since it does not seek to unite the experiences of the vanguard with the vast mass of the working class and allows the social democracy to maintain its hold over the backward, conservative layers of the class.

Lastly, to suggest that voting never achieved anything to the workers—and that to advanced workers at a time when Powellism and Paisleyism is growing — is stupid, and criminally so.

If this crazy idea is correct now, then why wasn't it correct in 1964 and 1966? Nobody heard Jordan,

Blackburn or their publications calling for an abstention then. How unprincipled can they get?

Workers voted Labour yesterday not because they like Wilson or Brown, but because they hate, despise and fear the Tories and also because they feel that they can exploit the weaknesses and contradictions of the government to their own advantage in increasing their wages and improving their working conditions.

They do not expect any great or substantial reforms from Labour like the National

Health Service. All they want is a Labour government from behind whose rickety ramparts they can continue to squeeze the profits of the employers.

That is the only reason why workers will vote Labour.

We think the instinct of the workers is sound, but instinct alone is not enough.

We urge workers to vote Labour, but we do so fully conscious of the impending economic perils which will compound the political crisis in Britain and very rapidly bring the workers and not only the vanguard face to face with decisive political issues.

We urge them, therefore, to fight for our policy and to place no trust in Wilson.

**We don't make propaganda alone**—we fight to move all sections of the working class against the bureaucracy.

Unlike and in contrast to the revisionists we do this not by 'injecting issues' or by forming 'ad hoc committees' which are a diversion, but by building the SLL, YS and All Trades Unions Alliance (ATUA) and by widening the influence and circulation of the Workers Press before, during and after the General Election.

In this sense there is little difference between the General Election and a strike led by a reactionary right-wing union.

We support the strike while criticizing the limitations of its leadership and warning about possible betrayal.

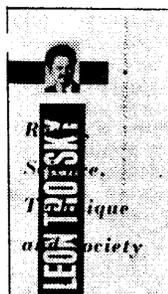
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The revisionists are like people who refuse to support the strike because it is led by right wingers and even advise the workers on the futility of strikes and the virtues of guerrilla war and insurrection.

The strikers would predictably reject such worthless advice with a few well-chosen words.

We urge all workers, youth and students to reject this dangerous revisionist nonsense. Join the SLL, the YS and build a revolutionary alternative to Wilson.

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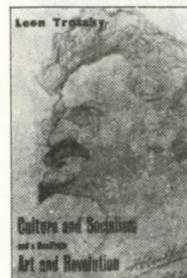
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# Trotskyist policy and the General Election

## *a REPLY to the 'MORNING STAR'*

THE ATTITUDE of the Socialist Labour League to the Labour Party in Britain is as explicit as it is unequivocally Leninist.

The Labour Party is a bourgeois-reformist party which, because of the peculiarities of British imperialist development (and decline), and also largely because of the opportunist treachery of British Stalinism, still commands the allegiance of the majority of the British workers.

Its capacity to woo the workers in Britain is conditioned by its unique relationship to the trade unions defined by the political levy. Therefore it is impossible to discuss the Labour Party without, at the same time, raising the question of the trade unions.

Those who, like the ultra-lefts, completely write off the Labour Party as a political factor or, like the Stalinist reformists, underestimate its political relevance and its credibility within the working class, only serve to strengthen Labourite reformism and the grip of the trade union bureaucracy.

Lenin campaigned relentlessly against this tendency which was very pronounced in the early British Communist Party.

While fighting for the political independence and integrity of the revolutionary party, Lenin also (and prophetically), insisted that Communists should conduct themselves as a Party of a **class** and, for that reason, should never 'regard what is obsolete to us as something obsolete to

a class, to the masses'.

Lenin never tired of repeating that a Communist 'must soberly follow the actual state of the class-consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (not only of its communist vanguard), and of all the **working people** (not only of their advanced elements).'

(Left-Wing Communism, p. 58. 'Collected Works', vol. 31.)

Lenin in urging the British Communists to participate in parliamentary elections did so on the explicit understanding that the **sole purpose** of such participation was to permit, nay facilitate, the return of a government composed of 'British Keren-skys'—'an experience which was necessary in Russia and Germany so as to secure the mass transition of the workers to communism'.

Therefore the task of British Communists, in Lenin's unerring opinion, was to 'help the masses of the workers see the results of a Henderson and Snowden government in practice, and that they should help the Hendersons and Snowdens defeat the united forces of Lloyd George and Churchill.

'To act otherwise would mean hampering the cause of the revolution, since revolution is impossible without a change in the views of the majority of the working class, **a change brought about by the political experience of the masses, never by propaganda alone.**' (Our emphasis—Lenin, 'Collected Works', vol. 31, p. 84.)

Lenin also believed that a return of a majority Labour government would enable the Communists to exacerbate the political crisis and bring the revolutionary uprising nearer.

Of course, contrary to Lenin's expectations, it has taken not one but six Labour governments to shake, seriously, the credibility of the Labour leaders. The primary reason for this is the indubitable fact that the British CP, under the blight of Stalinist mis-leadership and bureaucratization, completely abandoned its revolutionary outlook and programme and, worse still, apotheosized all its sectarian vices. If, in the early 1920s the CP was sectarian, but instinctively revolutionary, today it is still sectarian and **thoroughly reformist.**

For all these reasons the Workers Press roundly condemned the CP's intervention and policy in the General Election and for this we were maligned by the editor of the 'Morning Star' in an editorial last Friday.

Before proceeding to deal with editor Mr Matthews's distortions, let us comment on the appropriateness of his sally.

Readers will know that for many months the Workers Press has tried, and failed, to elicit so much as an intelligible grunt from the 'Morning Star' on many extremely important questions:

- The Moscow Trials.
- The arrest of Grigorenko and other Soviet writers.
- The breaking of the Spanish miners' strike with Polish coal.
- The technical and economic assistance to and diplomatic recognition of the Greek dictatorship.
- The refusal of the Soviet government—and the 'Star'—to support the recognition of Sihanouk's government.

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For all these reasons the Workers Press roundly condemned the CP's intervention and policy in the General Election and for this we were maligned by the editor of the 'Morning Star' in an editorial last Friday.

Before proceeding to deal with editor Mr Matthews's distortions, let us comment on the appropriateness of his sally.

Readers will know that for many months the Workers Press has tried, and failed, to elicit so much as an intelligible grunt from the 'Morning Star' on many extremely important questions:

- The Moscow Trials.
- The arrest of Grigorenko and other Soviet writers.
- The breaking of the Spanish miners' strike with Polish coal.
- The technical and economic assistance to and diplomatic recognition of the Greek dictatorship.
- The refusal of the Soviet government—and the 'Star'—to support the recognition of Sihanouk's government.

- The open support of Wilson's visit to Nixon.
- The failure of King Street to collaborate in a campaign of industrial action against the Vietnam war and—most foul;
- The silence of the 'Star' on the frame-up of Dubcek by the French Stalinist leaders.

None of these things moved Mr Matthews. Now, however, he devotes half the editorial column to attack the SLL. The question is why?

In our opinion the reason is quite obvious. It is not only because the SLL and its paper are growing constantly, but also because the political campaigns as we saw on the Wilson visit, in Liverpool on May 1 and now in the general election, are beginning to have an impact on the CP membership which is seriously taxing the credibility of its leaders.

Having published an entire booklet by the old Stalinist die-hard Betty Reid to prove that the SLL was 'sectarian' and 'ultra-left' and hopelessly isolated, the CP leaders are hard put to square this 'theory' with the manifest development and robust vitality of Trotskyism in Britain.

In contrast to this surging movement, the Stalinist Party and press is in great difficulties which stem from the rotten opportunist line of Matthews and Gollan. The 'Star' gets more and more turgid as its circulation declines and its financial difficulties, according to its own information, increase. Similar problems afflict the Party and the Young Communist League (YCL), which is virtually non-existent as a national force.

Hence the cantankerous, and nervous, outburst from Mr Matthews who tries, clumsily, to discredit Trotskyism. Let us look at it as closely as we can.

The SLL, he states, is a 'sect'. Indeed! Is it not a fact—even admitted by hardened Stalinists—that all the public meetings and demonstrations of the SLL and YS have dwarfed all the CP's public activities in 1970? May Day, the Lenin centenary meeting and the public lectures on Lenin have shown unmistakably the superiority of the Trotskyist programme and policy and leadership over Stalinism.

How does Matthews explain the paradox of a 'sect' which publishes a daily paper financed by its sales and through the donations

of its readers?

Mr Matthews complains bitterly that we advise 'workers to vote against the only Party which is contesting the election precisely on this [socialist] programme'. We see no reason for Mr Matthews' confusion and anger on this question.

We made a clear and uncompromising statement which showed beyond a shadow of doubt that the CP election programme was reformist and Utopian and, therefore, **could not assist the development of revolutionary consciousness in the working class or expose and undermine the right-wing traitors.**

To avoid any confusion we reproduce some of the salient criticisms made by John Spencer in his review called 'A reformist pipe-dream'. (Workers Press, June 4, 1970.)

Referring to the motives for intervening in the general election, particularly the claim 'to strengthen the movement fighting for a change to the left in the Labour government's policy,' our correspondent commented correctly:

'Having totally failed throughout the six years of Wilson's government to achieve the slightest movement by their brand of "pressure politics", the CP serves up this threadbare reformist objective once again in an attempt to head off any development of a revolutionary alternative.'

In dissecting the programme for the economic crisis Comrade Spencer pointed out the hopelessly untenable nature of Stalinist economic 'theory' which has more in common with Keynes than with Marx:

'Its [the policy document] perspective is of an expanding high-wage economy, through the "curbing of monopoly rule".

'... it implies that, suitably reformed by the application of "pressure", capitalism will be able to satisfy workers' needs.

'According to this Fabian tract, if the imperialists would only stop being imperialists and listen to the CP's expert advice, capitalism could satisfy everybody's needs.'

On the arms bill our analyst stated:

'And what does the CP propose to do with, for example, military spending? Why cut the arms bill . . . by half!

'The other half, according to Gollan at his press conference introducing the manifesto, is to be applied to

"maintaining our [sic] commitments to the United Nations etc. . . .

'Not a word about the role of this "den of imperialist thieves" in Korea, the Congo or Suez! "Our" commitments to world imperialism must be maintained!'

Again on the CP proposal in the CP document for a new security alliance in Europe, Spencer wrote:

'In essence this is a proposal for joint policing of the European working class by imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy.'

We could not agree more with John Spencer's main criticism of the CP document that 'not a single one of these demands can be achieved without revolutionary struggle to prepare the overthrow of capitalism, and yet the CP is careful not to point this out'.

And we heartily concur with his conclusion:

'At a time when workers are turning towards a class vote for Labour in order to

GLC elections and of ignoring the real feelings of the masses against the Tories. How does Matthews explain the massive drop in CP voting strength in London?

Mr Matthews lyingly accuses us of gloating over their difficulties with the electoral laws and the £150 deposit system. This is a kind of demagoguery which cuts no ice with us—or with his own Party members. We confidently predict that the CP candidates will lose their deposits **because of the false policy and tactic of Matthews and Gollan.**

This is not a sneer—it is a prediction which will soon be a regrettable fact, for those CP members who are working hard in the election.

Mr Matthews sneers at the fact that the SLL candidate lost his deposit in the Swindon by-election and claims that the SLL now contradicts its past policy and is giving the opportunists 'aid and comfort'.

Coming from a person who supported Wilson's visit to Nixon and unashamedly defended the great opportunist Stalin, this is grotesque.

What was important about Swindon was the fact that it was held against the backdrop of a sinister threat against the unions by Wilson and Castle.

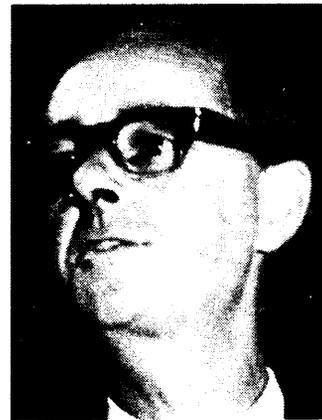
In order to frustrate the anti-union manoeuvres of the right wing and in order to make our policy in relation to the Stalinists and centrists unmistakably clear, we stood Frank Willis.

Although our candidate lost his deposit, he got only 50 votes less than his Stalinist rival, whose Party had campaigned in the Swindon parliamentary arena for many years.

We think that Swindon was a worthwhile political experience and retract nothing that we said then or since.

Let it also be understood by Mr Matthews that this tactical sortie did not, in any way, compromise or invalidate our general strategy which was, and is, critical support of the Labour Party against the Tories in the General Election.

At the risk of appearing too schematic, let it be stressed that the conceptual framework provided by Lenin, from which our tactics towards the Labour Party is derived, is resilient enough to admit of a situation where the left parties will be free to openly compete with the Labour Party in elections.



Gollan

keep the Tories out, the CP's intervention can only introduce confusion and side-track sections of workers.

'Its programme is a fraudulent reformist sham.

'Workers must vote Labour against the candidates of this Party and participate in the real movement of their class to keep the Tories out.'

What is splenetic about this very sober and concrete analysis of CP policy, Mr Matthews? And why do you fulminate against Trotskyism at a time when the Polish Stalinists openly collaborate with Franco?

We also pointed out the consequences of trying to build a reformist substitute to the Labour Party in the



Matthews

'Tactics must be based on a sober and strictly objective appraisal of all class forces in a particular state (and of the states that surround it and of all states the world over) as well as of the ex-

perience of revolutionary movement.' ('Left - Wing Communism'. Collected Works Vol. 3, p. 63.) Anyone who, as Lenin used to say, is not the inmate of a lunatic asylum must surely know that, from a 'sober and strictly objective appraisal', it is ridiculous at present to contest the Labour Party for seats in parliament and hope to make political capital out of it.

Alas for the King St Stalinists, having lost their political reason, they are now on the verge of losing their deposits, for the dubious compensation of seeing themselves for a few minutes on a TV screen.

The upshot of Gollan's bureaucratic folly is that when there is a sharp shift in class forces and a dramatic change in the political situation—as is bound to happen—many CP members will oppose a parliamentary intervention for fear of re-

peating the debacle of June 1970. We say vote Labour and defeat the Tories today so that we can organize the struggle against Wilson on an ever broader basis tomorrow.

We try to combine the anti-capitalist mood of the workers with their instinctive distrust of the leaders in a revolutionary way by fighting for an alternative leadership and policy.

The CP, however, by its opportunist intervention and its reactionary programme aimed against a Socialist United States of Europe tries to short-circuit this contradiction and direct the feelings of the workers in a reformist channel.

Thus, when Matthews accuses us of 'venting their anti-Communist spleen' he lies. We are not anti-communists, we are in fact, revolutionary communists and anti-Stalinists.

Only case-hardened Stalin-

ists and hatchet men for the Kremlin cannot distinguish between communism and Stalinism which is the bureaucratic negation of everything that communism stands for.

Mr Matthews may never live long enough to learn this but many members of his Party are beginning to see and learn through experience and contact that Trotskyism is synonymous with communism and that Stalinism, as Trotsky pointed out, is the political syphilis of the labour movement.

Mr Matthews can fume as much as he likes and throw as many editorial bolts as he can, but the events of 1970 have shown, and will continue to show, that it is the CP that is rapidly dwindling into a reactionary dogmatic sect and that it is Trotskyism that is assuredly becoming a mass movement and fulfilling Lenin's prophecy in Britain.

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# THE CHARTER OF BASIC RIGHTS

THIS IS the full text of the Charter of Basic Rights which was voted on at the December 19 conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance after several hours' discussion, which had been preceded by several months' discussion on the Draft Charter in the labour movement and pages of the Workers Press.

A HANDFULL of bankers, big businessmen and property millionaires directly represented by the Tory government has launched an onslaught on the basic rights which the British working class has established after centuries of struggle.

They are rushing to save themselves from the world economic crisis into which their system of society is plunging. They intend to solve this crisis at the expense of the working class. To do this they must destroy all the basic rights won by the people, which allow them to defend and improve their conditions.

We call on the working class to defend these rights:

## 1. The right of every worker to a job

FULL EMPLOYMENT is not a privilege, but a basic necessity of life, an elementary right. Unemployment is being deliberately created to divide the working class and weaken them.

We are not against new technology—we want to eliminate dangerous and unnecessary jobs. But every worker's right to comparable and continuous employment must be protected.

In the fight for higher wages we fight for

the basic right to a living wage, for the right to improve our living standards. Only this consistent struggle establishes the right of the worker to the fruits of his labour.

Every wage settlement linked to a productivity deal means loss of jobs. We must demand:

- No Measured-Day Work, no intensification of working conditions.

- Full support for any group of workers engaged in wages struggles.
- No sackings; any firm which cannot give security to its workers must be nationalized without compensation and under workers' control.
- Women must have equal pay as a right.
- We oppose racialism. Every worker has the right to live and work in the country of his choice.

## 2. The democratic right to strike and organize

THE STANDARD of living and everything the working class has is based on the right to strike and organize.

No employer ever gave anything away, he sets out only to make the maximum profit. Without the right to force out of him what they are entitled to the working class have nothing.

The Tory anti-union Bill aims to destroy the unions and leave the working class defenceless. It threatens the independent trade union and political activity of the working class which is basic in their struggle.

The working class must never give up these rights, they must not allow the Tories to take the road of Hitler and Mussolini.

We must force the trade union leaders and the TUC General Council to mobilize the whole movement to defeat the anti-union laws. An Emergency Conference of the TUC must be called immediately, to organize a General Strike to defeat the laws.

## 3. The right of the working class to retain the gains they have made

THE TORIES are hell bent on taking away the gains of the past and the improved standard of living that the working class has won in struggle.

The working class has an absolute right to

maintain these gains.

The power of the working class and modern industry have the capacity of providing continuously rising standards of living.

We cannot accept that living standards can

be driven down simply because the system of private ownership—capitalism—is breaking up in deep crisis and cannot harness the forces of production for the benefit of mankind. Only a socialist society can solve the crisis.

## 4. The right to a higher standard of living

WE CANNOT stand aside while prices, rents and fares are allowed to rocket in order to maintain luxury living for a selected few.

The trade unions were formed to win a greater share of the wealth produced in capitalist society for the working class. It

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chronic sick and the poorly organized.

Wage agreements which accept the *status quo* or include productivity deals are a betrayal of this principle and lead to greater exploitation and worsened conditions for the whole working class.

We call for trade unions to confront the

employers and government in their attack against our living standards with straight wage demands, without the acceptance of any restrictive strings and conditions.

Agreements must also contain clauses which increase wages automatically in line

with rising prices, in order that gains once achieved are not eroded by price increases.

Trade unions must campaign for an immediate 50-per-cent increase in all pensions, and also for pensions to increase in line with any increase in the cost of living.

## 5. The right to welfare benefits

THE TORY government has taken the milk away from our children; they are threatening the right to a hospital bed when you are ill and the medicine you may need.

As a result of their action children will be less healthy and the working class will have to put up with ill health, bad teeth and eyesight, unless they can pay the price.

Any government which attacks these rights as the Tories are doing, endangering the health and life of children and bring death to old people, must be destroyed.

The Tory government has set out to deprive workers of their right to unemployment and supplementary benefits, which they have already paid for, and to income tax

rebates, in order to weaken their struggle. These rights must not be surrendered.

The attacks of the Tories on school spending, on comprehensive education and on student grants are intended to deprive the children of the working class of the right of free higher education, and must be resisted to the end.

## 6. The right to decent housing

PROPER HOUSING is not a luxury—it is a basic necessity. People have a right to proper housing at a reasonable rent.

Working people have fought for this and paid for it many times over. Who builds the houses anyway? Who creates all the wealth of society? The working class.

And these Tories have the audacity to take away the right to a house unless you can pay a colossal rent. They must be driven out.

The working class must not allow this to happen.

Every trade union, every factory, mine and building site, all workers in privately-owned or nationalized or public industries and public services must organize in a united struggle to defend these rights.

Around the organizations of the working class we must rally the housewives, the young workers and students, the pensioners, and the middle-class and professional people who are being squeezed to death by the banks and the monopolies.

The working class must drive this government out. It has the power to do so, only the hesitation of their leaders stands in the way of this.

It is not enough to protest against this government, the working-class movement has every right to organize to force it to resign. There can be no question of leaving the Tories to run their full term, merely recording only a few protests.

We have the right to bring them down.

Every trade unionist must fight to force the unions and the Parliamentary Labour Party to mobilize the entire workers' movement into a general strike to defend the right for which the trade unions were founded.

The answer to unemployment is the sit-in and occupation of factories threatened with closure, leading to expropriation of the redundant employers.

Nationalization of the major industries, without compensation and under workers' control is the only answer to the crisis!

We call on all workers to campaign for this charter of rights and fight for an alternative revolutionary leadership in the trade unions.

## Conclusion

EVERY SECTION of the working class, trade unionists, housewives, youth, all Labour voters, must now work for the defeat of the Tory government and its replacement by a Labour government. Only the mobilization in action of the whole working-class movement will bring down the Tories. This movement

will demand of the next Labour government that it restores every cut made by the Tories, and immediately repeal all anti-union laws.

Such a programme can be carried out only by taking the banks and major industries out of the hands of the capitalist owners. They must be nationalized without compensation

and under workers' control. The Charter of Basic Rights is the programme to unite the workers' movement to bring down the Tory government. We must insist that it is the programme of the Labour government that replaces them!

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# REPLACING THE TORIES

*IF THE Tory government is forced to resign by the united mass action of the trade union movement, what will happen then? What will we put in its place?*

WHAT HAPPENS after the Tories are forced out will not be decided primarily in parliament. The essential question is now that a mass movement of the working class can be mobilized to drive the Tories out, and this will be the predominant factor in what replaces them.

But it is already obvious that the Labour leaders fear this mass movement just as much as the Tories do; so when a Labour government replaces the Tories, will they not carry on the Tories' work?

The struggle against the treacherous reformist leaders will have to be carried through to the very end. However, the Labour leaders will not come back in the same circumstances in which they were elected in 1964

and 1966. The Tories are forced to try and take away every basic right, every hard-won gain, from the working class: full employment, health and welfare services, council housing at reasonable rents, trade union and democratic rights.

The first and only question before the government which replaces the Tories will be: how to restore these rights and these gains!

As the Charter of Basic Rights points out, they can be defeated and restored **only** by decisive inroads into the property and power of the capitalist class.

Workers will have to occupy and run factories to ensure full employment and no closures. Banks will have to be nationalized to control the economy.

Building and insurance societies, and the building and building supplies industries, will have to be nationalized under workers' control, if housing is to be guaranteed to the working class.

The forces of the ruling class who are out to destroy democratic rights will have to be fought and defeated. It is these tasks which the mass movement will pose to

the next Labour government!

When Wilson promotes Michael Foot and Eric Heffer in the Parliamentary Labour Party, it is not because he is contemplating socialist measures, but because he hopes this 'left' face will give the working class the illusion that their demands can be satisfied in parliament.

But every one of the questions before the working class is a question of the power of the organized working class, not of simply a few parliamentary measures.

That is why it is so important to demand **now** that the Labour and trade union leaders mobilize the whole movement.

That is why we must fight for all the policy demands in the Charter of Basic Rights, to unite all sections of the working class, low-paid and well-paid, housewives and trade unionists, youth and adult, for a programme of expropriating the capitalist class.

Consequently, the bringing down of the Tories would be the beginning of a new and much more advanced stage of the struggle.

The ruling class would then

hope to use betrayals and deceptions by the reformists to prepare a rapid change to an ultra-right Tory regime, and there would be a decisive struggle on basic questions of a socialist programme, and of defence against right-wing reaction, inside the trade union and labour movement.

In this struggle, the Socialist Labour League and the All Trades Unions Alliance will be fighting for leadership, around the programme of the Charter of Basic Rights.

The next Labour government will mark the beginning therefore of the most decisive stage in British working-class history: the defence of its basic rights demands the struggle for a real workers' government, for workers' power.

This is the real meaning of the campaign for the Charter of Basic Rights.

It is the essential preparation for this decisive political struggle.

That is why every trade unionist should attend the December 19 Conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance which will discuss the Charter of Basic Rights and the next steps against the Tories.

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The struggle against the treacherous reformist leaders will have to be carried through to the very end. However, the Labour leaders will not come back in the same circumstances in which they were elected in 1964

and 1966.

The Tories are forced to try and take away every basic right, every hard-won gain, from the working class: full employment, health and welfare services, council housing at reasonable rents, trade union and democratic rights.

The first and only question before the government which replaces the Tories will be: how to restore these rights and these gains!

As the Charter of Basic Rights points out, they can be defeated and restored only by decisive inroads into the property and power of the capitalist class.

Workers will have to occupy and run factories to ensure full employment and no closures. Banks will have to be nationalized to control the economy.

Building and insurance societies, and the building and building supplies industries, will have to be nationalized under workers' control, if housing is to be guaranteed to the working class.

The forces of the ruling class who are out to destroy democratic rights will have to be fought and defeated. It is these tasks which the mass movement will pose to

the next Labour government!

When Wilson promotes Michael Foot and Eric Heffer in the Parliamentary Labour Party, it is not because he is contemplating socialist measures, but because he hopes this 'left' face will give the working class the illusion that their demands can be satisfied in parliament.

But every one of the questions before the working class is a question of the power of the organized working class, not of simply a few parliamentary measures.

That is why it is so important to demand now that the Labour and trade union leaders mobilize the whole movement.

That is why we must fight for all the policy demands in the Charter of Basic Rights, to unite all sections of the working class, low-paid and well-paid, housewives and trade unionists, youth and adult, for a programme of expropriating the capitalist class.

Consequently, the bringing down of the Tories would be the beginning of a new and much more advanced stage of the struggle.

The ruling class would then

hope to use betrayals and deceptions by the reformists to prepare a rapid change to an ultra-right Tory regime, and there would be a decisive struggle on basic questions of a socialist programme, and of defence against right-wing reaction, inside the trade union and labour movement.

In this struggle, the Socialist Labour League and the All Trades Unions Alliance will be fighting for leadership, around the programme of the Charter of Basic Rights.

The next Labour government will mark the beginning therefore of the most decisive stage in British working-class history: the defence of its basic rights demands the struggle for a real workers' government, for workers' power.

This is the real meaning of the campaign for the Charter of Basic Rights.

It is the essential preparation for this decisive political struggle.

That is why every trade unionist should attend the December 19 Conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance which will discuss the Charter of Basic Rights and the next steps against the Tories.

# Fight Indo-China war with revolutionary working-class action

**1** US IMPERIALISM and its head—Richard 'Tricky Dick' Nixon — have just taken the decision to extend the counter - revolutionary Vietnam war into Cambodia.

Through this decision, US imperialism tramples underfoot all speculation on a so-called 'peaceful co-existence' which could be set up between imperialism and workers and peasants struggling throughout the world for a new society: socialism.

**2** This decision was taken precisely at a time when US imperialism was supposedly negotiating in Paris for a return to peace, at a time when secret talks are beginning in Vienna for the limitation of nuclear arms.

This is proof that under the cover of talks in Paris and Vienna, US imperialism was preparing to extend the war. We now have the proof that Nixon is seeking the destruction of the Vietnamese and Chinese Revolutions.

The extension of the counter-revolutionary war gives added proof that peace and war do not depend on negotiations within the political framework of 'peaceful co-existence'.

US imperialism has to take on the role of counter-revolutionary policeman for the defence of capitalist interests, to crush all the aspirations of the workers and peasants for peace and socialism.

**3** This decision was taken when the fundamental contradiction of our epoch—the stifling of the productive forces within the confines of private property and the nation state—threatens once again to drag US imperialism and with it the whole of world imperialism into a crisis.

Statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International on the extension of the counter-revolutionary Vietnam war into Cambodia.

## One way out

Faced with these contradictions in their system, the Wall St magnates and their government know only one way out, as Hitler and the German imperialists knew only one solution in 1939: counter-revolutionary massacre.

Workers throughout the entire world must understand this: the extension of the Vietnam war into Cambodia is a deliberate act, a first step in the preparation of war against China.

If the Pentagon and Nixon, the murderous arms of imperialism, are not halted by the class struggle of the world's workers, imperialism will go to the very end, to war against China, the Soviet Union and all the countries that have escaped the control of imperialism.

Nixon and the Pentagon must prepare to open new outlets for their system by using brute force. They must try to overcome the contradictions of capitalism by crushing entire peoples with fire, bloodshed and napalm.

**4** But at the point where the American imperialists were sinking deeper and deeper into their war of extermination in Indo-China, they struck in the United States itself. The four students assassinated for their protest against the extension of the war are proof that imperialism, to carry out its counter-revolutionary war in Asia, will try to crush the American working class and its youth.

## Significance

But the protest of students in the USA has the same significance as the struggles of French students in the first days of May 1968, struggles which opened the way for the General Strike of ten million workers and youth against the Gaullist government and state.

The four students assassinated in the USA by the murderer Nixon announces the en-

try of the US working class into struggle. As they have shown in recent strikes, they refuse to accept the economic consequences of the Vietnam war.

**5** The International Committee states that all the conditions in Europe and the United States, in Asia and Latin America are present to begin mass united actions against the war of murderer Nixon.

All the conditions are now present for the workers' traditional organizations—those who stand for the defence of the workers' interests—to present a united front against capitalism.

## Socialist goal

The struggle of the Indo-Chinese peoples for national independence is a struggle for socialism.

The struggle of the Indo-Chinese peoples against murderer Nixon merges with the struggle of the American working class and youth against imperialism.

The goal of the Indo-Chinese peoples and that of the American working class unites with the class struggles of the workers of every country against their own ruling class and for the socialist revolution.

Outside this perspective, there is only the blind alley of so-called 'peaceful co-existence', which permits world imperialism to prepare its blows against workers and peasants.

We condemn the action of the revisionists in using the struggle against the war as a pacifist parade, substituting the middle class for the working class.

The International Committee fights for the mobilization of the working class on a revolutionary-defeatist programme to expose the role of the social democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies. The only way to fight the extension of the Vietnam war into Cambodia is through class action—industrial action—against the war, as part of the struggle to build revolutionary leadership for the working class.

May 6, 1970

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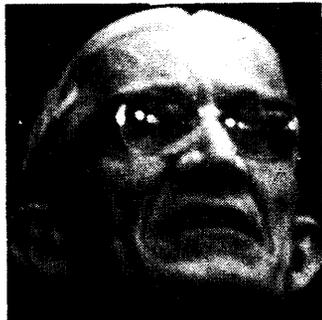
# Hands off the Spanish workers!

## ***AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY***

**DURING** the strike of Spanish miners in Asturias, which took place in January and February of this year, the Polish government sold coal to Spain. The fascist dictator Franco was thus helped to break the strike, and to continue the jailing and torture of Spanish workers, by the action of the supposedly 'socialist' government of Poland.



Gollan



Palme Dutt

What is the attitude of the leaders of the British Communist Party to this anti-working-class, anti-revolutionary action? In the 'Morning Star' of February 5, 1970, it was reported, without comment, that the Spanish Communist Party, in its paper 'Mundo Obrero' (which has to be published clandestinely), had called upon the Polish United Workers' Party (Communist Party) to deny the reports of Polish coal supplies.

Why did the 'Morning Star' make no comment? Its editor, Mr George Matthews, challenged at the Party's November Congress on the Party leadership's years of silence on Stalin's crimes against the Bolshevik Party in the 1930s, explained that they had 'suspended their critical faculties'.

We ask George Matthews and the whole Executive Committee of the Communist Party and the Editorial Board of the 'Morning Star': Are your critical faculties still suspended? Why do you not speak against the strike-breaking action of the Polish Stalinists? Why do you not campaign in the labour movement for support for the Spanish workers and condemnation of those who betray them?

If you do not answer, then the phrase 'we suspended our critical faculties' can only be interpreted as the cynical gesture of someone who 'explains' with every intention of continuing in exactly the same way.

Further: the Spanish Communist Party also 'expressed its surprise at the news of the conversation that took place between General Franco's Foreign Minister, Señor Lopez Bravo and a representative of the Soviet government in Moscow'. ('Morning Star', February 5, 1970.)

Messrs Matthews, Gollan and the Communist Party Executive Committee! Where do you stand on this latest betrayal by the Moscow leaders? Is this proletarian internationalism? Was it for this that you sent devoted Com-



Matthews



Ramelson

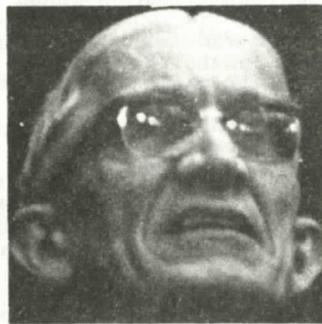
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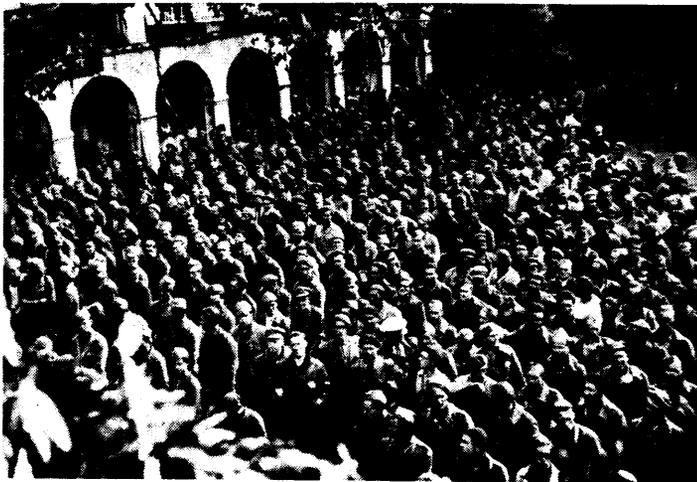
Matthews



Ramelson

munist Party workers to die in Spain in the International Brigade?

The lessons of the Stalinist betrayal of the Spanish Revolution are some of the things which Matthews and Co. helped to conceal by 'suspending their critical faculties'. But now the crime is repeated in the open, for everyone to see. A strike is broken; a fascist government's senior minister is received in Moscow. And the British Communist Party is shamefully silent.



Members of the XV International Brigade in Spain.

This then is the meaning of 'peaceful co-existence'! In order to prove the 'sincerity' of their peaceful and co-operative gestures towards the imperialist powers, the Stalinist governments of Poland and the USSR carry out sabotage of the struggles of workers against fascist dictatorship. Similarly, the Soviet government is contracting to build power stations for the military dictatorship in Greece.

The Communist Party Congress last November was deeply divided over the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia. Many delegates, because of the material published by the Workers Press and through their own experiences, sought an understanding of the crisis caused by Czechoslovakia in terms of the whole historical record of Stalinism, its basic nature.

That historical accounting was not given. The opposition led by Palme Dutt was just as opposed to such a historical reckoning as was the Gollan-Matthews-Ramelson leadership.

But Spain raises the question anew. Surely the Party Congress must be recalled! The same Stalinist leaders in Moscow and Warsaw who 'pacified' Czechoslovakia are practising counter-revolutionary class-collaboration in Spain.

This only proves, in the space of less than three months, that if the basic historical questions are not

tackled, the same bitter experiences of defeat and betrayal will inevitably be repeated.

The whole future of the working class of Europe, East and West, is involved. A vast strike wave has affected every part of the capitalist countries and now world recession looms. Either the working class will successfully battle for power, or the capitalists will resort more to repressive and fascist methods.

What role will the Soviet Union, Poland, and the East European countries play in these struggles? The same role they play in Spain? This is the question for the followers of Stalin's 'British Road to Socialism'.

If the British Communist Party leaders mean what they say about their ability to openly criticize the Russian Stalinist leaders on Czechoslovakia, let them speak out on Spain.

Is there any possible excuse for the actions of the Soviet and Polish governments? Will such relations with the Spanish and Greek governments help to keep the Soviet Union out of wars with the imperialists?

On the contrary, the more the capitalist governments, including the Franco fascist regime, inflict defeats on the working class, the greater the threat of eventual imperialist intervention against the USSR.

The Czechoslovak situation has deteriorated since the British Communist Party Congress. All the leaders of the Czech Party at the time of the intervention are sacked and expelled from Party positions. Censorship and repression are the rule.

If the British and other Party leaders who criticized the intervention are sincere, will they agree to an international commission of inquiry, representing the trade



Solidarity with the Spanish workers!  
Long live the Spanish Revolution!



Prague, August 1968.

unions of every European country, to investigate the socialist legality and justice of these trials and purges in Czechoslovakia? If not, just how do they propose to follow up and fight on their stand against the invasion?

By their actions in Spain, the Kremlin bureaucracy and their agents have shown that their role remains a counter-revolutionary one. They have not changed in Czechoslovakia or inside the USSR either. It is just as true for workers' states as for capitalist countries that foreign policy is a continuation of class policies on the 'home front'.

This is why we say: the legality of the Czech purges and the breaking of the Spanish miners' strike are part of the same question, that of the revolutionary struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe, against US imperialism, against the capitalist European Common Market, and for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy in East Europe and the USSR by a working class that will defend the gains of the October Revolution and assist the workers of western Europe and Britain in extending those gains. That is the real Communist path.

- Solidarity with the miners of Spain!
- Long live the Spanish Revolution!
- Down with the Polish and Soviet governments' strike-breaking!
- Recall the Communist Party Congress!
- For a workers' inquiry into the Czechoslovak repressions!
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Socialist Labour League,

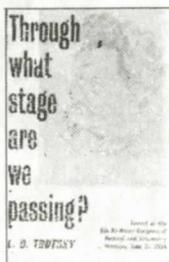
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## Two pamphlets by Leon Trotsky

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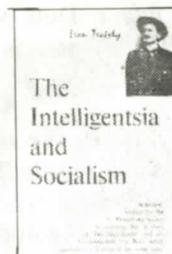
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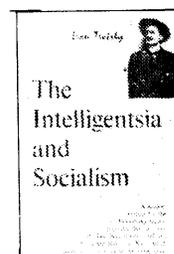
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Students occupy Lima university in 1969.

**PERU** has evoked considerable interest in the working-class movement because of the emergence of a so-called 'progressive' military junta which is receiving uncritical and enthusiastic support from world Stalinism, including the British Communist Party, as well as Fidel Castro.

This unprincipled support for the military regime, which continues to suppress ruthlessly the struggles of peasants and workers alike, is a clear indictment of the treachery and political bankruptcy of Stalinism and Castroism.

This interview with a Peruvian Trotskyist shows with great clarity and cogency the reactionary anti-working class, anti-democratic features of the junta and the inevitability, despite Stalinism and Castroism, of a revolutionary overturn in Peru as well as the favourable prospects for a Trotskyist party in Peru today.

# STALINISM AND IMPERIALISM IN PERU

**OVER TWO-THIRDS** of Latin Americans live under a military dictatorship like the ones in Brazil, Argentine, Bolivia, Panama, and Peru. But the bourgeois and Stalinist press have consistently tried to present the Peruvian case as 'unique', as a 'democratic', 'anti-imperialist', 'radical' government. Would you agree with this?

Certainly not. It is true that the Stalinists are quite pleased with the situation, and have gone so far as to say that 'The Peruvian Revolution has started', 'nothing will stop it', 'one can only be for or against The Revolution', etc.

So far as I am concerned there has been only one Revolution with capital letters in Peru—a defeated workers' revolution in the 1930s that ended in the mass execution of over 6,000 workers, executions that were carried through by the mentors of the present government.

But what the Stalinists say about the Peruvian military should not surprise anybody. I'm quite sure it has not surprised you.

But after Mariategui's death, when the Socialist Party became the Communist Party, a fully Stalinist party, its leaders abandoned this and many other principled and scientifically based policies.

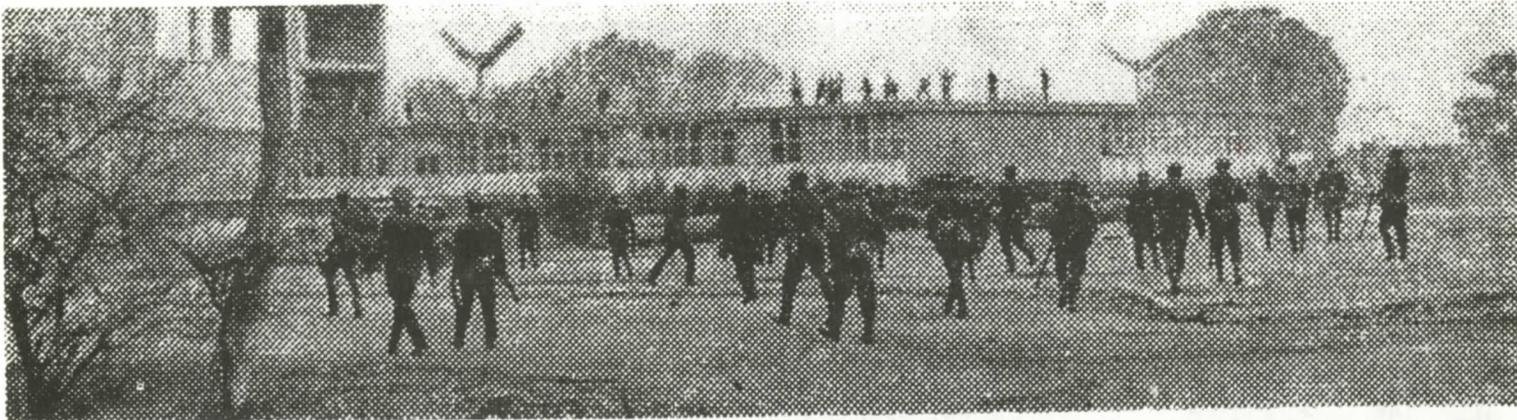
Stalinists have never hesitated to support 'progressive' governments. Today they even accuse those who oppose the government as 'counter-revolutionaries'!

Over 40 years ago, a Peruvian Marxist, José Carlos Mariategui, founder of the Socialist Party, clearly said that there was no possibility of being anti-imperialist without being socialist, and that there was no other anti-imperialist state but the workers' state.

## Blindness

To say that the Peruvian government is anti-imperialist because it has nationalized one oil firm, and because it has bought land and sheep from a huge copper mining concern, and because it has limited foreign ownership of banks, is, to say the least, blindness and ignorance.

Mariategui said it was impossible to be anti-imperialist without being socialist because the historic conditions did not allow it: the national capitalist class was too weak and dependent, imperialism was too strong, and the world market established a rigid division of labour where there was space only for a few powers.



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Police fire at workers and peasants during an uprising in Jullaca, S Peru in 1968.

Today the situation has not changed and has become even more tight, and all the best wishes of the Stalinists, and the best conceived plans of the Peruvian generals, will not alter this fact.

World finance capital can, at any moment, completely asphyxiate the economy of any country which does not accept the 'rules of the game'.

Technological dependence has recently added a renewed and growing barrier to the host of problems that face any bloody-minded independent bourgeois government.

I think that the Peruvian generals are more aware of this problem than the Peruvian Stalinists. They have stated clearly and repeatedly that they do not intend to hinder imperialist investments in Peru.

They nationalized the IPC, a firm that has been denounced since the 1930s for exploiting Peruvian oil illegally, but they have generously opened the doors to the Belco Petroleum, Gulf and Texas Petroleum, not to mention the multi-million dollars agreement with the Southern Peru Copper Corporation.

## Cut short

Incidentally in the latter case the generals attempted to be more 'anti-imperialist' than they actually were in the end; they offered the Soviet bureaucracy the chance to enter a bid for the \$340m Cuajones copper project.

But their 'anti-imperialism' was cut short when the Russian bureaucrats offered much stiffer terms than the US-based Southern Peru Copper Corporation.

The much publicised expulsion of the US Military Aid 'Mission' in Peru contrasts with their quiet, almost unnoticed return. The 'advisers' who five years ago helped the generals to murder every single guerrilla or suspicious peasants, that helped the 'progressive' military to burn entire villages, these 'advisers' are back, and increasing numbers of Peruvian officers are being sent again to US military bases and command schools for special training.

If the Stalinists don't believe this, they should read the 'Wall Street Journal', which knows it pretty well.

It is not possible to be anti-

imperialist without striking at the heart of world capitalism, and this is a task that only the international working class can achieve.

The Peruvian generals, with their Stalinist supporters, may wish to play nationalistic, but as the generals (not the Stalinists) are aware, capital goods come from the imperialist metropolises, so does the finance capital that could make possible its importation, and also imperialism controls the technical knowledge and skills that can make 'independence' possible.

Imperialism controls the market for all our exportable products, and they provide all of the most important inputs to our industries, including the intermediate inputs that become increasingly important and expensive as our industrialization develops.

What can the Peruvian generals do about this? Nothing, absolutely nothing, and we are not misled by the demagogic statements.

**WHAT ABOUT other  
internal political mea-**

sures such as the agrarian reform, or the recently decreed industrial law. Do you think that these reflect a 'progressive' orientation? Would you say that a 'bourgeois - democratic' revolution is taking place in Peru under the military regime?

I don't remember the exact words, but I think Marx once said that 'history repeats itself, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce'.

This is what is happening in Peru, and in many backward capitalist countries. History is repeating itself and we are in the second round. What was 'progressive' 40 or 50 years ago can only be considered a farce today.

To say that the agrarian reform dictated by the generals is 'progressive' is a mockery to those peasants who in the last 20 years have been struggling stubbornly for the right to own the land of

their grandparents and the right to enjoy the wealth produced with their own hands.

And this struggle has been a bloody and bitter one. Hundreds of peasants have been killed, thousands injured, countless numbers jailed, tortured and

The advantage that this brings to the agricultural workers is another matter.

In the first weeks after the expropriation of the land the government attempted to crush the well-established and traditionally militant union of agricultural

and government supporters.

Every year, without fail, the whole army officialdom pays tribute to its officers who are all buried in one cemetery.

It is no coincidence that it was in the sugar plantations that the military began the agrarian re-

**THERE HAS been quite a bit of coverage in the international press about this new industrial law or industrial code decreed by the Peruvian military junta. What can you tell us about this?**

This is where I think that farce, tragi-comedy, ceases to be so.

It becomes an obscure threat. It is presented, like other measures, as a 'modernization' move, a 'progressive' and 'radical' policy.

Let's be clear, there is no doubt in my mind that what the Peruvian government is doing is bringing the Peruvian economy and legislation nearer to the 'advanced' countries of Latin America, such as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico.

There is nothing very original in certain social legislation being introduced such as the protection of domestic labourers.

What we are saying is that certain policies, such as the agrarian reform law and the nationalization of oil industries, concern relatively old and, in the case of the agrarian reform, partially solved problems.

It would have been impossible for any government in Peru to go on for long without legalizing in some way the de facto occupation of vast areas of land without extending the agrarian reform to the whole of agriculture, and without dealing in some way with the decades-old illicit exploitation of Peruvian oil by the International Petroleum Company.



One of the first demonstrations by students and workers resulted in brutal clashes with 'Assault' police.

terrorized by the very same generals who today want to pose as benefactors.

As a result of these struggles, the latifundia and landed aristocracy were considerably weakened and a considerable share of their land (over a third) occupied, virtually expropriated by the peasants.

Now under the 'progressive' law, they are to pay for this land!

**BUT WHAT about the expropriation of the sugar plantations? These were not, according to the capitalist press, feudal or semi-feudal latifundia, they belonged to large firms, some American, directly linked with the world market and were a considerable source of income for the capitalists, foreign or national.**

The sugar plantations were semifeudal estates, but not of the same kind. The change of ownership has certainly affected foreign and national interests, of the most traditional style.

workers. Only the determined opposition of the workers prevented them in carrying out their objective.

Not everything is a 'farce' as you can see. There is quite a bit of tragedy lurking in the future of the Peruvian working class if there is not a clear awareness of the real implications of this new military government.

The tragi-comedy is, particularly in the case of the sugar plantations, particularly morbid.

It was in the sugar plantations that the most militant sections of the working class rose in open rebellion against the capitalist state and captured several important towns, such as Trujillo, which they placed under their control.

The revolution, betrayed by its leaders, was finally defeated after a fierce and heroic struggle. Over 6,000 workers, the majority sugar plantation workers were executed in a few days.

This was 'a long time ago', 1932, the Stalinists may say, 'it's all forgotten'.

## Hatred

This is not the case, particularly not for the military, who have been consistently educated in hatred against the 'mob' who, in the heat of civil war, executed a few imprisoned army officers

form, nor is it a coincidence that in applying the expropriation they also tried to disband the union organization, as if haunted by the possibility of being recognized, denounced, bitterly remembered in the eyes of the organized working class.

**José Carlos MARIATEGUI**

Peruvian Marxist founder of the Socialist Party said there was no possibility of being anti-imperialist without being socialist, and that there was no other anti-imperialist state but the workers' state.



Other policies of the present government, such as the partial 'Peruvianization' of banks and the strengthening of the State Bank, the creation of a state monopoly of fish meal, commercialization, the promulgation of the recent industrial code, are more relevant and more dangerous.

Behind them is being shaped the 'new' reorganized Peruvian capitalist state; they point to the 'new path between capitalism and communism', being followed now in Argentina, Brazil, Greece etc.

Stalinists affirm that this 'new path' has opened an 'irreversible process towards socialism' that only 'oligarchic and imperialist plots' can stop.

You know perfectly well that there is nothing 'new' about the creation of a powerful State Bank, or the creation of state monopolies over the commer-

This is the Peruvian version of de Gaulle's 'participation'.

The French Stalinists were compelled to reject it; we are waiting to hear the reaction of our local Stalinists.

For the last two years, in particular since the military takeover, **wages have been kept down systematically, and there has even been wage-cutting.**

Only in the few cases, such as the miners in central Peru, when the working class went further than the Stalinist and right-wing union leaders thought 'wise', did wages actually rise.

## Depression

The Peruvian bourgeoisie, before and after the coup d'etat, have been submerging the Peruvian economy into a serious depression, resulting in unheard of unemployment levels and a

'participate' in, to share responsibility for!

The working class has no responsibility whatsoever for the chaos that capitalism has brought to us.

Wages have been kept down or lowered in the last years. Now this profit 'share' in the short term will probably mean an increase in the amount of money that workers will take home, which will certainly be a miserable increase.

This increase will be used 'to sweeten the pill'. But soon it will be obvious that profits being very low or even non-existent due to the crisis and due to the fiddling of well-paid and faithful accountants, any increase in profits to be 'shared' will clearly mean: redundancies, productivity deals, speed-up and all the traditional methods of increasing exploitation.

By making their wages depen-

quite uncomfortable at the beginning. But when they become aware of the advantages their attitudes will be quite different.

We do not see anything 'progressive' about the new industrial code. We see only a menace, a serious menace.

The Peruvian working class has not yet reached the level of organization and class identity reached in other countries. Only a fraction of the working class is actually organized in the union structures.

The Stalinists will, at the very best, offer weak and unwilling resistance. I would not be at all surprised if they welcome the scheme. The Peruvian working class could be forced to accept a de facto situation.

Revolutionary Marxists should oppose the industrial code with all their strength.

What concerns the working class is unemployment and starvation wages, not a share in capitalist failure, not another step towards the strengthening of a corporate state.

## WHAT HAS been the policy of the junta concerning the issue of wages and unemployment?

It has been the same as in any capitalist state: sanctioning mass lay-offs, wage freezing and even wage reductions.

Stalinist trade unionists feel quite embarrassed about this sometimes.

It was quite ironic to see in a demonstration in support of the five-week old strike of the workers of 'Bata-Rima' (a shoe manufacturer), where wages were actually reduced by 25 per cent, that Stalinist trade unionists were carrying placards saying 'the employers are creating problems between us and the Revolutionary government'!

The military junta's record on wage claims and unemployment is quite impressive. The most seriously affected are workers in the fishing, construction, textiles and shoe manufacturing industries.

The story of the strikes and redundancies at 'Ceramica del Pacifico', 'Lolas', 'Luxor', 'Coca-Cola', Patamo, Calzado Durable, Eternit, Calzado el Aguila Americana, Pilas National, Texoro, Leonard, Banco Continental, Tejidos Union, Inca Cotton, Inca Extension, Victoria, Progreso, La Oroya y Cobriga, Tabacalera Nacional, Fundicion Callao, etc., to mention only few, can tell the truth.

When working-class militancy has led to mass actions that threatened 'law and order', the 'progressive' military in Peru have answered in the language

'Assault' police shoot down peasant demonstrators in Colquimarca.



cialization of certain products, or the 'profit-sharing' schemes for industrial concerns, or the growth of nationalized services such as telephone, transportation, energy, etc.

In many semi-developed countries, and in most advanced capitalist countries these policies are carried forward without creating the slightest 'irreversibility' towards socialism.

## Distributed

The new industrial code, we are told, rules that 10 per cent of net profits are to be distributed to the workers, 15 per cent at least put aside for reinvestment or as shares to be divided among the employees and 2 per cent for industrial research and development.

We are also informed that each industrial firm must have at least one representative of the 'industrial community' on its board of directors.

decline of real wages.

The military government has done nothing to change this trend, and has shown no intention of doing so.

Wages continued to stagnate and decline in real terms, and I should remind you that this is taking place in a country where 40 per cent of the working population earns less than £50 a year, and 90 per cent less than £300 per year!

The total unemployment and under-employment in Peru estimated by the International Labour Organization (ILO) is over 2,000,000 workers.

The total working population is about 3,000,000.

This means a rate of unemployment and underemployment of about 40 per cent; and each year over 200,000 workers enter hopelessly the 'labour market'.

This is the economic reality, this is the economic crime that the generals are asking us to

depend on profits, workers will be putting a rope around their necks. The nomination of a 'community (we are not clear what this means) delegate' to the board of directors will not change matters.

He will be loaded with figures that show how badly the firm is doing and will be used as an intermediary to tell the workers to work harder, to work longer hours, to reduce their numbers, etc.

He will inevitably become an agent of the employers in the ranks of the working class.

That '15 per cent to be distributed to the employees in the form of shares' if reinvestment is not thought convenient, is no less of a trick.

Share distribution has long been known by the employers as a means of enforcing savings upon their employees for the benefit of the firm.

Traditional, narrow-minded employers will no doubt feel

they know best—bullets to suppress the workers' demands.

It has violently suppressed the workers of Mala (a mining town in the south of Peru) and the workers of Atas factory in Lima.

It has suppressed violently the demonstration of workers of the fishing industries of Chimbote and murdered dozens of peasants, students and workers in the towns of Mala, Colquimarca, Ayacucho and Huanta.

In the two latter cases it was a vast popular mobilization of workers, students and peasants opposing a recently decreed abolition of free education.

After the massacre the 'Revolutionary' government was forced to withdraw the decree.

It was also forced to retreat by the 14,000 miners of central Peru employed by Cerro de Pasco Corporation.

The strike over wages and working conditions, which was not backed by the corrupt union bureaucrats, led, two weeks after its commencement, to a march to Lima, 150 miles away, by workers and their families.

Seven hundred 'special forces' violently suppressed the march, wounded many workers and arrested several hundred.

But in the face of defiant workers, the government and the employers were forced to retreat.

Violence against workers' demands has continued and will continue.

The militant revolutionary trade unionists are constantly imprisoned, harassed and terrorized by the employers and their agents and the police.

In two years of power, the military junta has killed over 20

workers, a rate of about one a month . . .

### **How would you characterize the present military junta? What are their aims in the long run?**

The military junta cannot be characterized without referring to the international context.

It is clear that the government is aiming at 'modernizing' the Peruvian economy and legislation and this means, in many senses, a legalizing of already advanced processes, such as the disintegration of the traditional land aristocracy due to peasant revolts and the development of industry due to imperialist penetration.

This means to the Peruvian toiling masses unemployment, wage stagnation, growing uncertainties over their future and violent repression of their demands.

And when analysing the complex policies that are re-shaping banking, trade, industry and educational systems, the future aims are more clear and more dangerous.

The most likely outcome of this semi-Bonapartist regime is the growth of a corporate state. A clear indication of this is the new industrial code discussed in part I.

Workers are asked to form a 'community of interests', to share profits and 'management'. This fairy tale has long been denounced by the international working class as a step towards corporatism.

## **State unions**

The next step is the creation of state-controlled unions. The Minister of the Interior (chief of police) has declared recently that 'no communist will enter the unions'.

General Velazco, in his recent statement on the 'Defence Committees of the Revolution', which are supported wholeheartedly by the Stalinists, made clear that he will have nothing to do with his supporters.

But the right-wing union, the CTP, has been officially recognized. The Stalinist-controlled CGTP has not been recognized.

It all points to increased pressures against the Stalinist bureaucracies which would probably be led to dissolve the CGTP and integrate the state-controlled trade unions under the leadership of what General Velazco called 'a new breed of non-partisan, nationalistic union leaders'.

The 'Defence Committees of the Revolution' are another step in the direction of a corporate state. They amount to an undeclared political party (where the Stalinists are active supporters) dedicated to publicising the government and putting up smokescreens over its deeds.

With this political party, plus the state-controlled unions and newspapers, plus 'profit-sharing', wage freeze and one delegate of the 'community' on the board of directors in every firm, we have a Peruvian version of the well-known corporate state, the old 'new path between capitalism and communism'.

### **Why has this occurred in Peru? What are the social forces behind this?**

It is certainly not a unique case. The Argentinian and Brazilian dictatorships show amazing similarities. Differences sometime appear more semantic than real. Not that semantic differences are not important!

In the Argentine, for instance, the government has devoted itself to strengthening the 'colaboracionista' union, and has practically wiped out any legal existence for the left-wing unions.

The 'colaboracionista' union has been called to support a state programme that will bring the state's share of investments to nearly 40 per cent of all industry in the next few years. Formal democracy has been abolished as in Peru.

The difference is more apparent with regard to the working-class opposition. The Argentinian working class is much stronger than the Peruvian.

It has long since passed through the experience of Bonapartism and corporatism, and has revolted against the rulers in Cordoba and elsewhere.

The military government in Bolivia expresses the same tendency. After unsuccessful attempts at crushing the resistance of the miners, it has followed the 'progressive' steps of the Peruvian military.

The establishment of military or quasi-military governments in Latin America is a tendency that started some years ago. Only a few governments keep an appearance of democracy, such as the Venezuelan and Chilean governments, but not without vast repressive measures against the working class and the peasantry.

This tendency reflects the impasse of world capitalism; it reflects the inability of capitalism to develop productive forces or to raise the standards of living of the masses.

The stagnation of productive forces is being caused by the extension of monopoly capital's grip into the industry, finance and trade of the backward capitalist countries and this is resulting in the stagnation of the living conditions of the masses or their actual deterioration as in Peru, growing unemployment and sky-rocketing living costs. These are all factors that co-exist with difficulty with formal democracy.

## **Control**

Inevitably formal democracy, the rule by professional politicians of the bourgeoisie, becomes incompatible with the chaos, anarchy and crisis brought by monopoly capitalism. Direct control over every single movement of the economy becomes a necessity. A strong government is indispensable. Strikes and breaches of law and order become more intolerable than ever.

Whether the Bonapartists or semi-Bonapartists called to the fore define themselves as left wing or right wing is a semantic problem. Their policies against the working class and in support of capital are indistinguishable.

The social basis of this kind of government is therefore monopoly capital. Their agents are the weak and dependent sections of the national bourgeoisie, of the middle class, petty bourgeoisie, professionals, job-hunting bureaucrats, and, of course, the top military. It is within these ranks that the Communist Party



**A miner from Mala in South Peru shows a wound inflicted by police when they ambushed 400 miners on a march to the capital.**



The Peruvian military junta headed by General VELASCO proclaims 'land-reform' law.

bureaucracy expects to find its new jobs.

When we say that the social basis of regimes like the Peruvian junta is monopoly capital, we do not mean to say, as one of the factions of the Peruvian Maoists say, that the present government is the result of a 'fascist-imperialist plot'.

## Weak

We only say that monopoly capital and the rulers of the world bourgeoisie, are the economic and social basis of the world capitalist system of which Peru is nothing but a weak and highly-dependent part.

Monopoly capital has closely determined the direction of the Peruvian economy, even in its most minor details. Monopoly capital has changed the traditional Peruvian oligarchy into a highly dependent and subservient bourgeoisie whose most dynamic and profitable activities pertain to industry and trade and not land. Monopoly capital has fashioned the Peruvian army, its values, its equipment, its training, its officers.

Within this transformation a huge parasitic growth of the army, the bureaucracy, professionals, petty bourgeois merchants and traders, as well as the concentration of wealth in the hands of the industrial bourgeoisie has taken place. These are the agents of the kind of state structure that monopoly capital needs: a bourgeois corporate state.

## Inflation

Not that these sections of the population are prosperous. They have gone and may go through periods of improvements in their conditions. But recently the characteristic has been inflation, low income and low profits. In times of crisis they also suffer, but infinitely less than workers and peasants.

But these ups and downs are precisely one of the agents in determining their behaviour. The army, the bureaucracy, the petty bourgeoisie, the managers and industrialists, employed, hired, owned (partially or totally) and financed by monopoly capital know that their existence, their jobs, their income and their property depend on the health of the economy (i.e., monopoly profits). They also know that they are necessary tools of monopoly capital and thus they can do a bargain for a better share in the pillage of Peruvian workers and peasants.

Whether they are conscious of it or not, objectively this is their role.

If one can learn from psychoanalysis that a neurotic may profess to hate what he most loves, or to love what he most hates, one can without difficulty understand how this nationalistic ideology, this progressive rhetoric is nothing but a rationalization of an essentially reactionary, anti-working-class, anti-peasantry policy.

Could you briefly tell us how the different sec-

tions of the left have defined their policies with respect to the military junta?

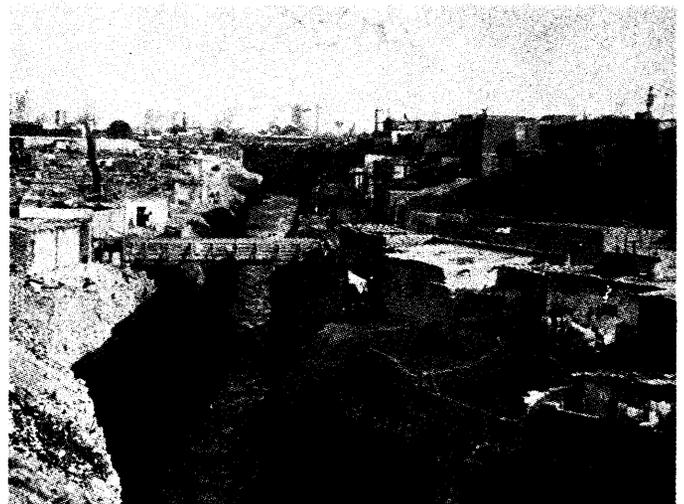
We shall exclude the Communist Party. We have mentioned their position before and it is a left-wing party only because of its historic roots and because of the presence in its ranks of honest revolutionary workers who have not yet realized entirely the reactionary character of the leadership.

The Maoists are split into five factions. Their best-known group, publishing the monthly 'Bandera Roja', defined the junta as 'an imperialist plot'.

But their ultra-left verbiage does not obscure the fact that they have consistently refused to have anything to do with the working class, which they describe as 'aristocratic', and have concentrated all their efforts on convincing the peasantry that they should join future guerrilla activities. Their presence and opinion is of little relevance.

The revisionist pseudo-Trotskyists are also split. Posadists and Pabloites have endorsed the military government.

The one time leader of the left, Ismael Frias, has endorsed the junta and is today a senior writer on the government-controlled newspaper, 'Extra', using its columns to praise the junta.



Mountains of refuse provide a foundation for the Barriada dwellings in which half of Lima's population lives.



**Bolivian miners militia.**

Hugo Blanco is in jail and you can imagine what his opinion of the junta is! He is not just a cadre of the left, he is a very well-known figure, an honest, dedicated revolutionary in spite of his mistakes. He has rebuffed the thesis of the revisionist United Secretariat in recent interviews and has not supported the government.

Fidelists are in confusion. Their dismissal of the working class, their glorification of the peasantry, the support of Castro for the military regime, the agrarian reform, the fierce police repression, their imprisoned leaders, are together hopeless contradictions.

In general they do not support the government and their importance is minimal. They have lived for long a semi-conspiratorial existence and have not attempted to build a party, only

an organization, a conspiratorial unit, to support, logistically and militarily the 'focos' of guerrillas, which, as you may imagine, are not the order of the day.

The key organization of the working class is the Vanguardia Revolucionaria. Founded in 1965, it has established itself firmly in the working class and its organizations.

This organization can become the embryo of a revolutionary party provided the correct policies are put forward by revolutionary Marxists in its ranks (today this can only mean Trotskyists).

The blackmail of Fidelism, the primitive egalitarianism of Maoism, the unclear ideological stand of some of its members of petty-bourgeois origin, have limited the evolution of its original political stand.

Vanguardia Revolucionaria has nevertheless consistently followed a policy of political independence from bourgeois parties in the unions and has contributed to the creation of the CGTP, though never yielding to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Support should be given to these comrades who at present represent the only organized hope of the Peruvian working class. But much remains to be done in their ranks.

### **What do you think should be the main items of the revolutionary programme in Peru?**

The thesis and programme should be based on the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International and should be combined with the best of the thesis of J. C. Mariátegui, the theoretician of the Peruvian Socialist Party.

It should demand a fight for the absolute independence, political and organizational, of the working class and its organizations from bourgeois parties and from the bourgeois state. It should fight the corporate state. It should demand the refusal of the working class to collaborate and share responsibility for the failures of capitalism.

It should refuse to share the profits of bankrupt capitalism. It should demand the distribution of land without compensating the landlords, and without making the peasants pay for the land.

It should demand the expropriation, without compensation, of all monopolies and the establishment of workers' control in industry, trade, education and services.

It should establish as immediate aims the strengthening of the working-class organizations, the satisfaction of their demands, the raising of the political level of the masses and the formation of the revolutionary workers party, as an integral part of the Fourth International.

It must fight for the overthrow of the military regime and the establishment of the workers' state based on soviets.

These should be the aims of the revolutionary party in the present situation and the development of working-class consciousness will depend on the strength and policies of its international vanguard.

# SLL Central Committee statement

## Full support for Polish workers

**DEATH BY SHOOTING** in the streets, tear-gas dropped from helicopters, water-cannon turned on demonstrators, and tanks roaring through the town — these have proved unable to intimidate the shipyard workers of Gdansk (Poland).

They remain on strike.

Gdansk, together with the neighbouring towns of Gdynia and Sopot, is completely sealed off from the rest of the country by a cordon of police and troops.

All rail and air communication is banned. Only police and army vehicles rumble in hundreds into the area.

A complete curfew is in force between 6 p.m. and 5 a.m.

Reports say that workers' action in these Baltic towns has been followed by others in Poznan and in the automobile plant at Zeran, outside Warsaw.

### **Ruthless**

Gomulka and the Stalinist bureaucracy will follow the deaths and hundreds of serious injuries they have already inflicted with the most ruthless repressions.

**These bureaucrats are fighting for their privileged caste existence.**

They face a working class which refuses to be intimidated by the long years of betrayal and disaster to which they have been subjected by Stalinism.

The official Stalinist newspaper 'Trybuna Ludu', appealing to the shipyard workers to return to work, warned:

'Those responsible for murders, arson, and looting must suffer deserved punishment. The authorities . . . will react with full determination against all infringements of public order and against all anti-state actions.'

And the English bourgeois, in the shape of 'The Guardian's' commentator Victor Zorza, expresses its hope that authority will prevail:

### **'Memory'**

'Perhaps most important of all, the memory of the punishment which the Poles have taken from both Germany and Russia is still so strong that a national rising is unlikely. The Poles have, presumably, learned the lesson of Czechoslovakia.'

The immediate cause of the strikes and demonstrations was the announcement by Gomulka's government last Sunday of steep increases in food prices. A virtual wage-freeze starts on January 1, 1971.

Shipyard workers held a mass meeting, and decided on a demonstration.

This was joined by thousands of housewives, youth and students.

Once the police attacked, these workers fought back in every possible way.

**It is perfectly clear from even the official reports that the police and troops had no support from a single section of the people.**

The Polish Stalinists, in their account of how it happened, resort to the cheapest anti-working-class slanders of the type used by the capitalist class. Reporting Monday's shipyard meeting, they comment:

'Unfortunately instead of peaceful and businesslike discussions . . . part of the workers heeded irresponsible calls, abandoned work, and went into the streets.'

### **Ready**

All the Stalinists' talk about 'anarchy' and 'hooligans' cannot alter the fact that the E European working class is once again showing itself ready to fight for the political revolution, to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and place the nationalized industry under workers' management and a government of workers' councils.

**Only the revolutionary leadership is lacking.**

Behind the haste of the Russian and Polish bureaucrats to conclude a 'European Security Pact' and their treacherous assistance to the Franco regime against the Spanish miners, lies the great threat of the proletariat in their own countries.

The bureaucratic privileges and the suppression of proletarian democracy in these countries make impossible the development of the planned

economy in a way which meets the needs of the masses, and so the masses must suffer repression.

Food increases are only the latest and most severe in a whole series of sharp rises over the last two years.

The capitalist press bemoans the 'bad timing' of the announcement, but the fact is that this timing must have been forced on the bureaucracy by the insolubility of their crisis.

**It is now clear why Gomulka flew last week to Katowice to promise increased meat rations to protesting miners.**

### **'Reform'**

It must never be forgotten that Gomulka was welcomed as the 'new' type of Communist Party leader who, after the 1956 uprising, would lead his country along peaceful and tolerant roads to 'reform' without the bloody consequences of a Hungary.

**The experience has proved conclusively that there is no reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The interests of the working class demand a political revolution to overthrow it.**

Instead of revolutionary solidarity with the struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries, the Stalinist bureaucrats prefer agreements with crisis-ridden capitalist Europe and America.

They stand in the way of the only course which could resolve Poland's economic problems — the spread of the socialist revolution to the advanced countries.

Every day the identity of interest of the workers in the capitalist countries with those in the countries ruled by the Stalinist bureaucracy becomes clearer.

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**The experience has proved conclusively that there is no reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The interests of the working class demand a political revolution to overthrow it.**

Instead of revolutionary solidarity with the struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries, the Stalinist bureaucrats prefer agreements with crisis-ridden capitalist Europe and America.

They stand in the way of the only course which could resolve Poland's economic problems — the spread of the socialist revolution to the advanced countries.

Every day the identity of interest of the workers in the capitalist countries with those in the countries ruled by the Stalinist bureaucracy becomes clearer.

## Heroic

The more we mount the offensive against the Tories here, the more we need the building of alternative revolutionary leadership and the

clearing out of the Stalinists.

By striking their heroic blows against the bureaucracy, the Polish workers join in the same international struggle.

● Long live the working class of Poland!

The counter-revolutionary bureaucracy which betrayed the Spanish miners now turns its guns on the Polish workers.

● Down with the Stalinist bureaucracy!

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● Forward to the United Socialist States of Europe!

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# The need for joint discussion

## between the International Committee and the Unified Secretariat

**C O N S I D E R - A B L E** interest has been aroused by the reports which have appeared concerning the two meetings between myself and members of the Unified Secretariat.

The Secretariat itself issued a statement in July which said, amongst other things :

'The Fourth International is, of course, in favour of unifying revolutionary forces wherever possible on a principled basis. We are therefore prepared to re-examine the question of the SLL [Socialist Labour League] and OT [Organization Trotskyiste] unifying with the Fourth International if objective evidence should show that this is feasible.

'The SLL and OT might well begin this process by beginning to discuss their political and theoretical differences with us in a frank and comradely way, without the use of slander or falsifying the positions we hold, and by beginning to engage in common actions on such elementary things as defence of victims of the class struggle.'

The International Marxist Group, its English affiliate, commenting on this, issued a statement on August 23, 1970, which said :

'... it shows quite clearly that the United Secretariat rejected Healy's fake unity proposals. These have not been accepted, and there are no internal discussions taking place.'

At no time did I or anyone else from the International Committee make proposals as such for unity to the United Secretariat. In the Workers Press of July 7 we summarized the reasons for our approach as follows:

'As part of this preparation the Committee requested G. Healy, the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, to contact representatives of the Unified Secretariat for informal talks around the possibility of joint discussion centred on outstanding political differences and directed towards the holding of a joint international conference.'

We are more firmly convinced than ever that there is a basis for such an approach, and we accept as a positive step forward the recommendation of the Unified Secretariat that 'The SLL and OT might well begin this process by beginning to discuss their political and theoretical differences with us in a frank and comradely way'.

We are prepared to accept this, otherwise it would have been useless to have made any approach in the first place.

Factional manoeuvring over 'unity' as such would convince no one, and we have no intention of engaging in this.

The comrades of the Unified Secretariat are quite correct to stress that the stage before us is not one of 'unity' as such. We see it as an effort on both sides to re-examine the favourable objective situation to see whether or not some advances could be made along this road.

Our position today is consistent with the proposals we made in 1963 when the Unified Secretariat was formed. To refresh our readers' memories these were as follows:

1. That a world congress of the forces of the IC and IS should be convened during the autumn of 1964 ;
2. That a joint committee of representatives of the two organizations should regularly meet to prepare this conference and to work out practical ways and means for co-operation in the different countries ;
3. This committee should set out to prepare a joint resolution on world perspectives for the conference. This resolution would outline the points of agreement as well as disagreement. During the preparation of the resolution, all the sections

would be constantly informed of the work of the committee. In this way a genuine and positive discussion involving the differences would be organized ;

'4. Congress insisted that this discussion must take place in all sections, not only in the leaderships, but in the ranks. Unless this decision was carried out, it would be impossible for the international movement to develop new cadres which would be able to provide adequate political leadership in the next period. A proper circulation of all documents must take place ;

'5. Joint discussion between the members of the sections, particularly in W Europe, should be organized. Whilst these discussions would deal with the differences, Congress believed that they should be extended to include a discussion on the practical work of the various sections in a way that would bring the members of these sections closer together. Such a discussion would also have an all-round effect on the education of the cadres.

'These proposals are to be immediately transmitted to the International Secretariat, with the hope that the joint work can begin immediately.' (Reproduced from 'World

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'These proposals are to be immediately transmitted to the International Secretariat, with the hope that the joint work can begin immediately.' (Reproduced from 'World

Outlook' edited by Joseph Hansen, November 22, 1963.)

Unfortunately, the Unified Secretariat did not accept these proposals at the time, but the objective conditions are today entirely different and much more favourable.

The working class of Britain and W Europe is moving towards open class conflict and into revolutionary politics on a scale never before experienced by our movement since it was founded by Comrade Trotsky.

Both the organizations of the International Committee and the Unified Secretariat are thrust more and more into the bitterest struggles against the counter-revolutionary forces of Stalinism and social democracy.

The building of mass revolutionary parties based on the working class is

within our reach in a number of important countries.

We are convinced that Comrade Trotsky would want us to have such discussions if he were alive today. Indeed, it is entirely in accordance with the traditions of our movement in the years following his assassination.

In 1948, the 2nd World Congress of the Fourth International brought us together with the Shachtmanites for a joint congress to see if, despite the great political differences, unity was possible.

Subsequently, it was shown that the differences were too great, but that in no way cut across the valuable political experience of the conference.

We mention this experience, since comrades of the Unified Secretariat, quite understandably, raise the sharpness of the political

differences between us as a possible barrier to the proposed talks.

They are by no means as sharp as they were with Shachtman in 1948.

These, in fact, were aggravated greatly by the two distinctly different political positions pursued by them and us in relation to the defence of the USSR during the Second World War.

There was nothing cynical about the work of our 2nd Congress in relation to Shachtman.

Neither is there anything cynical about our proposals today. They arise within a much more favourable political situation.

All of us agree that there should be no evasion of the fullest and frankest discussion on all the disputed questions.

We entirely agree with the Unified Secretariat that no important political differ-

ence should be evaded.

This is essential if the youth especially are to be educated in a principled way.

To assist a comradesly approach for such discussion as suggested by the Unified Secretariat, we are prepared to enter into mutual agreement that this be **no longer** conducted in our public press, but internally within our respective organizations.

We are ready now to meet and fix a date when such an internal discussion would commence.

It is our opinion that there are now serious forces on both sides that want to have the discussion.

We await a reply from the Unified Secretariat.

**BY G. HEALY**

**SLL national secretary**

LEON TROTSKY, in his struggle to continue the work of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, was undoubtedly the theoretician and practical leader of the Marxist movement in the epoch of world proletarian revolution and transition from capitalism to socialism, the epoch opened up by the October 1917 Revolution in Russia.

Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico in August 1940 by a hired agent of the Stalinist secret police.

But the theoretical and political work to develop Marxism, which he had carried out in the period since October 1917 (as well as earlier), was so profound that it remains—in the form of the struggle to build the Fourth International—the basis of the struggle for workers' power today.

It is essential to see Trotsky's life's work as a whole, and to understand why he himself regarded his last few years, building up the Fourth International, as the culmination of that life's work.

☆

Literary 'admirers' and commentators on Trotsky like to dismiss this later work, after his exile from the Soviet Union, as a tragic and even pathetic episode — contrasted with the

'heroic' years when Trotsky was leader of the Red Army and Commissar of War in the young Soviet Republic.

It was because of Trotsky's development as a Marxist that he could understand the need to concentrate everything in the 1930s—deepest years of fascist reaction and Stalinist degeneration, both succoured by working-class defeats—on the selection and training of a conscious Leninist vanguard, an International of parties and leagues in every country.

During these years, Trotsky was condemned and hounded by the Stalinists as an enemy of the Soviet Union.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, in the Soviet Union, taking advantage of the attachment of millions of workers all over the world to the gains of the October Revolution, used the Communist Parties of every country to provide support for its physical liquidation of Trotsky's supporters and for its collaboration with imperialism.

The Moscow Trials finally condemned virtually the whole of the October leadership of Bolshevism as 'enemies of the people' and proceeded to kill them off. Opposition to Stalinism was equated with counter-revolutionary opposition to Soviet 'socialism'.

Trotsky's role was actually to defend the conquests of the October Revolution against the parasitic and counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy.

☆

He started from the viewpoint of the world proletarian revolution, of which October was the first breakthrough. True defence of the Soviet Union was the extension of the revolution. Insofar as this was not achieved, then the transition to socialism in the USSR must remain in grave danger.

The productive forces on which socialism will be based are built up under capitalism, and the October Revolution had wrested from capitalism only a fraction of the world; within which, moreover, the productive forces were extremely backward.

In the light of this situation, Trotsky recalled the words of the young Marx (1846):

'A development of the productive forces is the absolute necessary practical premise [of communism], because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive.'

In fact, as Trotsky pointed out, after the October Revolution the

struggle for individual existence—given the special problems of isolation, wars of intervention, encirclement and exhaustion—'did not abate in the succeeding years, but, on the contrary, assumed at times an unheard-of ferocity.' ('The Revolution Betrayed', Chap. 3.)

Against these fundamental Marxist positions, Stalin posed the programme of 'socialism in one country' as early as 1924.

The whole counter-revolutionary history of Stalinism is the acting out of this revisionist theory. It was the charter of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Russian Revolution, the conscious Marxist preparation for it, the active leadership of it, the analysis of it, the defence of its gains, its relation to the world revolution; these were the essential problems around which all Trotsky's work centred.

And because the Russian Revolution opened up successfully the whole era of world socialist revolution, and constitutes the most essential experience of the international workers' movement, so the Marxist leadership of the working class needs to be trained in all of Trotsky's work, as the starting-point for penetrating every development in the proletariat and its revolution, and thus developing Marxism further.

# TROTSKY ON LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION

By Cliff Slaughter

TROTSKY'S 'Literature and Revolution', written 1923-1924, brings his overall historical and philosophical outlook into extremely sharp focus.

It is a trenchant analysis of the various literary schools existing in the early years of revolutionary Soviet Russia.

Too often dismissed as a by-product or diversion from his more directly political

writings, it is in fact a direct attack on the idea—encouraged at that time by Stalin, Bukharin, Lunacharsky and others—of 'proletarian culture' and 'proletarian literature'.

By analysing these problems

to their depths, which lie in the class struggle and the conflict between productive forces and relations of production, Trotsky was able to expound and enrich the Marxist theory of historical materialism, and also to provide a necessary

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to their depths, which lie in the class struggle and the conflict between productive forces and relations of production, Trotsky was able to expound and enrich the Marxist theory of historical materialism, and also to provide a necessary

foundation for the political struggle against the programme of Stalin and Bukharin.

Trotsky's introduction states his main point very clearly:

'It is fundamentally incorrect to contrast bourgeois culture and bourgeois art with proletarian culture and proletarian art.

'The latter will never exist, because the proletarian regime is temporary and transient. The historic significance and the moral grandeur of the proletarian revolution consist in the fact that it is laying the foundations of a culture which is above classes and which will be the first culture which is truly human' (p. 14).

As for 'proletarian culture' under capitalism, before the conquest of power, Trotsky restates the Marxist position that the proletariat is first and foremost an exploited class, separated from the gains made by humanity in its struggle with nature.

## Concentrated

The proletariat develops class-consciousness, concentrated into political strategy, tactics and organization and the methodological developments which underlie and enrich them. Only by abolishing itself as a class (by abolishing the property foundation of class society) will the proletariat put itself into a position to acquire and develop culture.

Whereas the bourgeoisie, before it rules society, growing up in the pores of feudal society, builds up its 'own' type of private ownership; builds its own schools, churches and academies; trains its own corps of administrators, philosophers, architects, dramatists and poets, the proletariat grows up under capitalism in a state of deprivation from culture.

It becomes conscious of its historical aims only by becoming conscious of its lack of culture.

In our own day, reformists like the 'new left' Raymond Williams ('Culture and Society') and Richard Hoggart ('The Uses of Literacy') have put forward the idea of a 'working-class culture': meaning some special 'values' or 'way of life' which the proletariat, quite apart from its trade union and political

development, strives to preserve against 'industrialism'.



BUKHARIN

Such an idea is only a 'cultural' reflection (a reflection in the lower middle-class intelligentsia) of English reformism, with its message that capitalism can be gradually rendered harmless and unrecognizable by the gradual growth of progressive tendencies within it.

These gentlemen mean, of course, that middle-class intellectuals themselves and bureaucrats, leaning on the working class and preventing it from asserting its real strength, will be able to attain high positions and influence in bourgeois society and thus achieve the middle-class dream of stabilization.

What has this to do with the problems dealt with by Trotsky in 1924?

The differences over 'culture' are directly related to political differences. In his criticism of Stalin's and Bukharin's theory of 'socialism in one country', Trotsky insisted first of all that it was a reversion to reformism; to a national version of socialism which destroyed the revolutionary and internationalist essence of socialism.

When Bukharin, for example, commented on Trotsky's 'Literature and Revolution', he rejected its main argument (the impossibility of a proletarian culture) on political grounds.

According to Bukharin, Trotsky underestimated the length of time which would be taken up by the era of proletarian revolution. Trotsky, he said, was impatient and over-optimistic about the world revolution. There could be a long period before

socialism was achieved, and this would give time for the formation of a proletarian culture in Russia.

What Bukharin was actually arguing was that the cultural tasks in Soviet Russia should be tackled in a way consistent with the whole Stalin-Bukharin political line: capitalism is stabilizing itself, the Soviet economy can be built 'at a snail's pace', the workers' struggle in all countries—from China to Britain—will go through different 'stages', often under non-communist leaderships, before the world revolution spreads; the 'Trotskyist' (actually Leninist) theory of world revolution is dangerous and must be dropped.

'Proletarian culture' was therefore encouraged as the artistic and literary accompaniment of the 'experiment' of building a special Russian kind of socialism.

In 'Literature and Revolution', Trotsky presents a thorough Marxist analysis of the real relations between literary creation and the proletarian revolution. To do this he had to discuss fundamental questions of the Marxist method — and for this reason the book is invaluable to students of Marxism.

If we take, for example, the question with which middle-class intellectuals are most often preoccupied in the discussion of Soviet literature: namely, the authority of the proletarian state and party, we find Trotsky presents it in quite different terms from the usual argument about 'freedom of the individual'.

## Monstrosities

Of course the subsequent Stalinist monstrosities and atrocities in this sphere themselves contributed to alienating many intellectuals. But the most important point is to understand the more fundamental and historical relations between the revolution and the artist's work:

'The proletariat has to have in art the expression of the new spiritual point of view which is just beginning to be formulated within him, and to which art must help him to give form.

'This is not a state order, but an historic necessity. You cannot pass this by, nor escape its force' (p. 170).

'It follows, therefore, that the proletarian state and the Marxist party under the proletarian dictatorship has to judge literary schools from the standpoint of their contribution to a future 'truly human' culture.

'It cannot create schools of literature by decree. Besides writers from the working class, there are writers who give only general support, and who are trying to adapt the literary forms they know to the historical forces created by the revolution.

'The party cannot tell them what they should write.

'The party stands guard over the historic interests of the working class in its entirety. Because it prepares consciously step by step the ground for a new culture and therefore for a new art, it regards the literary fellow-travellers not as the competitors of the writers of the working class, but as the real or potential helpers of the working class in the big work of reconstruction.

'The party understands the episodic character of the literary groups of a transition period and estimates them, not from the point of view of the class passports of the individual gentlemen literati, but from the point of view of the place which these groups occupy and can occupy in preparing a socialist culture' (pp. 218-219).

It was because Stalin and the Kremlin bureaucracy, representing all the most conservative forces in Russia and leaning on world imperialism, broke with these fundamental Marxist conceptions of the transition to socialism, that there ensued the later vicious repressions in literary and scientific fields as well as in politics.

Those who prefer to attack the Stalinist 'theories' of 'proletarian culture' and 'socialist realism' simply as some sort of undemocratic and crude application of dictatorial methods can only seek for a liberalization or humanization of Stalinism — and cannot attack it at its roots, in a revolutionary way, from the standpoint of Marxism and the working class.

They become simply middle-class well-wishers of Stalinism.

By approaching the problem of literature and revolution

with the method of Marxism, Trotsky was following out very consciously the line and the advice of Lenin. Lenin himself denounced all attempts to invent a special 'proletarian' culture and especially emphasized the need for the proletariat to acquire the culture of past societies.

But there is a deeper sense in which Trotsky carried into effect the method and approach of Lenin on this question.

The whole book 'Literature and Revolution' keeps returning to the theme of this dialectical materialist method, as opposed to idealism: which is, of course, rampant in fields like literary criticism.



LUNACHARSKY

For example, idealism of an 'ultra-left' variety was very common among dramatic critics at that time in the USSR. Instead of analysing and presenting drama as the living expression of specific social and historical relations, these critics thought they could deduce a new and truly revolutionary drama from the general 'nature' of the revolutionary proletariat; its atheism, its activism and its need for objectivity etc.

These critics attacked a French writer's work, which depicted a stage of the struggle of the French working class, as 'repetitive' and tiresome — contrasting it with their own ideal version of the dynamism of the October Revolution, out of which they constructed in their minds a 'true' drama. Trotsky says:

'To carry over the action of a definite historical milieu into an abstract constructivism, is in this case a deviation from the revolution — from that

real, true revolution which is developing obstinately and moving from country to country, and which appears, therefore, to some pseudo-revolutionists as a boresome repetition' (p. 238).

We are back to the same methodological point as when Trotsky explained the role of 'fellow-travellers' in literature.

It is a matter of examining, and working on, as revolutionists engaged in making history, the actual process of proletarian revolution in all its forms and with all its influences and shadings; examining the 'fellow-travellers', for example, '... from the point of view of the place which these groups occupy and can occupy in preparing a socialist culture'.

In the 1920 controversy in the Bolshevik Party concerning the role of the trade unions, Lenin had laid great stress on this aspect of the dialectical materialistic method.

At that time grave dangers had arisen from a tendency to impose a schema of what the workers' state ought to be upon the working class and the trade unions; to deduce from the theory of trade unions and the workers' state what their interrelation ought to be.

Lenin hit very hard, against both Bukharin and Trotsky at that time, insisting that the actual struggle of opposites within reality must be established by the 'concrete analysis of concrete conditions': 'The truth is always concrete.' Such a 'concrete study' showed up the bureaucratic distortions in the workers' state, and made necessary the independence of workers' trade unions from 'their' state.

Thus it was no idle philosophical discussion. The dialectical method had to be fought for as a matter of the life and death of the workers' state.

Bukharin not only refused to correct his mistakes but persisted in them, and this was largely responsible for the Party crisis of 1921 which led to the ban on factions.

This Party discussion had its own dialectic.

## Mistakes

Those who persisted in their mistakes thereby created a new situation. Small mistakes, given a new development in the class

forces and the revolution, became the transition to big problems and to a major party crisis.

Lenin considered that Trotsky made errors in this respect at that time, but the apologists for Stalinism always like to forget that at the vital stage it was Bukharin — soon to be Stalin's main 'theoretician' — who made the fatal descent into syndicalism by persisting in his mistake.

As Lenin put it:

'Trotsky, who had been "chief" in the struggle, has now been "outstripped" and entirely "eclipsed" by Bukharin, who has thrown the struggle into an entirely new balance by talking himself into a mistake that is much more serious than all of Trotsky's put together' ('Collected Works', Vol. 32, pp. 50-51).

Between 1921 and 1924 (when 'Literature and Revolution' appeared), of course, Lenin embarked upon his alliance with Trotsky against the bureaucratic methods of Stalin.

In his work on literature, then, Trotsky was fighting against the growth of bureaucracy, and this fight coincided and was identical with the fight for the dialectical method against idealism, which proceeds with norms of what ought to be.

Interesting here is a comparison made by Trotsky, which incidentally may be noted by all those who try to separate historical materialism from the dialectics of nature.

Against all these who 'deduced' from the 'revolutionary nature' of the proletariat the programme of a proletarian art and literature, Trotsky asks: why not a proletarian science also?

'What are the metaphysicians of a purely proletarian science going to say about the theory of relativity? Can it be reconciled with materialism or not? Has this question been decided? Where and when and by whom?

'It is clear to anyone, even to the uninitiated, that the work of our physiologist, Pavlov, is entirely along materialist lines.

'But what is one to say about the psychoanalytic theory of Freud? Can it be reconciled with materialism, as for instance, Karl Radek thinks (and I also), or is it hostile to it?

'The same question can be put to all the new theories of atomic structure, etc., etc.

'It would be fine if a scientist would come along who could grasp all these new generalizations methodologically and introduce them into the dialectic materialist conception of the world. He could thus, at the same time, test the new theories and develop the dialectic method deeper' (pp. 219-220. My emphasis—CS).

Trotsky, proceeding as a materialist, considers the various arts, as well as natural science, to be elements of man's living struggle to control nature and his own destiny. They must develop in and through this struggle, and cannot be deduced from abstract theories.

For example, having described briefly the social and technical elements of the architecture developing in Soviet Russia, Trotsky says:

'Thus, beyond a practical problem and the steady work of solving this problem, one cannot create a new architectural style.

'The effort to reason out such a style by the method of deduction from the nature of the proletariat, from its collectivism, atheism and so forth, is the purest idealism, and will give nothing but an ingenious expression of one's ego, an arbitrary allegorism, and the same old provincial dilettantism' (p. 136).

Trotsky makes many brilliant and profound explanations on the Marxist theory of literature, but it is only because he has been able to enrich the Marxist outlook: precisely by a materialist and dialectical analysis of the revolutionary conditions of Soviet literature, and not by writing a general textbook on Marxism and literature.

Readers of 'Literature and Revolution' should therefore not be put off by the fact that the book deals with schools of writers with whose works we are unfamiliar, and should not simply try to extract passages of more general interest.

It is precisely because he makes that detailed analysis of the relation of writers to the



Trotsky pictured in 1924 in Caucasia.

Russian revolution that Trotsky can make a major contribution to Marxist theory in this book.

'LITERATURE and Revolution' is best known for its attack on the idea of a 'proletarian culture'.

Put forward by groups of artists and writers after the Russian Revolution, this idea soon played into the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which tried to give some special historical value to the products of Russia's backwardness and isolation.

This, the theory of 'socialism in one country' and all that went with it, was the bureaucracy's programme of opposition to Trotsky's insistence on the revolutionary role of the working class and the defence and development of dialectical materialism.

The task of the proletariat was and is to create a classless society in which art and all culture will be 'truly human', and its class character surpassed.

In the course of the many years of proletarian revolution, there would be developments in art which would inevitably reflect the problems and achievements of the revolution, but even that art which could be called 'revolutionary' (not 'socialist' or 'proletarian') is produced in the context of definite artistic traditions, according to the past achievements within each art form etc., and is not freshly baked according to some recipe deduced from the nature of the proletariat:

'It is untrue that revolutionary art can be created only by workers' (p. 217).

And what is the dialectic of artistic and literary creations?

Obviously Marxists do not think that each novel, poem, play, painting etc., is simply the unique expression of an individual's imagination. It is that, but, for it to mean something to others, it must express something common to all those who read, see or hear it.

Historical materialism shows that the characteristic attitudes, assumptions and modes of feeling of any epoch are not 'natural', however much they are taken for granted. These thoughts and sentiments grow out of (and also then help to give shape to) the necessary economic foundations of life, and especially from the interests of the classes which

oppose one another as a result of their relation to that foundation.

## Individual

If Marxists say then that an artist (writer, painter, poet etc.) expresses a particular class or section of a class or group of classes under the impact of particular historical experiences, choices etc., does this mean that the individual talent and uniqueness of the artist is set at naught?

That would be a totally undialectical conclusion:

'One of the most important tasks of criticism is to analyse the individuality of the artist (that is, his art) into its component elements, and to show their correlations.

'In this way, criticism brings the artist closer to the reader, who also has more or less of a "unique soul", "artistically" unexpressed, "unchosen", but nonetheless representing a union of the same elements as does the soul of a poet.

'So it can be seen that what serves as a bridge for soul to soul is not the unique, but the common. Only through the common is the unique known; the common is determined in man by the deepest and most persistent conditions which make up his "soul", by the social conditions of education,

of existence, of work and of associations.

'The social conditions in historic human society are, first of all, the conditions of class affiliation. That is why a class standard is so fruitful in all fields of ideology, including art, and especially in art, because the latter often expresses the deepest and most hidden social aspirations.

'Moreover a social standard not only does not exclude, but goes hand-in-hand with formal criticism, that is, with the standard of technical workmanship. This, as a matter of fact, also tests the particular by a common measure, because if one did not reduce the particular to the general there would be no contacts among people, no thoughts and no poetry' (p. 60).

It is therefore precisely in those attitudes and values which individuals (and artists themselves) do not question, but 'take for granted' and express naively, in relation to all sorts of questions (the family, love, personal integrity etc.), that their deepest assumptions are expressed, and it is these deepest assumptions that are moulded by the most basic, class-historical interests.

(This illuminates the well-known fact that Marx and Engels, for example, never judged writers by their explicit political opinions, but only by their artistic success in penetrating to these basic questions. Engels even said that a literary work would be better, from the proletarian standpoint, if it was not politically explicit.)

## 'Incriminating'

Opponents of Marxism, in Trotsky's day as now, objected to the Marxist analysis, complaining that it was simply a way of blackening or 'incriminating' a writer by pointing to his class affiliation or interest.

Trotsky, in replying, elaborates on the way Marxists should approach these questions:

'[Marxism] does not at all "incriminate" a poet with the thoughts and feelings which he expresses, but raises questions of a much more profound significance, namely, to which order of feelings does a given

artistic work correspond in all its peculiarities? What are the social conditions of these thoughts and feelings? What place do they occupy in the historical development of a society and of a class? And, further, what literary heritage has entered into the elaboration of the new form?

'Under the influence of what historic impulse have the new complexes of feelings and thoughts broken through the

shell which divides them from the sphere of poetic consciousness?' (p. 170).

The final sentence in this quotation begins to answer our question: what is the struggle of opposites at the root of artistic creation?

As Trotsky sees it, there exists the whole tradition of past literary creation; 'the sphere of poetic consciousness'.

Inevitably, in class society of every type, this 'sphere' has

been relatively and often completely isolated from the life and sentiments of the masses.

The breakthrough of a new class in history, and its relation to the lives and feelings of all the oppressed masses, changes all these relationships, and conflicts with the old forms. Under this 'new historic impulse' the 'new complexes of thoughts and feelings' break through 'the shell which divides them' from poetry, from art.

## Enriching

To a certain extent the changes taking place in social reality are always tending to modify the literary consciousness; only in revolutionary periods are the conditions created for profound changes, and there is then often a long interval before the new class, its interests, and its characteristic feelings, come to define and work out artistic styles.

'Artistic creation is always a complicated turning inside-out of old forms, under the influence of new stimuli which originate outside the art' (p. 179).

The old forms are developed and transformed, not created completely anew by the new stimuli.

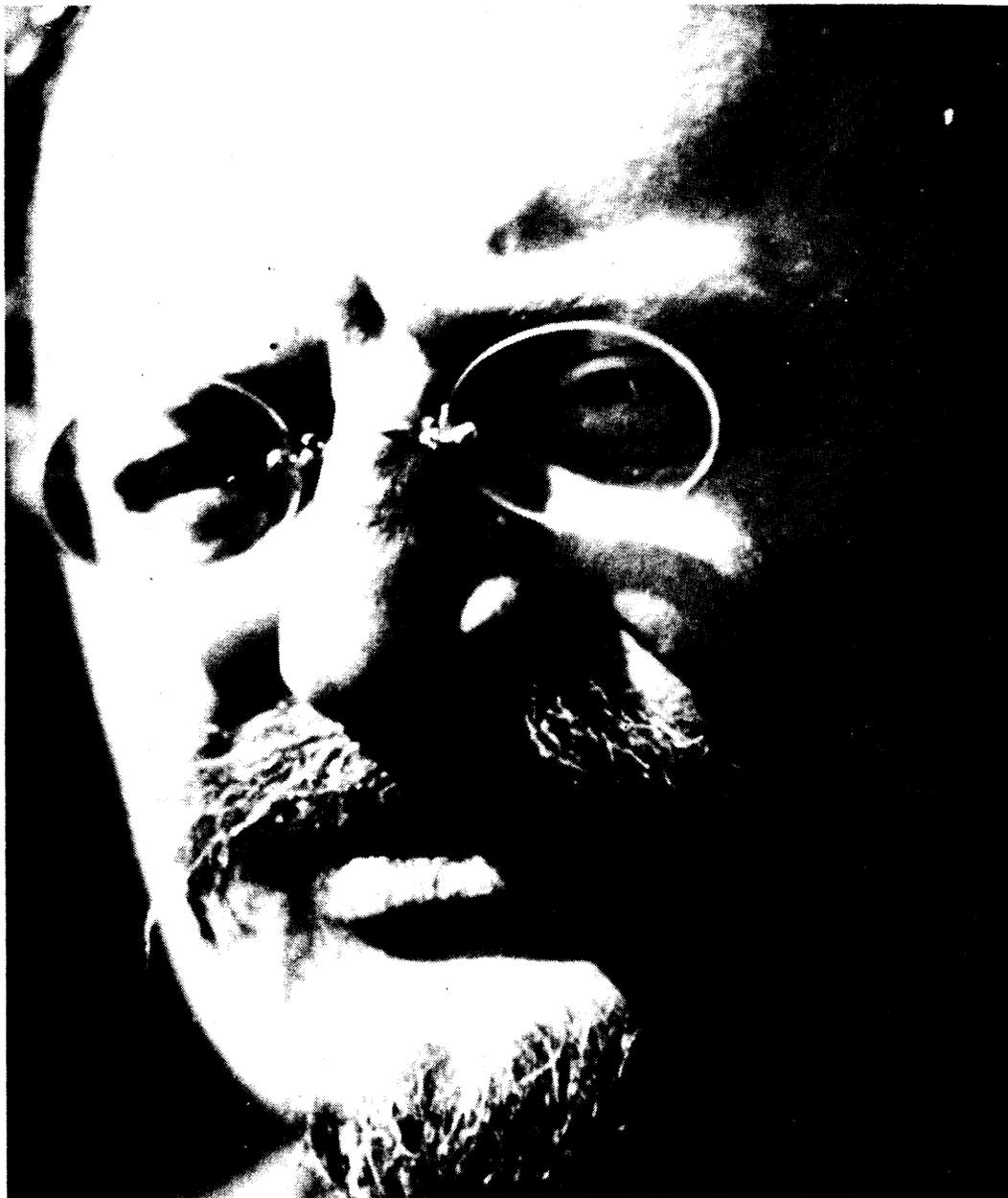
Here Trotsky, in a passage which recalls Lenin's exposition of the dialectical theory of knowledge ('Philosophical Notebooks'), insists that the literary forms developed by writers in the past are an acquisition of mankind in handling the problems of life. They must not be thrown away but dialectically overcome:

'Literature, whose methods and processes have their roots far back in the most distant past and represent the accumulated experience of verbal craftsmanship, expresses the thoughts, feelings, points of view and hopes of the new epoch and of its new class' (p. 180).

This applies to the forms and techniques of all the arts, some of which are now of course (like film) directly associated with the development of science and the forces of production.

Past literature and art, therefore, while having a class character determined by the type of exploitation of the ruling class, also represents the progress of humanity in its contradictory historical course:

'What the workers will take from Shakespeare, Goethe, Pushkin or Dostoevsky, will be a more complex idea of human personality, of its passions and feelings, a deeper and profounder understanding of its psychic forces and of the role of the subconscious etc. In the final analysis, the worker will become richer' (p. 225).



TROTSKY

In other words, Shakespeare, Goethe etc., the giants of bourgeois literature, did not only develop literary forms, but through those forms made genuine discoveries about the nature of man. Art and literature thus have a distinct role of enriching man's perception and capacity for life.

For the proletariat to appropriate these cultural gains, it must concentrate all energies—through the leadership of a revolutionary party based on Marxism—to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of its political power. This provides the conditions for creating a classless society.

The Russian Futurists wanted to work out an art and literature just from this revolutionary nature of the proletariat, condemning the 'individualism' of bourgeois literature. The dangers involved in such an attitude of revolt rather than revolution are indicated by the fact that their fellow-Futurists in Italy found themselves intimately associated with Mussolini's fascists, who also took a new broom to sweep away the 'decadence' and 'individualism' of 'democracy' and the 'old world'!

## 'Threshold'

Trotsky points out that the proletariat, by its revolution, only puts itself 'on the threshold', culturally speaking.

'When the Futurists propose to throw overboard the old literature of individualism, not only because it has become antiquated in form, but because it contradicts the collectivist nature of the proletariat, they reveal a very inadequate understanding of the dialectic nature of the contradiction between individualism and collectivism.

'There are no abstract

truths. There are different kinds of individualism.

'Because of too much individualism, a section of the pre-revolutionary intelligentsia threw itself into mysticism, but another section moved along the chaotic lines of Futurism and, caught by the Revolution—to their honour be it said—came nearer to the proletariat.

'But when they who came nearer because their teeth were set on edge by individualism, carry their feeling over to the proletariat, they show themselves guilty of egocentricism, that is, of extreme individualism.

'The trouble is that the average proletarian is lacking in this very quality. In the mass, proletarian individuality has not been sufficiently formed and differentiated.

'It is just such heightening of the objective quality and the subjective consciousness of individuality that is the most valuable contribution of the cultural advance at the threshold of which we stand today.

'It is childish to think that bourgeois belles lettres can make a breach in class solidarity' (p. 225).

We return, then, but on the basis of the most fundamental historical and theoretical considerations, to questions of policy of the workers' state and the Bolshevik Party.

The Bolsheviks represent and lead the working class and must determine its policy towards other classes and towards the literary intelligentsia, some of whom seek in the Revolution a new source for their creativity.

'In its struggle for the preservation of continuity in artistic culture, the left wing of the old art, whose social basis has been destroyed by the Revolution more thoroughly than ever before in history, is compelled to seek support in the proletariat, or

at least, in the new social environment which is being formed about the proletariat.

'In its turn, the proletariat takes advantage of its position as ruling class and tries and begins to make contacts with art in general, and thus to prepare the ground for an unprecedented influence of art. In this sense it is true that the factory news-bulletins pasted on their walls represent a very necessary, though very remote, premise for the new literature of the future.

'No one, however, will say: Let me cross out everything else until the proletariat shall have risen from those walled bulletins to an independent craftsmanship of art.

'The proletariat also needs a continuity of creative tradition. At the present time the proletariat realises this continuity not directly, but indirectly, through the creative bourgeois intelligentsia which gravitates towards the proletariat and which wants to keep warm under its wing.

'The proletariat tolerates a part of this intelligentsia, supports another part, half-adopts a third, and entirely assimilates a fourth.

'The policy of the [Soviet] Communist Party towards art is determined by the complexity of this process, by its internal many-sidedness.

It is impossible to reduce this policy to something short like a bird's bill. Nor is it necessary to do this' (p. 227).

It is the release of the productive forces by the new collective social relations of socialism which lays the basis for the 'truly human' culture of the future. The content of this culture will constitute a re-working of the whole cultural heritage of past class societies in the context of quite new tasks.

Men no longer confront their destiny as some blind fate or as a set of powers exercising

uncontrollable power.

They will, under communism, be 'the associated producers', consciously creating and catering for human needs, with the contradiction between the common interest and the free development of the individual resolved.

'And as all problems in a socialist society—the problems of life which formerly were solved spontaneously and automatically, and the problems of art which were in the custody of special priestly castes—will become the property of all people, one can say with certainty that collective interests and passions and individual competition will have the widest scope and the most unlimited opportunity . . .

'It will be the aesthetic schools around which "parties" will collect, that is, associations of temperaments, of tastes and of moods. In a struggle so disinterested and tense, which will take place in a culture whose foundations are steadily rising, the human personality, with its invaluable basic trait of continual discontent, will grow and become polished at all its points.

'In truth, we have no reason to fear that there will be a decline of individuality or an impoverishment of art in a socialist society' (pp. 231-232). 'Literature and Revolution' is one of the classics of Marxism.

Trotsky's vision of the future society, of communist man, has often been praised for its passion and nobility, and rightly so. But nowhere else, besides his book, has any Marxist so clearly traced and defined the relationship between that future, the revolutionary tasks before the Marxist party, and the fundamental elements of dialectical materialism.

This is what gives 'Literature and Revolution' its great value.

# To the memory of VINCENT RAYMOND DUNNE 1890- 1970 Pioneer American Trotskyist



**VINCENT RAYMOND DUNNE**, veteran US workers' leader, founder member of the American Communist Party and later of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, died on February 17 at the age of 80.

The whole of Dunne's working life was devoted to the organization of his class against its enemies. His life and experiences span the most decisive landmarks in the history of both the American and European working classes.

His first contact with the socialist movement was in Montana, where he was working as a lumberjack at the age of 16.

It was there that he met the Industrial Workers of the World (the IWW or 'Wobblies') and learned from them the news that the Russian workers had risen in revolt against the Tsar in the revolution of 1905.

It was at this time that he became a convinced internationalist.

Trade union organization was still very weak, and embraced largely skilled workers in the American Federation of Labour (AFL).

The IWW, with its syndicalist emphasis on militant industrial unionism, attracted many unskilled workers into its ranks in the years before the First World War, and trained many fine union organizers. Dunne was one of them.

Unlike so many of his class in the USA, Dunne raised himself above trade unionism to the level where he began to see the need for political power.

From the IWW he joined the Socialist Party of Debbis, and began a serious study of the socialist and Marxist classics. From his very beginnings as a revolutionary socialist, Dunne tried to give his practical activity a theoretical foundation.

He rapidly won a reputation in Minneapolis as a union militant, and was repeatedly sacked for his organizing activities. During the First World War, he refused to buy war bond stamps from his employer, and was again sacked—this time for internationalism.

## Betrayals

Great events in Europe again thrust him forward. The October Revolution in Russia and the betrayals of social democracy in the rest of Europe convinced Dunne that only Bolshevism and the Third Communist International could

organize the US working class for the socialist revolution.

He became a founder member of the American Communist Party.

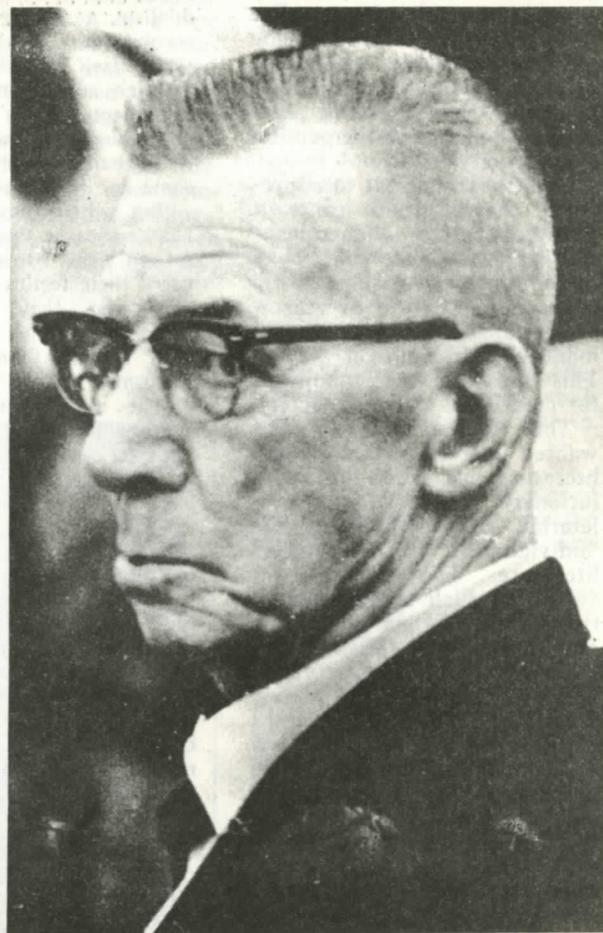
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During these 12 years he won a reputation that was to stand him in good stead when the historic class battles of 1934 transformed Minneapolis from a trade union backwater into one of the best-organized cities in the entire mid-West.

But six years before the 1934 explosion, Dunne's political development was again influenced—for the third time by great events in Russia.

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Party by its Stalinist leadership.

But at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 a section of Trotsky's criticism of the Draft Programme of the International, submitted by Trotsky to the Congress from exile in Alma Ata, was accidentally translated and circulated to all the delegations at the congress. Stalin wanted to suppress it.

James P. Cannon, a member of the US delegation to the Congress, kept a copy of the document, and, when he returned to America, began a fight inside the US Communist Party against the Stalinist programme of 'socialism in one country' attacked in Trotsky's critique.

When Cannon's group was expelled by the pro-Stalinist faction, Dunne voted against the expulsion:

'This had to be challenged', he said many years later. 'We had to protest against this expulsion, this bureaucratic disregard of all rights in the Party. When we made our protest, we were expelled too.'

Dunne was then on the Minnesota district committee of the Communist Party. With him were expelled around 30 other comrades from the same region. Together, they formed the working-class nucleus that was to play the decisive part in pioneering trade unionism in Minneapolis and the whole mid-West.

Their break from Stalinism in 1928 was an essential prerequisite for this historic intervention in the class struggle six years later in 1934.

The adherence of Dunne and his comrades to the International Left Opposition and later the Fourth International was of profound importance in the development of Trotskyism.

The movement was founded, as Trotsky once said, on the most advanced ideas on this planet. Yet its cadres were few, persecuted and in many cases isolated from the mainstream of the class struggle.

## Essence

Many of those who rallied to Trotsky in the early period were middle-class intellectuals, impressed by the superficial or secondary aspects of the struggle against Stalinism, but



The Dunne brothers: Broke from the CP to join Trotsky.

unable to grasp the principled and class essence of Trotskyism, which lay in its fight for Bolshevism and the conquests of the Russian Revolution against the Stalinist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union.

All the more vital therefore that Trotskyism should secure an anchorage deep in the working class from which to begin a real training of revolutionaries in the fight against both social democracy and Stalinism.

The decision of the Dunne brothers to break from the Communist Party and join Trotsky was therefore of immense value to the movement.

It was not just the decision of a small group of advanced workers, but a decisive trend inside the working class sensitive to historic issues raised by the Russian Revolution and its degeneration under Stalin.

It was a development of profound international significance.

This break-through inside the US working class, which reached a high point with the Minneapolis strikes of 1934, came at a time when the European working class was being betrayed in defeat after defeat by the Second and Third Internationals. First in Germany, then Austria, France and Spain the counter-revolution struck.

But in the United States, the working class, recovering from the terrible ravages of the

1929 depression, began to take its first giant strides towards organizing itself as a class against the employers.

Excluded by the skilled craft unions from the AFL, industrial and other unskilled workers began to recover their confidence with the upturn of the economy in 1934. It was no accident that Minneapolis was the arena of the first great confrontation between the big battalions of US labour and the union-hating giants of American business.

By a twist of history, the theories of revolutionary Marxism, Trotskyism, began to take root in a section of a working class traditionally the most hostile to theory and the most deeply steeped in the philosophy of individualism and class collaboration.

## Opposites

These two opposites were consciously brought together by the American Trotskyist movement in the two great Minneapolis truck drivers' strikes of 1934, strikes which saw the US working class, with all its resources of ingenuity, improvisation, audacity and organizational skill, at its greatest.

In the course of the strikes, Dunne proved himself to be a superb strike strategist and organizer, using all his experience and knowledge of the working class and its enemies to outwit and out-think his opponents.

When these skills were allied and enriched by the political understanding that only Marxism can give to the working class, the combination proved overpowering.

## Routed

The two strikes for union rights and better wages and conditions brought the 'Citizens' Alliance' to its knees, and routed the armed police of 'Farmer-Labour' Governor Olsen, at the battle of Deputies Run, for good measure.

At the time of the strikes, Dunne and his fellow militants were not even officials of their union local, 574, but were only members of the truck drivers' organizing committee.

This did not prevent them from playing the decisive role in the whole strike, because behind Dunne and his comrades in local 574 was a party, a programme and a theory based on the historical experiences of the international working class in its struggle against capitalism.

The Minneapolis strike was won and the trade union movement established in the town not only through the militancy of the working class, but because the strike was led by Trotskyists, by a leadership that began with a political and not purely trade union perspective.

At the height of the battle, when many workers were still looking to Olsen for protection from the Citizens' Alliance, Dunne warned:



Minneapolis, 1934: Striking truck-drivers battle with police. Bullets and bayonets could not shift them until their demands were met.

'Submit to the governor Olsen and the strike is lost. Workers must rely only on their own organizations.'

This was the authentic voice of the American working class speaking. For Dunne, however, this slogan had a deeper meaning. The most important organization of all was the revolutionary party, and Dunne, from his first days with the IWW, constantly worked towards an understanding of its role in the class struggle. The Minneapolis strike was not just a victory for trade unionism, but for the revolutionary party.

The Dunne leadership also contributed other unique features to US trade unionism that were to set the pace for the giant movement that created the unskilled workers' unions a few years later. The strike committee issued its own daily paper, and involved every possible striker in deciding and carrying out the policy of the local.

Not only the strikers, but their families, and particularly their wives (always singled out for special attention by the

employers) were drawn into the fight.

Everything was thrown at the picket lines and the strikers—but neither blandishments from the clergy, promises from 'Farmer-Labour' Olsen, nor bullets and bayonets from the militia could shift them until their demands had been granted.

Red-baiting, Bolshevik scares and all the usual anti-strike propaganda tricks of the employers fell on deaf ears. The leadership had prepared the Minneapolis working class for every one of these attacks.

It was the employers, and not local 574, that cracked.

The fame of local 574 spread far and wide, and soon Dunne and his comrades became the terror of union bureaucrats and employers throughout the entire mid-West as they loaned organizers to other workers fighting to establish unions in their industries or towns.

Later in 1934, Dan Tobin, President of the Teamsters, expelled local 574, and began a war of intimidation against Dunne and its other leaders.

## Beaten up

Dunne himself was beaten up by Tobin's thugs. But when faced with the flat refusal of any Minneapolis worker to join his own newly formed 'local 500', the union bureaucracy capitulated and in 1936 re-admitted local 574 — with Dunne still in its leadership.

This stand proved that the union bureaucracy, despite all its gangsterism and friends in high places, could be beaten if an appeal was made to the rank and file on a militant programme of class struggle.

The Dunne brothers, through their training in the Trotskyist movement, were able to harness this power in the working class and deal a blow to Tobin and the AFL bureaucracy that was never forgotten.

The Dunnes set the pace for trade unionism in the whole mid-West just as they had for Minneapolis. And in 1938, after a period of work as Trotskyists inside the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas,

Vincent became a founder member of the Socialist Workers' Party, the American Trotskyists.

Dunne and his fellow workers in the SWP had travelled only a certain distance along the road to becoming fully-fledged Marxists.

They embodied all the strengths of the American working class, revealed first in the Minneapolis strike and then on a vaster scale in the organization of the unskilled millions into the Congress for Industrial Organizations (CIO).

But this group had political limitations which it also shared with the class as a whole and it could not be otherwise.

Organizational skill and adherence to the party and its programme had carried them a long way.

## Mass basis

Now it was the responsibility of the party intellectuals to apply themselves to the training of this working-class cadre in Marxist philosophy, without which there could be no possibility of securing a mass basis for the SWP in the American working class.

Trotsky gave this task first priority:

... my first serious conversation with comrades Schachtman and Warde, in the train immediately after my arrival in Mexico in January 1937, was devoted to the necessity of persistently propagating dialectical materialism. . . . In the United States . . . where the bourgeoisie systematically instills vulgar empiricism in the workers, more than anywhere else is it necessary to speed the elevation of the movement to a proper theoretical level.' ('In Defence of Marxism'. New Park Publications edition. p. 142.)

It was precisely at this point that the middle class struck its blow against the Fourth International in the United States, crippling those workers in the party fighting their way towards an understanding of Marxism and the class roots of pragmatism, the outlook that judges everything by immediate results, by 'what works for me'.

The disdain and even contempt for Marxist philosophy

displayed by the majority of intellectuals within the SWP came to the surface in 1939 at the time of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, which made unconditional defence of the Soviet Union extremely unpopular in 'democratic' and radical circles.

In the course of the struggle against the petty-bourgeois Opposition, Trotsky several times expressed disgust at the theoretical level of its arguments and philosophical pretensions. Of Burnham, Trotsky said:

'I grit my teeth upon losing my time in the reading of these absolutely stale documents. The errors are so elementary that it is necessary to make an effort to remember the necessary argument from the ABC of Marxism.' ('In Defence of Marxism'.)

The working-class core of the party, led by cadres such as Dunne, never wavered under the pressure of the American ruling class.

But the middle class ran from the party as fast as their legs would take them, several, such as James Burnham, not stopping till they ended up on the extreme right.

Already under attack from within, the party was hit by a new wave of persecutions.

The target was ostensibly local 574, whose leaders were again witch-hunted by Tobin on a framed-up charge of 'racketeering' (Tobin himself was a notorious union racketeer).

## Cleared

But in October 1940, after three years of investigations, the local was once again cleared and re-admitted back into the AFL. But still Tobin was not satisfied.

He attempted to place the local in receivership, which would mean that the control of its affairs would pass out of the hands of its members into Tobin's own bureaucracy.

Armed with a crushing mandate from the rank and file, the leadership of the local applied for admittance to the CIO.

But before this could take place, an unprecedented red-baiting campaign was unleashed by the government.

The Minneapolis offices of the SWP were raided by the

FBI, and practically the entire leadership of local 574 indicted under the notorious anti-union Smith Act to the applause of every employer—and, of course, Stalinist.

Together with 25 other prominent leaders of the local and the SWP, the three Dunne brothers stood trial in August 1941 charged with advocating the overthrow of the American government by force.

Eighteen of the defendants, including Vincent Dunne, were found guilty and finally, after a two-year campaign, sentenced to jail for periods ranging from one year to 16 months.

Dunne's devotion to the party helped him to withstand these attacks when the middle class had deserted the SWP for the camp of Roosevelt and 'democracy'. But his political development now took a new turn.

The main philosophical questions raised by the 1939-1940 struggle with Burnham and Schachtman had never been probed.

Trotsky insisted that the pragmatic traditions of the American ruling class had penetrated deeply into the thinking of not only middle-class radicals, **but the working class itself.**

In siding with Trotsky, the Cannon leadership, based on the working-class cadres of the SWP, had not departed from the pragmatic method. Their relationship with Trotsky 'worked', while the middle-class opposition threatened to destroy the party built by Dunne and Cannon.

The Cannon-Dunne leadership leaned heavily on Trotsky for the theoretical arguments against the renegade Schachtman-Burnham group, but never seriously began to develop **themselves** as Marxists in the day to day struggle against pragmatism in the USA. Trotsky, cut off in Mexico from the daily struggle to build the Party in the concrete conditions of the US class struggle, could not do this for them.

Fidelity to the party and its programme, and reliance on strong proletarian class instincts and organizational skill, essential qualities in any revolutionary leader, still could not serve as substitutes for dialectical materialism, developed in conflict with the highly subjectivist ideology of the

American ruling class, pragmatism.

In turn, this development could only have been made through the conscious relation of theory to practice in the work of the party.

It also demanded a struggle within the leadership of the SWP after the defection of the Burnham-Schachtman opposition.

as Trotsky insisted, still dominated the thinking of the Cannon group, despite its support for Trotsky in the fight against Burnham and Schachtman.

Even though he directed his main blows at the opposition, Trotsky still found it necessary to express his concern at the low theoretical level of the whole party as revealed in the discussion.



Governor Olsen's troops raiding the Central Labour Union. Dunne wrote 'submit to him and the strike is lost'.

Marxist theory cannot be developed in the abstract, but by its application to the task of training a revolutionary leadership. Inevitably, this would have led to conflicts within the SWP majority leadership on questions of philosophy, of dialectical materialism against pragmatism, which,

## Burning issue

'Let me also add that I feel abashed over the fact that it is necessary to justify coming out in defence of Marxism within one of the sections [the 'leading' one!] of the Fourth International!' ('In

Defence of Marxism', p. 143.)

This was written in 1939—a full 11 years after the Cannon-Dunne break from Stalinism in 1928. Trotsky was murdered less than a year later, and, had he lived, he would have undoubtedly returned to this burning issue in the SWP.

It was mainly left to Trotsky to call the petty-bourgeois intellectuals to order when they began their open attacks on the party, its traditions and theory.

The Cannon wing of the SWP combined their knowledge of the American working class with Trotsky's enormous theoretical and historical understanding. But this remained a pragmatic relationship, which was very successful while Trotsky was alive. The real problems came into the open after Trotsky was murdered in August 1940.

All the SWP leadership, including Dunne, share the responsibility for failing to carry through the theoretical fight begun by Trotsky in the last year of his life.

And when Trotsky was assassinated by a Stalinist agent in August 1940, SWP leaders like Cannon and Dunne began to spend the political capital inherited from the founder of the Fourth International without either adding to it or really understanding it in philosophical terms.

The great weakness of the US working class, its reliance on combinations and tactics as a substitute for principles, theory and strategy, was the outcome of pragmatism inside the workers' movement.

The CIO was a classic example of these features—it was built within a matter of a few years by an enormous upsurge in the US working



James Cannon : pragmatic relationship with the Fourth International.



Above: A meeting of the Local 574 stewards. Below: A cartoon on the employers' 'Red scare' propaganda from the strike committee's daily paper.



class, and yet succumbed just as quietly to the same class collaborationist philosophy that dominated the AFL, once faced with the challenge of political action.

Against the instincts of the CIO rank and file, many of whom had taken part in that most lethal of all strikers' weapon—the 'sit in'—the CIO was tied to the Roosevelt democratic chariot and driven full speed into the Second World War, 'no-strike pledge' and all.

The political future of the working-class cadres in the SWP therefore hinged on the ability of the party's leadership to train militants in the unions to understand the philosophical roots of American class collaboration. The trade union bureaucracies were underpinned not only by strong-arm men, but the political backwardness of the class itself.

Trotsky alerted the SWP majority to this problem when he wrote:

'It is moreover impermissible to forget that the actual or possible mistakes of those comrades working in the trade unions reflect the pressure of the American proletariat as it is today. We are not preparing to capitulate to this pressure. . . .' ('In Defence of Marxism', p. 184.)

In his fight for the development of Marxist philosophy in

the SWP, Trotsky first collided with the middle-class opposition, but they only expressed pragmatism in its purest and most naked form. The workers in the party, as part of American working class, though instinctively siding with Trotsky, shared that pragmatic outlook though on a less conscious level.

## Discussion

In a discussion with SWP leaders in June, 1940, Trotsky pointed out the dangers for the party inherent in any adaptation to the trade union consciousness of the working class:

'I believe we have the critical point very clear. We are in a bloc with so-called progressives—not only fakers but honest rank and file. Yes they are honest and progressives, but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt—once in four years. This is decisive. **You propose a trade union policy not a Bolshevik policy. Bolshevik policies begin outside the trade unions. . . .** (emphasis added.)

'You are afraid to become compromised in the eyes of the Rooseveltian trade unionists. . . . If you are afraid, you lose your independence and become half-Rooseveltian. Our policy is too much for pro-Rooseveltian, trade-unionists. I notice that in the "North

West Organiser" [the journal of Local 574]. We discussed it before, but not a word was changed; not a single word...' [emphasis added] (Transcript reproduced in 'Fourth International', August 1965, Vol. 2 Number 2.)

## Implicit

What had been implicit in many of Trotsky's contributions in the fight against the Burnham and Schachtman was made **explicit** in the discussions with the SWP leaders on trade union strategy, the tactics to be adopted towards the Stalinist party, and the policy for the Presidential election.

Pragmatic combinations in the trade unions had taken the SWP away from the Stalinist-led workers (many of whom, Trotsky insisted, could be won to the Party) towards the pro-Roosevelt layers, who were tied, through the CIO leadership, to the Democratic Party machine.

In suggesting that the SWP critically support the Stalinist candidate at the Presidential election if the Party was unable to run its own candidate, Trotsky unearthed and disturbed this combination.

The next stage in the struggle for Marxism in the United States would inevitably have led to sharp conflicts with sections of those workers drawn around the Party in the big trade union fights of the preceding period. Dunne, as a founder member both of the Communist Party and the Trotskyist movement in the USA, could have greatly assisted in that development.

But it never took place. A few articles on philosophy by Novack and Serland were written, and then the whole issue was dropped.

## Affected

After the end of the war, the worker elements in the SWP began to be affected by the inflationary boom, and, after the outbreak of the Korean war, by the cold war.

The pressures of the US ruling class, previously exerted on the Party through the middle-class intellectuals, now also relayed themselves through this more conservative layer in the trade unions that had not developed theoretically since

the split with Burnham and Schachtman.

The Cannon-Dunne leadership, resting on its tradition as Trotsky's allies in the struggles of 1939-1940, when the Second World War came to an end, substituted the Pablo leadership in the Fourth International Secretariat for the murdered Trotsky.

Cannon was to handle the organizational side, Pablo, the 'theory' as in the days of Trotsky. So pragmatic methods still prevailed, despite all Trotsky's appeals in the last years of his life for a development of dialectical materialism within the SWP.

Instead of a **unification** of theory and practice within the SWP being fought for, Cannon substituted a **combination** of his own strong side in organizational questions with first Trotsky's, and later Pablo's, theoretical guidance.

This pragmatic relationship with the Fourth International had great dangers, not just for the SWP, but the entire international movement, which understandably looked to the SWP for leadership on important questions.

When Pablo began to move towards a revision of Trotskyism in the early 1950s with his theory of the 'War Revolution' the SWP leadership at first said nothing.

It was only when Pablo, through a small group of supporters inside the SWP (the

Cochrane and Clarke group) began to disrupt the old relations established by the Cannon leadership that the SWP replied with its 'Open Letter' of 1953 (see 'Fourth International', Summer, Volume 2, Number 1 together with other documents on the Fourth International and the SWP).

But as in 1939-1940—there was no probing of the philosophical and methodological roots of Pablo's liquidationism. Instead, there was an abrupt split, and the expulsion within the SWP of a group around Cochrane, composed mainly of trade union workers based on Detroit, who sided with Pablo.

Once the gravity of the situation had become clear, British Trotskyists (already engaged in a fight against Pablo's supporters led by John Lawrence) called for a deep-going discussion in 1954 between all sections of the international movement, **including Pablo**, on the nature and origin of the dispute.

But as far as Cannon, Hansen, Dunne and Dobbs (now the leaders of the SWP) were concerned, the matter was closed. An organizational remedy had been applied to what was in fact a theoretical, indeed, philosophical question.

By cutting the discussion short, as they had done in 1940, the SWP leadership walled themselves off from any understanding of the crisis in the Fourth International.

And because the theoretical questions had been covered over with a pragmatic, organizational solution—expelling Cochrane 'worked', it 'settled' the problem—the SWP laid itself open to the same pressures that had already begun to destroy Pablo.

Headed by Joseph Hansen, a cynical petty-bourgeois, the SWP leadership began its drift back towards Pablo. More and more the leadership, including Dunne, adopted Pablo's method of turning empirically towards non-proletarian forces to carry through the socialist revolution: petty-bourgeois left-nationalist leaderships in the semi-colonial world and leftward-impelled centrist and Stalinist leaderships in the advanced capitalist countries.

## Rejoined

This adaptation was reflected in the class composition of the SWP itself, which became more and more dominated by middle-class elements. Finally, in 1963, the SWP leadership rejoined the Pabloites, without any concessions being made by the latter group on either the 1953 split or any of the subsequent actions and policies of its supporters.

But even at this later stage, the Socialist Labour League tried to continue the discussion inside the movement and probe to the roots the differences between the Inter-



Joseph Hansen: cynical petty-bourgeois who headed the drift back towards Pablo.



Dobbs: organizational remedies for the SWP leadership.

national Committee and the Pabloites.

After the SWP-Pabloite unification, the International Committee of the Fourth International (set up—with the SWP's support—to fight revisionism after the 1953 split) wrote to the Pabloite 'International Secretariat' asking for a continuation of the discussion:

... this discussion must take place in all sections, not only in the leadership, but the ranks. Unless this decision [is] carried out it would be impossible for the international movement to develop new cadres. . . . A proper circulation of all documents must take place.'

This appeal was brusquely turned down. The Pabloites feared such a political confrontation, as it would expose their decade and more of retreat from the principles of Trotskyism.

In the case of the SWP, it could have brought home to many of its rank and file the inconsistencies between the stand taken in 1953 and the unification ten years later with the very forces denounced in

the 'Open Letter' as traitors to Trotskyism.

In his fight against the SWP opposition, Trotsky wrote to Cannon, warning him against any minimizing of the philosophical issues at stake:

'I understand well the impatience of many Majority comrades (I suppose that this impatience is not infrequently connected with theoretical indifference) but they should be reminded that the happenings in the Socialist Workers Party have now a great international importance. . . .' ('In Defence of Marxism', p. 198.)

Dunne, like many other worker members of the SWP, became a victim of this indifference to theoretical questions. Pragmatism rotted the foundations of the SWP far more effectively than any amount of police persecution, bureaucratic repression and Stalinist thuggery could ever have done.

It withstood all the physical blows of the class enemy in the war and in the great strike battles of the 1930s and 1940s—only to succumb to the philosophy of the ruling class a decade later.

This is the tragedy of Dunne,

as it is with all the other workers who built Local 574 and led the Minneapolis strikes of 1934.

(Tribute must be paid here to the role of the late Carl Skoglund in pioneering Local 574. With Dunne, he was the great strategist of the 1934 victory.)

The revolutionary Party will only be built in the United States, the bastion of world imperialism, in the course of the most ruthless struggle for Marxist philosophy against the idealist outlook of the American ruling class—pragmatism.

This will involve not only a fight against the middle-class radical exponents of student and black power, but deep within the working class itself, where pragmatism is embedded firmly after a century and more of bourgeois domination over the workers' movement.

## Combination

The same combination of the SWP leadership with Trotsky established before 1940 continues to this day. On the one hand, the party publishes Trotsky's works, and com-

memorates his life in numerous books and pamphlets, while on the other, inside the youth movement, the Young Socialist Alliance, an orientation towards the middle class predominates.

The name and tradition of Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International, serves as a cover for the most opportunist adaptations to the anti-war movement, student power and now 'women's liberation'.

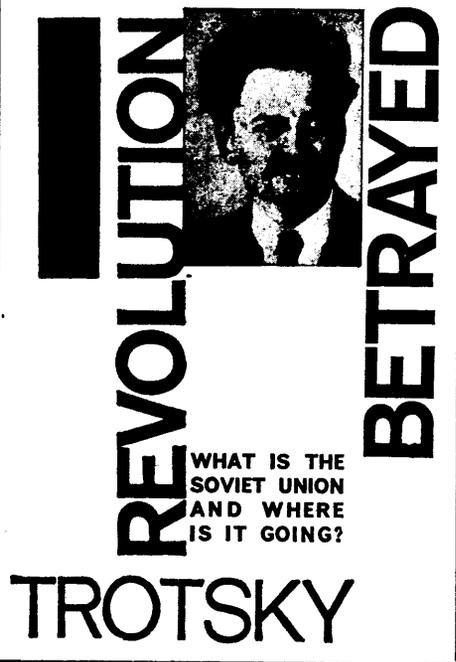
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Despite all his great experience in the US workers' movement, and his deep loyalty to the party, Vincent Dunne was not able to achieve this.

The present generation of advanced American workers, trained in the revolutionary party, must.

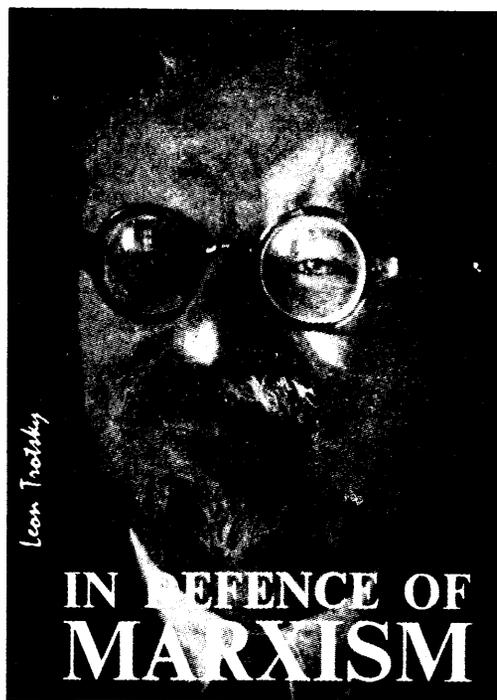
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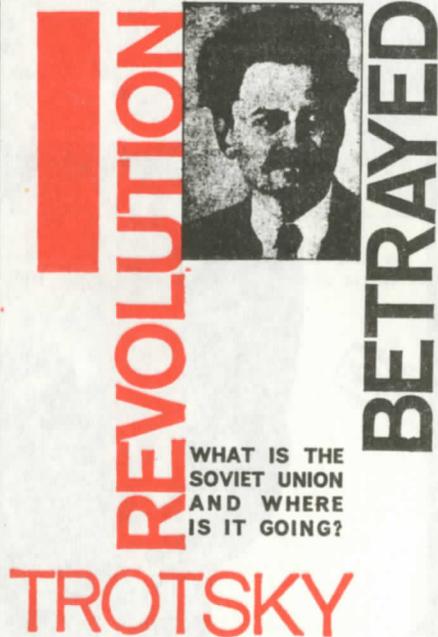
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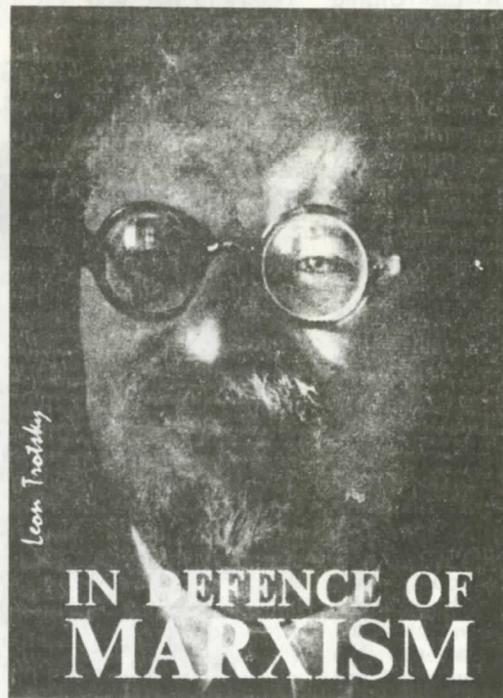
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# BOOK REVIEW

## 'l'Imperialisme en 1970

By Pierre Jalée, Maspero, 1970

Reviewed by Tom Kemp

DESPITE THE modest disavowals of the author, a book with the title 'Imperialism in 1970' and which refers explicitly to the works of Lenin and Bukharin, must be in some sense an attempt to bring up to date and apply the Marxist theory of imperialism to the present day.

The titles of the chapters and the statistical and other information upon which the analysis is based confirm this impression. By reason of the importance of the subject matter, but also because the author falls into methodological errors and seeks to find support for a position which can briefly be characterized as 'pro-Chinese' this book deserves attention and requires a rigorous critique. No doubt like Jalée's previous book 'The Pillage of the Third World', it will eventually be available in English translation, but as it is likely to have some influence before then it is as well to anticipate by taking up the original French edition recently published.

Jalée is an industrious compiler of statistics and, like Magdoss ('The Age of Imperialism'), whose writings he quotes, he tends to be over-impressed by them instead of gearing them to an analysis which takes into account all the aspects of a complex and ever-changing reality in a way which statistics alone cannot do. But in considering his work it is always necessary to take account of the political perspective which is spelled out in the concluding chapter and to which we shall return later. In short, Jalée assumes that the principal contradiction of the epoch is that between 'the Third World' and imperialism. He has little confidence in the possibility of revolution in the advanced capitalist countries but great hopes that the anti-imperialist struggle in the so-called 'Third World' will intensify the contradictions of capitalism. His analysis is tilted towards this conclusion in a manner which will now be established.

Jalée concludes from an examination of trends in trade between the advanced capitalist countries and the primary producing countries that the dependence of the former upon the latter as sources of supply has grown, especially as far as petroleum and metallic ores are concerned, since Lenin and Bukharin wrote about the question. Consequently the imperialist countries must ensure that they control the areas from which these products are derived and prevent them breaking away from the capitalist world market.

This is no longer done through the medium of old-style colonialism in which firms in the im-

perialist country dominated the economies of that country's colonies. Nowadays the great international companies, predominantly American, are the instruments of imperialist penetration and control of ostensibly independent states. Through a process of understandings and rivalries, these companies lay their hands on the principal sources of raw materials in the Third World.

While it is important to show the continued dependence of the advanced countries upon the raw materials supplied by the colonies and former colonies, in answer to those revisionists who claim that imperialism is finished, this dependence is a relative matter. Recent history shows that every attempt will be made to ensure control over these sources of supply. Imperialism is not so much sensitive to the loss of one or two of such sources as to the political effect which revolutionary movements in one country or area have on the rest of its territorial preserves. This same history shows that the **decisive** struggles do not take place in the so-called 'Third World' but in the metropolitan countries which dominate the whole capitalist world market of which it is a dependent part. In economics as well as political terms this is true: the economies of the 'Third World' are geared to and are dependent upon the advanced countries. The idea that imperialism can be best attacked by lopping off its branches piecemeal in Africa, Asia and Latin America rests upon a false assumption.

In his earlier books Jalée tried to measure in financial terms the 'tribute' drawn off from the 'Third World' by the advanced countries as the result of 'unequal exchange'. He now admits that it was a methodological mistake to try to reduce imperialist exploitation to a question of arithmetic. It would require, in any case, continuous balance of payments deficits on the part of the dependent countries and a constantly growing realization problem for the recipients. It is this contradiction which lies behind the 'much publicised 'aid to underdeveloped countries'. The continued exploitation of the natural resources and labour-power of these countries by the big monopolies would be impossible without a flow of capital from governments and international financial institutions. At the same time, it gives imperialism a political stranglehold over the governments of the newly independent countries, since without this 'aid' they would face economic collapse and revolution. It ensures the docility of these governments which thus become the guarantors for the

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foreign monopolies which control their economies. In any case, to try to measure the degree of imperialist exploitation by an examination of balance of payments figures, as Jalée formerly did, overlooks the fact that the commodity trade of the dependent countries is largely in the hands of big foreign corporations whose books are unfortunately not open for inspection. It is in their interest to buy cheap and sell dear regardless of the effect on the balance of payments.

It is not, then, by arithmetical calculations that the degree of imperialist exploitation can be measured, as Jalée now admits. He now seems to have moved towards an analysis of the relationship between capital and labour-power in the less developed countries, that is, to a consideration of the degree of exploitation involved. Much wage-labour in these countries is employed directly or indirectly by the same monopolies as control the economies of the advanced countries, therefore Marxist analysis should be able to show how investment in the less developed countries where the organic composition of capital is lower, counteracts the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, thus permitting the extraction of surplus profits and the consequent maintenance of a labour aristocracy in the advanced countries. So far little systematic work has been done along these lines and it is doubtful whether the kind of mathematical precision which Jalée has in mind can be achieved or is necessary. What can be shown is that the metropolitan countries still have their 'colonies', that the mechanism of imperialism still functions, despite the decline of the old empires and the emergence of dozens of new independent states in Africa and Asia.

Jalée argues convincingly that the dependent countries are unable to industrialize within the context of imperialism. Such industries as are established require the assistance of outside capital or tie the economy more closely to the world market. The more advanced types of industry are still confined to the capitalist countries. Industrial development in the dependent countries takes the form of preparing or processing raw materials or the production of consumer goods, mainly for the local market. Investment in the less developed countries is not designed to bring about their development in an all-round way but preserves this old division of labour.

Jalée's political conclusion is that this requires a struggle against imperialism in the 'Third World' to break its stranglehold, but he sees this very much as an isolated struggle.

In the economically dependent countries of imperialism which have become politically independent states power has passed to a local bourgeoisie. In some cases (e.g. India) such a class has a long history behind it, in others it has come into being very rapidly as a result of the opportunities which the new relationship has offered for enrichment in trade, speculation and joint ventures with foreign companies which supplied the initial capital. This class thus becomes the ally of imperialism and is integrated into the imperialist system. Consequently, it is unable to take the initiative in economic development. Jalée criticizes the view expressed by the

Pabloite Mandel and others, according to which a section of this 'national' bourgeoisie is driven to support industrialization and thus to come into collision with imperialism.

Once the 'Third World' countries are seen for what they are, as part of the capitalist world economy, the idea that one or a number of them could bring about the collapse of capitalism in the advanced countries or pursue an independent path of economic development on socialist lines is shown to be false. If it is false in the abstract, theoretical sense, it is dangerous when put forward as a strategy of world revolution as the Pabloites, Maoists and other revisionists have done in the past two decades.

It is true, of course, that there are glaring and increasing social inequalities in the 'Third World' countries, that the masses suffer from poverty, hunger and disease on a scale vastly greater than anything known in the advanced countries, that the governments of these countries are corrupt and unstable. Revolts and revolutions against imperialism and its open bourgeois agents will continue in these countries. Despite what Jalée writes about the anti-imperialist struggle, it has been possible to contain this within definite limits and to intervene militarily against it when it has become dangerous. Recognizing as they do the economic importance of their dependencies in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the imperialists, headed by those of the United States, are prepared to go to any lengths to prevent or put down revolutions.

At the same time, there can be no way forward for these countries unless imperialism is overthrown in its main strongholds, North America and Western Europe. The policy of 'peaceful co-existence' pursued by the Soviet bureaucracy accepts the existing division of the world and is opposed to such a revolutionary struggle. Jalée is puzzled by the attitude of the bureaucracy. He classifies the Soviet Union as part of the 'Socialist' world, yet his facts show that the bureaucracy is making every effort to increase its trading relations with capitalism including the establishment of new links such as the building of plants in Russia by big capitalist firms which require the authorization of their governments. He refers to a Polish work which deals with the problems of growth in the underdeveloped countries as seen by official Soviet and East European economists. This shows that the bureaucracy favours joint efforts with the capitalist countries to 'aid' these countries while they remain subject to imperialist exploitation. The bureaucracy seeks to work with GATT, UNO and other bodies. Jalée rightly speaks of this as 'ideological putrefaction', but still he is quite unable to explain why this should be the official policy of a 'socialist' country.

To say that imperialism could not survive without the so-called 'Third World' comes down to a truism. These countries are in various ways indispensable components of the capitalist world market to which they are integrally related. To jump from there to conclude that therefore imperialism can or will be defeated in these countries before or without a revolution in the advanced countries is entirely unscientific. Jalée's

own argument in some places indeed suggests this. He agrees, for example, that the economic structure of the underdeveloped countries is determined by their dependence upon and exploitation by imperialism. He shows, rightly, that there is no possibility of these countries following independently the road to capitalist development which in the past brought into being the advanced capitalist countries. If there is no possibility of such a development as long as they are dependent upon imperialism there is no reason to suppose that they could pursue an independent road to socialism. In fact, Jalée has not broken with the Stalinist conception of 'socialism in one country' which is still adhered to by the Chinese Communists.

The examination of trade between the advanced countries brings out an interesting conclusion. The more closely integrated groups of these countries become, the greater the volume of trade between them. In particular, there has been a rapid growth in trade between the countries of the Common Market as well as in their trade with the rest of the world. It is to be expected that the removal of tariff barriers and other measures taken in the context of the Common Market should bring about a more complex division of labour and thus increase the volume of trade. Also, as Bukharin pointed out fifty years ago, there is a greater volume of exchange across national frontiers as a result of differences in costs of production in goods of a similar or identical kind. This applies, for instance, in the case of motor cars, in which there is a large volume of trade between the capitalist countries based on competition between different manufacturers whose plants are located in one or another country. Out of this competition there has also come rapid concentration in this industry.

A policy of 'integration' through the lowering of tariffs between the capitalist countries has been consciously pursued under the pressure of the United States since the end of the Second World War. Through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade American capitalism has set out to secure easier access to the markets of European countries and, in particular, to end the trade preferences whereby countries like Britain and France sought to preserve privileged markets in their colonies and dependent territories (Sterling Area, Franc Zone). Measures of non-discrimination always operate to the advantage of the strongest. The integration of the world economy has thus proceeded under the auspices of the USA. On the other hand, other regional attempts at integration such as the Common Market and the Free Trade Area have reinforced some of the remaining barriers to American penetration of the former colonies as well as of the European market.

An examination of the main trends in world trade over the past two decades shows that while its total has grown rapidly this has mainly been the result of increased trade between the advanced countries rather than from the increased trade between them and the rest of the capitalist world market. But when this still vital part of world trade is considered the exports of the advanced countries to the less developed countries are

clearly seen to consist, as in the past, mainly of manufactured goods, while the latter export mainly primary products and semi-processed raw materials. In other words there has been no real change in the international division of labour, but the technological requirements of the industrially-advanced countries are now different from what they were. It is not so much agricultural products or the old-style staples which they need to import but the raw materials used in modern technological processes: petroleum and other mineral products, especially non-ferrous metals (some of which are scarce and expensive), now have a key role in world trade economically and strategically. These are the really profitable trading items. The corporations scour the globe to find new supplies which can be profitably developed and capital export follows. Meanwhile the mainly agrarian regions stagnate in unrelieved poverty.

This raises the question of the export of capital as the defining characteristic of modern imperialism. As Lenin put it: 'Under the old capitalism the export of goods was typical. Under the newest capitalism, when monopolies prevail, the export of *capital* has become typical'. This still remains of fundamental importance. Modern capitalism could not exist without continuously finding new outlets for capital, which it does, on a global scale, in response to profit opportunities. But there have been some important changes in the source and the direction of capital exports upon which Jalée's book casts some light.

In the period since 1945 the export of capital has developed at an unprecedented rate after having fallen to a trickle in the 1930s. A new feature of capital export has been the large amount of lending between governments or by governmental and international institutions. Most of this has been lending to the colonies and for colonies of the European countries, the so-called 'Third World'. As for private capital export, about two-thirds has been from one advanced country to another: predominantly American investment in the other advanced countries. Direct American investment has increased from \$8,369 million to nearly \$50,000 million between 1945 and 1965. The rate of new capital investment accelerated through the fifties and sixties. The United States now accounts for approximately 65 per cent of the total international investments against 30 per cent for Britain.

These capital holdings in other countries are built up in two main ways: either by an export of fresh capital which generally appears as an outflow recorded in the balance of payments of the creditor country or by the re-investment of past profits. According to Jalée these stand in the proportion of 57 per cent to 43 per cent for the period 1962-1966 as far as capital invested in the dependent countries is concerned. At the same time, part of the profits may be repatriated, in which case they appear as a credit in the balance of payments of the creditor country and a debit in the balance of the borrowers.

During this period there appeared a net reverse flow of private capital from the 'Third World' to the advanced countries under the heading of profits of about \$4,900 million. These countries

also had to bridge an enormous trade deficit of up to \$1,800 million. A large volume of 'public'—inter-governmental or institutional—lending and aid was necessary to finance this deficit while enabling i) private capital to draw big profits from direct investment ii) exporters in the advanced countries to find markets for part of their production.

Aid to the 'under-developed' countries became a means of dominating them politically and economically in the period after independent status had been achieved. So-called 'aid' thus becomes a necessary weapon in the continuing dependence of these countries. As for private capital investment, it goes not into projects to develop the economies of the borrowing countries in any balanced way, but serves to tie them still more securely into the capitalist world market as producers of raw materials, particularly those which represent irreplaceable natural resources. Even where industries have been established they have borne little relationship to the needs of the national economy. The advanced capitalist countries are anxious to conserve these countries as markets for their manufactured goods, not to help develop new competitors.

What Jalée does not bring out with sufficient clarity is the interdependence between the different parts of the world economy and the continued domination and exploitation of the 'underdeveloped countries' which is involved in this process. It is necessary to begin the analysis with the imperative needs of the capitalist mode of production to extract and realize surplus value. Monopoly capitalism extracts surplus value from the working class in the advanced countries and from the workers and peasants in the 'under-developed countries'. The latter provided an indispensable field for the realization of surplus value created by the workers in the advanced countries and themselves constitute an additional source of surplus value, the lion's share of which is appropriated by the big corporations. This surplus value also has to be realized, in large part, by re-investment in the 'underdeveloped countries', in ways which ensure their continued dependence on the metropolitan countries. Even so, the profits which are squeezed out of these countries are a crippling burden on their economies which are in a state of permanent crisis only alleviated by carefully rationed doses of 'aid' and further export of capital which perpetuates the chronic backwardness, oneness and stagnation which characterize the areas inhabited by two-thirds of the population subject to imperialism today.

It can be shown, too, that the possibility of continued export of capital on a massive scale is a major reason why post-war capitalism has been able to avoid a major slump. Furthermore, arms spending—which the revisionists single out as the unique basis of the post-war boom—is itself required to preserve the domination of imperialism in the face of the non-capitalist countries and the threat of revolution. Consequently, not only has the boom had a precarious basis, undermined still further by the crisis in the world monetary system provoked by continuous inflation and unequal development, but

it has been accompanied by a series of wars and counter-revolutionary struggles determined by the need to preserve at any cost the world domination of imperialism. With the Vietnam war all the contradictions and tensions implicit in the development of imperialism reach their highest expression to date.

Jalée's method really separates off the different parts of an inter-related and extremely complex world process and thus is essentially not dialectical but empirical. He looks at the advanced countries and sees expansion, rising production, a low level of unemployment and new technologies—and that is all he sees. He does not see the contradictions of this stage, of development, the heightened class struggles resulting from the strength of a working class which, internationally, has both grown enormously in size and faces capitalism as an objectively revolutionary force more strongly than before because it has behind it no memory of defeat. He sees only what seems to be a lack of subjective desire for revolution expressed by this working class. But to explain this lag in consciousness it is also necessary to examine the experiences of this class historically and internationally. Thus he does not deal with the crisis of leadership, with the role of reformist Socialist-Democracy and counter-revolutionary Stalinism. In fact he has not severed the umbilical cord which ties him to Stalinism, despite some tepid criticism of the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. His whole analysis, in fact, can be brought within the compass of the notorious Stalinist theory of 'socialism in one country' and its concomitant, peaceful co-existence. That is why he has to complain later that Russia and the East European countries are only too ready to co-operate with imperialism in 'developing' the Third World without being able to offer one word of explanation.

A full examination of capitalist exploitation on a world scale has yet to be made. Although Jalée offers some elements and material for such an analysis, because he does not set off from a theoretical base which is clearly worked out and because he begins not with the economic needs of the advanced countries which lead them to impose their domination on the rest of the capitalist world but with the underdeveloped countries they exploit, he raises the wrong problems and comes to false conclusions. For example, while Lenin's 'Imperialism' begins with the growth of monopoly capitalism, Jalée set off by looking at the effects of imperialism upon what he calls the 'Third World'. That is how he reaches the conclusion that the 'principal contradiction' of the epoch is that between the advanced countries and the latter, thus trailing behind bourgeois theorists of the Myrdal variety despite professions of Marxism.

The fact that Jalée considers the growth of monopoly and changes in finance capitalism only after he has tried to demonstrate the dependence of imperialism upon the exploitation of the less developed countries is itself symptomatic. It reverses the order in which Lenin examines these phenomena and thus does not show how the reproduction process of the capitalist mode of

production demands a search for investment fields, markets and assured supplies of raw material.

Competition itself gives rise to the centralization and concentration of capital, as Marx foresaw. There is ample evidence from the advanced capitalist countries to confirm what Marx and Lenin wrote about monopoly. To a growing extent, as forms of integration such as the European Common Market appear, the merger movement becomes international and the 'multinational company' comes on the scene. These giant firms not only absorb competitors on their original national territory, but they move into other countries, taking over or merging with existing firms or setting up their own branches.

The export of capital more and more assumes the form of direct investment by the giant corporations in foreign subsidiaries or branches. At the same time, these giants have less need to resort to the stock exchange or the banks to raise new capital, which is provided to a large extent out of profits. That does not mean to say that the banks and finance houses play no part in the merger movement or do not participate in industrial investment. It does mean as Jalée suggests, that the opposition between finance capital and industrial capital has tended to break down and **a financial and industrial oligarchy** has appeared as the core of the capitalist ruling class. Both Lenin and Bukharin had anticipated this development which the former called the 'conrescence' of industrial and finance capital. These great concentrations of capital are able to attract more than their proportionate share of total profit and seek to maintain and increase the return on capital by investing in whatever field the profits seem to be highest. Hence the formation of heterogeneous groups of which the 'conglomerates' in the USA are the most finished form.

The formation of the European Common Market gave a new impetus to American direct investment as the corporations sought to extend or establish factories behind the tariff walls of the market. Plants established in Europe also provide a basis for the penetration of world markets in a way which would not be open to plants operating at higher cost in the United States. In the interests of the big monopolies the American government favours further integration of the capitalist world, including the lowering of tariffs and easier access to the former colonies of the old imperialist countries.

The drive towards capitalist world integration and interdependence under American leadership and direction raises all kinds of political, military and financial problems and requires the elaboration of a world strategy. The acute monetary problems of the past decade reflect the burden on the dollar which the whole process of military strength, capital export and foreign aid, essential to the objectives of American imperialism, has required. The struggle to maintain the dollar as the basis of the world monetary system in the face of the loss of reserves which the policy of American imperialism made inevitable has resulted in a series of financial crises which have shaken the capitalist world. Closer integration means greater vulnerability of the capitalist world system, par-

ticularly to inflation or deflation in the USA and to recession in that country.

All questions of present-day imperialism come back to the world domination exercised by the United States as the premier imperialist power. While the internal growth of the USA has been below that of the West European countries, and still more of Japan, the export of capital from the USA has taken place on an unprecedented scale. As Jalée points out, the national product of the USA is larger than that of the nineteen member countries of OEEC. Of the 70 largest corporations 55 are American. American-owned industry in other countries is the second largest industrial power in the capitalist world. The enormous growth of American direct investment in the other capitalist countries has brought about a position of 'interdependence' in which the US plays the determining role and the US corporations secure the lion's share of the profits.

This process does not go forward without rivalries and conflict and it is extremely uneven. A struggle is going on between American capital and its rivals which leads to alliances and mergers as well as to intensified competition. In some fields, especially those dependent upon advanced technology, US capital has already achieved an impregnable position. In others the contest goes on.

At the same time, American imperialism draws into itself all the problems of the capitalist world. The relationship between the United States and the other capitalist countries certainly contains new and complex features which Marxists must analyse and explain. Jalée's reading of the trends is that on a world scale American power has been growing at the expense of the other imperialist countries: 'interpenetrating with, protecting and organizing the world imperialist system'. On the other hand, this 'super-imperialism' is a product of unequal development and is caught up in a series of inter-imperialist rivalries. It remains highly dependent upon raw materials from the less developed countries. The world dominance of the dollar is meanwhile threatened by continuous balance of payments deficits and the shrinkage of the gold reserves.

Despite the existence of anti-trust and anti-monopoly laws and the writing of anti-monopoly provisions into the Treaty of Rome which established the Common Market, governments have everywhere accepted and supported the concentration of industry. In Britain, for example, the Industrial Reconstruction Corporation was set up in 1966 by the Labour Government for this purpose. In France, Italy and other countries similar examples can be found of the state assisting the formation of giant firms in basic or key industries, some of which go far beyond the IRC in scope.

Jalée puts his discussion of this question into the framework of the different formulations made by the Stalinist economist Varga and by Stalin himself. Varga, always ready to trim his theory to the needs of the bureaucracy, turned out some articles on the theme of State Monopoly Capitalism when this was a fashionable topic of discussion, for political reasons, of course, among the

economic specialists in the Communist Parties.

Varga tried to show that there was a distinction between the State and monopoly capitalism; as he put it, these are 'independent forces . . . which come together to reach certain goals. There is not a single, unilateral "subordination" of the State to monopoly capital, as Stalin pretended, and as certain Soviet economists, for dogmatic reasons, maintain to this day'.

In this phoney controversy Jalée takes the part of Stalin ('however disagreeable' it may be) against Varga, without realizing that both parties supplied ideological arms to the Soviet bureaucracy to justify different political tactics towards the bourgeoisie. Instead of plumping for the view of Stalin he would have done better to make a fresh and more concrete analysis of the relationship. His own view is to see the relationship going through two phases: the first corresponding to the liberal period of capitalism in which the state performs few functions in the economic field and a second in which it intervenes more and more as 'the instrument of the economic supremacy of the dominant class'. Such a formulation does not exhaust the question because it lacks precision about the kind of interventionism or statism which the monopolies require and which varies with circumstances in each country.

The data adduced by Jalée, useful in defining some of the characteristics of imperialism to-day, do not in fact bear out his conclusion that imperialism is most vulnerable in the underdeveloped countries and that it is only there that revolution is possible. The theory that imperialism will wither and die by lopping off its branches is really of a piece with the 'theory of socialism in one country' and leads to compromises with the national bourgeoisie in the liberation movement. Just one sentence in Jalée's last chapter is revealing on this subject. He says: 'Nearly eight years of an often atrocious war have permitted Algeria to break its colonial ties. . . .' If Jalée would turn his attention as a compiler of facts and statistics to examine the nature of the Algerian economy he would not be able to sustain for one moment his assumption that it has broken its ties with imperialism, either French or American.

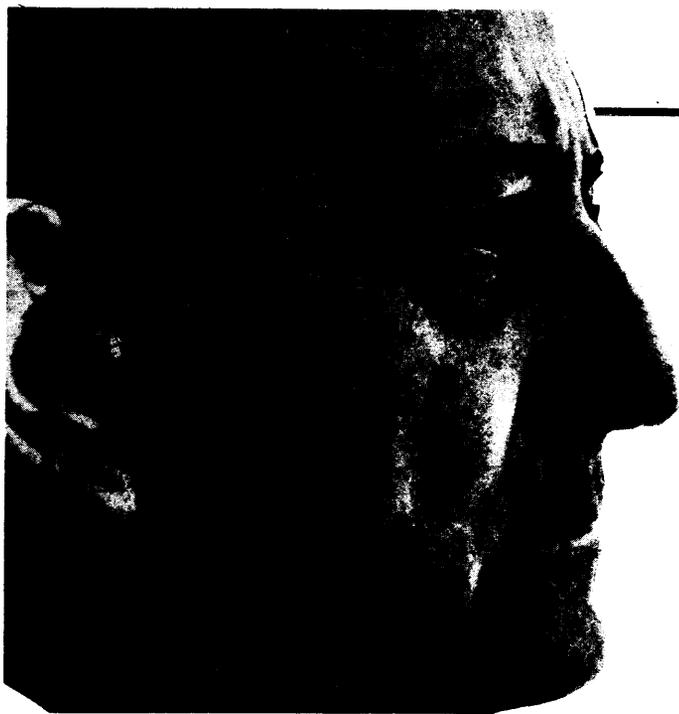
There can be no question of condescension towards the national liberation struggles and revolutionary movements in the so-called 'Third World'. These play and undoubtedly will continue to play an essential part in the struggle against imperialism. All the illusions are on the side of those who believe with Jalée that the principal field of this struggle lies in the 'Third World'. Jalée meanwhile waits for something to happen in the advanced countries. He wants a broad alliance of 'organizations and parties which claim to follow Marx or Lenin'. In other words he declares against the building of revolutionary parties and is for the perpetuation of confusion.

Confining himself to surface phenomena, Jalée excludes the working class and tends towards an interpretation of capitalist development which is mechanistic. Thus his conclusion that capitalism is not moving towards 'a great catastrophic explosion', whatever that is. Presumably he means some kind of automatic collapse under the pressure of its own contradictions. Impressed by the expansion of capitalism in the past two decades, by its ability to overcome crises during that period, he assumes that the problems it will face in the future can be dealt with in the same way. 'Is it pessimistic to think' he asks, 'not arbitrarily but in the light of what has actually happened in this domain since 1968, that the imperative need for cohesion and integration will come into play as the danger grows, and that a new or refurbished system will see the light when the time comes, bringing the imperialist camp a respite of indeterminate duration?'. In other words, he asks, what is to prevent capitalism going on for ever?

Only one thing, so far as Jalée can see: the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the 'Third World', that in this area (but not in the advanced capitalist countries) 'revolutionary conditions objectively exist and will exist more and more'. The argument against this view which was put forward by Pablo in the fifties and subsequently taken up by the Maoists and others, has already been dealt with.

Throughout Jalée's book any feeling for the class struggle in the advanced countries is completely absent. His whole analysis, after all, rests upon an examination of statistics and official reports—indispensable raw material which must not, however, be allowed to dominate the discussion of the problem of present-day imperialism. What has to be considered is the nature of the whole epoch and the historical development which has enabled capitalism to survive and prepared the conditions for the dominance of American imperialism. It is therefore impossible to put the facts and statistical trends into perspective without considering the crisis of leadership in the working-class movement, the isolation and degeneration of the Soviet Union, the role of Stalinism and of bureaucracy in the labour movement, the relationship between imperialism and reformism, the results of the two imperialist wars and the way in which capitalism was salvaged after each of them.

What is principally lacking in Jalée's book is Marxist method, an historical grasp of the class forces which dominate our epoch. Capitalism is seen almost entirely in abstract terms as a mode of production subject to certain laws (though these are not traced out with any rigour) rather than as an historically developing social formation which produces an objectively revolutionary class, the proletariat.



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By **ANDRÉ MALRAUX**

# Malraux's Achilles heel

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From the first, he thrust himself to the centre of the politics of the Communist International, unlike his English counterparts, most of whom continued to live a predominantly literary life.

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Between 1925 and 1927 he was in charge of Kuomintang propaganda in Canton, put there by Borodin, representative of the Comintern in Spain.

In his novel on the Chinese Revolution, 'The Conquerors' (1928), Malraux appears as Garine, whom Trotsky characterized in an article on the book as 'a dilettante and temporarily

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Artistically and politically the question was whether Malraux would learn any lessons.

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absence of justice from society that strikes me, but something deeper; my incapacity for adhering to any social order whatever. I am a-social, just as I am a-theist.'

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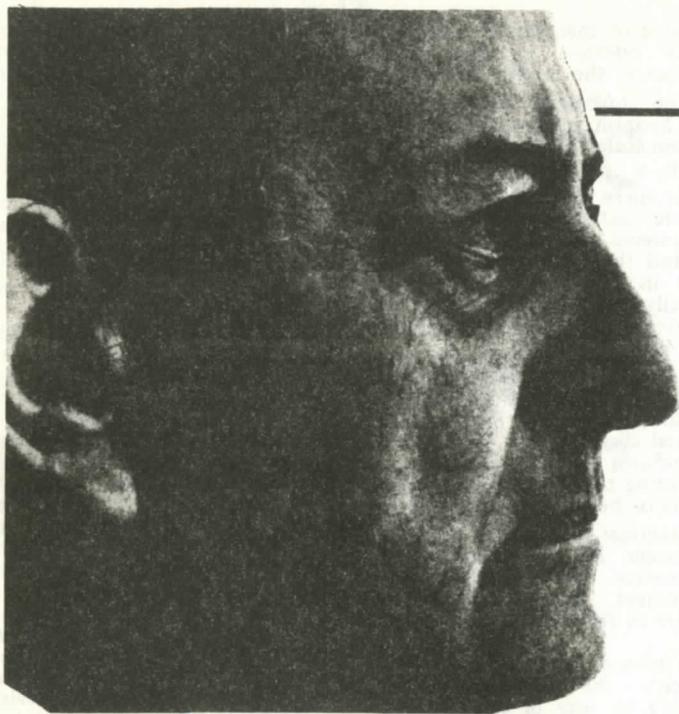
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was quite unable even to talk to them.

Malraux's idealization of this type of intellectual-anarchist was his political Achilles-heel.

He romanticizes the petty-bourgeois individualist who commits himself to action almost regardless of political consequence and totally devoid of theoretical content.

It was this that enabled him to accommodate quite comfortably to Stalinism in the course of the 1930s.

By 1934 he was speaking at the Moscow Writers' Congress. His day-to-day relation with Stalinism became more intimate.

The Popular Front, developed by the Communist Party after Hitler's coming to power in 1933, was central to the Soviet bureaucracy's need to crush all opposition to Stalin.

On the one side a friendly hand was extended to all liberals and even conservatives, while on the other the GPU brutally annihilated all opposition under cover of the Moscow frame-ups.

In 1937 Trotsky asked Malraux to confirm that they had met at Royan in 1934 as part of his defence against Stalinist allegations. Malraux refused.

This gross and cowardly political betrayal went side by side with the most energetic activity on his part as organizer of the Republican Air Force in Spain in 1936-1937 and in promoting the Popular Front.

Malraux's novel of the Spanish war, 'Days of Hope' (L'Espoir), published in 1937, is a supplement to his capitulation to Stalinism, brilliantly written though many of its sections are.

The Popular Front is glamourized by Hollywood-style invocations to fraternity ('an apocalypse of fraternity' or 'the darkness was all fraternity' [?!]).

He strives to amalgamate the Popular Front with the revolution that the Front destroyed. Significantly, there is no mention of the liquidation of oppositionists by the Communist Party.

Intellectuals reflect in highly civilized and metaphysical speeches on supposed philosophical differences between Communists who 'want to get things done' and anarchists 'who want to be something'.

Nothing is seen or heard of the fundamental theoretical and political differences between these groupings. Malraux has always had scant respect for these differences.

In 1931 when Trotsky criticized Malraux for portraying Borodin in 'The Conquerors' as 'the incarnation of Bolshevism on Chinese soil', Malraux replied that Borodin as 'an official of the Communist International' was, for the French reader, a professional revolutionary.

Here was a man who was 'an organizer of three insurrectional

movements (in England, Spain and China)'.  
What Malraux, in his worship of the activist, then omitted, partially corrected in 'Man's Estate', and finally 'forgot' for good, was that the Borodins were also the revolution's agents of betrayal in those countries.

By the time of writing 'Days of Hope' Malraux, despite his obsession with historical minutiae, has become fundamentally a-historical, looking at the civil war for glimpses of 'the eternal'.

The narrator draws back—in horror — to look down upon 'man's little world', that is the world of the European workers' and peasants' titanic struggles for their liberation:

'Then, as his eyes fell on the graveyard, suddenly, strangely, he was humbled; it was as if those stones and monuments, dead white against the yellow-brown of the fields, made all human conflict seem a vain and tawdry thing.'

Malraux has to artistically stifle the revolutionary struggles that the Stalinists were strangling in practice.

Despite these passages of sentimental nonsense, there are some magnificent sections where Malraux catches even if only for a single moment or image, the eagerness with which the working classes seized possession of the great cultural achievements made possible by their own sacrifices.

The miliciano, for example, 'with a 16th century cap set on the back of his head, and a bare tattooed arm', notes down the contents of the occupied museum.

And Malraux can superbly recreate the barbarism of the bombing of Madrid by Franco's and Hitler's planes; the clanging of the ambulance bells in the midst of the bombing is like the sound of 'barbaric litanies' of 'some far-off prehistoric age'.

But these talents are now turned to embellishing the Popular Front.

In fact, Malraux has moved closer, politically, to Sorel and to an openly reactionary cult of apocalyptic activism and violence.

Leclerc, after successfully bombarding a gasometer in nationalistic territory experiences 'that sense of well-being which follows on all physical conflict' and which merged into 'an almost geological tranquillity'.

This reflects Malraux's by now rapidly developing distaste for the revolutionary movement of the masses. Hence the Civil War in the novel can only appear as a series of fragments, without continuity, impinging momentarily and arbitrarily on the lives of his major characters.

In this case, the disjointed episodic nature of the novel expresses Malraux's inability to allow the Civil War and Revolution a development of its own

outside of that which is immediately relevant to the central figures in the novel.

The turbulent movement of the Spanish workers is artificially frozen into an aesthetic movement.

'Is there a "style" common to revolution? The figures of the volunteers passing in the dusk behind the Le Courbusier buildings in the aerodrome brought equally to mind the men of the Mexican revolution and those of the Paris Commune'.

All this while the POUM, the Moscow Trials, the political role of the CP remains unmentioned, indeed disguised by this type of high-flown romantic writing.

During the Second World War, Malraux became a loyal, not to say tanaatological follower of General de Gaulle. He was Minister of Information in his 1945-1946 government and Minister of Culture in the 1958-1969 government.

He turned nationalist ('I have replaced the proletariat by France') by way of art, religion and the Communist Party.

'All art is a revolt against man's fate', writes Malraux pompously in his turgid 'Anti-Memoirs'. He maintains that art is an international expression of some 'human soul'.

Without following through here the profoundly historical and class nature of art, we can point out that when one of the outstanding French theatre directors Jean-Louis Barrault, revolted against de Gaulle in May-June 1968, he promptly suffered the fate of being dismissed by Malraux from the Odéon.

Indeed, despite all the mystical mumbo-jumbo about eastern art in his 'Anti-Memoirs' he stated in January 1969 that the French schools, universities and Comédie Française are 'the necessary pillars through which culture must go'.

If the riot police, colons and CS gas are required to hold up these mouldering portals and to keep the students inside, this literary gentleman is by no means deterred.

Malraux's break with Trotsky in the mid-1930s and then his complete break with the working class in 1939 led to artistic paralysis. 'The Walnut Trees of Altenburg' (1943) was his last novel.

Today he writes in a flowery rhetorical prose through which he glorifies imperialism's barbarities.

Urging on the imperialists to an all-out nuclear war against 'communism' he wrote:

'The European must light himself with the torch he carries, even if the flames are burning his hands.'

In his later services to the bourgeoisie he has dabbled in the most extreme forms of idealism

that capitalism more and more requires to 'rationalize' its existence; satanism, mysticism and drugs.

He has often misleadingly said that had Trotsky come to power he would have become a Trotskyist.

Perhaps a fitting epitaph on Malraux's politics is that as Minister of Information in de Gaulle's post-war government he ordered the suppression of the Trotskyist press.

Malraux's artistic degeneration follows closely his capitulation to the bourgeoisie. What his paymasters demanded of him was the most flamboyant idealism.

But what characterized his early novels was the uneasy balance between the subjective hero and the objective historical world. He plunged his hero, still in the process of formation into the midst of revolutionary upheavals.

Stalinism, though, reinforced the 'excesses of individualism' (against which Trotsky had warned) and celebrated Malraux as a great anti-theoretical activist.

He never made any concession to Marxism and the Communist Party conceded to Malraux. After the war he became a leading anti-Communist.

Politically speaking on this occasion, as with many other mis-trained intellectuals, the Stalinists were hoist with their own petard.

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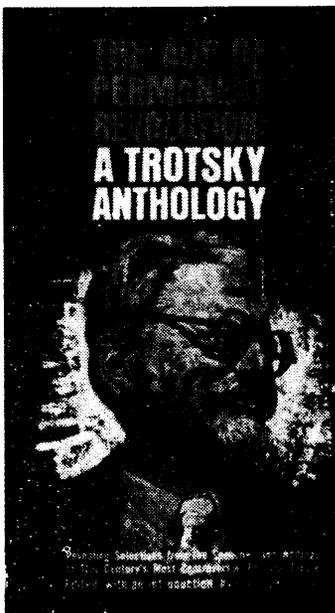
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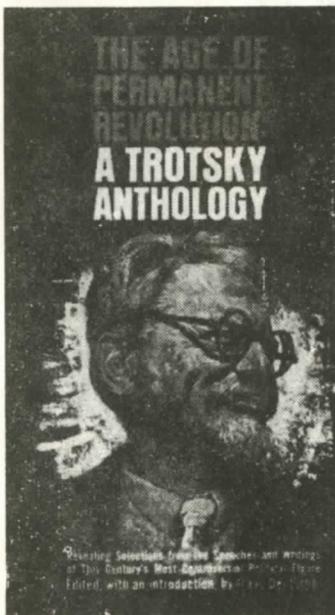
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