Trotskyism in Britain

TROTSKYISM IN BRITAIN is approximately 37 years old. It was born out of the historic struggle between Trotsky, his supporters of the Left Opposition inside the CPSU, and Stalin.

There are today no survivors from this great conflict. Most of those involved were brutally put to death by Stalin, a small handful, including Stalin himself, died from natural causes.

The struggle between Trotskyism and the Soviet bureaucracy is much more sharp today than it was even in those early days.

Stalin's disciples who still dominate Kremlin politics are becoming more and more subservient to the pressure of world imperialism. They are even more prepared than Stalin was to join hands with the imperialists in crushing revolution in all parts

The major issue in world politics now is the behind-the-scenes preparations for an unprincipled deal between the Soviet bureaucracy and US imperialism over

Kosygin and Brezhnev are prepared to betray the Vietnam revoas part of the price for ful co-existence' with United States imperialism and its

More and more these political left-overs from the Stalin regime are being exposed as traitors to the international working class.

The difference between the situation now and when 'the great genius Stalin' was doing the dirty work for imperialism in the 1930s is that the working class in the metropolitan capitalist countries are no longer a defeated force as they were in the years after the First World

War. They are no longer on their

knees.
Fresh from 25 years of full employment and a consistent struggle to improve their living standards they face the degenerate

imperialists and their corrupt bureaucracies with confidence.

Because of this revolutionary buoyancy of the working class the Trotskyist movement is today entirely different from what it was when it was founded.

Ninety-five per cent of the delegates present at the special conference of the SLL held on November 26 and 27 were either not born or were babies when Stalin assassinated Trotsky in August 1940. Of the remaining five per cent, three per cent had just joined the movement whilst two per cent were pre-war Trotskyists.

British Trotskyists more than any other organisation in the working class movement reflect the revolutionary confidence of

the working class.
We fought for a majority Labour government in order to expose the role of the right-wing leaders such as Wilson. Now they stand exposed for all to see as just the same type of leader as Ramsay MacDonald.

The main task before the Socialist Labour League is not only to expose the right-wing Labour leaders but the fake-left MPs and the Soviet bureaucracy which they slavishly support. The programme adopted by the special national conference of the SLL is a guide to action for thousands of militant trade unionists in the months ahead.

Trotskyism is emerging more and more as the only Marxist-Leninist leadership in the struggle

The future lies with the SLL

INTRODUCING the document on British Perspectives at the special delegate conference of the Socialist Labour League last weekend, Gerry Healy, national secretary of the SLL, said:

WE DECIDED to hold this conference in order to discuss the new political situation which has developed so rapidly, not only in Britain, but internationally, over the past three months.

Since the beginning of November unemployment has increased by well over half a million. The cost of living has gone steadily upwards. By the New Year it will have increased something like an additional 25s. to keep a family of four over and above what it was previously costing

The Prices and Incomes Act Morecambe and of course, in full operation. Trade unions are legally tied to the capitalist state under conditions where it is now no longer the question of negotiations and collective bargaining that decides the relationship between the employers and the working class but an Order given out by the Cabi-

At least this much must be said about the right wing of the Labour Party and the trade unions; they are not hypocrites in their class position.

With eyes open

What the Labour government has done it has done with its eyes wide open. It has a real class purpose in mind. It hates the working class, it is frightened of the working class, it is tied hand and foot to the employers and to the party of the employers the Tory Party.

Trade union leaders from time to time make vague criticism of the policy of the government. Generally speaking they are on the side of the government.

The experience of two years functioning of the TUC shows that all of the right-wing leaders are if anything only making their criticism of the Labour government in order to justify, when the time comes, lining up solidly with that government.

Their criticism is an attempt to divert the attention of the working class in order to prevent a real struggle against the government.

When they talk 'left' they do so in a calculating way so as to leave the working class without leadership and in order to turn them from any kind of prepara-

Fear one thing

If there is one thing that the Labour Party, the trade union leaders and the employers fear in this country it is a movement to arise which will prepare the working class in a series of decisive class battles against the government and the employers.

It would be a great mistake not to understand this very serious weakness of the employers at this

They are living by virtue of an agreement with a Labour govern-ment. They could not function today without this agreement Even though it seems to provide them with all the things they want there is still within that agreement a fatal flaw. It will work just so long as it is

challenged by nobody. Continued page 4, column 7 ->

The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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-SPECIAL CONFERENCE CALL-

MAKETHI LEFTS FIGHT

AT THE SPECIAL DELEGATE CONFERENCE of the Socialist Labour League held in London last weekend a call was made to make the left-wing MPs in parliament fight against Wilson and the Labour government's policies. The following demands were carried unanimously by conference in the main document discussed by delegates on the **British Perspectives:**

Conference calls upon the rank and file of the labour and trade union movement to demand that all left MPs break publicly from Wilson and immediately begin a campaign inside and outside Parliament for socialist policies.

These policies must include the nationalization of all the major industries, without compensation and under workers' control; repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act; an end to wage freezing and unemployment. Withdraw all British troops from §verseas; full freedom and independence for all colonial

peoples. Arm the Africans against Smith's Rhodesian regime. Break immediately with US imperialism over Vietnam. For the victory of the National Liberation

- We call upon the left MPs to place a resolution before the Parliamentary Labour Party calling for Wilson's Cabinet to resign.
- Such a demand should be supported by a national demonstration and lobby to be held in London early in the New Year.



A section of the delegates at last weekend's conference listening to G. Healy speak on British Perspectives

for YS international conferences

YS had already experienced the

unprincipled unification of the Stalinists, state capitalists and

other revisionists against them,

especially during the last year's struggles against the wage freeze.

'The only way to develop leadership is to fight for a quali-

tative change in the theoretical

understanding of the crisis,' she

said. 'The youth also have to understand the strength of the In-

ternational Committee of the

Fourth International, and there-

This meant carrying out the winter programmes of the YS and

Recruit and build

recruit youth around the Labour

exchanges, apprentices, schools and industries. We must fight

for every Young Socialist branch and build more,' she said.

The struggle to build the YS

was the only way to train youth

to fight bureaucracy inside the

trade unions. This fight was the

way the youth had to prepare for their Morecambe conference.

THE IRONY OF the Middle

East situation is that none of

the actions of the forces in-

volved leads to its intended

When Israeli forces attacked

the villages of Es Samu on November 13, Prime Minister Eshkol hoped it would force

Washington to support the effort

to stop Arab border guerrillas. Instead the Americans backed the

United Nations resolution con-

the raid has been to unleash a movement inside Jordan which

now threatens the regime of King

Hussein. And with this stooge of imperialism will fall the stability

of the region, which has allowed Israel to survive for 20 years.

has been encouraged by Nasser, through both Cairo and Damas-

cus radios. The Palestine Libera-

The anti-Hussein movement

More important, the effect of

results.

demning Israel.

'A big effort has to be made to

for our responsibilities.'

building the movement.

THE MORECAMBE CONFERENCE of the Young Socialists was the next important stage in preparing for an international youth conference and international youth movement, said YS national secretary Sheila Torrance at last weekend's

Next step

special conference of the SLL. In the struggle for such a movement, the forces that would defeat the social-democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies and lead the working class to victory against imperialism, would be developed,

she said. The YS and SLL based their analysis on the class struggle, not on the idea that the crisis of capitalism could be staved off for

The present crisis, now leading to mass redundancies and over half a million unemployed, had



YS secretary: Sheila Torrance

developed since 1962-1963, and was reflected in the working class in a deep hatred for the Wilson government.

'Even when selling programmes for our bazaar in a dock area, workers would only buy them on the basis that the Young Socialists are in opposition to Wilson's policies,' she said.

Unprincipled

At the same time the employers would fight back through other agencies against the development of working-class leadership-the

YOUNG SOCIALISTS **GRAND XMAS** BAZAAR

Saturday December 10

at THE CORN EXCHANGE LEEDS 1

Christmas gifts : Prizes Galore: Special attractions for all the family Be sure to see the wonderful range of stalls

PUBLIC MEETINGS

see page four

Ironies in Israel-Jordan clash

By John Crawford

tion Organisation, which enjoys

Nasser's backing, has called for Hussein's overthrow and is

The feeling in Jordan, especially

its Western areas, is not just a matter of the Es Samu raid. Many

of the people demonstrating in

Jerusalem and Nablus once lived

When, in 1947, the United Nations, supported by both the

Americans and the Russians, set

up the state of Israel, these

Palestinians were forced to take

refuge in Jordan and other Arab

countries. Many still live in squalid refugee camps.

The Israelis, claiming to pro-

vide a solution to the Jewish

problem, in fact are no more

than imperialist pawns. The misery of hundreds of thousands

banned in Jordan.

in what is now Israel.

Union-boss link claim

ARRANGEMENTS between Midland firms and trade unions, which impose minimum wages and no-strike restrictions on workers, are emerging in Coventry and Birmingham, a shop steward delegate to the SLL special conference claimed last Sunday.

The car delivery employers in Birmingham had learned from this, he thought.

In Coventry there was a 'labour only' firm which came to an arrangement with an engineering union that all the workers should be in the union. A cheque was sent each month to the union headquarters to cover the sub-

scriptions. The firm supplies labour—at a minimum union rate—to any factory.

He also knew of aircraft factories where the management was using surplus labour to flood cer-

of Jews was used as a weapon

against the rising tide of revolu-tion in the Middle East.

the anti-Israel feelings of the

Arab masses; but he too un-

leashes forces he cannot control.

Hussein's British-trained Arab

Legion is not deployed against

Israel, but against the Jordan

All able-bodied men in Jordan

have been called up—to keep them under control. Damascus

Radio reports that Saudi Arabian

troops have entered Jordan to give an additional prop to

The development of revolu-

tion in the Middle East can go beyond the bounds laid down by

Arab politicians. A Marxist movement must fight to unite the

Arab masses with the Israeli workers in a struggle against im-

perialism and all its agencies.

workers and peasants.

Hussein.

On his side, Nasser plays with

one union branch and had run their affairs without any interference from union officials. The officials were, in the meantime, setting up another branch with the help of a car delivery firm's manager.

The union had virtually become a company union, she said, with the manager of the firm sitting in on union branch meetings.

tain departments and force down

wage rates, and in a tractor fac-

tory hit by a slump in sales,

where the men have claimed strong organisation for years, the

Break-up

now breaking up,' said the dele-gate. 'Trade unionists must now

fight around the programme of making the left MPs fight.'

mittee member, confirmed the

management - union collusion

In Coventry, she said, all car delivery drivers had belonged to

claimed by the shop steward.

Mair Davies, SLL Central Com-

'All wages and conditions are

management is demanding organisation of the shops.

'This is the sort of outfit that could have been used to break the car delivery drivers' strike.'

Once again the fake lefts and Stalinists had been exposed; they had organised nothing to avoid this sell-out because they were in the same camp as the Labour government, and were exposed as such on the factory floor.

New leadership

Workers were searching for a new leadership.

'We must go in and say that the bread and butter issues are political issues; the politics of making the left fight. Workers are concerned about this government they put in and fear the Tories as an alternative. Our programme shows a way forward, without letting the Tories back, and which the youth can get a big response for in the trade unions.'

BLANCO!

FREE

(Resolution of the special conference of the Socialist Labour League, London, November 26-27, 1966.)



THIS SPECIAL conference of the Socialist Labour League demands that Hugo Blanco, leader of the revolutionary peasant movement in Peru, be immediately freed.

It calls upon all organisations and individuals in the labour and trade union movement, and all those who fight to defend elementary democratic rights, to protest in every way possible to the Peruvian government and its embassies and consulates in every country.

Hugo Blanco was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment on September 8, 1966.

His 'trial' was conducted by a military tribunal, in which military police acted as judge and prosecutor at the same time. When Hugo Blanco appealed against the sentence, his case was considered by the Supreme Council of Mili-tary Justice.

This Supreme Council is now considering answering the appeal by imposing the death penalty on Hugo Blanco. International protests at

of the trial created a situation where the procession where the prosecuting counsel did not ask for the death penalty, even though it was recommended by a consulting judge. We are convinced that international solidarity, together with the support for Blanco within Peru, can again intervene successfully.

Blanco did not even get the right to trial before a civil court. believe it is for this reason that the death penalty is now demanded.

But this threat will not intimidate the workers and peasants who support Blanco and demand his release. On the contrary, it can only strengthen the opposition to a regime which perverts elementary justice so blatantly.

Hugo Blanco and 28 others were held in prison without charges for over three years awaiting trial. This act, together with the sentence itself, and the committing of Blanco to a military court, were political acts aimed by the government of Peru at the

suppression of all political oppo-sition in that country.

The fact that the authorities are now considering the death sentence is proof in itself that all these repressive measures have failed to stop the forces which

Hugo Blanco represents.

A mighty campaign of protest can deter the authorities from their plan to execute Hugo Blanco. Such a campaign can en-courage socialist forces and their democratic allies in Peru and to-gether with them force an amnesty for Hugo Blanco.

Free Hugo Blanco and his comrades immediately!

Carried unanimously by SLL special conference, November 26-27, 1966.

WANTED

EXTRACT FROM the minutes of the Electrical Trades Union executive council meeting held in the Hotel Metropole, Brighton, on October 1, 1966:

(144) LEGAL ACTION-A. COURTNEY AND P. RAFTER V. ETU.

RECOVERY OF COST.

The general secretary reported that a letter had been received from the union solicitors advising that they had been attempting to enforce a judgement for costs against A. Courtney but have been informed by the court that he had moved his address.

They seek the directions of the union as to whether an enquiry agent should be employed in an endeavour to trace his

whereabouts. Bros. W. P. Blair and D. Sheasby moved:

'That the solicitors be instructed to take the necessary steps to trace the whereabouts of Mr. A. Courtney.'

Agreed.

no longer merely a question of

simple wage cutting, as to a large extent it was in the 1930s.

lationship of the employers and the state to the organisations of the working class.

Now what is at issue is the re-

The growing tendency for the

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

THE DEEPENING crisis now facing British capitalism and the Labour government of Harold Wilson is bound inseparably to a rapidly maturing international crisis of imperialism. The crisis in Britain will not be understood or resolved in the interests of the working class unless it is seen from this international point of view.

We are now entering a stage where the post-war boom, which has seen a moderate expansion for imperialism, is drawing to a close and a new stage is opening up which will be dominated by an intensification of the struggles facing the working class, struggles which will decide the future of humanity.

THE CRISIS AFFLICTING Britain and the rest of the capitalist world has its origin in the citadel of imperialism, the United States of America. The United States emerged in the post-war world as the major capitalist power, in whose hands responsibility for the future of the whole system in its struggle for survival rested.

America was forced, in this period, to provide massive funds for the restoration of European capitalism which had shattered by the war.

'Aid' and military expenditure to be poured into Europe and the rest of the world in order to provide the basis for any social stability.

On the shoulders of American capital also rested the major responsibility for financing the series of wars against the working class and peasantry in the colonial and ex-colonial areas, notably in Korea and currently in Vietnam and South-East Asia.

In addition, capital on a large scale poured out of the States, again principally to Europe, seeking profitable investments.

In this way major sectors of European industry and finance fell into the hands of American capital, often the most advanced sectors of European capital such as motors, electronics, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, etc.

THESE **EXPENDITURES** have proved an impossible strain for the giant of world capitalism. This is the root cause of the present international crisis facing capitalism.

compre

In particular they have produced a growing balance of payments deficit for the United

Not only have the large expen ditures on warfare abroad and 'aid' payments produced this deficit: the needs of war have pushed up the import bill and reduced exports so that there has been a continual tendency for the trade surplus (i.e., the surplus produced on physical exports less physical imports) to shrink.

The war in Vietnam is now undoubtedly a major source of growing strain for the US economy.

At the same time Johnson cannot simply decide to call off this

Not only would this produce an immediate crisis in the large sector of the economy which is directly or indirectly dependent upon arms production.

More than this: a defeat in South-East Asia would strengthen the fighting capacity of the world working class both inside and outside America and destroy the real purpose of the war: to make inroads into Communist China to regain the markets which were lost to imperialism in the post-war period.

NOVEMBER 26-27th 1966

most severe credit squeeze since

To correct the balance of pay-

ments deficit all growth and modernisation in the economy

has been halted and the National

This has involved not only a

steep rise in unemployment but

a savage cut back in capital in-

vestment on which any possibility of modernisation rests. This is

the familiar 'stop-go' policy of the Tories, but a policy carried out by a Labour government in

ECONOMIC

PERSPECTIVES

Introduced at

conference by

circumstances

Plan thrown overboard.

different

and capital.

4 THIS BALANCE of payments crisis for the US is directly linked to the crisis in world monetary which, despite the attentions of financiers and statesmen throughout the world, is no nearer to solution. In the post-1945 world only two units were acceptable for the

settlement of debts between capi-talist countries: gold and the The pound sterling was given limited status as an international currency, largely confined to the British Commonwealth.

The dollar owed its privileged position as an international 're-This is especially serious for serve' currency to the over-whelming position of dominance of US capital and to the guarantee which the American govern-ment gave to exchange dollars for gold at the rate of 35 dollars to

an ounce of fine gold. The growing external imbalance of the US economy has now thrown these arrangements into crisis. In particular the balance of payments deficits have produced a massive drain of gold away from the States.

In the post-war world the gold reserves of America have fallen by more than half and are now plunging downwards towards what Johnson and his advisers consider to be the absolute safe minimum level of 10 billion

The growing deficits have meant that many countries have acquired large dollar holdings in their reserves which are now reaching dangerously large proportions in relation to shrinking volume of gold in Fort

As a result there is widespread speculation about the stability of the present dollar price of gold and continual fear that a devaluation of the dollar will

Many countries, fearing such a devaluation and also hostile to the privileged position of the dollar which has, in effect, allowed the US to take over large slices of European capital, have, in recent years, undertaken a rapid conversion of their existing dollar holdings into gold. Notable amongst these has of course been France.

France has argued that any re-form of the world monetary system can only proceed on the basis of the abolition of the privileged positions of the dollar and the pound.

These growing tensions be-tween the capitalist powers and their inability to achieve any agreement about the monetary system or the re-organisation of capitalism are but an indication of the growing contradictions of the imperialist system and further evidence that the produc-tive forces cannot be systematically developed within the confines imposed by the capitalist national state.

THE AMERICAN 'solution' to this crisis is to attempt to correct her external imbalance and in this way be once more in a strong enough position to put other capitalist powers, notably France, in their place.

But such a 'correction' must have profound implications for the rest of imperialism and not least for British capitalism.

To correct her deficit the US is being forced to cut down on her imports, to intensify her drive for exports, to cut down on her aid programme and reduce wherever possible military expenditure abroad.

All these measures will slow down the rate of expansion in the world economy, if not produce an immediate turn down.

They will at the same time involve necessarily an intensification of the struggle for world markets: this can already be seen in the case of motors where the problems facing such giants as General Motors in the United States is producing a drive by the US firms for increased markets inside Europe which is certain to drive many of the smaller firms to the wall.

In the second place the cut back in 'aid' from the United States must produce an intensification of the crisis in all the colonial areas, who will be even less able to make any purchases from the metropolitan countries.

British capitalism which is still dependent upon 'underdeveloped' countries for a large slice of its export markets. Even on the level of monetary

tions are apparent. Interest rates in the United States are now at their highest level for 40 years, despite all the efforts of Johnson to effect some stability. This rise in rates of interest now begins seriously

to threaten future capital invest-

What is involved here is a con-

flict between the banks and in-

The implications of rising US

rates of interest are also serious for the rest of the capitalist

system: they produce a tendency

for rates to rise in all the leading international money markets

which intensifies the danger of a

THE RESPONSE of the

Labour government to this

crisis over the past two years has been determined at every

stage by a consideration of the

It is in this sense that we can

say that Wilson has had no inde-

pendent economic policy and that

he has in no sense been in control of the crisis. This is clearly

established in the case of devalu-

The 'defence of the pound'

which has been so strenuously undertaken by Callaghan since October 1964 has been directly in

response to the needs of John-

son and the American capitalists

even more than it has to the City

the pound, its value in rela-tion to the dollar, and its role

system rests much more with Wall Street than it does with

After the war, the pound, although greatly weakened and now much less important than

the dollar, had to be accorded

a limited status in the world

It was-and still is-respon-

sible for the finance of a con-

siderable slice of world trade and

payments and could not be dis-pensed with by the US. This is

Were the pound to be devalued

it would produce an immediate

and deep crisis in the entire

monetary system of the world.

There is little doubt that the dollar would be unable to survive

intact and devaluation would

almost certainly be forced on the

In such a situation a disastrous

'devaluation cycle' on the pattern

of the 1930s would almost cer-

tainly occur and produce a major

slump in the world economy.

This is why Johnson has been

so keen to see the value of the

pound preserved and why aid

was poured into London on such

a massive scale after October

This does not rule out the

But such a devaluation would

be entirely different from that

carried out by Cripps in 1949.

It would produce, in present cir-

cumstances, a head-on collision with the United States, indicating

a major crisis in the entire capi-

talist world and throwing into

the melting pot the future of the

Western military and political

possibility of devaluation by the

Wilson government.

Threadneedle Street.

monetary system.

Americans.

even more true today.

London and the British

The question of the future of

the international monetary

ation of the pound.

needs of American capitalism.

slump and recession.

ment plans of the monopolists.

movements, the same contradic-

They are put forward in order to prevent the working class from taking the revolutionary path THE DEFENCE OF STERLdemanded by the crisis.

In this way the intensification ING' which Wilson has undertaken over the past two years of the crisis of imperialism provides the conditions for exposure of the bankruptcy of the Stalinists as well as of the social demohas of course only further impeded any possible recovery in the fortunes of British industry To preserve the present parity of the pound has involved the

SPECIAL CONFERENCE

The 'productivity' and 'high-wage economy' policies put forward by Cousins and the Stalinists are their response to the danger of the working class following the lead of the Socialist Labour League, in the case of the Stalinists quite consciously.

These reformists are actually suggesting that imperialism be peacefully wound up.

The large income which comes from the transactions of the City of London and the privileged position of the pound sterling are to be quietly given up.

When the troops are brought

IN FACT the balance of payments crisis is not what either Wilson or the 'left' pre-

The external crisis arises in no way because exports are insufficient in value to pay for the required volume of imports. That the crisis cannot be solved simply by measures designed to cut down on imports and boost exports.

This crisis arises because the British capitalists are caught be-tween two insoluble objective

They need, as capitalists, to overcome the structural weakness built into British industry and economy by its history. And yet the task of 'modernisation' is undertaken by Wilson and the employers precisely at a time when the international conditions have reached a point where they act against any such 'national' regeneration.

On the other hand, there is the organised working class, standing against the industrial and political measures which the capitalists must take in order to cheapen their costs of produc-

On the whole British industries are geared to the production of the cruder types of commodities where demand on a world scale is no longer expanding so rapidly and where the growing crisis in the 'underdeveloped' markets will add to the problem.

The modern 'technologicallybased' industries, so close to Mr. Wilson's heart, play a relatively minor role in British capitalism compared to her major rivals.

Thus over the last few years, although imports and exports have risen at roughly the same pace, there has been a disproportionate rise in the importation of advanced types of machinery, of chemicals, steel, machine tools, products associated with the electronics industry and with automation. Many of these goods cannot be produced at home and supplies have to be sought from abroad. This is the real balance of pay-

ments crisis: British capital cannot earn a sufficient surplus in the increasingly competitive market of the world which is sufficient to pay for these imports. Yet without these imports there

can be no modernisation of British industry on which in-creased exports ultimately

The intensity and quality of the crisis in Britain is indicated by the fact that it now strikes at the heart of the most advanced industries in the country: motors and steel, the former of course being the biggest single export and dollar earner.

We are no longer talking of a recession hitting the 'backward' or 'depressed' industries such as coal, railways, cotton or ship-

In this sense the crisis is quite different from that as recently as 1962-1963 when unemployment on a large scale was last felt.

It is the quality of the present crisis, reflected in the balance of payments position, which must be pressed home. It is this quality which determines the development of the class struggle.

That is, for capitalists, it is

unions to become integrated into the capitalist state, for all questions of wages to become the concern of the state, is very much a central part of the present For the capitalists the need is

increasingly to break up the or-ganised resistance of the work-

ing class; to atomise it. Only in this way will it be possible to make even the attempt at the basic structural re-organisation of British capital which is so urgently required.

> 10 THE BRITISH capitalist class is still deeply divided on the question of entry into the European Common Market as a means of tackling the crisis of British capital. Tied as they are to the older 'backward' markets of the world, many firms see in Europe the chance to modernise

> On the other hand France is extremely unlikely to allow Britain into Europe with the pound and the sterling area enjoying its present privileged position.

and re-equip their ailing indus-

In this sense the question is once more not one which con-cerns only the British bour-geoisie. A devaluation of the pound and a winding up of the sterling area would be a blow not only to the City of London but would throw the world monetary system into serious dislocation and as we have pointed out above would almost certainly lead to a devaluation of the dollar.

In this regard the question of entry into Europe is quiet different than it was in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Then the main drive for Britain's entry came from the US who, apart from wanting some counter-weight to German and French capital, also wished to make better use of the wished to make better use of the capital which they had invested in British industry, which was only possible on the basis of an enlarged European market.

Those in the labour movement who advocate entry into Europe as a simple 'solution' to the present crisis take none of these factors into account. Wilson may well take Britain

into Europe: but this would involve sharp conflicts not only with Johnson, but with the British working class in the form of a drive in the export industries for modernisation and recapitali-

II IN OTHER WORDS, the development of the present international crisis for capitalism increasingly determines more directly the political rela-tionships between the classes.

The Socialist Labour League does not simply have an alternative policy to the Stalinists and the other reformist tendencies. The crisis, for us, resolves it-

self, not in advancing a 'solution' for it in the manner of the Stalin-

development of the of the economy is part of the preparation for the building of a new leadership in the working-class movement, a leadership which will be able to take full advantage of this maturing crisis in leading the working class forward to the smashing of capitalism and the taking of power.

Book Review

back from East of Suez, all the

interest and profit accruing from the investments they protect

(which certainly amount to a great deal more than the military expenditure!) are to be left to

The supplies of raw materials

such as oil, guaranteed to British capitalism by the stationing of

these troops, are to be left to

Wilson, who has crawled on his

belly to the British capitalists

and to the international banks, is presumably going to challenge

This petty-bourgeois fantasy

represents the bankruptcy and the

danger to the working class of the Stalinists and the left social

democrats. It opens up at the

same time the urgency of a successful political challenge to these

tendencies in order to respond in

the colonial masses!

chance.

Wall Street.

from that of Selwyn Lloyd and Thorneycroft. This policy of Wilson has in-

tensified the problem facing every exporter: with production cut back as a result of the squeeze, unit costs inevitably tend to rise and export markets become even more difficult to maintain. This is precisely the problem which now faces the car industry.

GEOFF

PILLING

In addition the severe contrac-tion of bank credit has starved industrialists of the funds necessary to finance the export trade or to buy capital equipment for modernisation. These consequences of the in-

crease in unemployment and cuts in home demand are an accurate indication of the depth of the crisis of British capitalism.

A measure of unemployment was seen by sections of the employers to be absolutely necessary in order to weaken working class, which had built up its expectations and its organisation during the boom.

They are in fact unable to clear from their path the obstacles to getting higher production at lower cost. The same contradictions are present in the protest of some sections of the employers (motors, etc.) against the overall restrictions on credit.

These are necessary as part of the plan to cut down the working class, but within the capitalist framework they prevent investment and expansion deemed to be necessary for the next phase of 'reflation'

8 THE WHOLE of the Labour 'left', following Cousins, and supported to the full by the Stalinists, place policies before the working class which cover up the sharpness of the crisis.

Their policies represent their capitulation to capitalism: the proposals to cut defence spending, devalue the pound, and restrict capital exports are essentially attempts to 'rationalise'

a Marxist way to the radicalisa-tion of the workers by the present economic crisis.

Algeria: A Revolution that Failed

By Arslan Humbaraci

THIS IS AN IMPORTANT book for Marxists. It is useful as a record of the Algerian people's struggle for independence from French colonial domination, dealing in some detail with the events leading up to the armed uprising of November 1954.

It also makes an honest, though empirical, attempt to analyse the various political factions that struggled for the leadership of the nationalist movement at this period. On this level the book is as good as most history's of the revolution.

But far more important, this book should be read for the light that it throws upon the class and theoretical character of the leadership of the Algerian nationalist movement, first as it approached and carried through its agreement with the French government, and then as it began to establish itself as the ruling force within Algeria. It is this aspect of the book

that makes it essential reading for members and supporters of the Committee for the Fourth International. It is this body that has for over 10 years defended and developed the Trotskyist conception of the national-democratic revolution against all attempts to revise it by the ex-Trotskyist group around Pablo. Pablo (in this book referred to

as Michaelis Raptis) figures here as one of the political advisers to the Ben Bella regime, together with his co-thinkers Mohammed Harbi and Soliman Lutfullah. The evolution of this group

from a revision of Trotskyism to propagandists and apologists for petty-bourgeois nationalism of the most vulgar type vindicates com-pletely the deep political and organisational split that was carried through by the Committee of the Fourth Interna-

Pablo's role in Algeria exposed

tional, which correctly designated Pablo's theories as a petty-bourgeois adaptation to the labour bureaucracy and nationalism. Humbaraci deals objectively

with the petty-bourgeois nature of Algerian 'socialism'. It was this socialist colouration to the regime of Ben Bella, and hence the Algerian bourgeoisie, that for a period of several years met and served the requirements of French capitalism in Africa. To understand why Algerian

and French capitalism needed a Trotskyist' veneer as a screen for own domination of the Algerian masses, it is only necessary to examine the role of Algerian and French Stalinism. From as early as 1934, the year

of the first popular-front tactic of the Stalinists, the French Communist Party has opposed independence for Algeria from French rule. This took the extreme form supporting armed repressions against the Arab celebrations following the defeat of Germany in

In 1954, the French and Algerian communist parties op-posed the armed rising of the people and advised instead a policy of 'cultural assimilation'

The Soviet government, anxious not to alienate de Gaulle, was among the last non-imperialist powers to recognise the provisional Algerian government, do ing so only after the French had

by Robert Black

decided to come to terms with

Thus Stalinism already stood exposed before the mass of the Algerian population as a counterrevolutionary force opposed to the genuine emancipation of the under-developed countries of the world from the domination of im-Some other, as yet uncompromised, form of 'socialism' was required by the nationalist leadership and their French paymasters

to divert the workers and peasants of Algeria from their only road to real freedom—a break with the politics of nationalism and a joint struggle with all the exploited of North Africa for a socialist Magreb.

Ben Bella, already under the influence of the Pabloites. was

pushed forward by French imperialism, as the author shows, to play just this role of left cover for the re-establishment of capitalist rule in Algeria. Humbaraci is able to prove that

even during the war an unofficial truce was observed to the south in the area around the oil fields and installations. It was this same oil. Humbaraci asserts, that found its way to the FLN troops via a French-based oil company!

It was French troops that opened the barrages along the Tunisian frontier to ensure that Ben Bella and the elite corps trained under Boumedienne took possession of the key centres of Algeria before any independent popular movement could establish

Humbaraci also points out that this ready-made capitalist state machine would never have reached Algiers had it not been for the French army servicing it with petrol when its tankers ran dry in the desert. The dependence of Algerian nationalism on French oil could hardly have been better illustrated.

'As they reached Oran, the population shouted "Long live Ben Bella". When this column ran short of fuel, tankers of the French army by some mysterious

Continued page 4, column 2 ->

ANNOUNCING A MOST IMPORTANT

Lessons of the 1966 Seamen's Strike

'Lessons of the 1966 Seamen's Strike' must be read and studied by every trade unionist. It is a day-by-day account of how the struggle was fought and the role of the forces at work on both sides of what was a most militant class action-Britain's first political strike since 1926.

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It is 'a must' reading for every trade unionist faced

with a struggle against Wilson's policies.

Literature Department, Socialist Labour League,

186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

Declaration by the special conference of the SLL

The Socialist Labour League and the-

Socialist

Workers'

Party (USA)

Socialist Workers' Party a letter (January 1961) which voiced our grave disquiet at the expression of revisionist theories and policies by the SWP, which at that time was formally in support of the same International Committee as we were, though barred by the United States Voorhis Act from any international political affiliation.

IT IS ALMOST exactly six years since our

National Committee sent to the leadership of the

Our letter of January 1961 marked a new stage since December 1953. At that time James P. Cannon, on behalf of the SWP, denounced Michel Pablo and his supporters in the International Secretariat of the Fourth International for capitulating to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

SIX YEARS AFTER

Pablo and his followers had accepted the idea that the Stalinist parties would be forced by mass pressure to lead a struggle for the overof capitalist state throw power.

Cannon rightly pointed out that this led directly to the that this led directly to the liquidation of the Trotskyist

TROTSKYISM AND THE STALINIST BUREAUCRACY

Trotskyism and the Fourth International were born in a struggle against Stalinist bureaucracy, a struggle to defend the heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the Russian Revolu-

It is appropriate at this time to ask, six years after, where the

OUT NOW

Fourth International

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Editorial

An Evaluation of John Maynard Keynes by G. Pilling

NIGERIA TODAY

by J. Kiomenesekenegha

Rosa Luxemburg by C. Slaughter

MONOPOLY CAPITAL

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we were correct in urgently requesting a discussion, fearful as we were that the SWP leadership was capitulating to the same re-visionism which they had condemned in 1953.

SWP stands and to what extent

Has the SWP continued a struggle for Trotskyism against bureaucracy, or has it capitulated via Pabloism, to this bureaucracy?

We consider that Stalinism remains what Trotsky called it-the principal counter-revolutionary force in the international class struggle. As imperialism's crisis has deepened, so we have witnessed the inseparably linked deepening crisis of Stalinism, because in its opposition to the working class, Stalinism leans on the imperialists, whose pressure upon the first workers' state it really represents.

1956 marked a major turning-point, with the Kremlin's bloody suppression of the workers' councils in Hungary.

But in the years which immediately followed, the SWP leaders, instead of building on this confirmation of Trotsky's programme of political revolution, discovered the theory that a series of basic reforms by the Soviet bureaucracy would 'equal' a political revolution.

This 'theory' led them closer to the Pabloites who had proved incapable of supporting the revolt of the East German workers in 1953 or the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

Our letter was an attempt to halt the process, to establish a firm alliance to fight against the revisionism of Pablo, Germain and their supporters. But in fact the gap between us has widened ever since that day.

THE SWP AND **PABLOISM**

We found it extremely difficult to get a discussion with the SWP leadership, and we never did get a discussion involving the rank and file of the SWP. This rank and file was deprived of our many documents while the SWP leadership prepared its unprincipled 'reunification' with the Pabloites in 1963.

We say 'unprincipled' because it was done on the basis of ig-noring past differences and splits, and with different reasons given to the members on both sides for the drawing together o fthe SWP

In the period since 1961 the policies and outlook of our two organisations have diverged until today they are in direct opposi-

We set our course towards the defeat of revisionism and the building of the independent revolutionary party in every country, as the necessary weapon of the working class against imperialism in its crisis, and against its bureaucratic agents.

The SWP has reacted to this crisis in an entirely different way: via the acceptance of Pabloite revisionism it has reacted to this deepening crisis by turning completely away from the working class, towards middle-class 'radical' circles, with the politics of pacifism and radical protest which in fact serve imperialism.

This has necessitated a series of bitter slanders and attacks against the Marxists of the SLL and the International Committee.

BETRAYAL IN CEYLON

Between 1961 and now, of course, Pablo himself has been expelled from the 'Unified Secretariat'. His departure was preceded by the historic events in

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon was always acclaimed by the Pabloites as the 'largest Trotskyist party in the world'. Almost overnight, the situation

was transformed. In the summer of 1964, the leaders of this Party joined the capitalist coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike, and won the support of a large majority of the LSSP for their action. A minority immediately split

and formed the LSSP (Revolutionary Section), and after some hesitation the Unified Secretariat proceeded to expel the LSSP majority. What a reunification!

Were not certain lessons to be drawn, about the role of revisionism, about the unprincipled character of the 'reunification'?

Not only did the SWP leadership refrain from any comment for a whole period, but they took disciplinary measures against those SWP members who demanded discussion.

Before the coalition inside the Pabloite Secretariat, they had rejected discussion of the right-ward course of the LSSP traitors, on the grounds that it would be 'divisive'!

In fact the government's crisis Ceylon was only part of a whole change in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. After it came a series of moves to the right, as the middle-class 'left' nationalist alliances broke up.

Ben Bella, Nkrumah and Sukarno toppled, and military coups succeeded each other in a series of countries. Imperialism could not sustain the old equilibrium.

The Pabloite revisionists had staked everything on the 'natural' development of left nationalists into Marxists, using Castro as their model. In Ceylon, in Algeria, they paid bitterly for their mistakes. They prepared active defeats for the working

THE SWP AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE USA

But the basic revision of the SWP took place on the question of the USA and the American working class. Worship of the left petty-bourgeois nationalists in the colonial countries, particularly Cuba, was in fact a cover for an abandonment of the American labour movement.

Instead there was a turn to the so-called 'radical milieu' of middle-class 'protest' politics which abound in America but sprout especially with the approach of imperialist crises.

The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 revealed these politics for what they were. So far had the SWP fallen into the dominant pragmatism of the US bourgeois world outlook that Cannon, adducing Nehru and Bertrand Russell in support, praised Khrushchev's withdrawal of the missiles, on the grounds that there was no alternative in the given circumstances. given circumstances'!

Not a trace of proletarian internationalism and the independent class politics of the working class in the approach to all

So prostrate were the SWP leaders before Castro that they welcomed as 'the fight against bureaucracy' Castro's insistence on the unchallengable right of the state machine to appoint all personnel in government office!

Today, George Novack excuses Castro's vicious attack on China (linked with his attack on Trotskyism) with the explanation:

'However, Peking's sectarian attitude in dealing with the neutrals in the Sino-Soviet conflict, coupled with Cuba's inescapable economic and military dependence upon the Soviet Union, have nullified this sympathy [towards China].' (International Socialist Review, Fall 1966.)

Such are the depths to which Marxism, 'Trotskyism', would be reduced by Novack and the SWP

Inside the USA, the revolt of the Negro workers, requiring as it does a revolutionary programme of political independence of the US working class, has been detailed by bourgeois-nationalist types of policies, to which the SWP has continuously lent itself, with its uncritical support of the Block Muslims. Black Muslims.

Worse, the SWP actually called upon the Democratic Administration to enforce de-segreation by sending Federal troops to the Southern states. The Negroes were to be freed by the monopoly-capitalist state!

The telegram of condolences sent to President Kennedy's widow by Farrell Dobbs on behalf of the SWP was not a bad joke. summed up the politics of the SWP, expressing as it did the guarantee to the bourgeoisie that they did not regard violence as the solution to America's problems.

Lenin and Trotsky fought to free the Russian labour move-ment from the illusion that primitive individual terrorism could destroy Tsarism. The SWP leadership tried to twist these ideas to shield itself against the jingoistic backlash of imperialist

In all issues of American politics the SWP has turned towards petty-bourgeois 'democratic' and 'radical' opinion. While US imperialism finances a massive ideological campaign against Marx-ism on every front, the SWP in fact helps them by presenting as Marxism, as Trotskyism, a turning away from the working class to liberal reformism and pacifism.

What we pointed out in the discussion on abandonment of dialectical materialism now has its full political expression.

TROTSKYISM AND **PACIFISM**

With this type of politics it is inevitable that the revisionists of the SWP and the 'Unified Secre-tariat' find themselves on the other side in the struggle of the workers' movements to shed the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucracy.

This has now become more openly than ever before the *main* question before the workers, in the capitalist coluntries and in the deformed and degenerated workers' states.

The fact is that these 'radical' and pacifist circles, so necessary as safety-valves under imperialism, can find a stable centre only in the Stalinist bureaucracy and its politics of 'peaceful coexistence'.

In Britain, in solidarity with the forces of the International Committee in other countries, the Socialist Labour League has fought and fights now for a programme of total opposition to the government of Wilson in its support for the imperialist war

We raise the slogans 'Victory for the National Liberation Front', 'The enemy is here at home'. Their victories are ours, and blows we strike against Wilson are blows on their behalf. There is no 'peace' in Vietnam without the defeat of imperial-

What is the position of the SWP?

It is worth examining this particular question in detail, because it is the immediate back-ground to the latest unprincipled move of the SWP leadership against the SLL.

Consistently with its liquidation into the middle-class 'radical milieu' the SWP has merged it-self in the 'peace' movement without any independent proletarian Marxist programme. Indeed, SWP members are

mobilised to vote down Trotskyists in Seattle, for example, who raised the question of internaworking-class solidarity against the imperialist war.

Even this elementary duty of Marxists to oppose their own imperialist government on class lines is impossible for the SWP. They have become part of the 'radical milieu' towards which they turned.

No longer a proletarian tendency, they are the left wing of this radical middle class.

The transferring of this policy to Britain is only the latest of a series of our experiences of intervention by these revisionists, from which we are obliged to draw definite conclusions.

THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Between 1960 and 1965, the Young Socialists, led by members of the Socialist Labour League, inflicted a major defeat on the bureaucracy of the Labour

Their youth movement was won from them in political battle at two successive conferences.

When this process was completed, the forces trained in that fight set up their own independent revolutionary youth organisation.

It was this organisation, to-gether with the magnificent French contingent from a movement inspired by the victories of the YS, which dominated the Liège demonstration of October 15, 1966, and frightened to death every revisionist in Western

The SWP's 'Militant' went five weeks before it could make a comment on the most significant international action of our movement since its foundation.

But all through the struggle in the Labour Party, the co-thinkers of the SWP in Britain, the Pabloites, condemned our fight as 'ultra-left' and 'adventurist'. Their theory of 'deep entry'

made them subordinate every-thing to staying in the social democracy. They characterised Wilson's government in October 1964 as a 'left-centrist' government, and so were utterly unable to mobilise any opposition to its experience. to its capitalist policies. When the SLL and YS took

the initiative in the fight against the anti-trade union legislation of Wilson's government, we not only received no help from the Pabloites: they teamed up with the Stalinists and 'state capitalists' in the organisation of diversionary action.

They tried to confine the seamen's strike, a political strike, to questions of economic demands and industrial solidarity. Never once did they condemn the be-trayals of the Stalinists, who helped the Labour government to defeat the strike.

All their wrath was reserved

AN ANTI-TROTSKYIST ALLIANCE

And now we find supporters of the Unified Secretariat in Britain lining up with precisely the same kind of petty-bourgeois towards which the SWP is turned in the

Bertrand Russell and Ralph Schoenmann organise their 'Vietnam Solidarity Campaign' and 'War Crimes Commission' with day-to-day assistance every level of the British Pablo-

This same Schoenmann tried to suppress the spokesmen of the SLL when they warned, at a meeting of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, against the betrayals of the Stalinist bureau-cracy. The Pabloites have even defended the position of Schoenmann that fascists like Colin Jordan should be protected against discrimination in the interests of free speech.

This is the 'regroupment' which the SWP has been talking about since 1956! It is a middleclass alliance against revolutionary Marxism, especially when Marxism attacks the bureaucracy.

Together with its middle-class allies, the SWP leans on this bureaucracy.

Instead of defending the Chinese Revolution against the threats of US imperialism, the SWP and the revisionists con-demn the 'sectarianism' of the Chinese, while the Soviet leaders call for the overthrow of Mao Tse Tung naturally on the programme of a more conciliatory policy to-

wards imperialism. As the crisis of US imperialism worsens at home and abroad, it becomes increasingly difficult for the ruling class to maintain the fraud of the two-party system. New gimmicks have to be improvised in order to keep the working class from breaking away and founding a Labour Party of its own.

As in the '30s during the New Deal, the American ruling class has found willing and unsolicited help from the Stalinists in deluding the radicalised sections of the working class, in particular the Negroes.

While significant sections of the US working class such as the airline mechanics are demanding a complete break with the two capitalist parties, the Stalinists are doing their utmost to maintain the deception that the Democratic Party is the servant of the working class. While opposing the more reactionary sections of the Democratic Party, they urge the workers to vote for the 'progressive' or 'reform' Democrats.

The SWP, despite its Trotskyist pretensions and talk of 'independent politics', is just as much a part of this cynical fraud as the Stalin-

APTHEKER AND THE SWP

The proof is to be found in its explicit support of Herbert Aptheker, the CP candidate, in the last Congressional Elections in the 12th Congressional District of New York. Its support for Aptheker is in no way different from the sup-port extended to the CP in Ceylon by the LSSP in 1963 which paved the way for the support of Mrs. Bandaranaike's SLFP government in 1964. It is capitalist politics and we agree completely with the Bulletin for the International Committee of the Fourth International which states: -

For Herbert Aptheker and the Communist Party the Kelly district (the 12th Congressional District) was a perfect choice. Being a conservative Democrat the CP could run against Kelly while at the same time continuing to plug reform Democrats elsewhere. The Aptheker campaign not only does not represent a break from bourgeois politics, but it rather functions as a cover for the CP's continued support to

the "liberal" capitalists.
'In fact Aptheker's campaign specifically avoids any mention of socialist or class politics.
While mentioning that Aptheker happens to be a member of the Communist Party, one is urged to vote for him on the following basis: "As a citizen, soldier and scholar, my life has been devoted to the struggle against fascism, against racism, and against McCarthyism; as a candidate, these aims remain central." We take him at his word—central to him is a liberal bloc against "reaction", not the independent struggle for the working class. Any socialist who gives an ounce of support to the Aptheker cam-

paign is betraying class prin-

(Bulletin, September 12, 1966) From the Moscow Trials through the Hungarian Revolution, and now into the preparations for 'ideological co-existence' with capitalism, Aptheker has been and remains the model of Stalinist 'intellectual' hack, finding 'Marxist' justification for every crime and betrayal of the

bureaucracy. We support unreservedly the characterisation of our co-thinkers in the USA who denounce the SWP

for its latest betrayal of the working class.

A radical 'regroupment' around the US Stalinists is one of the hopes of the Democratic Party in rolling back the swing towards the Republicans.

It is this to which the SWP is really orientated: the firmer tying of the US working class to the two-party system and the capitalist establishment, despite the propaganda protestations to

the contrary.
The Liege demonstration, the real fight against the bureaucracy on the Hungarian Revolution, the Vietnam war and the support for Stalinist politics, these are the turning-points which have accelerated the degeneration of the SWP.

A BETRAYAL OF TROTSKYISM

We tell the SWP:

The days when you could address us as 'comrades' are long since gone.

Your political actions have placed you outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working

You have placed the phrases of Trotskyism at the service of the middle-class pacifists and com-promisers with imperialism.

There can be not the slightest question of your telling us what we must do to re-establish our reputation with you. On the contrary: the more

to us now, the more you are forced into one unified opposition with the middle-class 'radicals' against us, the surer we are that our political course is absolutely necessary and correct. The 'Unified Secretariat' into which you retreated, once we

vicious becomes your opposition

raised sharply with you the revisionist direction of your politics in January 1961, is decomposing in Europe as all over the world. This was exposed at Liège, in contrast with the growth and political strength of the Interna-

tional Committee. In the course of this decom-osition, the SWP and its collaborators run into the arms of

the centrists and the bureaucracy. Adapted to this milieu, they accept and indeed excel in the methods of scandalmongering and gossip against the revolu-tionaries, methods which typify these middle-class groups.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE USA

We understand how important it is for the SWP and its friends to attack the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee.

For years they have sneered at the supposed 'British insularity' of the SLL, but their attacks against it have become necessary internationally for the SWP revisionists precisely because it is from Britain, from the SLL, together with its comrades in the IC, that the rebuilding of the Fourth International is being undertaken successfully. This re-building is the death-blow for

the revisionists. One final word. At the front of our preoccupations is the central role of the working class of the USA. The building of a Trotskyist leadership in that country should have been the task of the SWP. They have abandoned it.

American imperialism has built un an enormous ideological barrage to corrupt the American labour movement, and the SWP, by failing to develop Marxism in struggle against this, has succumbed to it.

The work of the International Committee, supported by our comrades in the ACFI in the USA, will provide the basis for a Trotskyist party in the USA. But such a party will only be built in opposition to the middleclass sect, viciously anti-Trotskyist in its service to the bureau-cracy, which the SWP has now become.

Internationally, too, the revisionism of the SWP has become an obstacle which must be removed from the path of the working class and the Fourth In-

The SLL is part of the Fourth International.

That is the basis of our existence. Henceforth we have no relations with the SWP: it is a fight between the working class and the servants of the class enemy.

Adopted by a unanimous vote at the special national delegate conference of the Socialist Labour League.

November 26 and 27, 1966.

The issues raised in the Nov. 21st letter by Farrell Dobbs, Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, about what happened at Caxton Hall on the night of November 17th, we cannot discuss at this stage reduction (why is it always by half?) and restrictions on the

Instead of the recognition of these features of British capital-

ism as being central to its role

as an imperialist power within a world capitalist economy and a

system of military and political

alliances, Gibbons suggests that the money saved 'could be used

for technological development at

This line will of course be

familiar to all those who have fought in the working class over

the last two years against the be-

trayals of the Labour government for a socialist policy to resolve the crisis. This reformist, nationalist and Utopian pro-gramme of the Stalinists serves

not as a workable plan for the employers and the Labour government, but as a poltical di-

version from the development of

a genuine class opposition to reformism in Britain.

Now, however, a new stage has been reached. Stalinism now

finds it necessary to make an adjustment not only to the politics of right-wing reformism, but its latest, most reactionary ex-

pression—the drive to liquidate the independence of the working

class on behalf of a mythical

It is here that Stalinism plays

its most pernicious, and, for the social democrats and their pay-

Gibbons argues that it should be the aim of the working class to force Wilson to carry out his

intended programme—that of the modernisation of British capital-

masters, most valuable role.

'national interest'.

'Force Wilson'

export of capital.

The future

From page 1

But the moment when it is challenged in a political action, in which large numbers of workers are drawn into struggle, then this

whole class-collaborationist policy of Wilson will fall to the ground. This the flimsiest class-col-

laboration structure in the whole history of such politics by the traitors of social democracy and

the Second International.

I want to emphasise that point

because the working class in Britain has developed within a specific political context.

Workers inherited the ideology

of empiricism and idealism which in turn brought them closer to their established organisations,

towards the idea that through

these organisations they could arrive at a solution of their

Idealism in the minds of the British workers is not at all the

same thing as it is in the minds of the middle class. Idealism has two sides.

In the first place it keeps the

working class turned only along a single track of organisation.

But at the same time it implants

in the working class the one great

idea that you cannot achieve

emancipation without organisa-

go through a long process of de-

velopment since the beginning of this century in testing out the

The working class has had to

problems.

lies with

the SLL

Delivery drivers' strike is over but not resolved

LONGBRIDGE (BIRMINGHAM) car delivery drivers will be returning to work to clear the 10,000 cars which have accumulated in the factory compounds during their nine-week official strike against redundancy.

By Monday, eight of the 12 member firms of the Long-bridge Group of Delivery Agents had signed agreements with the Transport and General Workers' Union. The drivers claim that these agreements are completely on their terms. All conditions, such as mobility of labour between one type of job and another, have been dropped.

The firms who have signed the agreements say that in future each will negotiate directly with

the union and will recruit labour through the union.

In September the LGDA declared that 333 out of their 650 drivers would be made redundant.

The men struck and had been demanding work-sharing in place of redundancy.

The strike ended last week when the British Motor Corporation broke what is understood to have been a 'gentlemen's agreement' with the LGDA by allowing two delivery firms outside the LGDA to move some of

Agreement

In the hut specially built for picket duty by the drivers of the Car and Commercial Deliveries firm, about ten pickets sat on Monday by the coke stove which has kept them warm through many spells of watching the storage compound. They were hourly expecting the news that their own employers had signed an agreement with their

They felt that the reported statement of LGDA chairman Mr. R. J. Carrington that the union was 'accepting the offer we made a week ago', was just a face

That offer, put forward by the GDA and contemptuously turned down by the drivers, in cluded the taking back of 75 of the 333 redundant men for a month while redundancy was discussed, and the condition of complete mobility of jobs.

The real plans of the employers then are quite plain. But is there apparent step-down just as plain?

They have in fact got away with a certain amount of redundancy-many of those thrown out have found other jobs and will not be taken back.

Both the LGDA and BMC are obviously anxious for monetary reasons to get the cars moving again to clear the storage compounds.

But what happens when the cars are cleared, and the drop in car production again allows only a trickle out of the factories? The delivery firm bosses will again be faced with surplus labour and are bound to want to cut-back again.

Union attitude?

Was the action of BMC in using recently-unionised firms outside the LGDA to make the LGDA member firms act, or was it to break the strike?

And what was the attitude of the union to these two firms being allowed to move vehicles?

Certainly the Longbridge drivers' struggle is not at an

end. But they must be sure of all the facts in their next battle. The question of redundancy and unemployment is not a matter of work-sharing. It is a political issue, involving an all-out fight against the anti-working-class policies of the Wilson government.

No decisive long-term victorywhich the Stalinists claim this is —can be achieved on the basis of a purely union struggle, restricted to one section of workers. Here again those Stalinists in

against sackings

OVER 1,000 workers staged a one-day token strike on Monday at the Birmingham factory of the BXL Plastics Materials Group Ltd.

This action was decided at a mass meeting on Sunday, in protest against redundancy for 150 employees at the factory, to take place on December 17.

a ban on overtime.

The BXL factory, which is in the heavily-industrialised Tyseley district, is American-owned. It

A group of workers outside the factory expressed the opinion that the underlying idea was to get four men to do the work that used to be done by five'.

By Newsletter Reporter

the shop stewards' movement in the car factories stand exposed for their inaction on the delivery

The Longbridge drivers have engaged a rough and gallant fight,

enduring financial hardship, pressure from outside and long trying hours on the picket lines.

This same determination will be necessary in the future struggles in the car industry: it must be channelled into the revolutionary action it is seeking, to overthrow the capitalist system and expose the false leaders of the working class.

CAV-Lucas men want convenor

NEWSLETTER INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

A SERIES of departmental strikes were being held at the CAV-Lucas factory site in Fazakerly, Liverpool, this week against the sacking of the convenor, E. Johnston.

The workers are also opposing a decision of the Amalgamated Engineering Union executive telling Johnston to accept one of the two offers made by the firm. His workmates are demanding his full and unconditional reinstatement.

Johnston, a member of the AEU executive and local district committee, was sacked on Septem-

Procedure

A strike against this was called off when a majority of workers accepted an AEU district official's proposition that the case go through procedure.

At a central conference in York last month the employers proposed

From page 2

coincidence, were on the spot in

time to re-fuel them. This gesture

of the French was taken as fur-

ther evidence that Paris was back-

ing the Ben Bella combination.' (Page 70.)

similar examples of co-ordination of tactics between the nationalists

and the French government.

over of power.

rule of capital.

The whole book is packed with

What is significant is that the

French sought out the so-called left wing of the nationalists at

this crucial stage in the change-

The well-armed and elite trained troops of Boumedienne,

plus the socialist demagogy of

Ben Bella and his entourage, provided the continuity and the

camouflage that imperialism des-

perately requires at such moments

It is at these moments that the slow and apparently incidental evolution of revisionism takes on

a concrete class role, acting as a bridge from imperialism, via the petty bourgeoisie, into the work-

ing class and peasantry struggling for their emancipation from the

The record of Ben Bella in power is one of a constant retreat before the basic tasks posed by

and the solving of the land ques-

NO CHALLENGE

through the army, to the landed classes and, through the oil com-

panies, to French capital, never

even began to make this chal-

nature of Ben Bella's 'nationaliza-tions', which had as little socialist

those carried out by the Labour government after the last war.

450 enterprises employing some 10,000 workers all told (i.e., an

average of only 22 per plant) had been by mid-1964 put under self

management, only to find them-selves facing the competition of

a better-equipped private sector. Even among the 450, only some 5 per cent could be considered truly industrial.' (Page 122.)

This passage suitably characterises Ben Bella's—and Pablo's—socialism. Far from making in-

roads into the power of capital,

it merely takes over those centres, such as barbers' shops, cafes, cinemas and the like, which are

the least profitable and most inci-

dental to its development.

working-class content as

Ben Bella, tied as he was

that Johnston be sacked and take three months' wages or that he take a job in a small Lucas service plant for a year before being accepted back into the main plant.

'Peace'

The shop stewards' committee at CAV-Lucas have issued a statement saying that the management had declared they wanted peace on the site, but 'we know the type of peace they mean to have. . . their way of getting it is

trade unionism,' they say. statement, which has been sent to the district committee of the union opposing the sacking and the action of the executive, which

mitted against the union here.' Johnston had a record of fightditions. 'We are not going to have him exiled for fighting for

was meeting again on Thursday.

More Stalinist AN ARTICLE by J. Gibbons AN ARTICLE by J. Gibbons in the October issue of World Marxist Review' brings out clearly the full implications of Stalinist politics in this Wilson Deliberately concealing the international evolution and nature of the present crisis within British capitalism, Gibbons ploughs the classical Stalinist furrow of arms bill

Newsletter Correspondent

operate in the endeavour if he knew that prices and profits were also frozen and an end put to squandermania of the NATO and East of Suez policies.' (Emphasis

So we know where we stand. Yes, the wage freeze is O.K. by the British Communist Party, as long as the 'British worker' sees that his British employer is also asked to make his contribution to the national effort.

Class nature ignored

Far from this Stalinist bringing out the class nature of the crisis and the necessity of developing a struggle against the employers and the government as being responsible for this crisis, the attempt is made to bring together the working and capitalist class, via the legislation of the Wilson government on wages, prices and profits, for a national effort to save British capitalism so that it can once more 'pay its way in the world'.

Just when thousands of workers are flung into struggles demanding the highest level of political leadership and organisation, the Communist Party intervenes with this nationalist, anti-Marxist propaganda in order to prevent a real radicalisation of the working class and its linking up with the Trotskyist movement.

This new stage in the degeneration of Stalinism has serious implications for the Marxist movement and the working class generally.

The Newsletter has often warned over the last year of the logical direction towards which Labour's policies are headingthe absorbtion of the trade unions by the state and the creation of a corporate state on

These first steps by Wilson in the direction of state control of the unions are as yet only a pale reflection of the real drives of capitalism on a world scale to-wards total smashing of workingclass independence and the institution of fascist forms of rule over the working class.

The Stalinist parties, notably now in Britain, where this process is particularly rapid, respond to this pressure from monopoly capitalism through the medium of the Labour bureaucracy and the trade union parliamentary 'left'.

Thus it is only now that the Stalinists come forward with such ultra-nationalist and demagogic policies as those advanced by Gibbons:

'The Communist Party, together with other (sic) lefts, is advancing an alternative programme to the Labour government's one-sided austerity.' (Emphasis added.)

'Corrective'

The Communist Party sees its role as a corrective to the one-sided policies of the Labour government. The party must ad-just this lack of balance by calling upon the employers to make their sacrifice too, in order that the crisis be averted.

Far from being an alternative upon which the working class can fight, such as has been developed by the campaigns of the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League, the Stalinists offer mothing but dangerous demagogy for the working class at a time when its situation cries out for real communist leadership.

right by British Stalinism brings out more clearly than before the close ties that bind it both to British capitalism and to their political tutors in the Kremlin.

British capitalism.

trade unions and the Labour Party in order to build up a body of experience which changes their previous idealist conceptions into something qualitatively dif-ferent; that is the building of the revolutionary party. This is the stage we have now reached.
We fought the opposition of the sectarians on the question of

'Labour to power'.
We insisted that the working class in this country had to go through the experience of a Labour government in order to test out their organisational allegiance, in order to test out the value of this allegiance, which they believed the Labour government was going to do something

with the language and ideas of the corporate state should serve as a clear warning to those who continue to believe that some room for manoeuvre still exists for

tionship between petty-bourgeois nationalism and the revolution in the ex-colonial world, appeared on the surface to be remote from ployed. To them the explanation the 'real struggle' of the interna-tional working class.

ternational events, from Hungary and Cuba to Algeria and Ceylon and now Liège, have brought out in a material way the class content of the fight for Marxist theory against its revision by those who attempt to adapt it to the needs of capitalism

Pablo, however dedicated he may have been to the goal of socialism, expressed the petit-bourgeois contempt and disdain for theory. This then became the medium through which imperial is my as able to portfally break up.

To read Humbaraci's book is

It was a revolution that was betrayed—betrayed by revisionism—and the opportunists used the name of Trotskyism in order to conceal their material capitula-

The break from Pablo and his methods raised Marxism to a new level, as have all previous struggles with revisionism within the Marxist movement over the last 60 years.

struggle, the central task of humanity is now posed—the building of a class-conscious Marxist leadership able to overthrow capitalist society and the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracies and build a world socialist system. The struggle of British and

leadership-though their material and historical conditions may differ widely.

Their unity is expressed in the struggle for class consciousness and the building of the Fourth International.

dation within the ranks of

of the Cuban state and the rela-

And yet a whole chain of in-

NOT ABSTRACT

It is on this plane, the struggle for theory, that Marxism appears to be at its most abstract. And yet it is through this development that the working class will be able to defend its conquests and go on to total victory.

ism was able to partially break up the leadership within the Fourth International and take this much further through their utilisation of renegades from the Trotskyist movement, as in the case of Ceylon and Algeria, to form 'left' governments that served only to head off the struggle of the masses for real class power.

really to read the record of this betrayal by Pabloism. It was not a revolution that failed—that is a passive (and therefore Pabloite) way of presenting the question.

tion to the pressures of bureaucracy and nationalism.

For us, the Algerian experience, the fall of Ben Bella and the grinding poverty of the Algerian masses cannot be separated from the struggle to defend and develop the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism, for in this struggle, the central task of

Algerian workers meet on this common ground—the fight for

This book is valuable material for the complete unmasking of Pabloism and its eventual liquiworkers' movement.

This swing over to the extreme

We have passed now from the We have passed now from the stage of 'Labour to power' to 'Labour in power'.

This is why the situation has changed. 'Labour in power', is now revealed as the firmest instrument of the employers in attaching the working class.

That the Stalinists now play attacking the working class.

I do not think that we fully conceive all the revolutionary implications of what is taking place at the present time. We tend to

dismiss what the Labour leaders do in an 'I told you so' fashion. We are talking for ourselves when we do that.
Put yourselves in the position of these tens of thousands of workers whom the Labour government has made unem-

of why they are on the dole is the Labour government. Politics is always much more simple to them than it is for the Marxists. It is related directly to issues which we take for

granted. The long drawn out process of reformism in Britain has not been something that has taken place on the surface. The polarisation of the class forces which we have witnessed so many times in the course of general elections is firm. The only people not certain

about this are the middle class. The working class sees its own organisations fighting them, so they are driven to rethink over all that has happened in the last

This will not be along the same lines as we are thinking. It will take place through experience, sometimes through hopelessness and frustration.

and frustration.

Therefore we are no longer in the period of 'Labour to power', we are in the period of 'Labour in power', where this tremendous change is being driven home to all those who endure unemployment and who will be driven to speed up in the factories.

We are fighting an enemy who We are fighting an enemy who has grown old and decrepit. The essence of capitalist rule today is

that as a system it is outmoded; it is completely inadequate more than at any time in its history. It is this which drives us forward to being out the system.

ard to bring out the positive sides of our achievements now.

These very ideas of internationalism which lay behind the founding of the Fourth International are now becoming national are now becoming material processes. The Social-ist Labour League faces the future with confidence.

(This is an extract of Comrade Healy's speech.)

PUBLIC MEETINGS THURSDAY, DEC. 8 8 p.m.

AGAINST THE WAGE FREEZE UNEMPLOYMENT

AND THE DEVLIN REPORT Ashburton School.

Freemasons Road,

Canning Town Speaker: G. Healy, national secretary, SLL

Deptford Town Hall

Speaker: Cyril Smith Central Committee member, SLL

Strike

None of the enterprises taken under state ownership were of importance to the national economy. Their role was political and used as a screen for the continued grip of domestic and foreign capitalism upon the main centres of the economy.

The author says of this tactic: 'In what may be properly described as the industrial sector,

Workers, who are members of the Transport and General Workers' Union, have also placed

was announced that the redundancies were caused by 'the general industrial situation'.

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reinstated

the most aggressive act yet coming for improved wages and con-

Over 700 workers have signed a

quarrel, is to get the country out the lines of fascist Italy. of debt and to reach a position

ism.
'The professed aim of the Labour government, an aim with which no British worker will

in which Britain is able to pay her way in the world. And the British worker would gladly co-

The demagogy of Ben Bella (left) and well-armed and trained troops of Boumedienne (right) were sought by imperialism at that period in its crisis.

Pablo's role in Algeria exposed

the democratic revolution—the expropriation of the foreign-owned oil companies, the nationalization of the domestic industries and financial centres Real power never rested in the hands of Ben Bella and his entourage. Imperialism has with-stood heavier blows than the nationalization of barbers' shops and cafes. State power lay in the hands of the army chiefs under the leadership of Col. Boumedienne, who never con-cealed his disdain for the 'socialist' excesses of Ben Bella and

his ex-Trotskyist advisers. When the time came to swing the regime over hard to the right the army was able to dispose of Ben Bella with contemptuous ease, the very smoothness of his removal indicating the real centres of power in the excolonial world.

But this course was not only mapped out in the Gaullist ministeries and the officers' barracks of the Algerian army.

REQUIRED BREACH Imperialism required a theoretical breach within the Marxist movement in order that the huge class energies unleashed by the Algerian revolution should remain without the leadership able to liberate them from the grip of

Stalinism, as we have pointed out, was unequal to this task. The breach took place within the Trotskyist Fourth Interna-

The theoretical basis of this defeat inflicted by imperialism upon the Algerian workers and peasants can be clearly seen in draft resolutions for the sixth world congress of the Fourth International', staged by the Pabloites several years after their break from revolutionary Marxism.

In this resolution the orientation towards the left wing of the nationalist movement achieves a finished form.

'Revolutionary - Marxist elements who operate in these dependent countries do not always have the possibility of opposing from the outside and in a completely independent way the existing national movements with bourgeois leaderships or ideology, for in this case they would run the risk of cutting themselves off from the broad masses and remaining in practice ineffective. While taking on everywhere the task of open revolutionary-Marxist publications which clarify the problems and trace out a clear perspective, they may find themselves obliged to carry on the essential part of their activity inside the existing national movements of a mass and revolutionary character, and to advocate within them a wing of a proletarian and socialist orientation.' ('Fourth International', summer 1960, page 59.)

Thus the Pabloites denied the central task of the epoch, which was, and remains the construcof independent workers' parties as national sections of the Fourth International.

revisionism, its liquidation of the party into the left-wing of petty bourgeois nationalism and the international labour bureaucracy. Thus in Algeria the task was not posed as one of the building

of an independent Marxist party

This is the content of Pabloite

based upon the struggles of the working class and poor peasantry, but, in the words of the Pabloites themselves, was seen as 'the need for the transformation of the FLN into a political party with a speci-fic programme.' (Page 62.)

The conclusion drawn by the Pabloites from the leftist nature of the FLN leadership (analysed in a purely empirical way on the basis of FLN propaganda) was that 'the special case of the FLN—the leadership of a plebian revolution in which there are not yet, properly speaking, pseudo-capitalist leading classes developed to any serious extentraises a problem for the proletariat and its revolutionary organisations: they cannot be satisfied to criticise such an organisation from the outside. . . .' (Page 62.)

BETRAYAL

Behind the big talk about action and not criticism, about the need to engage in struggle and not stand on the sidelines, Pablo prepared the political betrayal of the Algerian revolution by this revision of the whole basis of the programme of the Fourth International—namely its central emphasis on the crisis of leader-

-which even horrified those of his own supporters who were unable to recognise their handiwork—was driven on by the logic of the class struggle itself.

Pablo's subsequent evolution

The struggles of the question of Marxist theory and the nature of the dialectic, the class nature