

# The Newsletter

WEEKLY JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE Vol. 6, No. 276

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1962

# NO TORY HELP FOR JOBLESS

H. L.  
JAN 7 1963

EDITORIAL

## The pot stirrers

THE Rome conference of the Italian Communist Party has dragged into the open a new batch of differences between China and the Soviet Union. Togliatti and Koslov, the 'fraternal' delegate from Moscow, attacked both the Chinese and Albanian Communist parties.

The recent differences over Cuba and India must inevitably appear inside the ranks of most of the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union.

There are, of course, exceptions. At the Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, Mr. Novotny, who bears a major responsibility for the murder of Slansky, denounced in no uncertain terms the behaviour of the Albanian party.

He omitted, however, to refer to his own share of responsibility for Stalinism and in particular for Slansky's death. It is doubtful whether the Czech party will enjoy much discussion on the Soviet-China differences—at least in the open.

The British Communist Party in some respects, also, comes into this category. The *Daily Worker* has developed a technique for reporting the news which could be described as laughable if it were not so serious.

In its issue of Tuesday, December 4, it featured on the front page a cartoon of 'Our Alfie' which shows a large pot inscribed 'Arms for India' with two top-hatted gentlemen 'stirring it up' as the caption says.

Yet the next day, Wednesday, December 5, the *Worker*, on its front page, proudly announced 'MiGs coming says Nehru. Soviet commitments stand'.

Presumably, the editor, Mr. George Matthews, thinks that all his readers are idiots and deserve no better treatment of the news than that which his paper provides.

The same issue of the *Daily Worker* announces that Mr. S. A. Dange, the chairman of the Indian Communist Party, will shortly come to Britain on a tour calling for aid for India, financed by the Indian ruling class.

Mr. Dange is calling for assistance for Indian capitalism in the fight against the Chinese workers' state.

Officially, the CPGB have not taken any position on the China-India war.

It is very doubtful if there will be much discussion about the Soviet-China differences inside the British party unless it is forced upon the leadership by the rank and file between now and the party congress next Easter.

## All out for 40-hr week

By the Editor

**T**ORY ministers are unconcerned about growing unemployment. It was their policy which started it and apart from a few sympathetic gestures to the hosts of delegations now thronging the ministerial chambers, they do not intend to take any action.

It would indeed be ridiculous to expect them to. The Tory government runs the capitalist system which now requires unemployment as a means of lowering wages, increasing working hours and intimidating the trade union movement.

This is a grim warning not just for the unemployed but for those who are still working. Tens of thousands of trade unionists are working excessive overtime and still bringing home the kind of wage packet which will make their Christmas reasonably enjoyable.

The establishment of the 40-hour week now would do a lot to absorb the unemployed.

The right-wing trade union leaders are always denouncing so-called unofficial action. But trade union after trade union has gone on record for the 40-hour week. This is official policy.

Of course the implementation of the 40-hour week would only be an interim measure to halt unemployment, just as an increase in the dole money would only make life a little more tolerable for the unemployed.

Yet these demands are necessary as a means of building up an offensive on the part of the working class to force the Labour and trade union leaders to fight for the nationalisation of all the industries which would put an end to capitalism in Britain.

As long as there is cut-throat competition between capitalists then there will be unemployment, hunger and war. It is not possible to get rid of these things without dealing decisively with the source, which is the system.

The Newsletter says:

**For the 40-hour week;**

**An increase in unemployment pay to the wage level earned by the worker when employed.**

**Nationalise all the industries and rid Britain of capitalism.**

## Ford workers say 'No deal!'

By Our Industrial Correspondent

**T**HE official trade union and labour movement on the Merseyside simply cannot answer Sir Patrick Hennessy. Plain speaking from an employer always leaves the right-wing reformist speechless, because his case is built entirely upon collaboration with the employer.

## Up the Stalinist Garden path

**'The Western imperialists, especially the Americans, are doing their utmost to foster the conflict between India and China and to pour arms into India. . . .**

**'The same imperialists (who now) seek to spur India on in the conflict with China . . .'**

Statement by Political Committee, CPGB, *Daily Worker*, 31.10.62

**'Premier Nehru told the Indian Parliament in Delhi yesterday that there was no question of the Soviet Union backing out of its commitments to supply MiG jet fighters.**

**'Defence Minister Chavan said the Soviet Union had confirmed that it would help India build a plant to manufacture the MiGs. . . .**

**'Difficulty over the MiG delivery arose from the world situation and did not involve China.'**

*Daily Worker*, 5.12.62

## SWP polls well

UNOFFICIAL figures for the recent New York City elections show considerable advances for the American Socialist Workers' Party.

McRae, SWP candidate for Attorney General polled 15,863 votes. Garza and Weinstein, running for Governor and Lieut. Governor, pulled in 15,215. Taplin, standing for Comptroller, polled 14,983 and Feingold, for US Senator, 13,510.

These figures must give great encouragement to the Socialist Workers Party. They are as yet subject to official verification.

The moment the boss says, 'I want my pound of flesh' then his stooge in the labour movement is lost for an answer.

The Lord Mayor of Liverpool has invited Sir Patrick to attend a conference in a fortnight's time when leading local trade union officials will be present.

Apparently the only people who will not be invited are the workers on the Ford site—the most important people of all.

### BAD FOR APPETITE

Perhaps the sight of such workers would not be good for the appetite of the Ford boss who will undoubtedly also be treated to the best luncheon that Liverpool can provide.

We can say with certainty that this will not be cooked in the canteens on the Ford site.

Since this is presumably to be paid for by the ratepayers no expense will be spared to persuade Hennessy that the local workers aren't so bad after all.

All this is nonsense. What Fords are looking for is a scapegoat. They know they face keener competition on the world market for their cars and tractors.

Sales over the next year will most likely decline, not due to anything that the men in Hallowood have said or done, but because this is capitalism with its cut-throat competition.

### EXAGGERATE

Sir Patrick wants to justify the policy of the Ford Motor Company in Britain for the shareholders in the United States. So what could be easier than to exaggerate the difficulties at Hallowood.

No trade union official in Liverpool can attend this conference unless representatives of the men on the site are present.

In an interview with The Newsletter, a leading steward on the site said:

**'In spite of the recent crop of weak-kneed statements by leading trade union officials and councillors, we are still of the opinion that the persecution and witch-hunt of trade union militants on the site will continue until these people join us in the struggle for what we feel to be socialism.'**

● back page, col. 4

## New moves against Chile militants

**N**EW repressions by the Chilean government have hit hard at Trotskyists and other militants. In the last month a wave of arrests and an intensive smear campaign have been directed at the Movement of Revolutionary Forces (MFR) and the Revolutionary Workers' Party (POR).

The trouble began over large demonstrations at the end of October in support of the Cuban revolution. These were savagely dealt with by the police, who arrested many leading Trotskyists.

This, and later bomb explosions by terrorists, was the signal for a fierce witch-hunt against the militant section of the Chilean labour movement. For instance, Clotario Blest, leader of the MFR, has 23 charges against his name arising out of his activities in defence of the Cuban revolution.

Police are conducting an intensive search for the Trotskyist leader Luis Vitale (an Argentinian) whom they are trying to expel from the country.

Meanwhile a campaign has been organised in the Chilean labour movement in opposition to his forthcoming deportation order.

It is not simply because the Chilean capitalists dislike the views of these militants on the Cuban question that this witch-hunt has come about.

They face serious problems on the home front, too, and the arrests came at a time when the cost of living rose by 50 per cent in two weeks. This arose out of the increase in the price of the American dollar and the devaluation of the Chilean currency.

At this crucial time the Chilean Communist Party has played a shameful role. Its weekly magazine *Vistazo* accuses the MFR of being an instrument used by reactionary forces and alleges that it receives money from the Central Intelligence Agency.

It also publishes photos of Trotskyists not yet arrested together with information about them. This is of invaluable aid to the police.

The deplorable actions of the CP leadership has fortunately not prevented rank-and-file CP members from working with the Trotskyists in street demonstrations and meetings.

The official policy of restraint in the face of attacks on living conditions and Khrushchev's retreat over Cuba have deeply shaken many party members.

It is quite clear that the only lead for the Chilean working class is coming from the MFR in which the Trotskyist POR plays a decisive role.

The Newsletter warmly congratulates the leaders of this movement on their courageous stand in the most adverse conditions.

# Someone hasn't been reading his history books!

TOM KEMP analyses the methods of the revisionists over Cuba and Algeria

THE new problems raised by the revolution in Cuba and the national liberation struggle in Algeria deserve careful study by Marxists. It is necessary, however, to beware of rushing into definitive conclusions, either about these movements, or about the prospects of the revolution in the less developed countries generally, on the basis of superficial impressions.

In Cuba, it is true, American capitalism has suffered a setback and fears the challenge which now exists to its stranglehold over Latin America.

In Algeria, French capitalism, in the shape of the big financial interests, has made a deal which has involved the sacrifice of the European settlers and small capitalists; it has so far safeguarded the essential, but it would clearly have preferred not to make any concessions at all.

In neither country did a revolutionary Marxist party exist which was capable of taking the lead in the popular upsurge against imperialist domination.

In both cases no effective aid was given by the labour movements of the advanced countries which thanks to the prosperity of the past decade and the domination by bureaucratic

leaderships, have been kept in leash.

The impressionist now enters the field. He begins to draw rapid conclusions and to generalise them into a revision of Marxist theory.

The centre of the struggle against imperialism has, he thinks, now shifted to the underdeveloped countries. He notes that in the countries where it has suffered setbacks the working class is small and there was no effective Marxist leadership.

## EXAGGERATES

He exaggerates both the successes of the new regimes and their viability. He proclaims them healthy 'workers' states', or at least indicates, as in the case of the Ben Bella regime, that their new rulers have socialism as their object.

'If one asks', he says 'whether the rise of the socialist revolution always demands a mass revolutionary party, in the light of Cuba one would rather be led on the contrary to consider that in a certain number of cases it is only the rise of the revolution which permits the construction of such a party.'\*

In countries where the working class is small, therefore, it is unlikely that revolutionary parties can be built. Why trouble, any way, as the revolution—conceived as a spontaneous emanation of the peasant masses—will bring the leadership as it goes forward!

The model is Cuba. Castro issuing from the petty bourgeoisie, with the political prejudices of his class, becomes a Marxist-Leninist. There is yet hope that Ben Bella will do likewise.

## CONCISE

This new theoretical position has been concisely formulated as follows:

**'The first lesson, decisive in our epoch of the colonial revolution, is that the October Revolution confirms, in deeds, the theory of the Permanent Revolution, that is to say that the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution requires its transformation into a socialist revolution.**

**In other terms, only the proletariat can, in the backward countries, lead the struggle and by so doing establishes a workers' state which begins constructing socialism.**

**Since then events have enriched this notion, in that the peasant rising can under a worker's leadership assure [the success of] the revolution, without the full intervention of the proletariat.**

**And even in certain circumstances that leadership may be petty bourgeois at the beginning of the revolution and become Marxist-**

**Leninist in the course of it.**

**Despite a fairly wide application, this lesson of the October revolution still has to be explicitly accepted in order to avoid bloody defeats of the masses, as was the case a few years ago in Iraq.'**

This comes in an article in the same edition of the Pabloite journal *L'Internationale*. It appears from this that Lenin's main task after 1917 was to teach the working class not to have illusions in bourgeois parliaments as a road to socialism.

*In fact, it is 'forgotten' that the first aim of Lenin, expressed in the foundation of the Communist International, was the formation in all countries of Communist parties based on Marxism, breaking with the opportunism and parliamentary cretinism of the parties of the Second International.*

## NOT ESSENTIAL

Of course, such a lesson is easy to forget if one now believes that such parties are not essential and will be formed, in the course of the struggle, even by petty bourgeois leaders.

Building such parties is a hard course. It is tempting to look for substitutes for the organisation of the working class, including that of the advanced countries.

The Pabloites, and others, have long been searching for substitutes. At one time they hoped that the Communist Parties, under their Stalinist leaders would 'project revolutionary orientations'.

Now we have revolutions which begin as peasant insurrections, or perhaps as individual terrorism, and give birth to Marxist parties somewhere along the line without the intervention of the working class and with a leadership which might come from anywhere.

Any leadership which is fighting imperialism—regardless of its origins or social basis—deserves confidence because, who knows, it may be the future leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party in a workers' state.

## ABDICATION

Such an abdication of Marxist responsibility is the inevitable outcome of Pablo's teaching. It is necessary to be forewarned against the easy complacency which follows from it.

It should be remembered that to support these revisionist ideas it is indispensable to cling to the idea that Cuba is a workers' state and that the Evian agreements were a victory for the Algerian people.

Every fact which clashes with these dogmas has therefore to be twisted and deformed: at all costs the words and deeds of Castro, and now Ben Bella, must be interpreted to fit in with the theory.

**Such a method has nothing in common with Marxism.**

A CASUAL reading of Khrushchev's recent speech on economic policy could easily lead to serious misunderstandings if one is not aware of the historical background of the Soviet Union.

The Russian Revolution of November 1917 was successful because of the existence of the Bolshevik Party together with a favourable political situation, both within Russia and internationally.

The preparatory groundwork for the revolution could not have been laid were it not for the theoretical struggle undertaken, above all by Lenin, against all those tendencies which in one way or another opposed the idea that the working class needed its own revolutionary party of the Bolshevik type in order to take state power.

Once the successful transfer of power was achieved, the Party set about planning the

# How came

'The October revolution, to a greater extent than any other in history, aroused the greatest hopes and passions in the popular masses, first of all, the proletarian masses.

'After the maximum sufferings of 1917-1921, the proletarian masses improved their status considerably. They cherish this improvement, hopeful of its further development. But at the same time their own experience has shown them the extreme gradualness of this process of improvement which has only today reached the pre-war standard of living.

'This living experience is of incalculable significance to the masses, especially the older generation. They have grown more cautious, more sceptical, less directly responsive to revolution-

## What's going on in the USSR

second in a series of articles

By Gerry Healy

country's resources. This was by no means an easy task.

The decree on workers' control was part of a transitional step whereby the workers were to control the capitalist managements of industries whose ownership had not yet passed to the state. Even the Soviets were in some areas dominated by elements hostile to the Bolshevik Party.

Then came the nationalisation decrees and with them workers' control was replaced by workers' management.

At the Ninth Party Congress in 1920, Lenin obtained agreement on the principle of one-man management in industry against those 'who considered that every decision must be taken by a committee'.

It was the Bolshevik Party which guided the Soviet Union through all its most difficult experiences in the early part of the revolution. The party which had led the workers and peasants to the accomplishment of a successful revolution had in the years following that revolution to decide on retreats which were many times very difficult.

★

Stalin's greatest crime was that he organised the bureaucratic degeneration of this party.

In a letter to Bukharin on November 26, 1926, Trotsky explained the conditions for the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy as follows:

'It would be wrong,' he wrote, 'to ignore the fact that the proletariat today is considerably less receptive to revolutionary perspectives and to broad generalizations than was the case during the October overturn and in the ensuing few years.

'The revolutionary party cannot passively align itself in accordance with every shift in the moods of the masses. But it cannot ignore any alteration which is produced by causes of profound historical order.

\*'1921 and All That', by Brian Pearce. *Labour Review*, Oct.-Nov. 1960.

ary slogans, less receptive to major generalizations.

'These moods which unfolded after the ordeals of the civil war and after the successes of economic restoration, and which still remain undisrupted by new shifts of class forces—these moods constitute the basic political background of party life.

'These are the moods which bureaucratism—as an element of "law and order" and "tranquillity"—banks on. The attempt of the opposition to pose new questions before the party ran up against precisely these moods.

★

'The older generation of the working class, who made two revolutions, or the last one, beginning with 1917, is now nervous, exhausted, and, in large measure, fearful of all convulsions bound up with the perspectives of war, havoc, famine, epidemics and so on.

'A bogey is being made out of the theory of the permanent revolution precisely for the purpose of exploiting the psychology of a considerable section of the workers, who are not at all careerists, but who have put on weight, acquired families.

'The theory of the permanent revolution which is being utilized in this sense, is of course in no way related to old disputes, long relegated to the archives, but simply raises the phantom of new convulsions—heroic "invasions", violations of "law and order"; a threat to the conquests of the reconstruction period; a new zone



Stalin with cronies (Khrushchev bottom left) at early Party Congress.

## LETTER

AS far as I am aware The Newsletter is the only paper in this country which has supported the Chinese Republic against Nehru and his imperialist backers.

All the capitalist papers, of course, deliberately distorted the true position in a barrage of anti-Chinese propaganda. *Tribune* follow Gaitskell into the same camp. The *Daily Worker* sits on the fence, hardly raising a murmur even against the arrest of the Indian CP leaders.

As your article last week, 'Tribune finds an ally' points out, these pretended 'lefts' are only expressing their intention to support their 'own' ruling class, when they sympathise with the treacherous line of the Indian CP majority.

However, there are some points raised in the article which should be clarified if the traditions of international socialism are to be upheld.

Lenin's attitude to the First World War was that, in this struggle between the imperialist bandits, socialists must take advantage of the difficulties of the ruling class to further the fight to overthrow them.

While he argued that the defeat of one's own ruling class was the lesser evil, he was not in favour of the victory of either the Kaiser or the Tsar. In Liebknecht's words, 'The main enemy is at home'.

On the other hand, our defence of the Chinese revolution means that Marxists are quite definitely on the side of the Chinese army. It is this which makes the position of the Indian CP majority and the failure of King Street to condemn it, so disgraceful.

North London reader

\*Lucien Collange in *L'Internationale*, Nov., 1962 (my emphasis, T.K.)

# How the bureaucrats came to power



'The October revolution, to a greater extent than any other in history, aroused the greatest hopes and passions in the popular masses, first of all, the proletarian masses.

'After the maximum sufferings of 1917-1921, the proletarian masses improved their status considerably. They cherish this improvement, hopeful of its further development. But at the same time their own experience has shown them the extreme gradualness of this process of improvement which has only today reached the pre-war standard of living.

'This living experience is of incalculable significance to the masses, especially the older generation. They have grown more cautious, more sceptical, less directly responsive to revolution-

'Making a bogey out of the permanent revolution is, in essence, speculation upon the moods of that section of the working class, including party members who have grown smug, fat and semi-conservative.'

Stalin's bureaucratic dictatorship led to the suppression of all the political rights enjoyed by the working class as a result of the revolution.

To justify his dictatorship, he embarked upon more and more repressions such as the Kirov assassination, the frame-ups and physical destruction of people who were leading members of the Bolshevik Party at the time of the revolution in the infamous Moscow Trials.

with imperialism and which would encourage the Russian working class to step up their efforts to get rid of the bureaucracy itself.

Like the Labour bureaucracy in Britain, the Soviet variety wants peace with the capitalists.

★

For this reason it constantly harps on the theory of peaceful co-existence which means in effect replacing the Marxist conception of the class struggle with reformist ideas of class collaboration.

Despite the efforts of Khrushchev to obtain peaceful co-existence, the harsh fact remains that the international class struggle continues.

It is this factor which is responsible for constantly upsetting the equilibrium between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers, and it is the reason why the Soviet Union has constantly

and weakened the most valuable ally the Soviet Union has in favour of military methods.

We now have the example of Cuba, to which Khrushchev sent rockets and military equipment such as jet bombers only to withdraw them as part of his diplomatic bargaining with United States imperialism.

Everyone in his right mind should know that if Kennedy promises not to invade Cuba his word is just as worthless as that of Hitler during the period of the Soviet-German pact of 1939-40.

The defence of the Cuban revolution, like the defence of the Soviet revolution, can only be strengthened and consolidated by the preparation of the international working class to fight to weaken world imperialism and eventually destroy it.

★

The Khrushchev bureaucracy, no less than Stalin, has abandoned Lenin's road, and this is responsible to a great extent for the present economic difficulties.

No solution can be found for these without a political revolution within the Soviet Union which will restore the democratic institutions established by the revolution and destroy the bureaucracy and its evil parasitic influences over Soviet life.

The political revolution cannot be accomplished without the rebuilding of the Bolshevik Party within the Soviet Union itself.

Such a development must take into account and be based upon the teachings of Trotsky and the Fourth International which alone can guide it towards the removal of the bureaucracy.

APPLYING a little arithmetic to information disclosed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer can reveal fascinating data about the concentration of wealth.

'What would be the estimated yield of an annual wealth tax of 1 per cent on total personal wealth in any case where the latter exceeded £20,000; and how many persons would be chargeable to the tax?'

Mr. Boyd-Carpenter replied for the Chancellor: 'About £250 million from about four hundred thousand persons.'

Now by the process of division, one finds that the average wealth per person is some £65,000. If you are strong on multiplication you will find that the total personal wealth enjoyed by these people comes to £25 billion.

But that is only part of the story. Many of the assets included in this mammoth total are given historic values.

Real property—jewellery, works of art—have rocketed in value in recent years and doubtless their true worth is not reflected in these figures.

These same persons are able to add to their wealth not only by 'normal' accretion arising out of the fact that they are unable to spend all their income, but in other ways, too.

The government helps them in

A CASUAL reading of Khrushchev's recent speech on economic policy could easily lead to serious misunderstandings if one is not aware of the historical background of the Soviet Union.

The Russian Revolution of November 1917 was successful because of the existence of the Bolshevik Party together with a favourable political situation, both within Russia and internationally.

The preparatory groundwork for the revolution could not have been laid were it not for the theoretical struggle undertaken, above all by Lenin, against all those tendencies which in one way or another opposed the idea that the working class needed its own revolutionary party of the Bolshevik type in order to take state power.

Once the successful transfer of power was achieved, the Party set about planning the

## What's going on in the USSR second in a series of articles By Gerry Healy

country's resources. This was by no means an easy task.

The decree on workers' control was part of a transitional step whereby the workers were to control the capitalist managements of industries whose ownership had not yet passed to the state. Even the Soviets were in some areas dominated by elements hostile to the Bolshevik Party.

Then came the nationalisation decrees and with them workers' control was replaced by workers' management.

At the Ninth Party Congress in 1920, Lenin obtained agreement on the principle of one-man management in industry against those 'who considered that every decision must be taken by a committee'.

It was the Bolshevik Party which guided the Soviet Union through all its most difficult experiences in the early part of the revolution. The party which had led the workers and peasants to the accomplishment of a successful revolution had in the years following that revolution to decide on retreats which were many times very difficult.

★

Stalin's greatest crime was that he organised the bureaucratic degeneration of this party.

In a letter to Bukharin on November 26, 1926, Trotsky explained the conditions for the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy as follows:

'It would be wrong,' he wrote, 'to ignore the fact that the proletariat today is considerably less receptive to revolutionary perspectives and to broad generalizations than was the case during the October overturn and in the ensuing few years.'

'The revolutionary party cannot passively align itself in accordance with every shift in the moods of the masses. But it cannot ignore any alteration which is produced by causes of profound historical order.'

ary slogans, less receptive to major generalizations.

'These moods which unfolded after the ordeals of the civil war and after the successes of economic restoration, and which still remain undisrupted by new shifts of class forces—these moods constitute the basic political background of party life.'

'These are the moods which bureaucratism—as an element of "law and order" and "tranquillity"—banks on. The attempt of the opposition to pose new questions before the party ran up against precisely these moods.'

★

'The older generation of the working class, who made two revolutions, or the last one, beginning with 1917, is now nervous, exhausted, and, in large measure, fearful of all convulsions bound up with the perspectives of war, havoc, famine, epidemics and so on.'

'A bogey is being made out of the theory of the permanent revolution precisely for the purpose of exploiting the psychology of a considerable section of the workers, who are not at all careerists, but who have put on weight, acquired families...'

'The theory of the permanent revolution which is being utilized in this sense, is of course in no way related to old disputes, long relegated to the archives, but simply raises the phantom of new convulsions—heroic "invasions", violations of "law and order"; a threat to the conquests of the reconstruction period; a new zone



Stalin with cronies (Khrushchev bottom left) at early Party Congress.

Tens of thousands of people disappeared into jails without trial and thousands more were most brutally executed.

Khrushchev, the present leader of the Soviet bureaucracy, spends a lot of time talking about the crimes of Stalin without explaining the political reasons which were responsible for these crimes.

He leads one to believe that Stalin suddenly became a tyrant and from this came the 'cult of the individual'.

Of course he cannot explain the reasons for Stalin because if he did he would have to reveal his own collaboration and responsibility for the actions which destroyed the Bolshevik Party. He, too, personifies the bureaucratic degeneration.

Khrushchev's bureaucracy carries over from the Stalin era the determination to maintain its privileged position. But the preservation of these privileges does not mean that the bureaucracy is a new class.

★

When Khrushchev proposes profit comparisons of various industries he is talking about a form of book accounting between them.

When the bureaucracy plans to make the Soviet workers work harder it is an entirely different relationship from the exploitation carried out by the capitalist class.

After the bureaucracy has taken its share of the national income to maintain its privileges and the workers and peasants their wages, the remainder is ploughed back into the national plan.

The terms 'profits' and 'exploitation' in the Soviet Union have an entirely different meaning from those used to describe what goes on in capitalism.

Despite the bureaucracy, the property forms in the Soviet Union are still the same as those established by the overall nationalisation decrees following the Russian Revolution.

The Soviet bureaucracy is today primarily concerned with maintaining its privileges. It does not want an extension of revolution which would bring it into conflict

## The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects

Cloth 25s.

Paperback 15s.

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS

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

\*'1921 and All That', by Brian Pearce. *Labour Review*, Oct.-Nov. 1960.

# the bureaucrats to power



'Making a bogey out of the permanent revolution is, in essence, speculation upon the moods of that section of the working class, including party members who have grown smug, fat and semi-conservative.'

Stalin's bureaucratic dictatorship led to the suppression of all the political rights enjoyed by the working class as a result of the revolution.

To justify his dictatorship, he embarked upon more and more repressions such as the Kirov assassination, the frame-ups and physical destruction of people who were leading members of the Bolshevik Party at the time of the revolution in the infamous Moscow Trials.

★

Tens of thousands of people disappeared into jails without trial and thousands more were most brutally executed.

Khrushchev, the present leader of the Soviet bureaucracy, spends a lot of time talking about the crimes of Stalin without explaining the political reasons which were responsible for these crimes.

He leads one to believe that Stalin suddenly became a tyrant and from this came the 'cult of the individual'.

Of course he cannot explain the reasons for Stalin because if he did he would have to reveal his own collaboration and responsibility for the actions which destroyed the Bolshevik Party. He, too, personifies the bureaucratic degeneration.

Khrushchev's bureaucracy carries over from the Stalin era the determination to maintain its privileged position. But the preservation of these privileges does not mean that the bureaucracy is a new class.

★

When Khrushchev proposes profit comparisons of various industries he is talking about a form of book accounting between them.

When the bureaucracy plans to make the Soviet workers work harder it is an entirely different relationship from the exploitation carried out by the capitalist class.

After the bureaucracy has taken its share of the national income to maintain its privileges and the workers and peasants their wages, the remainder is ploughed back into the national plan.

The terms 'profits' and 'exploitation' in the Soviet Union have an entirely different meaning from those used to describe what goes on in capitalism.

Despite the bureaucracy, the property forms in the Soviet Union are still the same as those established by the overall nationalisation decrees following the Russian Revolution.

The Soviet bureaucracy is today primarily concerned with maintaining its privileges. It does not want an extension of revolution which would bring it into conflict

with imperialism and which would encourage the Russian working class to step up their efforts to get rid of the bureaucracy itself.

Like the Labour bureaucracy in Britain, the Soviet variety wants peace with the capitalists.

★

For this reason it constantly harps on the theory of peaceful co-existence which means in effect replacing the Marxist conception of the class struggle with reformist ideas of class collaboration.

Despite the efforts of Khrushchev to obtain peaceful co-existence, the harsh fact remains that the international class struggle continues.

It is this factor which is responsible for constantly upsetting the equilibrium between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers, and it is the reason why the Soviet Union has constantly



Stalin as pall-bearer at Kirov funeral—a murder he arranged

to maintain an enormous military force at considerable overhead cost to its economy.

The military might of the Soviet Union is one of the safeguards which the bureaucracy substitutes for what should be reliance on the struggle of the international working class against capitalism.

This abandonment of Lenin's internationalist policies, besides placing a considerable additional economic burden on the Soviet Union, cannot, in fact, defend the USSR.

★

The bureaucracy has led the Soviet Union to the brink of disaster on a number of occasions. In his memorable speech to the Twentieth Congress in 1956, Khrushchev explained how Stalin resisted any idea that Hitler was going to attack the Soviet Union.

He showed how it was this resistance which was responsible for the Soviet Union being greatly weakened in the initial fascist onslaught through the loss of key fighting units and territory.

But Khrushchev continues such a policy. Without a word of preparation, he resumed Soviet H-tests last year and succeeded in confusing the world labour movement as to the intentions of the Soviet Union.

Thus he once again rejected of great efforts and sacrifices.

and weakened the most valuable ally the Soviet Union has in favour of military methods.

We now have the example of Cuba, to which Khrushchev sent rockets and military equipment such as jet bombers only to withdraw them as part of his diplomatic bargaining with United States imperialism.

Everyone in his right mind should know that if Kennedy promises not to invade Cuba his word is just as worthless as that of Hitler during the period of the Soviet-German pact of 1939-40.

The defence of the Cuban revolution, like the defence of the Soviet revolution, can only be strengthened and consolidated by the preparation of the international working class to fight to weaken world imperialism and eventually destroy it.

★

The Khrushchev bureaucracy, no less than Stalin, has abandoned Lenin's road, and this is responsible to a great extent for the present economic difficulties.

No solution can be found for these without a political revolution within the Soviet Union which will restore the democratic institutions established by the revolution and destroy the bureaucracy and its evil parasitic influences over Soviet life.

The political revolution cannot be accomplished without the rebuilding of the Bolshevik Party within the Soviet Union itself.

Such a development must take into account and be based upon the teachings of Trotsky and the Fourth International which alone can guide it towards the removal of the bureaucracy.

APPLYING a little arithmetic to information disclosed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer can reveal fascinating data about the concentration of wealth.

'What would be the estimated yield of an annual wealth tax of 1 per cent on total personal wealth in any case where the latter exceeded £20,000; and how many persons would be chargeable to the tax?'

Mr. Boyd-Carpenter replied for the Chancellor: 'About £250 million from about four hundred thousand persons.'

Now by the process of division, one finds that the average wealth per person is some £65,000. If you are strong on multiplication you will find that the total personal wealth enjoyed by these people comes to £25 billion.

But that is only part of the story. Many of the assets included in this mammoth total are given historic values.

Real property—jewellery, works of art—have rocketed in value in recent years and doubtless their true worth is not reflected in these figures.

These same persons are able to add to their wealth not only by 'normal' accretion arising out of the fact that they are unable to spend all their income, but in other ways, too.

The government helps them in

## CND leaders run for cover

By JOHN CRAWFORD

**D**ESPITE the violent protestations of its authors, the statement 'After Cuba: steps to Peace' represents a retreat by the leaders of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament from the policy of unilateralism.

Instead of organising a mass movement to get rid of nuclear war, the CND Council, in defiance of decisions of Annual Conference, puts forward appeals to the British government, aimed at 'regaining Britain's independent voice in international affairs'.



As Professor Ritchie Calder, CND vice-chairman puts it, 'We believe that this short-term policy is one which all parties in the British parliament should recognise as practicable.'

The three 'steps' advocated involve 'a British initiative' to secure the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons outside America and Russia; nuclear free zones in various parts of the world; and the strengthening of the United Nations.

### PERSUADE

Canon Collins and his friends are thus devoting their energies to trying to persuade the British ruling class and its allies that they can disarm gradually and without any loss of interest.

These gentlemen want to fight the H-bomb, a product of imperialist decay, without disturbing the imperialists.

This CND retreat is related to the collapse of the Tribune opposition to Gaitskell.

When, at the recent Brighton Labour Party Conference, the 'lefts' made no attempt to make a fight over the H-bomb question, it was clear that they were preparing for their usual pre-election 'unity' period.

As they have done before,

they will soon be telling us that Mr. Gaitskell is the best leader we've got and will put their criticisms into cold storage for the duration of the election campaign.

In its editorial last week *Tribune* welcomes the new CND line.

### 'OBJECTIONS'

'The new statement meets most of the objections, some of them raised in *Tribune*, to CND's apparent indifference to limited tension-reducing measures (most of which would involve some degree of disarmament).'

Unilateral nuclear disarmers, it is now clear, are quite prepared to work even with their opponents in pressing the government to peace.'

### FIGHT GOES ON

Despite the CND leaders and *Tribune*, the anti-nuclear fight will go on. But it is clearer than ever that it must be part of the labour movement's struggles against unemployment and for a socialist world.

## City Slants by colin chance

all sorts of ways. Huge life assurance premiums help to secure future wealth and tax relief means that the cost of endowments, retirement annuities and life assurance is less than the ultimate benefits derived.

Yet another question in the House revealed the fact that the annual cost to the Revenue of life assurance relief so far as lost

£ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £

'By their deeds ...'

£ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £

tax is concerned totals £60 million yearly.

Of course, it is always a good plan to be generous to one's family; but if there is a positive financial incentive to do so, it becomes much more attractive to give.

We are treated to the fiction that private schooling receives no government subsidy. In fact by the use of deeds of covenant, under which payments are made to beneficiaries after deduction of tax, school fees paid by the rich

indirectly enjoy tax relief. The beneficiary reclaims the tax due to personal allowances entitlement.

Once more we refer to Hansard for evidence of the tax lost to the Revenue by means of the deed of covenant device.

The Chancellor was asked recently for the number of deeds of covenant in favour of individuals now current in which there is a taxation advantage, the total annual sum paid under these covenants and the estimated annual sum of income tax and surtax foregone.

The reply: 'No comprehensive figures are available but on a rough estimate the number of covenants between individuals may be of the order of 150,000 involving a transfer of income of the order of £35 million and a reduction of tax of the order of £20 million.'

The taxation policies of the Tory government over the last ten years have been directed towards putting the heaviest burden on the mass of the people; there is no shortage of schemes whereby the wealthy are enabled to reduce their own commitments.

## The Permanent Revolution

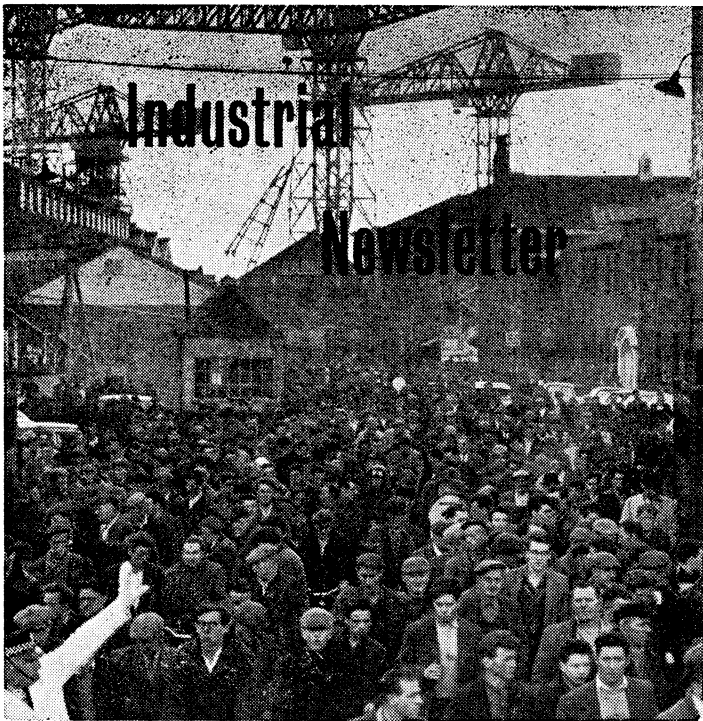
and Results and Prospects

Cloth 25s.

Paperback 15s.

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS

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



## Union solidarity in Sheffield dispute ETU and Boilermakers support AEU

**T**HE large engineering firm of Davy United (Sheffield) has ceased production as a result of a strike in the plant following the management's sacking of 44 workers. The management claims that these men are surplus to needs.

The strike, now in its second week, originally concerned AEU members but it is being supported by members of the ETU and by the Boilermakers.

It is widely believed by the workers that this is no simple redundancy issue. Davy's have just won a £14 million contract from Yugoslavia and it is estimated that there is about £26 million of work available over the next four years.

The sacked men—the management simply stuck up a list—include six active shop stewards and a number of ex-shop stewards.

Many of the strikers feel that these and other workers have been put out because they have always fought for prices and conditions in the past.

### VICTIMISATION

Bill Walker, convenor of shop stewards at Davy's said that as far as the strike committee is concerned this is a clear case of victimisation.

There has been immediate local support for the strike. The AEU District Committee has granted

*This Paper is your  
Weapon*

**IN the fight for socialism, The Newsletter is playing a vital role. Do you get it regularly? Don't leave it to the chance encounter, fill in this form and send it to:**

**Subscription Department, The Newsletter, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. 7s. for 12 issues, or £1 8s. per year**

Name .....

Address .....

£20 and the local Confederation Committee £50.

In addition, many shops are organising a compulsory levy upon their members, and collections and meetings have been organised in many other factories.

The strike committee has sent representatives to the Midland motor factories, to Derby, London and elsewhere.

The Executive Council of the AEU has yet to grant its official support. This is despite the fact that AEU members in Davy's are carrying out union policy in relation to redundancy.

It has been known for six months that the Davy management were going to reduce their labour force.

### ON HOLIDAY

It is also widely reported that Executive Council man, Hanley, who should be dealing with this strike is on holiday in Geneva. The workers at Davy's are very scornful of his opportune departure.

One of the sacked men has worked for Davy's for 27 years and last year was awarded a good-conduct medal and a £25 cheque.

When he asked his Departmental Manager why he was on the list he was told that he mixed with the wrong people and has recently been seen reading a book *The Elements of Socialism*.

The strike is solid and the men are confident they can win.

### FOR ALL 22,000

As one worker said, 'We are striking not only for the workers at Davy's but for the 22,000 AEU members in the Sheffield area.'

**Donations should be sent to Mr. Bill Walker, Davy United Strike Committee, AEU Offices, Stanley Street, Sheffield, 1.**

# Construction workers fight jobs threat

By Reg Perry

**T**HIRTY-FOUR construction workers stopped work this week in a fight against sackings at Nine Elms Gas Works' new extension in South-west London.

The men, members of the Constructional Engineering Union, had been working for some time a strict 42-hour week with a ban on overtime because of the high unemployment amongst construction workers.

West Works, the steelwork contractors at Nine Elms, last week sacked nine men, in a move clearly designed to break the control on working hours.

Included in the list of sackings were one steward and a member of the Executive Committee of the CEU.

When attempts to negotiate at site level were rejected by the firm, the rest of the constructional engineers stopped work.

### OUT-OF-TOWN LABOUR

CEU members are concerned at the growing policy amongst steelwork contractors of employing 'out of town' labour as a means of combating militancy and the fight against unemployment.

The firms clearly consider that a worker away from home, with two homes to keep, is more likely to work extensive overtime.

One of the steelfighters at Nine Elms told me that as a result of their overtime ban they had forced West Works to employ more labour.

He said the men were determined to fight these sackings

## DATA men oppose sack

Newsletter Reporter

**F**IVE draughtsmen at Solex Car-burettors, West London, are on strike against the victimisation of one of their fellow draughtsmen.

A few weeks ago the five joined the draughtsmen's union DATA in order to improve their conditions and bring their wages up to the local level.

At present they are £2 a week below the union rate and £4 a week below the local average. Last week one of them refused to carry out a printing job (not a draughtman's job) and was sacked.

The five came out on strike in support on Tuesday, November 27. DATA is paying the five full wages during the dispute.

At present only the overtime of the production workers is affected, but within a few weeks production will be stopped completely. British Road Services' drivers have blacked all deliveries to the firm.

which were a clear case of victimisation, and were also determined to continue their fight for the unemployed.

It is expected the strike will be made official.

## NUS warns militants

Newsletter Reporter

**M**R. BILL HOGARTH, General Secretary of the National Union of Seamen, has threatened militant ship representatives with expulsion from the union.

After years of struggle—the highlight of which was the national seamen's strike of 1960—ship representatives will be introduced on some foreign-going ships next spring.

But writing in the current issue of the union magazine *The Seaman*, Hogarth says that if the representatives become 'unofficial trouble-makers' they will be disciplined by the union, even to the extent of expulsion.

It is clear that a real struggle against this union bureaucracy is still needed.

## Fords: 'no deal' say workers

Cont. from page one

'If the conference takes place, all stewards should be invited and no deals made unless we are present, as we are the people who will have to experience them and carry out these decisions on the site and therefore it would be wrong for full-time officials to make agreements without consulting us at every stage.'

We entirely agree with him. He should enjoy the support of every rank-and-file trade unionist in the Merseyside area.

## Italian CP condemns Chinese

ROME, Wednesday

**S**PEAKING at the Communist Party Congress Giancarlo Pajetta told the Chinese delegation: 'Our party unanimously condemns your unjust position.'

Delegates rose to their feet, cheering, but the Chinese ignored the noisy scenes.

## Friends of Sir Patrick

Newsletter Reporter

**T**HE struggle of the Merseyside workers against the arrogant Ford boss, Sir Patrick Hennessy, has the full support of all militants in the North-east.

The same cannot be said for some of their so-called political representatives.

Two of these gentlemen—Edward Short, a Newcastle Labour MP and Councillor E. Lead-bitter, prospective Labour candidate for Hartlepool—have written to Hennessy asking him to build a factory in the North-east instead of Merseyside.

### ASSURANCE

They assure him that he will find fewer labour troubles up here. 'As you will know, we have the best record in the country as far as industrial disputes are concerned,' writes Mr. Short.

Militant workers in the North-east will contemptuously reject these appeals to one of the worst representatives of the boss class and will label them as a stab in the back for their brothers on Merseyside.

The unemployment problem in this region will only be solved by a determined struggle against Sir Patrick Hennessy and the rest of his class—not by seeking their support to betray workers faced by unemployment.

## USDAW fights for sacked girl

**T**HE Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers called a special meeting in Cromer on Wednesday evening to discuss the case of 16-year-old Eileen Keeler.

Eileen claims that she was sacked from the local firm Argent Box Co. for collecting union subscriptions.

USDAW area organiser, Richard Seabrook, said: 'I feel we are justified in claiming that the firm is intimidating workers from joining the union.'

But a spokesman for the firm said Miss Keeler was sacked because they were cutting staff.

### PUBLIC MEETINGS

#### Falkirk

MARXISM AND THE TRADE UNIONS

Speaker:

G. HEALY  
(National Secretary, Socialist Labour League)

Sunday, December 9, 2.30 p.m.  
Ascot Hall, 11 Calander Riggs  
Falkirk (at bus station)

#### Glasgow

A SOCIALIST POLICY TO DEFEAT UNEMPLOYMENT

Speaker:

G. HEALY  
(National Secretary, Socialist Labour League)

Sunday, December 9, 7.30 p.m.

Woodside Hall, Clarendon Street, St. Georges Cross, Glasgow

Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper  
Published by The Newsletter,  
186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4  
Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), r.o.  
180 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4