

The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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B/OSL FILE

WILSON AND VIETNAM

TIED TO WALL

BROWN EVADES YS DEMANDS

YOUNG Socialists made an impressive demonstration of opposition to Woodrow Wyatt at the Leicestershire Miners Gala near Coalville last Saturday.

As the main speaker, George Brown, stepped onto the platform he was handed a copy of a leaflet published by the Leicestershire Federation of Young Socialists. The leaflet, which circulated in hundreds among the miners and their families, stated: 'We believe that not only the miners but the great majority of Labour voters in the Bosworth Constituency are opposed to Wyatt. We stand 100 per cent behind the miners.'

SPLITTER WYATT

It went on to say that if Wyatt stood at the next General Election he would split the local labour movement and Labour would lose the Bosworth seat. The Young Socialists demanded that the Labour Party should sack Wyatt and replace him by a candidate pledged to full steel nationalization.

As Brown began to speak the Young Socialists unfolded their banners which demanded: 'Support the miners and throw out Wyatt!' and 'Nationalize Steel without compensation!'

Sensing the wide support for the Young Socialist demonstration, Brown completely evaded the issue by saying: 'I am taking a day off from politics. It is your day off and my day off and I do not intend to say anything political.'

Many miners, who had expected Brown to make a clear statement on Wyatt, deeply resented his contemptuous dismissal of their campaign to replace the local Labour MP.

It is now becoming clear to them that if their campaign is to succeed it is going to involve a sharp conflict with the Labour Party leadership itself.

NO DIFFERENCE

Brown made it obvious during the steel debate in parliament that there is little difference between the Labour government's policy and Wyatt's policy.

Wyatt himself, at a meeting in Hinckley last week glibly claimed that: 'You may find the policy which I have been advocating may not be far from what happens in the end.'

The Leicestershire miners leaders have outlined a plan by which they hope to undermine Wyatt's position in the Bosworth Constituency Labour Party (reported on page 4).

Through their own experience in the Labour Party, the Young Socialists have found that while efficient organisation is important, only a clear political understanding can bring victory. The Leicestershire miners must now realise that they are taking on not just Wyatt, but the whole policy and organisation of the right wing of the Labour Party. In that struggle they will receive 100 per cent support of the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League.

STREET

By THE EDITOR

MR. ANDREW FAULDS, the prospective Labour candidate for Smethwick, writing in 'The Journal', monthly organ of the Birmingham Trades Council, said that the direct effect on Britain, if she condemned American action in Vietnam in the same manner as France, would be 'devaluation of the pound within three months'. The British government, however, he said, had little choice but to support American action due to the present economic pressures.

From a capitalist point of view he is absolutely right. His statement simply bears out what The Newsletter has been saying since the Labour government was elected, that the policy of the right-wing Labour leadership is to operate capitalism. Wilson, Callaghan and the rest of these renegades are tied hand and foot to the coat-tails of American imperialism.

Let off steam

But where does the statement of Mr. Faulds leave the so-called 'Left' of the Labour Party?

They are just as well aware as he is of these facts, but not a single 'Tribune'-ite MP in the House of Commons has dared expose them. Instead they join hands with the Communist Party and other woolly pacifists in organising lobbies which they know mean absolutely nothing.

The recent lobby on 'Vietnam Day' was nothing more than letting off steam under conditions where the sponsors knew very well that its opinions counted little so far as President Johnson and the Pentagon were concerned.

Johnson knows that he has the Labour government in his pocket so why should he worry.

Socialist road

The present deadlock over Vietnam emphasises, more forcibly than ever, the need for the British labour movement to take the socialist road. A break, economically, from the United States is inconceivable without the expropriation of the great monopolies, banks, and trusts in Britain.

There are plenty of resources to overcome the present economic crisis but they are concentrated in the hands of a small selfish group of capitalists. These men, together with their counterparts in the United States, have a mortal fear of socialism and communism. There can be no independence from Wall Street without the nationalization of all their wealth and possessions.

Defeat troops

Fake lefts talk of a negotiated peace in Vietnam. Here again, they reveal themselves as humbugs and hypocrites. There can be no peace in that war-torn country whilst there are American troops and their mercenaries occupying key centres in South Vietnam. These troops must be defeated and the task of the international labour movement is to give full support to

the Vietcong in order to do this.

The role of the United States in South Vietnam today is no different from the role of Franco in Spain before the war. All the same barbaric forms of brutality persist. 'Tribune' and the fake lefts condone Wilson and his government being economically tied to American imperialism so they want 'a peace' that will leave the Americans where they are in Vietnam.

Vietcong victory

The Newsletter and the Socialist Labour League do not want any such peace. We want a victory for the Vietcong and the right of the Vietnamese people, North and South, to decide their own destiny.

This is the reason why we are giving all out support to the Young Socialist demonstration in London on Sunday, July 18. We call upon the rank and file of the entire labour movement to join us.

WHERE IS PABLO?

A REPORT was published in the Greek-Cyprus newspaper 'Mahi' on June 22, 1965, which claims that Michael Raptis (Pablo) represented the Cyprus government in Algeria. The report says that, despite enquiries by the government, Pablo has been missing since Ben Bella was captured, and cannot be traced.

The Newsletter, in reporting this news item, has been unable to check its authenticity.

Algerian
coup —
a final,
crushing
blow to
revisionists
see page 3

Vietnam lobby

The second time around for Lord Brockway

Repeating Korean war role

DESPITE the efforts of the press and the government to spread the maximum confusion, there is a growing feeling of support for the Vietnam liberation struggle among wide sections of the British working class.

For many young workers and students it is not a matter of mere sympathy for the victims of imperialist attack, but of admiration for the heroic fight to drive out the imperialists and their puppets.

This is the background to the campaign around last Wednesday's lobby of Parliament, organised by the British Council for Peace in Vietnam.

As its title indicates, the Council is not at all concerned with helping the Vietnamese workers and peasants to secure as rapid and complete a victory as possible.

Recall demand
Backed by the Communist Party, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and some 'left' Labour MPs, it is devoted to pressing the Labour government to re-call the Geneva Conference of 1954.

It was at Geneva that the Vietminh, after militarily smashing French imperialism, were robbed of victory with the agreement of the Russian and Chinese leaders. Although the U.S. government never signed the Geneva Agreement, the present war is to maintain the partition of Vietnam into North and South, which was its main consequence.

The agreement pretended to prepare for all-Vietnam elections, which everyone expected the Vietminh to win overwhelmingly. But the elections were put off for two years, against Vietminh protests.

By that time, U.S. puppets had replaced those of the French as rulers of South Vietnam.

When the Council was set up in May, it launched a petition. This 'humbly prays Her Majesty's government to dissociate itself from any acts which support one side or the other' in Vietnam.

Lord apologist
Naturally, such a campaign could only choose as its chairman, Lord Brockway.

Posing as a friend of the colonial people, he is, in reality, their worst enemy. Since October, he has been busy apologising for the treachery of Wilson. While bemoaning the way the government has trailed the Americans, he has continually assured us that the Labour leaders were about to undergo a change of heart.

So he has repeated his role in the Korean war. Then chairman of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, he had backed the fake 'United Nations' action, with which U.S. imperialism had belatedly cloaked its attack on the Korean workers.

But it is the Communist Party which forms the extremely feeble backbone of the

Cont. page 4, col. 5 →

US imperialism Get out of Vietnam!

Victory to the Vietcong!

FOR 14 years the Vietcong have been waging a fierce battle against American imperialist forces in South Vietnam.

THE Young Socialists support all those workers and peasants in South Vietnam who are fighting imperialist domination.

WE strongly condemn the shameful support given by Prime Minister Harold Wilson to the American government's war policy in South-East Asia.

The Labour government must recognise National Liberation Front of S. Vietnam!

Withdraw all troops from S.E. Asia!

MARCH FROM MARBLE ARCH WITH THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS
SUNDAY, JULY 18 1.30 p.m.
Coaches leave from all areas in London

Workers of the world unite against imperialism! · Join the Young Socialists!



YS organise demonstration against war in Vietnam

LONDON Young Socialists have called a demonstration on July 18 against the war in South Vietnam and in solidarity with the workers and peasants of the Vietcong, who are waging a fierce struggle against American imperialism. In the weeks before the demonstration Young Socialists will campaign with the leaflet (seen above) to bring hundreds of youth onto the march. Trades union branches have been invited to participate. The demonstration, organised by the Young Socialists, will be in clear contrast to the lobby of Communist Party and its members, held this week. The Young Socialists along with the Socialist Labour League is the only section of the labour movement to firmly demand a victory to the Vietcong.

Wall Street highly nervous

THE slide of Wall Street share prices gathered momentum this week. It has gone on consistently since the market reached its all-time peak on May 14.

Then, the Dow-Jones index for industrial shares hit 939.62. Last Monday it slumped to 840.59.

Stock market experts have been puzzled by this failure of confidence. It had its chief explanation in the widespread belief that the five-year expansion of the U.S. economy is coming to an end.

This is not an internal American phenomenon, but part of an international trend. 1965 has seen a marked decline in world trade.

This reflected in the slump in prices of commodities like sugar, tin and cocoa. It is related to the measures taken by several capitalist governments, especially the U.S., to avert balance of payments crises.

To save the dollar, Johnson has had to restrict the outflow of U.S. investment. This has hit a number of economies at a time when they already face big problems.

Preparations for sterling devaluation are probably being considered jointly with the U.S. government. This operation, which could severely damage the whole precarious structure of world trade if bungled, depends on the submission of British trade unionists to wage freezing.

The fear of such developments lies behind the highly nervous and depressive state of the New York speculators.

LINER TRAINS

In the next two weeks, the National Union of Railwaymen are meeting in conference at Southport.

Defend the nationalized industries

by our industrial correspondent

ON May 28 this year, Labour's Minister of Transport, Fraser, gave the go-ahead to the British Railways Board to introduce 'liner-trains'—an express freight system to serve the whole country.

The idea for this service was mooted by the Tories several years ago, and was nurtured by Dr. Beeching, chairman of the Board until he returned recently to his job with Imperial Chemical Industries.

But in the past 18 months, since the scheme has been under discussion, railwaymen throughout the country have made clear their opposition to the terms under which they would have to work the trains. They see their fight, and continue it, on the basis of how it will affect railwaymen, but the scheme has much wider implications.

Almost two years ago, Beeching announced a special freight service to run exclusively between the Ford motor car factories at Halewood, Liverpool, and Dagenham, London. Beeching provided special wagons, painted in the Ford livery of blue and white. Each wagon cost about £5,000 and is 38 feet long (twice the usual length of rail wagons) and carries about 22 tons.

No cost

There are now 750 such trains running each week throughout Britain for 50 firms.

A 'Daily Telegraph' correspondent reported at the time of the deal with Ford: 'The company, I was assured, has borne none of the cost of this new rolling stock, upon which the true liner-train equipment will be based.'

Quite clearly, then, the real purpose of the scheme is to use yet another nationalized industry to work for private enterprise.

Under the proposed scheme, which is expected to come into operation by the end of this year, 55 liner-trains will operate between specially constructed depots or terminals in all the major cities.

It is reported that time-trials are already under way—a fully loaded liner-train is running between Derby and Carlisle at an average speed of 70 to 80 m.p.h., and work has begun on the depots (our reporter saw ground levelled in preparation for a terminal near to the Manchester Picadilly station).

These depots will have large American cranes installed to lift the 20-ton containers onto the liner-train wagons, which are permanently coupled to cut out time-wasting shunting.

Seen in line with the developments on the docks and airports, and improvements like the motorways, liner-trains are an important step forward towards a future integrated and automated transport system.

But seen also, in line with present rationalisation and subsequent redundancies suffered in all these industries, such a system will become, in the hands of the capitalists and their agents in the Labour government, yet another attack on the living conditions of the working class.

'Pruning'

Even since the advent of Beeching as chairman of the Board, one railman claimed, most departments had been 'pruned' by at least one-third.

Beeching had introduced his 'method-men' to carry out time and motion studies and there had been a reduction, not in efficiency, but in labour costs.

He gave the example of a 'length gang' of 10 men who examine a section of track each day. Three or four men had

for instance, the north of Scotland to the nearest depot which will probably be in Glasgow.

Their determination was shown recently when private hauliers began creeping into an existing goods depot in Manchester, allegedly because there was a shortage of British Railways' lorries. These hauliers were being paid, or demanded, excessive rates.

Union members forced the Board to withdraw these hauliers by threatening a stoppage.

Now, railway drivers have formed a pool system, which any station can draw on when it is short of lorries.

British Railways is almost the largest haulage company in the country, and the majority of the drivers belong to the National Union of Railwaymen.

Both Fraser and George Brown, the Minister for

High on the agenda for discussion is the liner-train scheme. Both the British Railways Board and the Labour government are attempting to force through this scheme at the expense of jobs, working conditions . . . and nationalization.

Economic Affairs, have joined in the general attack on the union. When they met a union delegation recently, Brown was, apparently, very adamant about the scheme. He could not see why the union should not bend on the matter.

It is also reported that he said the matter was very delicate and that five to six million pounds had already been spent on the scheme (which will eventually cost £100 million, all borrowed at high interest rates, no doubt).

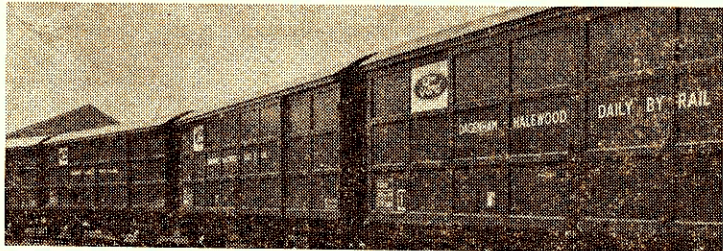
Desperate

The talk with the Ministers encouraged Beeching, at a similar meeting a week later, to throw down the gauntlet and say that with, or without union agreement, the Board would go ahead with the scheme.

There have been some guarantees from the Board about redundancies, but the attitudes of the Ministers and Beeching reveal how desperate they are to carry through the scheme for their employer and Tory friends.

The guarantee of 'no redundancy' will probably mean that a man will be offered a job

Turn to page four →



The special freight service arranged between Beeching and the Ford Motor Company, which became the forerunner of liner-trains.

left the gang and had never been replaced, and later the depleted gang had been merged with another.

In negotiations with the National Union of Railwaymen, the Railways Board has attempted to carry this 'pruning' even further by demanding that there is no guard on a liner-train.

The union has remained firm on this question and the Board has now conceded that guards must ride in a brake van at the rear of the liner-trains. Even when the prototype train left a London engineering works for Derby, the union insisted on an ordinary goods brake van being operated.

But it is on the major issue of entry of private hauliers into the liner-train terminals—the real attack on the concept of a nationalized industry—that the executive committee of the union has been weakening.

Opposed

In a recent editorial in the union's weekly 'Railway Review', Transport Minister, Fraser, was attacked for 'the admission of a Tory concept of Transport co-ordination', but almost in the same breath the writer spoke of 'opportunities for road hauliers to participate' if the service 'became greater than could be dealt with by the railway's own collection and delivery services'.

The rank and file are bitterly opposed to any idea of 'open terminals', which could lead eventually to 18,000 redundancies. They are suggesting that only themselves and British Road Services drivers be allowed into the depots.

They are also asking that they be granted commercial driving licences to enable them to drive the long hauls from,

BOOK REVIEW

THE appearance in English for the first time of the almost legendary book by Preobrazhensky, 'The New Economics', in a readable translation by Brian Pearce, is to be welcomed.

It will dispel some myths which have collected around what he calls the 'law of primitive socialist accumulation', as well as show the quality of the thought of the leading economist of the Left Opposition of the 1920s.

The work begins with an important discussion of the Marxist method in political economy which sets the stage for the main analytical sections. Typically, this chapter is dismissed by the editor, A. Nove, as being 'heavily spiced with jargon', perhaps because he could not understand it.

He seems principally concerned with showing that what he calls 'the Trotsky-Preobrazhensky attitude' was contradictory and utopian because it put forward a programme for rapid industrialisation without forcible collectivisation and expropriation.

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Preobrazhensky was, in fact, trying to work out a consistently Marxist approach to the problems of socialist planning, under the specific conditions of backward Russia, as part of a general political programme. Essentially his argument is simple.

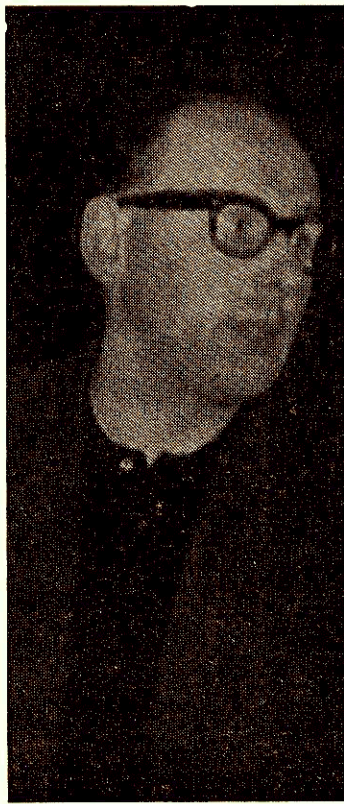
Under the New Economic Policy, while the workers' state controlled manufacturing industry and had a monopoly of foreign trade, most agriculture, artisan industry and part of distribution remained in

private hands. The task of the state was to funnel resources from the private sector into industrial accumulation.

Two contradictory principles operated in the Soviet economy at this time. The law of value, operating in the private sector, tended to perpetuate and extend capitalist relations in association with the pressures flowing in from the capitalist world market.

The carrying forward of

Highly successful Marxist symposium held in Leeds



Cliff Slaughter

'MAKE Marxism a real force in the Universities': this was the theme of the winding-up speech by Cliff Slaughter at the symposium organised by Leeds University Students' Marxist Society from June 22 to 25.

Over 100 students from 13 universities, with visitors from the Continent had attended the sessions to discuss the impact of Marxism in various fields of science and social thought.

'Cybernetics and Capitalism', the first paper read to the symposium, provoked a lively discussion. Dr. C. S. Smith, who read the paper, had to insist on a Marxist view of the relation between society and technical advance against those who speculated about 'rule by machines', on the one hand, and those who contented themselves with drawing parallels between the mechanism of cybernetics and the laws of dialectics on the other.

Qualitative change

He drew attention to the qualitative change brought by cybernetics and automation to the clash between capitalism and the advance of humanity's techniques.

From the beginning, it was

no abstract discussion. As the chairman, Jane Morris, had pointed out, the old 'dislike of theory', which has characterised British politics, rested on certain privileged conditions of British capitalism.

As these conditions are being undermined, and the class struggle takes a new form, particularly thrusting forward the youth of the working class, so Britain must and will become the cockpit of important advances in Marxist theory. The symposium had to be seen in this light.

Matter

Several papers were read on recent discoveries about the nature of matter, and work has now been commenced which will prove of real value in strengthening the materialist view of the world upon which a revolutionary party in Britain must be based.

The symposium went on to discuss the Marxist theory of social development, beginning with Professor Peter Worsley's paper 'Origin of the Family' Revisited'.

In this discussion, the whole question of 'stages of social development' was raised in relation, both to theories of history, and to problems of whether under-developed nations could achieve the transition to socialism without first going through capitalism.

Confusion

It was pointed out that most of the confusion on this question had been a direct consequence of Stalinism in the USSR, with its insistence on the separate development and analysis of the class struggle in each country.

On Thursday, the symposium discussed various papers on 'Marxism and Philosophy', beginning with Dr. Axel Stern's paper 'Is There a Marxian Morality'. Dr. Stern gave a thorough exposition of Marx's ideas of alienation and humanism, as expressed in the early

'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844'.

In the discussion, many participants pointed out the later developments in Marx's thinking, and the need for a much more specific and class approach to morality.

Other papers in this section included W. McElroy on 'Professor Pepper and Karl Marx'—a reply to the arguments that Marx's theories of society are unscientific—and a contribution on the bourgeois philosophy of pragmatism, read by Dave Ashby, National Secretary of the Young Socialists.

The novel

David Cauter, author of 'Communism and the French Intellectuals', and himself a novelist, spoke on 'Marxism and the Novel'. He sketched the history of Marxist literary criticism, and presented, in detail, the ideas of Lucien Goldmann in his book 'Towards a Sociology of the Novel' (published in French).

A vigorous discussion suggested that before the literature of today can be understood, the nature of the epoch must be seen as one of the crisis of leadership, and not only of wars and revolutions.

On the last day, five hours of intensive discussion took place on the international situation, with participation by comrades from Eastern Europe, the Arab countries, and East Africa. This discussion based itself on earlier papers on imperialism by Tom Kemp and Peter Jeffries.

Vietnam

On Vietnam, it was hammered out that without a struggle to build the Fourth International, all talk of support for the Vietnamese people would lead to nothing. A campaign against the British government, rather than to win its support for 'negotiations', is the first necessity for this internationalism in Britain.

Capitalism came into the world dripping with blood, as Marx had put it. By its very nature the workers' state could not accumulate either at the expense of the health and welfare of the working class or through the forcible expropriation of the peasants or the use of methods of plunder and exploitation characteristic of early capitalism.

What Preobrazhensky ad-

into industry to make possible faster growth through the expansion of the industries producing means of production, i.e., expanded reproduction.

The principle of primitive socialist accumulation imposed itself with necessary force upon the state if it were to systematically substitute socialist relations of production for capitalist relations based on the law of value.

It therefore assumed the status of a law which interacted with and stood in contradictory relationship to the law of value in the

However, within a few years, the kind of discussion of which 'The New Economics' was a part was no longer permitted. The work itself was never completed. Preobrazhensky was forced to retract after the break-up of the Left Opposition in Russia, though this did not save him from death during the purges.

Bukharin, whose opposition had been based upon conciliation with the peasantry and 'socialism at a snail's pace', later met the same fate when Stalin had no further use for him.

Preobrazhensky's book emerges as an honest attempt to face a complex and difficult problem on Marxist lines.

★


It represented the worked-out view of the Left Oppositionists that rejection of Stalin's policy of 'socialism in one country' did not at all prevent a start being made with industrialisation.

There was an alternative to Stalinism and this book demonstrated, in advance, that the methods of Stalin could not lead to socialism. A careful reading of this book makes it very clear how different 'primitive socialist accumulation', as advocated by Preobrazhensky and Trotsky, was from the methods actually used after 1928.

The analogy with capitalist primitive accumulation was limited by the fact that socialism could not be built by methods incompatible with its nature.

'The New Economics' by E. Preobrazhensky. Translated from the Russian by Brian Pearce. With an Introduction by A. Nove. Oxford University Press. Price 55/-.

Tom Kemp



Preobrazhensky's
The New Economics

socialist industrialisation was substantially identical with the operation of a different regulatory principle which Preobrazhensky called the law of primitive socialist accumulation.

Just as capitalist accumulation at the expense of wage labour had been preceded by a period of prior accumulation at the expense of petty commodity producers and pre-capitalist forms, so state industry would have to make use of resources drawn from the peasant, commodity-producing and capitalist sectors.

vocated had nothing in common with the heavy-handed, brutal and panic-stricken measures actually used by Stalin after 1928.

Of course, opposition to the law of value meant the use of non-economic as well as economic means: the actual choice of means and their combination could vary. They included price policy in the nationalized sector and in foreign trade, taxation, control of money and credit.

The object was to transfer part of the social surplus created in the private sector

transitional period. It can be said that this represented a genuine Marxist discovery generalised from the early experiences of the Soviet regime, but with obvious much wider application.

A tribe of official economists, headed by Preobrazhensky's former close friend, Bukharin, then in alliance with Stalin, was set to work to demolish and discredit his work.

Some of his counter-polemical, which has dated rather badly, is included in this volume.

THE recent military coup d'etat in Algiers contains most important lessons for Marxists. Colonel Boumedienne's army, which deposed President Ben Bella, is the instrument of 'order' on behalf of the native capitalist class in Algeria.

A national-revolutionary struggle, involving years of large-scale armed conflict, was necessary before these native capitalists could take hold of state power. As in all national revolutions, the bourgeoisie had a double problem: to establish their own power by shaking off the foreign imperialist domination; and to push back the forces of the workers and peasants whom they had to mobilise for the first aim.

So great is their fear of the popular forces of the workers and peasants, and so impossible their development as an 'independent' capitalism in the modern world of monopoly capitalism, that these bourgeois-nationalist governments do not even carry out the elementary tasks of the national struggle for the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Land reform, a complete break with imperialist power, and democracy—all of these become the subject of compromise with the imperialists, and repression of the people.

Classical

Marxists in our epoch, organised behind the programme of Lenin and Trotsky in the Fourth International, have approached this problem always with the theory of Permanent Revolution. Only the working class, leading the poor peasantry, with its own Marxist party in a struggle for workers' state power, can complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and for this, a political struggle against the national bourgeoisie is necessary.

In Algeria, these problems were presented in almost classical form.

However, a whole group of so-called Trotskyists, the revisionists, Pablo, Germain, Frank and later the leaders of the American Socialist Workers' Party, who came to their support in 1963 in the 'United Secretariat', instead of opposing the national bourgeoisie and fighting for an independent proletarian revolutionary party, offered themselves as apologists for the bourgeois-nationalist leaders.

These revisionists encouraged the fatal illusion that colonial liberation movements would transform themselves into socialist revolution without the independent Marxist party, and without a struggle against the bourgeois nationalists.

They went further, and concluded that nationalist leaders, such as Ben Bella, would lead the nation to the establishment of a workers' state.

Pablo, who recently split from Germain, Frank and

Algerian coup — a final, crushing blow to revisionists' theory

Hansen in Paris, went to the extreme of taking a post in the Ben Bella administration.

For something like a year, these Pabloites, particularly the Paris clique, have expressed shamefaced doubts about their 'premature' conclusion that Algeria was a 'workers' state'.

They have written 'worried' articles about the masses' resistance to bureaucracy and the concentration of power in the centralised state and Presidency.

Final blow

The Boumedienne coup has delivered the final crushing blow to this revisionist school (see last week's Newsletter). A revolutionary situation with a divided ruling class today finds the Algerian working class and peasantry leaderless.

Those revisionists who lent the name of 'Trotskyism' and 'Marxism' to the stifling of independent working-class politics bear a historic responsibility for this situation.

They condemned the International Committee, and its sections, such as the Socialist Labour League, for 'sectarianism' when we denounced the arrests of oppositionists like Boudiaf, and when we drew attention to the capitalist character of the Algerian state and of the Evian agreement, to the suppression of independent trade unions and to the centralised state's restrictions on workers and peasants.

Above all, we were condemned for an insistence that the workers must have their own party, independent of the National Liberation Front (FLN), independent of the bourgeoisie, and opposed to the myth of national unity perpetrated by Ben Bella and the bourgeois leaders.

The supporters and sympathisers of this revisionist tendency are now of course in disarray.

'The Militant', organ of the Socialist Workers' Party, appeared last week-end with just over 100 words on the coup—the facts are still unclear.

It would have been better to remain silent, we suggest, than to say in one sentence:

'The military coup that overthrew the Ben Bella regime is obviously a political move of the deepest significance for the Algerian people and the world socialist movement.'

And then to say in the next: '... it is not realistically

CLIFF SLAUGHTER examines reactions to the coup in 'The Militant', organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of America, and 'World Outlook', magazine of the 'Unified Secretariat' of revisionists in Paris

possible to determine if General Boumedienne's seizure of power will mean a general continuation of the policies of the Ben Bella government or a significant shift away from them.'

Fortunately, perhaps, 'The Militant' now goes on to its summer schedule and will not appear again until July 12.

the political verdict. Says 'World Outlook':

'In the absence of a well-organised vanguard party, of unions with an independent leadership, the army stood as the only cohesive power in the country.'

In the guise of a 'Marxist' commentary, we

At the same time, 'World Outlook' hopes that those who regard themselves as Trotskyists will understand by a 'vanguard party', the revolutionary proletarian party of Marxism.

Above all, the relation between the two things must not be clarified.

But this clarification in pre-

have been created by building a Marxist revolutionary party, opposing the bourgeois nationalists in every one of the actions which they took to halt the revolution and consolidate their own power.

The revisionists, instead, speculated about whether Ben Bella was 'another Castro', i.e., someone capable, in their opinion, of taking the revolution through to workers' power.

All the criticisms in the world of Ben Bella's compromises with the Right, his attacks on the unions, his concentration of personal power, are worse than useless without the struggle to build an alternative, the basis of which must be a revolutionary workers' party.

In so far as the revisionists only campaigned for greater 'pressure' organised by the 'left wing' to change the policy of the FLN, they helped the reactionary forces to prepare the present situation.

Their deception now will convince no one in Algeria, France or anywhere else. The sum total of their politics was to persuade militants that the FLN itself could become the 'mass vanguard party' which they now talk about at every turn.

'Negative'

And so to the miserable conclusions of this declaration (of bankruptcy). The theory of the permanent revolution, it appears, has 'been strikingly confirmed; this time, unfortunately (sic) not in a positive sense as in the case of Cuba, but in a negative way'.

After advocating liquidation of the revolutionary party, placed by Trotsky at the centre of the theory of the permanent revolution, you then pronounce the verdict that 'unfortunately', the theory has been confirmed in a 'negative' way.

The whole process is viewed as something separate from Marxist theory, not as a process in which this theory, gives concrete form in the revolutionary party, plays a decisive objective role.

Only after the negative confirmation, is it necessary to say, as does the declaration's next sentence, that:

'No conquests in a colonial revolution can be considered to have been consolidated until a workers' state has been created, until a revolutionary socialist party has been built, until the workers and poor peasants hold power through their own institutions of proletarian democracy.'

Not a word about the criminal confusion between the working-class revolutionary party and the bourgeois-national movement. Not a word about the criminal responsibility of the authors of this same declaration, who have been in the forefront of

the revisionist subordination to bourgeois-national leaders like Ben Bella.

Their vagueness about the 'Algerian left wing' is matched by the statements earlier this year by Pablo, recently expelled from the leadership of the United Secretariat. He referred constantly to 'the organised left, the marching wing' of the revolution, but he discussed always within the framework of Algeria as a country on the road to socialism.

When he criticised government tutelage of the unions he did this always in terms of the state becoming isolated from the masses.

What was actually required was a struggle of the workers, leading the poor peasantry, to fight behind a Trotskyist party for their own power in opposition to the existing state.

Ben Bella has for years been consolidating the centralised state power against the workers and peasants. Boumedienne and the right have thrown him out because he did not go far enough and was too prone to give concessions to the masses.

As soon as Ben Bella had worked with Boumedienne for the 1962 overthrow of the old provisional government, he used Boumedienne's army to consolidate bourgeois state power.

This army was quite separate from the popular liberation force which fought the French. It was preserved in relatively privileged and comfortable conditions after the liberation, having previously been kept out of the fighting.

Collaboration

It was used to suppress and disarm all remaining forces of the Maquis in the different regions of Algeria. The resolution of the National Liberation Front Congress to create a people's militia remained just a scrap of paper.

This army consolidated its power while independence of the unions was eaten away and the land reform was halted. It was a classical example of the bourgeoisie halting the democratic revolution, to collaborate with imperialism, and attack the workers and peasants.

Ben Bella, with his demagogic speeches and popular appeal, was necessary to the Algerian bourgeoisie and the imperialists only during the initial difficult period.

The reactionaries behind Boumedienne have now decided that his 'left' talk about socialism can be dispensed with, and they will provide their own substitute.

This does not mean that the struggle is over or that the new regime is firmly established, but there can no longer be any doubt about the forces which have been established.

Certainly the Algerian events are of great consequence for Marxist theory and for the working-class movement. But the revisionists of the 'United Secretariat' cannot calculate this significance because it involves above all an accounting of their own role.

As in Ceylon, revisionism has led to betrayal, and has prepared the way for defeats. But the struggle against that revisionism can be strengthened now that the lessons are being driven home.

Just as the workers and peasants of Ceylon and Algeria have not yet spoken their last word, so the Fourth International is no longer held back in its development by the revisionists.

On the contrary, they are being rapidly dissolved and defeated. This is a necessary part of the revived international struggle of the working class.

WHAT IS THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION?

With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.

Not only the agrarian, but also the national question assigns to the peasantry—the overwhelming majority of the population in backward countries—an exceptional place in the democratic revolution. Without an alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry the tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be solved, nor even seriously posed. But the alliance of these two classes can be realised in no other way than through an irreconcilable struggle against the influence of the national-liberal bourgeoisie.

No matter what the first episodic stages of the revolution may be in the individual countries, the realisation of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political leadership of the proletarian vanguard, organised by the Communist Party. This in turn means that the victory of the democratic revolution is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat which bases itself upon the alliance with the peasantry and solves first of all the tasks of the democratic revolution.

excerpt from 'Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects' by Leon Trotsky, p. 152-3, published by New Park Publications Ltd.

If we turn to 'World Outlook', published by the United Secretariat in Paris, we find a more comprehensive treatment.

'Boumedienne's seizure of Power' is the main news article, which informs us that the Algiers coup 'has been judged by experts (?) in this field to be one of the most skillful in history. It caught virtually everyone by complete surprise, the most stunned of all being Ben Bella who was hauled out of his bedroom at 2.25 a.m. by the conspirators'. No doubt!

Once the inspired journalism is done with, we get down to

here have a blanket drawn over the decisive questions.

What is a 'well-organised vanguard party'? There is deliberate confusion here.

'World Outlook' wants one set of readers (Ben Bella's entourage, the July 26 movement in Cuba and all sorts of 'progressives') to understand by this phrase the official party of the Algerian state, the National Liberation Front. One wing of the Algerian national bourgeoisie and most, perhaps, of the Algerian petty-bourgeois politicians, would prefer control through this party to army control.

cisely what has been necessary in the past period. In this way, the revisionists complete their betrayal, just as they did in Ceylon.

In the same issue of 'World Outlook' is published a declaration by the 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International' (i.e., Paris revisionists) on June 23, 'Defend the Algerian Revolution'. Here, the position of the revisionists is stated more precisely.

In this declaration, all manner of radical phrases are thrown out, but the question of independent working-class politics and a Trotskyist party of the Fourth International in Algeria, is avoided.

'Strength'

This same 'World Outlook' commented only a few weeks ago that Ben Bella's announcement withdrawing the death sentence on Ait Ahmed was a 'sign of the strength of the Ben Bella regime'.

Now they say:

'The ease with which Ben Bella was removed from power... shows the correctness of the criticisms which the revolutionary Marxists offered while supporting Ben Bella against the right-wing forces that sought to block, slow down and derail the Algerian revolution.'

How 'correct' can you get? 'World Outlook' says all this has happened because: '... the Algerian revolution had not been carried through to the end, to the institution of a workers' state based on committees of workers and poor peasants exercising the real power.'

The main question is ignored: such a state could only

Only the working class, leading the poor peasantry (seen here in flight during the war with the French) with its own Marxist Party, in a struggle for workers' state power, can complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and for this a struggle against the national bourgeoisie is necessary.



Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects
By Leon Trotsky

This is a polemic against Radek in 1928. Trotsky examines the arguments against his pre-war theory of the permanent revolution (as expounded in *Results and Prospects*) and takes up the history of his differences with Lenin before 1917, of which Stalin and his henchmen made so much. Trotsky shows that it was Lenin's criticisms of his attitude to the centralised Marxist party, which he afterwards understood and accepted, that kept them apart, and not their differences on the permanent revolution.

254 pages, 15/- soft cover, 25/- hard cover

Defend the Nationalized industries

From page 2

miles away from home, and such a guarantee cannot be too secure when Beeching's closure plan is causing a shortage of jobs in the industry.

For Brown to talk in terms of wasting money already spent is ludicrous when one considers the millions spent on nationalizing both road and rail transport in 1947—after which the Tories systematically handed over the more lucrative sections back to private enterprise—and the other millions paid out to previous railway owners in compensation, in many cases for rolling stock which could not be used anyway.

At a recent meeting of the north-east and north-west London district council of the National Union of Railwaymen, an executive committee member said that the scheme, as envisaged by the road hauliers (and probably the Labour government), was that the railways become a 'sub-contractor' to them.

Road hauliers, he reported, had increased their long haul contracts by 66½ per cent between 1958 and 1962, and were now carrying eight and a half million tons of freight a year on these long hauls.

RESEARCH

Dr. Beeching had carried out market research which estimated that the road hauliers would be prepared to place about three and a half million tons with the railways.

They would then be able, as they had done with the present Condor system of 10-ton express freight containers, to relieve themselves of some of the staggering increase in their volume of traffic.

Then, with a new fleet of small lorries and vans, they could—if allowed into the liner-train terminals—aim a devastating blow at railways collection and delivery services, and at what remained of the nationalized road services.

Expressing the view of railwaymen all over the country, the district committee passed a resolution expressing concern at the attitude of the Board on liner trains, welcoming their introduction, but urging the union executive not to depart from the principle on 'free terminals' and on brake vans. In the event of the Board using liner-trains despite opposition, they would be declared 'black'.

A union delegation is again meeting the Board on Friday, just three days before the National Union of Railwaymen's annual delegate conference at Southport.

The demands of the rank and file must be taken into the conference and into the conference, to defend the nationalized industry and conditions and livelihood of all those employed in it.

ON RECORD

The conference must go on record opposed to any intervention by private enterprise in the industry, opposed to any speed-up and introduction of automation at the expense of the railmen and opposed to George Brown's incomes commission.

All the attempts of the Railways Board, the Labour government and the Tories and bosses to gear the industry to the needs of capitalism to stabilise the extremely shaky financial position of the country must be thwarted by the railmen, who must organise behind socialist policies and demands of operating the nationalized industries under workers' control.

The railmen must not be left to fight alone. Workers in all transport and nationalized industries must also join in this struggle and put up the demand of the re-nationalization of road haulage without compensation—the private hauliers are making enough profit now, without the threatened 5 per cent increase—and nationalization of the docks and air industries for a really organised and integrated transport system run by workers, for the benefit of workers.

Brown confuses labour movement over haulage. We say:

Renationalize road haulage!

NEWSLETTER INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE Road Haulage Association has had lengthy discussions with George Brown over their proposed 5 per cent increase in the cost of road haulage. Mr. Brown announced on Wednesday, June 30, that he had obtained the agreement of the Board against this increase.

Yet a Road Haulage Association spokesman, according to the 'Daily Mail' of the same day, said: 'I think you can take it that the 5 per cent recommendation still stands. What has been lost sight of is that a 5 per cent recommendation does not necessarily mean that 5 per cent all round will be implemented. We are saying to all our members have another think about it. It all depends on the economic situation of individual firms.'

Mileage bonus for rail guards

MILEAGE bonuses have been awarded to goods and passenger train guards to bring them in line with other grades.

Guards were the only section on the railways who had not got some form of bonus scheme, and they have been pressing for it for a number of years.

Many other sections have been judged on productivity, but drivers, firemen and guards have to be assessed on mileage. Under the recent award the guards will receive an extra hour's pay, backdated to June 11 for every 15 miles in an 8-hour shift worked in excess of 140 miles.

But, one railman told our reporter, mileage bonuses usually amount to mere pennies, and, in many cases, guards are relieved more frequently than drivers, cutting down their chances of earning the bonus.

It is also likely that, as in case of other sections, strings will be tied to this agreement. In the past there have been suggestions that a guard 'at a loose end' while waiting for a train could help in work on the platform, such as collecting tickets.

'Extra duties' have also been suggested in previous negotiations with the Railways Board. Passenger guards could clean out toilets while a train is stationary, and while in motion, replace broken bulbs, check tickets, etc.

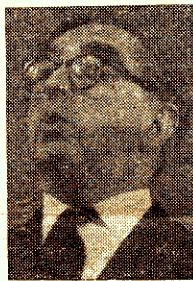
Goods guards could attend to coupling wagons.

Such duties would be part of the plan to speed up all sections of the railways at the expense of working conditions and must be fought vigorously by all railmen.

In other words, George Brown has done nothing more than associate himself with a deliberate act of confusing Labour Party members and trade unionists. The Road Haulage Association will carry on as before. They own the property and they are, so far as capitalist Britain is concerned, the real power in haulage.

George Brown, a so-called Labour leader, is doing nothing but confuse his own members.

The Labour Party in 1954 pledged that road haulage



What is your attitude George Brown?

should be re-nationalized. Why does not Brown accept this policy?

Never mind what the road haulage employers think. The point is that a 5 per cent increase is the usual capitalist method of attacking the working class.

We ask George Brown a simple question—that in view of the opposition of the road hauliers, what is your attitude to the re-nationalization of road haulage?

For our part we believe that the proposed price increases should be halted by George Brown and that the Labour government should immediately re-nationalize the whole of road haulage.

Municipal conference to discuss pay

BY NEWSLETTER CORRESPONDENT

GEORGE BROWN'S Prices and Incomes Board faces a head-on collision with transport workers in the near future.

At a conference called by the Federation of Municipal Passenger Transport Employers on July 15 local authorities will be asked to maintain the nationally agreed rates of pay.

However, a number of these authorities want to deviate from the rates.

In Coventry, where there is a staff shortage, busmen have been offered pay increases (with strings attached) of 20 per cent, which is way above the 3½ per cent hopefully set by Brown's commission—drivers will now receive £19 19s. 4d. a week after 12 months' experience. However, there are to be revisions of some of the working arrangements.

From this increase in Coventry, the problem for the

Labour government snowballs further because it could give fresh confidence to busmen in other parts of the country to fight for increases in pay.

It is this possibility that the busmen, angered by having to work long hours with bad working conditions, will demand higher wages, that is bound to alarm George Brown and company.

REACTION

Union officials are reported as saying that they expect a quick reaction. It was stated on Wednesday this week that there have already been applications for more pay.

The conference of the Federation of Municipal Passenger Transport Employers will be asked in a motion to declare its concern over the number of applications 'which tend to make national rates of pay and conditions virtually non-existent'.

Certainly George Brown can

Tenants face rents rise in Glasgow

By Our Glasgow Correspondent

RIGHT-WING Labour councillors rushed through a decision last week to increase the rents of 130,000 council flats and houses in Glasgow.

The rents are to go up to 95 per cent of the gross annual value on November 28 this year and a further increase will take place next year.

The housing committee's announcement that average rents will be increased from 12s. 2d. to 20s. 2d. a week is misleading—to arrive at this average, old tenement apartments, flats for old aged couples and single persons are included.

But a three-apartment flat at Inver Road, Easterhouse will be increased from £1 8s. 3d. to £1 12s. 11d. Easterhouse is on the far outskirts of the city and tenants there are already burdened with high bus fares which were increased only a few weeks ago.

A five-apartment house in the new multi-storey flats will be increased from £2 18s. 2d. to £3 7s. 5d.

To try to sugar the bitter pill of rent increases the corporation have announced that a generous rent rebate scheme will operate. No details of the amounts of rebate to be paid have been published, but levels of income which qualify for a full rent rebate will range from £5 10s. for a single person to £13 10s. for a couple with six children.

CREDITED

Where there are lodgers or married sons or daughters living with a family, £3 will be credited to the family income for each person over 21 who is working.

Some indication of the plight which will face many families can be assessed from the eviction figures for the quarter ended May 28.

These figures continue to rise steadily. Two hundred and sixty-eight families were ejected from corporation houses during the May quarter for arrears of rent, compared with 225 the previous quarter.

Whilst, in theory, old age pensioners are provided for under the rent rebate scheme, in practice the cheese-paring policies of the Labour government only create further hardship, since their meagre income is subjected to the most mean and rigorous investigation by National Assistance Board officials.

LOW RENTS

This is the only way by which adequate housing at low rents can be provided for all workers and their families.

Led by the Young Socialists, a massive campaign against rent increases and bad housing could take place. Preparations should begin now in YS branches, trade unions, tenants' associations and ward Labour Parties to lobby the Trades Council and City Labour Party and organise a mass demonstration of protest before November 28.

Vietnam lobby

From page 1

present campaign. While repeating ritual denunciations of U.S. policies, they have, in practice, tried to head off any real opposition to Wilson.

While Wilson never makes any move without the prior agreement of the State Department, Brockway, Foot and Silverman hardly dare utter a sneeze unless Wilson approves the text in advance. Meanwhile, the 'Daily Worker' refrains from the slightest criticism of the noble Lord Brockway.

This chain of command was clearly marked when Wilson announced his 'peace mission'. The 'Daily Worker' front page on June 18 had as its lead story a non-committal account of Wilson's gimmick. Underneath came a parliamentary report. ('Mr. Wilson's statement in the Commons... was greeted with cheers...')

The editorial, after explaining that the decision reflected the 'pressure of the people' went on to warn Mr. Wilson of the necessity to change his policy of subservience to the U.S. government if the mission

Industrial Newsletter

Bosworth miners must join in demand for conference

From Our Midlands Correspondent

CLASS feeling over the stand taken by some right-wing Labour MPs on steel nationalization is very strongly expressed by Bosworth miners.

Although actions taken by these miners against their MP, Woodrow Wyatt—well known for his views on steel nationalization—are confused, their stand must have a large amount of support in the labour movement.

Last week the 10 miners' representatives on the Bosworth constituency Labour Party management committee were advised to resign from the body by the local miners' council.

President of the Bosworth Labour Party, Mr. John Hollick, wrote in his letter of resignation:

'I find my views on socialism and steel nationalization are not compatible with those of the Bosworth MP and therefore I can do no other than tender my resignation. This is also the way of thinking of the majority of members of the miners' council.'

Whilst remaining affiliated to the Bosworth Party, the miners' council had announced its intention of stopping a cheque for £150—a voluntary annual grant which goes towards the Party's administrative expenses.

This whole question of the attitude of Wyatt and the right wing in the Bosworth area to steel nationalization came to a head after a meeting of the divisional executive.

AGAINST

At this meeting Mr. Hollick was the only person to vote against a resolution offering support to Wyatt and the Labour Party in 'their endeavours to find a suitable solution to steel nationalization'.

On Monday this week the Leicestershire miners announced a plan to ensure that Wyatt would be unable to stand as MP in Bosworth.

The money withheld from the Party would be used to revive 10 defunct wards, so that the miners could build up a majority on the management committee.

However, organisational manoeuvres are not sufficient to challenge the right wing of the Labour Party or the trade union leaders.

Already the national mining officials have expressed doubts about what they see as a very embarrassing situation.

Salaries reduced—power men strike

OVER 450 workers at the

Battersea power station, London, struck on Tuesday after four men working on a turbine were suspended.

The men, members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, had refused to work with contract workers.

Under a recent national agreement, the power workers have become 'salary earners'. Also under the agreement, they lost their bonus, and hours have been reduced to a 42-hour basic week.

The men claim that this has lowered their salaries in some cases by at least £6, while contract workers are still allowed to work overtime and take home in the region of £25 to £28 a week.

It is claimed that maintenance work at the power station is two years behind schedule.

ATTACK

The tough attitude of the management is an attack on the conditions of the men. Having reduced the earning power of their own workers, they have given an incentive to contract workers who will carry out duties at all hours to maintain their bonus.

The agreement is now used to divide the power workers and the contract men to induce a speed-up.

The unity shown by the 450 from all trades on Tuesday must be extended throughout the station, and the industry, to fight against these methods of the management.

Negotiations on the suspension of the four men began on Wednesday, when all the workers returned to work, but it is on the wider aspect of the disparity between wages of the contract workers and the salaries of the power workers which must become the main fight.

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