

# The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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## SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

### The Newsletter

Saturday, September 11, 1965

#### THE END

THE annual report for the Labour Party Conference, which opens on September 27, contains amendments which will put an end to the Young Socialists as a national youth organisation. It is exactly ten years since the Labour Party Conference at Margate took a similar decision. Between then and 1960 Labour's youth movement almost withered away. It was not until Gaitskill decided for purely electoral purposes to provide some national form of organisation that membership again picked up.

This membership swung sharply to the left and gradually became identified with the policies of Marxism, the overwhelming majority of members adhering to the policy of the youth paper, 'Keep Left'.

At the annual conferences of 1963 and 1964, the 'Keep Left' tendency won a decisive majority both on policy questions and in elections to the National Committee of the Young Socialists. This was too much for the right-wing Wilson leadership who have no belief whatsoever in democracy and democratic decisions. They immediately began to expel the leaders of the National Committee.

These National Committee members correctly reconstituted the Young Socialists as an organisation. Over 500 delegates and 500 visitors attended its conference at Morecambe early this year.

A handful of centrists, supported by 'Tribune', organised themselves in 1964 behind a 'Save the Young Socialists' campaign to try and persuade the right-wing to hand over leadership to them against 'Keep Left', but these amendments now effectively remove them from the scene. By crawling to the right-wing they gained absolutely nothing except the contempt of other Young Socialists.

About 150 gathered together at a rather dismal meeting last Sunday, and decided to remain, as centrists always are, undecided about their future.

By fighting the right-wing, 'Keep Left' won a decisive majority for what is now a thriving Young Socialist movement.

The Wilson amendments propose that local Federations be ruled out, as well as political resolutions to annual conference. The future National Committee will not be elected by the Young Socialists conference but appointed by the extreme right-wing regional bodies over which usually preside the most bureaucratic full-time agents.

With only local organisation, and a hand-picked National Committee, Transport House believes that it will have safely strangled the Young Socialists. We have no doubt that this is so. But the way now is clearly opened up for the development of a real Young Socialists movement.

All Young Socialists, who have now passed through this experience, should immediately, if they have not already done so, hasten to join the official Young Socialists movement, which is the one they elected to fight for their policies at the Easter Conference in Brighton in 1964.

The lesson should once again be underlined for all centrists of the 'Tribune' variety, that you gain nothing by crawling before the right-wing. It is necessary to fight and convince the majority to defeat the right-wing.

# The only road to peace in India

By Mike Banda

**T**HERE is nothing progressive about the undeclared war raging between India and Pakistan. It is a reactionary war and a continuation of the religio-communal politics of the Hindu and Moslem ruling classes which led to the bloody partition of India in 1947 — and the creation of the Kashmir problem.

The working class and the toiling peasantry, already groaning under the many burdens imposed upon them by their rulers in Delhi and Rawalpindi, have everything to lose and nothing at all to gain from this war. It is a war in the interests of imperialism in which Kashmir plays the same role as 'little Belgium' and Finland played in the first and second world wars.

#### Don't care

Neither Ayub Khan nor Shastri give a tinker's cuss for the Kashmiri people, for their culture, for their standard of life or for their destiny.

Both governments want to annex this territory, regardless of the feelings and aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

Both Ayub Khan and Shastri are guilty of lying and misrepresentation. Truth, as usual, is the first casualty in this war.

The Indian capitalist class wants war for two reasons. Firstly, in order to distract the starving millions of India's urban and rural poor from the real problems of landlessness, indebtedness, hunger, misery and exploitation. Secondly, in order to expand their territory and markets and secure themselves militarily and strategically against China.

#### Warning

Three years ago, a similar policy carried out against the Chinese Republic ended in a military disaster and public humiliation for the Indian ruling class.

At that time, 'The Newsletter' warned the Indian working-class movement not to be deceived by the fraudulent propaganda of the Congress government, and its lackeys in the Communist and Socialist Parties. We urged Indian Marxists to utilize the war crisis in order to prosecute even more vigorously the class struggle against the landlord-bureaucrat capitalist government of Nehru.

The defence of China was indissolubly bound up with struggle for the overthrow of the Congress regime. In fact, there could be no other kind of revolutionary defence of China.

#### Repercussions

Such a struggle would have had tremendous repercussions throughout Asia, particularly in East Pakistan where Ayub Khan's dictatorial regime was being seriously threatened by Bengali opposition.

The abandonment of such a policy by the Communist Party, Socialist



'Suddenly we're rich enough to go to war'

Courtesy 'The Guardian' and Papas.

Party and Revolutionary Socialist Party for the sake of defending the so-called national interests of India, meant, in practice, the betrayal of the working class, a strengthening of capitalist reaction, and an unprecedented resurgence of Hindu-Moslem hatred.

The Indian Paboites, led by Kolpe, by their wretched and unprincipled manoeuvres inside the Revolutionary Communist Party and their concessions to social-patriotism during the Sino-Indian dispute, as well as their failure to build an independent revolutionary party, have renounced all claim to leadership of the Indian socialist revolution.

A large part of the responsibility for this betrayal rests with the Soviet leaders who actively supported the Indian government and supplied it with arms and aeroplanes. The full fruits of this counter-revolutionary policy are being gathered in Punjab and Kashmir today.

Socialism is irreconcilably opposed to the national state and private ownership of the means of production. The defence of the capitalist nation state, particularly the aborted capitalist states of India and Pakistan, which are mere appendages of Anglo-U.S. imperialism, is in every way a reactionary and retrogressive task.

#### Unification

The real task facing the Indian working class is NOT the perpetuation of frontiers forcibly imposed by imperialism, but the tearing down of these same frontiers and the revolutionary unification of India. This task can, and will, be carried out only AFTER the overthrow of the capitalist states in Pakistan and India.

The Chinese Communist Party leaders by their fulsome support of Pakistan have not only betrayed the real interests of the Kashmiri people, but,

more important, they have explicitly recognised and accepted imperialist vivisection of India and the perpetuation of the Hindu-Moslem antagonism!

Their standpoint is doubly reactionary.

The attitude of the British Labour leaders is no better and, if anything, worse than the Chinese.

The present war is, after all, the product of Labour's policy in 1947, which was to grant formal independence to the Indian capitalists on condition that India was first partitioned.

Mr. Wilson has no moral or political right to complain about Indian aggression, when his own record on U.S. aggression in Vietnam stinks in the nostrils of every self-respecting socialist and freedom-loving Asian.

The Labour government has given political, military and financial assistance to the Shastri government in the fervent hope that it would be a

Continued page 4 col. 1—>

# Dockers reject Devlin Report

- Nationalize the docks
- Demonstrate Sept. 26

By our industrial reporter

**T**HE more I go into this Devlin report, the more cautious I have to become in saying that any little part of it is going to be beneficial to the dockers. This was how Bert Aylward, the well-known militant dockerman, began his speech to 700 Merseyside dockers last Saturday.

The meeting was called by the Merseyside Area Committee of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers — the 'Blue Union'.

Chairman Jim Benbow opened the meeting by reading out circulars from Dick Barrett, general secretary of the union, declaring a ban on recruitment to the union in the north.

Giving his reply, he questioned the validity of the ban and asked if the ban was applicable in London. Why had the membership not been consulted? He ended by stating that the national executive's actions were tantamount to a sell-out.

#### Not new

Bert Aylward told the meeting that Devlin's attack on unofficial movements and militants as 'wreckers' was no new phenomenon.

He recalled being on an unofficial strike committee as far back as 1923 and it was the unofficial committees and militants who had advanced conditions on the docks.

'Devlin says that officials of the 'Blue Union' have only been the mouthpiece of the men. That's true, and you want to keep it that way', he added.

Aylward proposed that groups of dockers should get together and study the Devlin report. 'Place our

study against our experience of the employers and we can only draw the conclusion that we should nationalise the industry'.

'The dockers have been under more microscopes than pasteurised milk', said Peter Kerrigan, acting secretary of the Merseyside Area of the 'Blue Union'.

'After strikes in London against the use of unregistered labour and after a tally clerks' strike, Cousins and Creighton — the port employers' representative — sought a way out by decasualisation proposals. Out of that came the 'new deal' on Merseyside.

'At that time, for £9 9s. guarantee, the Transport and General Workers' Union leadership would have sold you out body and soul. We got £9 4s. soon after, without giving anything'.

#### Wedge

He spoke of the coming of the 'Blue Union' to the north as a wedge driven in between the alliance of the port employers and the Transport and General Workers' Union.

'Certainly we want 100 per cent trade unionism', said Kerrigan. 'We want it, however, to fight for the dockers. We want it to fight for nationalisation.'

Continued page 4 col. 4—>

Resolution carried unanimously at Liverpool dockers' meeting.

**'We accept the principle that all dockworkers should have security and permanency of employment with a guaranteed basic minimum wage equal to the present national average.'**

**We reject as a means of achieving this that the industry and the dockers should be handed back to monopolies of port employers.**

**We are convinced that genuine permanency and benefits to the dockers and the community will only be achieved through the nationalisation of the port transport industry, under workers' control.**

**We support the call from our Hull brothers for a mass lobby of dockers nationally to the Labour Party Conference delegates on September 26 to demand that the Labour government immediately nationalise the port transport industry under workers' control.**

**We call for unity of 'Blue' and 'White', for 100 per cent trade unionism on the docks with freedom of choice and the building of strong organisation to defeat the employers' plans'.**

# TUC makes way for pay-claim

## law

Could mean jail for strikers

By ROBERT JAMES

Brighton, Thursday

**D**ELEGATES to this year's Trades Union Congress in Brighton yesterday passed, by a small majority, a report of their General Council which recommended the voluntary 'vetting' of all wage claims.

This plan, secretary of the TUC, George Woodcock claimed, would offset the government's intention to make decisions of the Incomes and Prices Board binding by law. Today, George Brown, Minister for Economic Affairs, welcomed Woodcock's statement, but intimated that the government would go ahead with legislation — probably before Christmas.

And who should be surprised at this blatant attack on trade unionism? After Brown's visit to TUC leaders in Brighton last week, when some kind of agreement was claimed on an 'early warning' system for wage de-

mands, Minister of Labour, Ray Gunter, still warned Congress on Monday:

'We desire to plan the economy to benefit all people. We want greater social services and the elimination of all class barriers — all within the framework of a free society. Therefore, let us realise that a free society must have its disciplines. Unless these disciplines are forthcoming on a voluntary basis, unless society is underpinned by these disciplines, then the answer lies in more fundamental means' (our emphasis).

#### MEANING CLEAR

Several times the Minister referred to these vague 'fundamental means', but his meaning was quite clear, and he remained in Brighton, and on the TUC platform, as a constant reminder of it.

As the state of the Labour government, and the pound,

becomes more critical, their betrayal becomes more open to the point of attacking, on behalf of capitalism, the organisations of their most stalwart supporters — the millions of trade unionists in Britain.

This attack is aimed at the wage packet of these workers and will even over-ride the interests of the right-wing leaders of the unions.

Joining them in this attack are George Woodcock and the more right-wing elements of the General Council of the TUC.

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, so the crisis of the right-wing bureaucrats in the Labour Party and trade union movement mounts into deep splits and differences over their varying interests.

This is the reason for the small majority of 1,939,000 in the vote on 'voluntary vetting'.

Woodcock, for all his talk in an ever-broadening accent, about

doing things 'with the lads', 'for the lads' even though, on the surface of things, they may appear to be opposed to the Labour government, created the diversion necessary for Congress to push through a critical motion 'recognising the desirability of a prices and incomes policy', and for the preparation of legislation against the unions.

On the other hand, Harry Nicholas, acting general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, opposed the 'vetting' plan.

#### DAMOCLES' SWORD

'Legislation', he said, 'hangs like the sword of Damocles, suspended by the gossamer thread of Labour's majority'.

Quite correctly he said that such legislation would mean handing over to a Selwyn Lloyd povers and concessions which a Tory government could never hope to negotiate with the trades unions, concessions

that were not even granted by the unions in wartime.

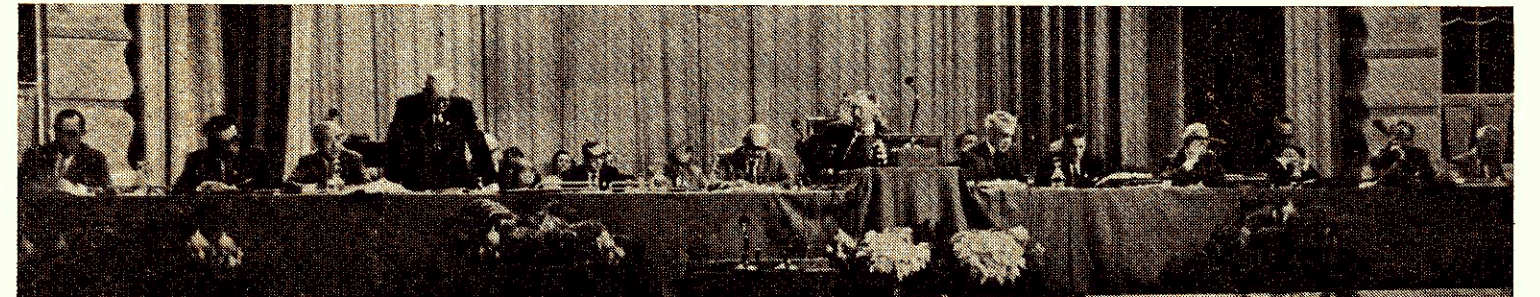
But, like many of the speakers at Congress, he spoke in terms of 'welcoming the opportunity of settling down with the government' to discuss increasing productivity.

Clive Jenkins, secretary of the Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians, said that statutory enforcement of wage levels in a society still dominated by big business was 'sinister'.

Watermen's union secretary, Bill Lindley, said legislation meant using state power to maintain capitalism. He added that an 'early warning' system would discourage unionism and also discourage affiliation of unions to the TUC. This would lead to a rash of unofficial strikes.

A move to refer the report of the General Council to a re-called conference of union executives was lost by 2,735,000 votes, and

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**Introduction**

**I**n the name of 'the national interest', and 'saving the pound', the Wilson government has taken measures leading to the growth of short-time and unemployment. Rent and fare increases and rising prices combine with this loss of work to make real wage cuts for hundreds of thousands of workers. The trade unions, basic defence organisations of the working class, are under heavy attack.

Unless this is halted, economic depression is certain and the Tories will return on the basis of Wilson's betrayal just as they profited from MacDonald's betrayal in 1931.

It is no longer a question of 'giving Wilson a chance'. He had his chance after the election in October, 1964, and he has broken his election pledges. On every economic and political issue the Wilson government has carried out the policies of big business and the banks.

The workers were the hardest hit by the inflation of the last few years, always fighting to try to make wages keep up with rising prices. Pensioners and those with fixed incomes fell behind, into poverty.

Now the workers and the pensioners are being made to pay again, through 'deflation' — cutting down on public expenditure and on industrial expansion. Everybody knows that the 'sacrifices' resulting from hire purchase and mortgage restrictions, wage restraint, rent increases, fare rises, cost of living increases, cuts in social services, and so on, are not national sacrifices but working-class sacrifices. In the name of 'saving the pound', insecurity, unemployment and poverty are encouraged. The promise to 'get Britain moving again', has borne fruit in a policy which threatens a return to the 'hungry thirties'.

**The labour movement must say NEVER AGAIN to such a prospect. There is a policy to end the crisis . . . a socialist policy. The only way out of the inflation-recession cycle, the so-called 'stop-go' Tory policy taken over by Wilson, is to break the grip of big business, whose interests decide this policy.**

The working class and the trade unions are under increasingly heavy attack, not only from the employers and their Tory Party, but also from the right-wing within Labour's ranks (e.g. Desmond Donnelly's call to outlaw unofficial strikes). The workers are told to cease resisting, accept unemployment, and give up their rights to hit back. New laws are to be passed instituting legal penalties for opposition to the 'wages and prices policy'. The labour movement must reject these plans.

The employing class, bankers, monopolists and financial speculators are responsible for the crisis of Britain's economy. The political leaders of both parties, who have carried out their

**HOW TO DEFEAT THE TORIES FOR GOOD  
SOCIALIST POLICY**



On March 26, 1963 Young Socialists and trade unionists marched in their thousands to the House of Commons to demonstrate against unemployment. This was only the beginning of the British working class showing its strength.

**Independence from the state**

**1** The workers and their trade union organisations must retain complete independence from the state. There must be absolute rejection of all attempts to place legal restrictions on the freedom of action of trade unions. Within the unions, there must be a fight for the maximum workers' democracy. No outside interference in the trade unions from the government, from the employers, or from the press.

The organised workers are not responsible for the crisis. On the contrary, they are its victims, and they will fight to resolve it, by an attack on those who are really responsible, the employing class.

**Sliding scale of wages**

**2** Sliding scale of wages: Over and above all wage settlements, all employers must be compelled to pay cost-of-living bonuses to ensure that wages are not left behind by prices. This policy, backed up by the strength of the organised workers in the trade unions themselves, is the only way to solve the 'prices' question in the interests of the working class. Committees of consumers, along with the trade unions, must be responsible for deciding a realistic cost-of-living index.

Pensioners and those living on unemployment benefit and National Assistance must be granted the same rights, over and above increases which are won by working-class action.

**Can the money be found?**

**3** Can the money be found? How can full employment and a rising standard of living be ensured if the economy is in crisis? The fact is that fabulous profits are being made by a handful of banks and large business companies. They must pay, and if their system cannot find all that is required, then we must make changes in the system itself. It is necessary to abolish business secrets.

At the moment, the actual wealth of industry and finance is a secret kept from the workers who actually produce it. Now these workers are asked to accept unemployment to save the wealth.

**Workers' supervision and control**

**4** The first demand is therefore workers' supervision and control of business. 'Modernisation' and automation, and the transfer of labour, as in the mines, railways, other public services and manufacturing industry, must be taken out of the hands of the big banks and monopolies.

In the nationalised industries, a start can be made immediately. In coalmining, productivity has increased at a far faster rate than wages, and thousands of men have left the industry. Not only do wages lag behind but prices to the consumer are often twice the pithead price or the price to the owners of private industries. Distribution and sale of coal are still in private hands and enormous profits are being made.

All this, together with the manufacture of mining machinery and all profitable contracting in the industry in the control of private merchants, must be nationalized, and an immediate enquiry made into the relations between the mines, private industry and the banks. All interest payments to ex-owners must be suspended.

Similarly, on the railways, the liner trains and other modernisation schemes must be introduced under the control of workers'

committees, which ensure the sharing of all work, no unemployment, re-training at full pay.

These committees will represent all grades of railway workers and employees who, in fact, understand and run the industry every day, but are stifled and exploited by the top administrators, linked with private industry and government. They will immediately enquire into all relations between private industry, the banks and the nationalised industry.

The boards of these industries, national and local, must be purged of all enemies of labour and friends of the employing class. No more milking of the nationalised industries by private enterprise. The interests of the workers come first.

Similar measures are necessary in the aircraft industry, where nationalisation must be applied to all the giant companies.

The Devlin report has declared war on the dockers. It is the responsibility of the whole labour movement to defend the dockers from this first serious attempt at control of the workers by the capitalist state on behalf of the employers.

The dockers' own demands, trade union democracy and the right to join the union of their choice, security under nationalisation with workers' control, a guaranteed wage of £18 18s. weekly, are the answer to the chaos of a docks industry owned by hundreds of separate employers. Here, as everywhere, 'modernisation', and 'mobility of labour' must be under the control of workers themselves, operated in their interests, not those of the employers.



Liner trains, shown here, can only be introduced to benefit the working class under control of workers' committees.

**Nationalized industries**

**5** These measures in the nationalised industries can begin a real assault on the rising cost of living, which will be temporarily stabilised by the sliding scale of wages.

In private industry, as a first step to nationalisation, the workers' representatives, assisted by sympathetic accountants and technicians from the growing white-collar unions, must demand access to all accounts, order books and plans of the big monopolies such as in motor-cars, chemicals and building contracting.

Wages being assured, and full employment preserved, all the restrictions on consumption passed by the Wilson government must be revoked immediately. Hire purchase and mortgage facilities must be restored to the November 1964 position. No more increased taxes, except on luxury articles bought by the rich.

All business expense accounts to come under the supervision of workers' committees. The savings made to be diverted to funds covering work-sharing and social services.

These companies will complain that their plans for expansion have been restricted by the government's measures to stop credit. These restrictions must be removed.

**Nationalize the banks**

**6** But everybody knows that the purse-strings are really in the hands of the banks, finance companies, insurance companies and building societies. Pensions, housing, education, industrial expansion, all depend finally on the banks and the supply of credit. Nationalisation of the banks is an absolute necessity for any serious tackling of the economic crisis in Britain. The employees of these banks are perfectly capable of running the banks and revealing the exact position to the working class. Once the existing banks are centralised and amalgamated, the finance companies, insurance giants and building societies must compulsorily declare and amalgamate their assets. These must then be put to use in a planned expansion of all nationalised industries and public works, under workers' control.



Workers sign on at the dole during the 1962-63 period of unemployment.

**CND  
diversion  
at  
Blackpool**

Newsletter Correspondent

**O**n Sunday morning, September 26, the Young Socialists have called for a demonstration in Blackpool. On the afternoon of the same day, another march has been organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

But what a gulf lies between these events. The Young Socialists denounce the Tory line followed by Wilson as a betrayal of 12,000,000 Labour voters. They demand the removal of the leaders of the Labour Party, who are preparing the way for a return of the Tories.

CND, however, is asking for amendments to be made to Wilson's foreign policy, and in fact welcomes some aspects of it.

Writing in 'Tribune' of September 3, Peggy Duff, CND secretary, says: 'We shall be marching in favour of a non-proliferation treaty and to welcome the first signs of British independence of America in Geneva'.

**Obscure**

She is referring to a front-page article in the previous issue of 'Tribune', which supported an obscure British manoeuvre in the age-old nuclear disarmament talks between the big powers.

This reported a Russian proposal that the British and American governments agree to drop the idea of the so-called 'Multilateral Force', as part of a treaty preventing other powers from getting nuclear weapons.

Duff goes on: 'But we shall be marching for other things as well: For a dissociation from American action in Vietnam . . . really drastic cuts in defence costs . . . We want to see Mr. Wilson going to the UN and offering to hand our bases over to them'.

What is left of the anti-H-bomb movement which attracted thousands of young people on huge demonstrations?

**Giving advice**

Then, the march was aimed at stopping the British government from preparing for nuclear war on the Soviet Union and China.

Now, when new war dangers arise, CND confines itself to mildly giving advice to the ruling class and its servant Wilson about how a nuclear strategy should be operated.

Pacifism disarms, not those who prepare for war, but the working-class movement which alone can stop capitalism.

The CND leaders entangled the campaign in the careers of 'left' parliamentarians like Greenwood and Silverman. With the advent of the Wilson government the movement was paralysed.

**Coasted along**

Foot, Mikardo and their like, having coasted along on the CND bandwagon, steered it away from class action, which would have clashed with Wilson's desire to serve imperialism.

Wilson works for the same objects as the Tories — and the Attlee government before them.

Committed to run capitalism at home, he organises the defence of its interests abroad.

All those who want to fight the danger of nuclear war must join the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League in mobilising the whole labour movement to throw out Wilson and his kind.

**READ**  
**'The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International'**  
(The Transitional Programme of the Fourth International)

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Wilson: friendly to big business



MacDonald: betrayal in 1931

will, cannot resolve the crisis because they have carried out the employers' policies which have produced it.

The working class itself must act to solve the crisis. Since capitalism began, the unbridled pursuit of profit and accumulation of capital has come first; it has continued without check through every Labour government, and especially through the last year.

Wilson, Brown and the Labour Cabinet have gone out of their way to be friendly to big business since last October, whilst the workers have been attacked on every front. The workers must now call to account those who claim to be their political leaders in the Labour Cabinet.

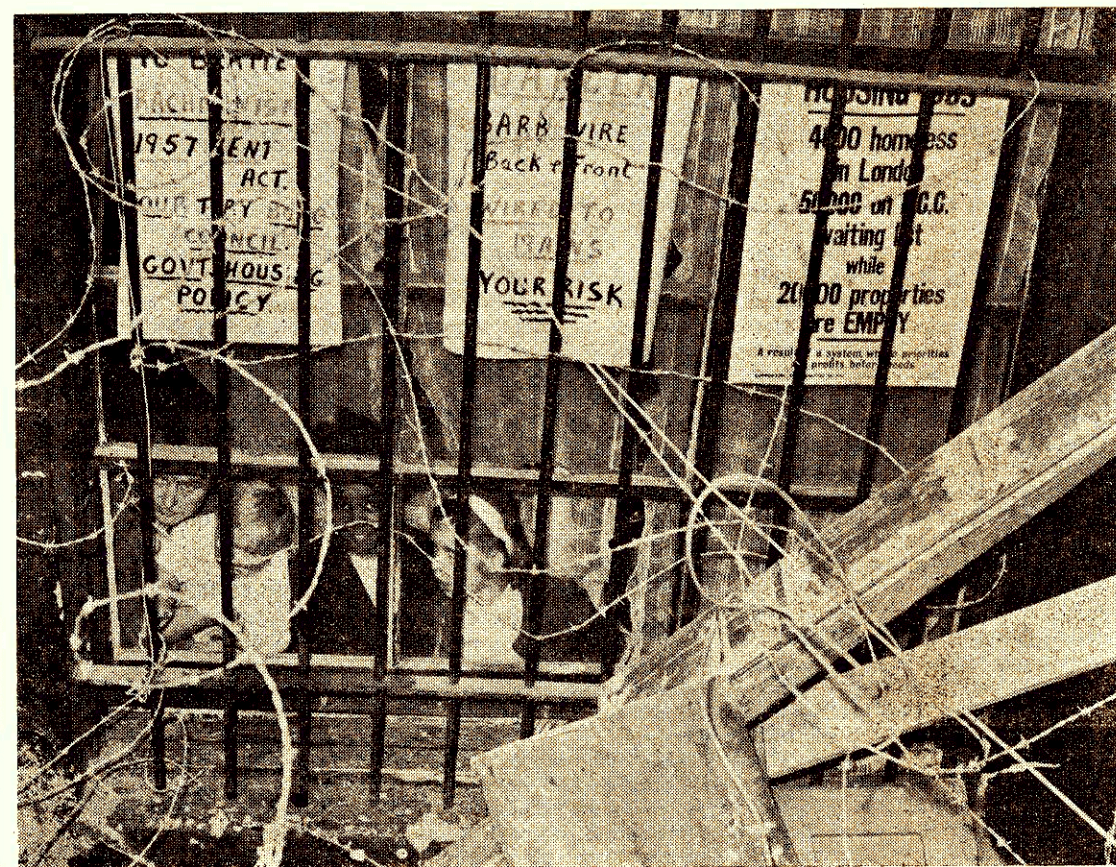
When the payment of increased old age pensions was deferred five months on the instructions of the banks, Wilson showed exactly how things stood. He respected the power of the banks more than he valued the working class who put him in power at the election.

All the talk of 'modernising' Britain, 'mobility of labour', 'the launching-pad to prosperity', etc. was cynical deception. The real policy of the employers is to discipline the working class while they accumulate enough profit to re-equip industry and reduce the labour force.

This British industry was allowed to decline because the employers have always concentrated on quick and easy profits. Unemployment on the one hand, legislation against trade unions on the other, are the instruments of discipline.

The tables can be turned. The capitalist class is responsible for the crisis. They must be made to pay for it. Their continued rule is too expensive, and can only lead to vicious attacks on the workers. The working class does not face 1965 as it faced 1931; it is strong and well organised.

Wilson and the betrayers must be removed and a socialist policy implemented. That policy must be bold and direct, and there must be no hesitation in relying on the workers themselves to enforce it along the following lines.



Many working-class families like this one are condemned to live in one or two rooms with ceilings that leak. They are forced to pay extortionate rents to landlords who make millions of pounds profit out of such dwellings.

# HOW TO DEFEAT THE TORIES FOR GOOD

# Manifesto of the Socialist Labour League

# SOCIALIST POLICY FOR THE CRISIS



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**6** But everybody knows that the purse-strings are really in the hands of the banks, finance companies, insurance companies and building societies. Pensions, housing, education, industrial expansion, all depend finally on the banks and the supply of credit. Nationalisation of the banks is an absolute necessity for any serious tackling of the economic crisis in Britain. The employees of these banks are perfectly capable of running the banks and revealing the exact position to the working class. Once the existing banks are centralised and amalgamated, the finance companies, insurance giants and building societies must compulsorily declare and amalgamate their assets. These must then be put to use in a planned expansion of all nationalised industries and public works, under workers' control.



Workers sign on at the dole during the 1962-63 period of unemployment—a result of the Tory government's policy of 'stop-go'.

## Housing and rents

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The housing of the people comes before the preservation of interest rates for a minority of parasites.

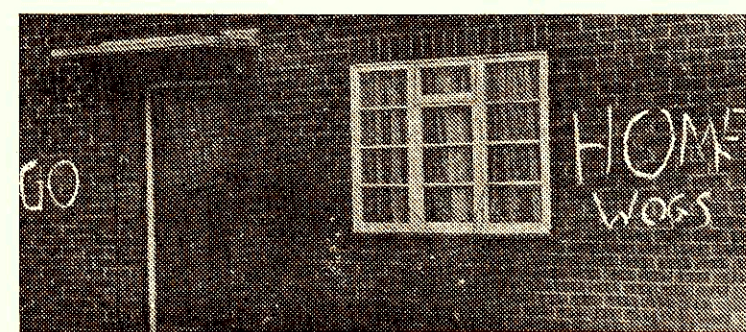
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Racist slogans on the wall of an immigrant worker's home. Labour's support of the Immigration Act opens the door to the racists.

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**10** Finally, the foreign and 'defence' policy of the Labour government must be completely scrapped. Troops and arms in South East Asia and other parts of the ex-British Empire as well as in Germany, cost some £500 million every year. Not a penny of this is in the interests of workers and it is a crippling burden on any planned expansion of industry in Britain. The peoples of these colonial countries have the right to decide their own destinies. The armaments industry must be taken out of private hands, and the military budget immediately scrapped.

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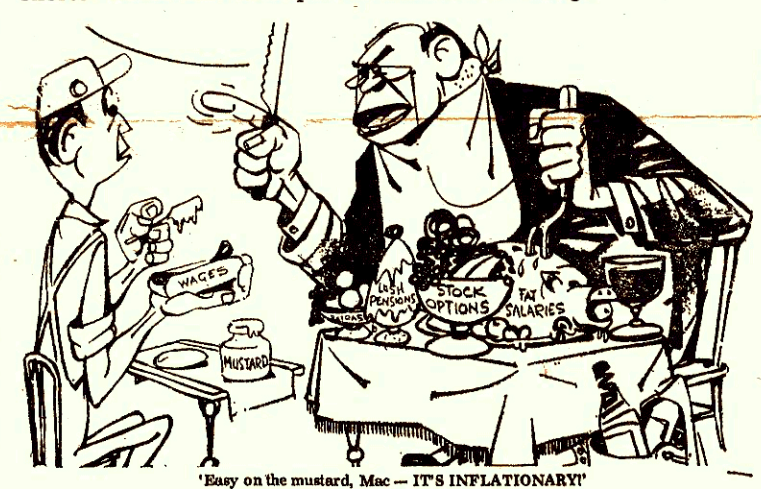
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Above all, the United States war in Vietnam must have not an ounce of support. Britain must withdraw from the South East Asia Treaty Organisation and from NATO. U.S. bases in Britain must be closed down.

This withdrawal of support will strengthen the anti-war movement in the USA and help force Johnson to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam. At the same time, the labour movement here should immediately begin negotiating terms of material assistance to the national liberation army in Vietnam. A workers' government in Britain will place proposals before the government of North Vietnam and China for strengthening the liberation armies and bringing a quick victory. With such a policy the war will be ended very quickly. Support should also be given to the demand of Latin American peoples for the withdrawal of U.S. bases and the activities of U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in these countries.

A change to a socialist foreign policy would free large resources for the planning of the British economy, and would enable expansion to take place along with full employment, shorter hours and an improved standard of living.



As the crisis gets worse imperialism increases the exploitation of the colonial peoples. The systematic robbery of the wealth and natural resources and the brutal suppression of the national liberation movements in such countries as South Arabia, Malaysia and the British Protectorates in South Africa show clearly that without its Empire the British ruling class and its Labourite lackeys could not exist. It is no accident that eleven out of the 21 largest monopolies in Britain operate almost exclusively in the Commonwealth. Without the cheap labour and the abundant raw materials of these countries the British ruling class could not have endured two world wars and a major economic crisis.

The millions of colonial slaves living at various levels of legal and cultural deprivation are today in revolt against this barbaric system. Their struggle is doubly progressive. They are striking powerful blows against imperialism—but without support and leadership from the European working class they will either be defeated or diverted from their historic goals.

The Labour leaders have betrayed these struggles. The Socialist Labour League fights against these betrayals and demands the immediate and unconditional independence for all colonial territories and the withdrawal of all British armed forces from abroad. Not a man, not a penny, not a gun for the imperialist wars of repression in Malaysia and South Arabia.

## Remove enemies of working class

**11** None of these necessary measures can be carried out so long as the machinery of business, government and the state remains in the hands of tried and trusted servants of the ruling class. The Labour government has not removed any of the permanent Civil Service, Diplomatic Service, and military chiefs who served the Tories. The boards of nationalised industries, national and local, are infested with the friends of big business and the establishment.

The measures of workers' control, which we have put forward, mean a purge of all these officials. Open enemies of the working class must be removed. Those who remain in technical and administrative posts to sabotage the priorities of housing and living standards, must be removed and punished.

All the vested interests of capital and the banks are entrenched in the machinery of government. Their attempts to place obstacles in the way of the solution of the crisis, by defending the profit system, must be answered forthrightly by the vigilance and strength of the workers' own organisations.

## Sack the Wilson leadership

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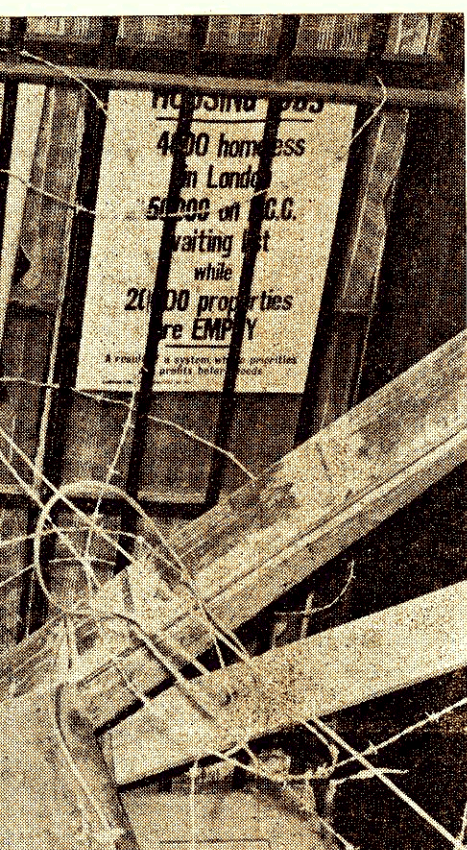
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# Manifesto of the Socialist Labour League

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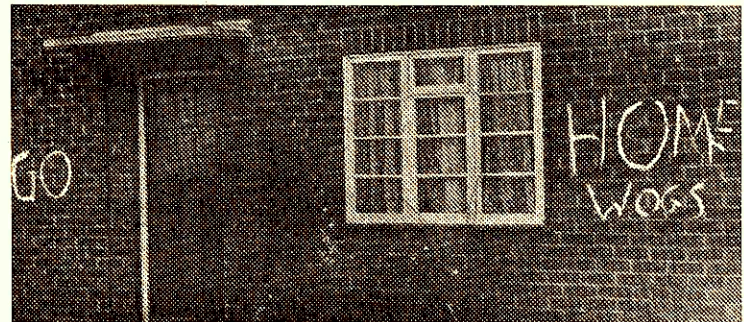
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ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE Sunday, September 5, 1965

# Trotsky, 'Tribune' and the 'Socialist Leader'

By Cliff Slaughter

**J**UST as Karl Marx was praised for his 'brilliance' by all manner of anti-revolutionaries, once he was long dead, with the intention, Lenin said, of turning him into a 'harmless ikon', so today 25 years after his assassination by a Stalinist agent, Leon Trotsky is 'adopted' by people whose politics are a denial of everything Trotsky fought for.

Trotsky was a Marxist from his early youth. He fought all his political life for a revolution of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the defeat of all reformism and class collaboration.

He learned from Lenin that firmness in dealing politically with revisionists in the socialist movement was not a sign of rigidity and dogmatism, but of revolutionary transcendence and the defence of principles as the very basis of the Marxist movement.

### LACK OF THEORY

In Britain, it is precisely the lack of Marxist theory, indeed a hostility to theory, which has always characterised the socialist movement. As a result the British movement has always been characterised by a vague division between 'left' and 'right', based upon different versions of reformist adaptation to bourgeois society rather than on any theory or principle. Marxism has not been the basis of either 'right' or 'left'.

Today the Trotskyist movement, founded on the struggles of the international Marxist movement, is making big gains as the crisis of the British capitalist system deepens, and the traditional 'left' groupings disintegrate along with the system of rule to which they are adapted.

Twenty-five years after Trotsky's death, as the highly successful Trotsky Memorial Meeting showed, his internationalist and revolutionary programme is vindicated more than ever before.

### PROFOUND CONTEMPT

Trotsky wrote a great deal about Britain and other West European countries, for his great work was the building of the Fourth International, the world revolutionary movement.

In these writings he showed a profound contempt for the reformists of the British labour movement, not only those of the official 'Fabian' brand, but especially the 'centrists', those who could not make their minds up between reformist and revolutionary politics.

Amongst those political newspapers which provide space for the latter kind of politics today—though with all the effects of 30 years of sheer decay—are 'Tribune' (the product of a variegated group of Labour 'lefts') and the 'Socialist Leader' (organ of the Independent Labour Party).

Last week-end both of these papers belatedly commented on the 25th anniversary of Trotsky's assassination. Wisely they refrained completely from mentioning any of Trotsky's writings about their own political trends.

### SQUEEZED LEMONS

After all F. A. Ridley could hardly have ended his article as he did, with reference to 'Trotsky's own revolutionary activities and ours!' and at the same time quoted Trotsky's verdict on the Independent Labour Party's world associations as the 'international of squeezed lemons'.

Like Lenin, Trotsky always added to the title 'Independent Labour Party' the words 'independent of the working class'.

Fenner Brockway, once of the Independent Labour Party, but now Lord Brockway and 'a regular' in 'Tribune', surely remembers the kind of thing Trotsky wrote about him.

Ridley waxed enthusiastic about Trotsky as a modern 'Leonardo da Vinci', 'a genius of the universal type' and refers to his role in building the Red Army, leading the Russian Revolution and in writing history.

But Trotsky himself described his later years of struggle to build the Fourth International as his most important work. About this Ridley can only scathingly comment that the parties of the Fourth International today have not made any revolutions.

### 'INDEPENDENT'

And yet he deliberately refuses to see what is going on under his very nose. He says that Trotsky is 'less known to this generation than a third-rate film star or a pop singer consistently out of tune'.

Ridley's party is so 'independent' of the labour movement that he ignores the victorious struggle of the Trotskyists in the British Labour youth movement resulting in the most politically conscious and active youth organisation, the Young Socialists, ever known in Britain.

Trotsky's programme has been vindicated. From the workers of the advanced capitalist countries, real forces for the revolutionary party are now being produced and trained in the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky.

### SECTARIANS

Ridley and those like him, incurable sectarians with narrow propagandist methods, prefer Trotsky 'the genius' on their shelves to the political continuation of Trotsky's work. For this reason, Ridley feels obliged to echo Deutscher and other commentators in suggesting that Trotsky's 'personal weaknesses' contributed to the victory of Stalin.

Marx long ago, in his controversy with Proudhon, demolished this method of 'on the one hand . . . on the other hand', so typical of the vacillating middle class.

Personal characteristics inevitably affect the form of every political struggle. But it was Trotsky's 'personal' role to be able to unite and lead all the revolutionary elements against Stalinism and the betrayal of the revolution.

Trotsky had absorbed into his very life's blood the need for implacable struggle to develop Marxist theory and organisation on an international basis.

### ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL

Only from this point of view can his role as an individual be understood. Ridley, standing outside such a concept of the relation between the individual and history, falls back on bourgeois conceptions of 'personal weakness' or 'contributory factors in the political Machiavellian conflict with Stalin'.

He apparently thinks big political-historical questions of the class struggle are settled on the model of meetings of the editorial board of the 'Socialist Leader'.

'Tribune' can afford less space and makes the editorial comment that our Trotsky Memorial Meeting should not really have been our prerogative. That this was left to the Socialist Labour League was, they say, 'a reflection not only on so-called Trotskyism, but on the decay of the whole Labour movement'.

According to 'Tribune', 'such a man belongs to international socialism and not to one or other of the minority sects'. How strange that 'international

socialism' did not conduct any meetings! Or is it?

Does 'international socialism' mean the official movement of social-democracy and of Stalinism? If international socialism includes Russia, Eastern Europe and China, as well as the British Labour Party, then in what sense does Trotsky belong to it?

Surely, only in the sense that the movement consists of two opposites; its working-class followers on the one hand, and its leaders, agents of capitalism, on the other.

Trotsky's life work was to fight out this contradiction; to defeat the bureaucracy in the labour movement, to resolve what we call 'the crisis of the working-class leadership'.

We must explain this to 'Tribune' because it is the answer to their plaintive cry that only the Trotskyists commemorate Trotsky's death.

The fight remains the same; the class-collaborationist leaders, using the likes of 'Tribune' for cover, on one side, the workers and the Marxist revolutionaries on the other.

This is the key to the second part of 'Tribune's' attack. They say:

### MAJORITY

'Our quarrel with those who call themselves Trotskyists is that they have used this name to dignify a trivial faction fight within the Young Socialist movement.'

The position was that the Labour Party had a Young Socialists organisation. Socialist policies, under the leadership of supporters of Trotskyism, were victorious at three successive conferences of this organisation.

For two years, these Trotskyists were elected to majority leadership of the National Committee of the Young Socialists. Their purpose was—and who will now say they were misguided?—to defeat the traitors to the working class who led the Labour Party, and build an alternative leadership.

'Tribune' will have some difficulty in explaining how such an aim was incompatible with the teaching and practice of Trotsky! His whole purpose, as we have explained, was precisely to build an alternative leadership to the Harold Wilsons of this world.

### CHALLENGE

'Tribune' supporters and inspirers were presented with the challenge in 1960 when Gaitskell lost the Labour Party Conference battle on the H-bomb.

They retreated shamefully, and were routed. In 1964, Mr. Michael Foot—no sectarian our Michael!—wrote a very nice biography of Mr. Harold Wilson, to help that gentleman's election campaign.

Please, you pathetic lap-dogs in the 'Tribune' office, don't tell us we don't carry forward Trotsky's teachings. Your real complaint against us is our success at the Trotsky Memorial Meeting and in the Young Socialists.

Were we a tiny propaganda and publishing society you would have a few soft words for us as well as for the myth of Trotsky which you like to remember.

### REVOLUTIONARY

The real Trotsky, fighter against bureaucracy, merciless critic of centrism and opportunism, ruthless defender of the workers' dictatorship and above all defender and active revolutionary representative of Marxist theory, frightens you so much that you must pretend he never existed. But he did, and his work lives today in the Trotskyist movement.



of unemployment—a result of the Tory government's policy of 'stop-go'.

# A blow against London dockers

● TUC

From page one

a resolution 'reaffirming support for an economy planned in the public interest based upon the public ownership of the basic industries and the land' and stating that 'collective bargaining backed by trade union organisation is the most effective way to secure improvements, and therefore opposed any form of wage restraint', was lost by 3,919,000 votes.

As reported in last week's 'Newsletter', the idea of legislation against the unions was put forward in newspaper articles by Labour's Desmond Donnelly, and industrialist, Sir Miles Thomas.

### PRESS BUILD-UP

The idea has been given a strong press build-up and even on the first day of the Congress, when Gunter spoke, the 'Daily Mail' ran a front-page National Opinion Poll result on 'wild-cat' strikes, which claimed four out of five people thought that such strikes should be made illegal.

Such articles, and such Congresses of the TUC are now aiding the Labour government to dampen any spark of independence generated by the unions, which are permeated with the most servile bureaucratic leaderships.

They pave the way for tying the unions to the state machine—under a Labour government or a Tory government—and for all the repercussions on workers and their families.

State intervention on the question of wages could mean workers being jailed. Even George Woodcock was good enough to point out that the breaking of a law on wages—mainly through strikes—would mean being sent to prison. Like Bill Lindley and Harry Nicholas, he also saw the 'seriousness of unofficial elements'. But, presumably, he hopes they can be dealt with in jail.

### BUY EXTINGUISHERS

Parry, from the Fire Brigades Union, advised delegates to buy fire extinguishers for Christmas, for his union is holding a special conference on wages and hours next month and if legislation is introduced before then, all his members 'will be in the nick'.

Almost in desperation, Danny McGarvey, of the Boilermakers' Union, who moved the resolution opposing wage restraint, told delegates: 'Go back to your areas and report what you have done here'. He added, sarcastically, '... and the best of luck!'

He was referring to the tremendous rank-and-file opposition to wage restraint and legislation. This strong pressure resulted in the small majority of the vote for the General Council's proposal: For, 5,251,000; Against, 3,312,000.

As 'The Guardian' reported today:

'The opposition was nearly double the opposition to the original incomes policy at the conference of union executives last April.'

### ALTERNATIVE

George Woodcock, in presenting the report, said that General Council's 'vetting' scheme was an alternative to the government's proposed legislation, and must be fought for, before legislation is introduced, to defend the unions.

But how will the working class defend itself against capitalism, against ideas of legislation, and the tying of the unions to the state?

Desmond Donnelly, who put forward the idea of legislation two weeks ago in the 'Sunday Telegraph', also said that the Devlin Report on the docks was the beginning of what the government would have to do for other industries.

But it is precisely the dockers, the men bearing the brunt of this offensive by the capitalist class's Labour servants, who are making a start to the defence of their conditions, and the defence of the working class. Such a defence could never be mounted by the TUC.

### STAND

These dockers, as reported in this paper, took a stand in Liverpool last week-end against the plans of the Devlin Report and the Labour government.

They also agreed to join with the Young Socialists in their demonstration at the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool on September 26.

Trade unionists throughout the country should join in this demonstration against the betrayals of the Wilson government. This betrayal directly affects trade unionists and, in the new year, could mean jail for them when they strike.

The Young Socialists are fighting now for an alternative leadership to the right-wing Labourites. This is also a fight against those trade union leaders who join the Labour government to attack workers through legislation.

Join this fight now. Join the Young Socialists' demonstration in Blackpool on September 26.

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## Industrial Newsletter

### Leicester council may review rents

**THE fight against the threatened 30 per cent rent increases on Leicester council estates has very obviously shaken the Labour-controlled City Council.**

Well attended protest meetings, most of them organised by the Young Socialists, have been held on nine estates, and tenants' associations have been formed. At one of these meetings, the chairman of the housing committee was howled down by angry tenants. Since then Labour councillors have refused to show their faces in front of the tenants.

In a press statement on Tuesday, the leader of the Labour group, Alderman Sir Mark Henig, stated: 'The Labour group has come to the conclusion that the housing committee might be invited to review the whole question at their next meeting... in the hope that they might be able to effect a substantial reduction on the amount of the increase they have proposed'.

The campaign of the Young Socialists and the tenants against the threatened increases has provoked angry reaction from several quarters. The local press have not disguised their hostility to the Young Socialists and have constantly emphasised that the YS is 'disowned' by the Labour Party. But now that British investments in India and the stability of the pound are being threatened by the war, Mr. Wilson is outraged.

Once again, Mr. Wilson acts as the spokesman for the City of London. If the war has done nothing else, it has certainly exposed the charlatanism of British Fabianism! There is no doubt that this war could not take place without the tacit sanction of American imperialism, which controls the purse strings of both India and Pakistan. The strange silence of Johnson can be explained by America's desire to weaken Britain in Asia and strengthen her own position through the instrumentality of the United Nations.

The frenzied activities of U Thant, who is nothing more than a glorified valet for Johnson, will not bring peace or communal harmony to this benighted land. On the contrary, as in the Congo, such activity will lay the basis for an increased repression and exploitation of the multi-millioned toilers, Hindu and Moslem alike. The only real beneficiary of this war is U.S. imperialism, which to the extent it is pushed out of Vietnam, tries all the more desperately to increase its penetration into the rest of Asia.

In this sense, there is a direct connection between the bloody slaughter in Da Nang and the carnage in Sialkot. It is the death agony of imperialism. Even the holocaust of murder and arson which followed partition will pale into insignificance beside the destruction and desolation which the present war holds for the Indian peoples. There is only one way out. That is, the road of class struggle, of revolutionary opposition to the war plans and intrigues of the Hindu and Moslem capitalists and for the creation of a government of workers and peasants led by a revolutionary Marxist Party.

Down with Ayub Khan and Shastri! For an autonomous Kashmir within a unified socialist India! Down with the United Nations — tool of imperialism!

### Dash to join modernisation committee?

Newsletter Reporter

LAST Monday's 'Daily Worker' reported: 'A request to be represented on the national modernisation committee for the docks has been sent to its chairman, Lord Brown, by the London dockers' liaison committee...'

'The liaison committee's chairman, Jack Dash, said there was no question of campaigning against the unions, but his committee had decided that both the unions and the Brown commission would benefit equally from consultation with its members'. Although Jack Dash, the Communist Party and the 'Daily Worker' have not yet made a clear statement on the Devlin report, does this news item not show that they accept it? The statement is a betrayal of London dockers by the liaison committee.

capitalism and to assist in destroying the dockers hard-won rights? The London dockers should note that this decision was taken just when the northern dockers — Merseyside, Manchester and Hull — were moving militantly against the Devlin proposals and for strong trade union organisation based on freedom of choice to join 'Blue' or 'White'.

### Strengthen bosses

Taking note of that, London dockers can only conclude that a move to sit on the modernisation committee will strengthen right-wing trade union and labour leaders and the employers.

Does the Tilbury Liaison Committee support this? Only recently their press officer, Pat Hayes, told a meeting of Tilbury dockers: 'If the recommendations of the Devlin report are implemented in their entirety the employers and the Transport and General Workers' Union — which is an employers' mouthpiece anyway — will be able to wield the big stick'.

### Not bound

It came immediately after the first meeting of the modernisation committee made absolutely plain that its union representatives were not going to be bound by any control from dockers.

The 'Daily Worker' itself reported last Saturday that at the first meeting of the committee it was agreed 'that information about the modernisation committee's work should remain confidential until the committee agreed about its release...'

'Misinterpretation of informal communication could seriously damage negotiations said the committee', the 'Daily Worker' reported.

### No mandate

The committee has decided that negotiations will be secret until everything can be cut and dried. Then the results will be placed before the dockers.

In accordance with Devlin's recommendations the committee is laying it down that its members from the unions will not be put under mandate of their rank and file.

This is directed against the 'Blue Union' and its traditional democratic procedure. Surely Jack Dash knows the nature of this committee? After all, we assume he reads the 'Daily Worker'.

Is he prepared to participate in a committee to rationalise the docks in the interests of

**RENT RISE IN LEEDS**  
Yet another Labour-controlled council has raised the rents of its tenants. On Wednesday, Leeds City Council announced increases ranging from 4s. to 8s.

### Newsletter sellers stopped in Islington

Two 'Newsletter' sellers were stopped in Islington, London, last week by representatives of the local council who claimed they had instructions not to let sellers of the paper into the estate with literature relating to the dispute between the landlord and the tenants. Islington is one of the areas in London to be hit by the increase in rents recently, and 'The Newsletter' has carried reports of how the tenants challenged the councillors outside the last council meeting.

### Docks

From page one  
We want it to fight wage restraint. The T & G says it is against Brown's wage restraint. The rank and file should demand more than words'. There was a big round of applause as he continued: 'Pul Cousins off the government'. Peter Kerrigan called for support of the demonstration in Blackpool on September 26, organised by the Young Socialists, and for a big contingent of dockers to march with other workers and with the Young Socialists.

'No say'  
If there is going to be this type of modernisation then there'll be no room for you', he told his audience. 'It will be the blue eyes and the gaffers' sons who will get the jobs. You won't have a say, either, as to how many men will be in a gang. It will be the man with the stop watch who will have the say.'

'All go'  
'Devlin says that 120 employers should go. Of course, they'll be nicely compensated. But if 120 can be got rid of then we can get rid of the lot. How we fight now can really decide whether we realise the dreams of the dockers or whether we are tied up in an industrial Dartmoor with an alliance of employers, trade union leaders and the state sitting on top of us'.

Arthur Cope, representing the Hull Area Committee of the union, said: 'You can have decasualisation as the T & G want it, which means handing everything over to the gaffers, or you can have decasualisation under nationalisation'.

### LETTER

### Robens attacks the Miners

IN his article in the 'News of the World' last Sunday, on absenteeism in the mines, Alfred Robens tries to cover up the Coal Board's attempt (under pressure from the oil barons) to dictate when and where to close these (so-called) uneconomic pits.

In his article I didn't see one reference to the most uneconomic, corrupt practice in this crisis-ridden society, and that is the compensation payments to ex-coal-owners, who bled the coal industry white and the miners with it — and this is the biggest irony — continual payment for pits which have been closed since nationalisation — on uneconomic grounds.

Not one mention of the increase of productivity by miners who work at the direct point of production — the coal-face — an increase of 33 per cent between 1959 and 1964. No mention of the cost of living index up 15 per cent during the same period, or the 11 per cent increase in wages which tried to catch the cost of living but failed.

Nor was there any mention of the increase in the dreaded dust disease, pneumoconiosis. Nearly one in eight of all miners examined by X-ray had some degree of pneumoconiosis.

He points to accidents in the pits and attributes them to absenteeism — this really sets miners' blood boiling. If through absenteeism one miner has been killed through an accident down the pits, hun-



Robens' report will set the miners' blood boiling.

dreds have died through the lack of enforcing safety regulations by local Board officials in the drive for increased productivity.

His reference to strikes is pathetic. It goes as follows: 'Now I happen to have been a member of the Labour government that did so much after the war to improve the social services. And I, for one, never dreamt I would see the day when Britain's prosperity (who's prosperity?) would be threatened by the selfishness of a minority (which minority?) of her work-people who would exploit those services'.

If any remark by me is needed after that, it is this: If men don't resort to fighting back the employer, who is after the maximum profit from their labours — which means paying the least wages he can get away with — then the workers of this country, like other countries, will be beaten down to bare existence level.

I would like to ask Lord Robens this simple question: Would the workers of this country or any country have the standard of living they enjoy today if it were not for the unity of workers in struggle?

And we workers will still fight back with strike action against any threat to our standard of living today, even if your close associates in the Labour government pass laws to outlaw strikes. P.F.

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