

The Newsletter

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NOTICE

This week's issue of The Newsletter is the last before our annual holidays. There will be no paper for the weeks ending July 30 and August 6. The next issue will be published on August 13.

THIS WEEK

Page 2: WHITHER HANSEN?

Page 3: SPAIN 1936-1966

Page 4: ENV FACTORY STOPS WORK

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

NO RETURN TO 1931! Fight the Tories and Wilson

Socialist policy for the crisis

By Cliff Slaughter

WILSON, Brown, Callaghan and the Labour leaders have announced their real programme: the working class, which returned them to Westminster, must be made to pay for the economic crisis.

Unemployment and the means test will return, deliberately encouraged by the Labour government. In this way Wilson hopes to convince international big business that Britain can be kept safe for capitalism, the pound can remain as one of the supports of the rickety world financial system, and the British Empire will stay part of the military and political system of imperialism.

To Wilson and his collaborators in the Cabinet, every one of these things is sacred, and must be preserved at the expense of the working people. To 'save the pound' millions of people are to be condemned to poverty.

Gone is all the talk of a 'new plan', productivity and prosperity for all. This was the cover behind which Wilson and TUC general secretary George Woodcock set out to tie the trade unions to the state in the Prices and Incomes Bill. They knew their plans could not be realised unless they took steps to weaken the organised strength of the working class.

The capitalists and the right-wing Labour leaders knew that their main defence against the workers would be the bureaucracy of the trade unions, which could be relied upon to hold back, confuse and divide the working class.

Leadership built

But the employing class will not be able to impose these policies if a socialist policy and a socialist leadership are developed to give direction and unity to the struggles of the working class.

Everywhere, in wages fights, in rent struggles, in the battle of working-class youth in the Young Socialists for socialist policies, and in the campaign against the anti-trade union legislation, workers have fought and will fight against the reactionary policies of the government.

The bloody imperialist war in Vietnam is arousing more and more opposition. The slogans of the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists—'Victory to the National Liberation Front', 'Arm the National Liberation Front'—are becoming the dominant slogans in the fight.

Behind these slogans of international class solidarity, a new revolutionary fighting force is being built, a force which rejects the reformist and class-collaborationist calls for 'peace' and 'conferences' with the imperialists. Stalinists, pacifists and reformists will be defeated and left behind by this movement of the working class.

Lines laid down

Similarly on the domestic issues: here the seamen's strike laid down the lines for the struggles of today and tomorrow.

In the end the right-wing of the executive of the National Union of Seamen betrayed the strike and men returned without the 40-hour week, saddled with 'efficiency' agreements which worsened conditions.

But above all the seamen's will to fight, and their expressed determination to change the leadership in order to fight successfully next time, changed the relationship of forces in the labour movement.

Trade union leaders like Sir William Carron of the AEU and Leslie Cannon of the ETU tried to use the seamen's strike to combine with Wilson in a massive witch-hunt to clear out the militants from their unions.

Seamen fought it out not only with the shipowners but also with the Labour government. Only the right-wing leadership called off the fight.

Continued page 4, column 4

STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

THE Labour government of Harold Wilson has launched the most vicious attack against wages and working conditions. Nothing like it has taken place since 1931. They have taken over lock, stock and barrel, the method of Tory Selwyn Lloyd in 1961 and applied it with a vengeance.

In doing this, there is, in fact, no difference between the government of Harold Wilson and the Opposition of Mr. Edward Heath. If, in fact, they participated in a National government today, the situation could not be much worse.

This is not an economic crisis solely related to British capitalism. It is a world crisis of capitalism.

The dollar, today, is just as inflationary as the pound.

There is an international shortage of money and bank rates have risen in one capitalist country after another.

We are just on the verge of another 1931, but with a big difference.

We are on the threshold of a catastrophe far greater than anything which has yet been experienced in the history of capitalism.

The harsh measures introduced by Wilson on Wednesday, July 20, are mere chicken-feed so far as this desperate economic situation is concerned.

They cannot resolve any problem. All they will do is to create:

- At least three-quarters of a million unemployed by Christmas
- A high cost of living
- The bankruptcy of thousands of small business people, and
- A legal wage freeze backed up by the anti-trade union legislation of the Prices and Incomes Bill.

Continued page 4, column 6

Budget day lobby

Newsletter Reporter

LONDON and Midland Young Socialists lobbied MPs on Wednesday on the Prices and Incomes Bill and the budget measures announced by Wilson the same day.

Later a large and successful meeting was held in the Caxton Hall where over 400 heard Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, and Reg Perry, a Merseyside building worker, speak on the present crisis.

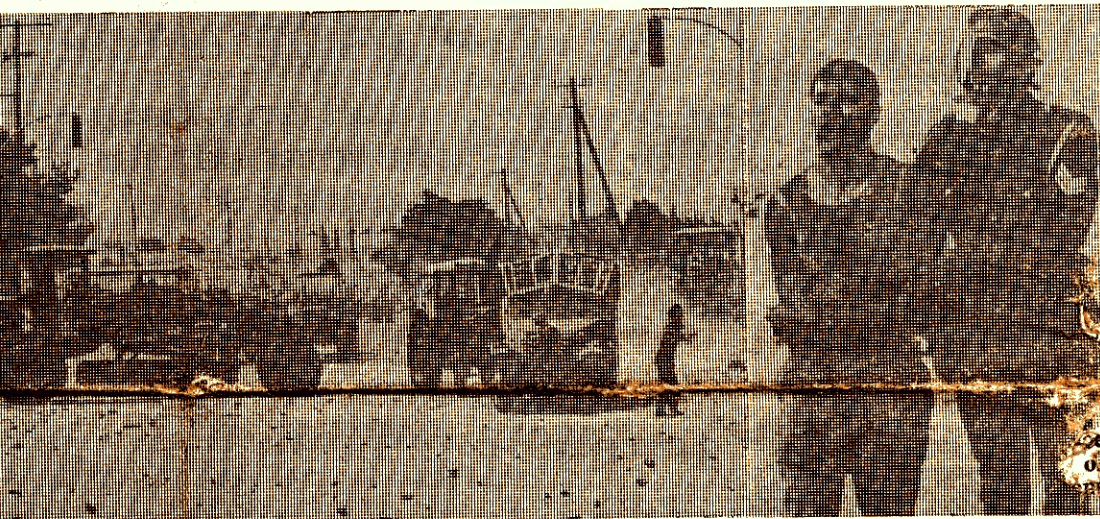
In the lobby, the youth, along with trade unionists and students met about five MPs. Many MPs, such as Hugh Jenkins of Putney, and other reputedly 'left' MPs, left other lobbyists standing for over an hour and a half, and then did not come out.

Marcus Lipton (Brixton) was the first MP to come out into the lobby. He said there was no need to worry about the Prices and Incomes Bill; the matter should be left to the 'left wing' in parliament.

As far as the budget was concerned he declared that it could not be helped. Britain was in a very serious situation financially, but the budget did propose to take money off the employers as well.

When asked if he thought it was true that the international

Greek army attacks peasants



Abandoned tractors, road-builders, stones, spent shell cases and bricks litter the streets of Salonika (left) following a final tear-gas bombardment of demonstrating peasants in the city. Many arrests were made (right).

Hundreds of peasants, who had been joined by workers and students from the city, were dispersed after a day of clashes with first the police and then the army—who were ordered 'Shoot to Kill'.

The peasants were protesting at the price of wheat.

- Full story page 3

Ho Chi Minh answers the pacifists

By JOHN CRAWFORD

'The war may last another five, 10, 20 or more years; Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities may be destroyed, but the Vietnamese people will not be intimidated.'

SO declared Ho Chi Minh, President of North Vietnam, last Sunday. On the 12th anniversary of his government in Hanoi, he was answering not only the American imperialists, now sending still bigger forces to batter Vietnam into submission, but all those in the labour movement who call for 'peace in Vietnam'.

'Let the US end its war of aggression in Vietnam, withdraw from this country all US and satellite troops, and peace will return here at once,' he said.

'The Vietnamese people cherish peace, genuine peace, peace in independence and freedom, not sham peace, an "American peace".'

'When victory comes, our people will rebuild our country, and endow it with bigger and more beautiful constructions.'

While US imperialism steps up its offensive against the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam and the bombing of targets in the North, the Wilson government continues to declare its solidarity with the imperialist murderers.

But merely to protest against Wilson's backing for US policy, and to issue calls for 'peace', is to evade the real questions. The present struggle in South Vietnam arose directly and inevitably from the 1954 Geneva 'peace' agreements.

These chopped the country in half just when the French forces were being thrown out after their defeat at Dien Bien Phu. The Americans then stepped in and took over the running of South Vietnam.

CP ARGUMENT

Do those for whom 'peace' is the only question think that the Vietnamese workers and peasants should have accepted this situation? Do they now advise them to allow imperialism to continue dominating South-East Asia?

The argument of the Communist Party and its 'left' Labour allies leads to this conclusion. In Trafalgar Square last Sunday, James Dickens, MP, said: 'If Britain dissociated itself from American policy it would strengthen the position of U Thant at UN and would assist Harold Wilson in Moscow to reach a detente with the Soviet Union.'

Wilson's 'instant diplomacy' trip to Moscow was, like his previous 'peace missions', part of imperialism's efforts to pressurise the Vietnamese workers to surrender.

He hopes to recruit the Russian leaders to help in this task.

While the Russians give only limited support to the Vietnamese liberation struggle at this stage, Wilson is in no position to bargain with them.

The Stalinists, proudly marching last Sunday with Liberals and pacifists, tell us that we must have a negotiated settlement in Vietnam, to avoid the complete obliteration of the country and the eruption of world war.

Behind such talk lies their completely anti-Marxist view of imperialism. They pretend that somehow the imperialists can be persuaded to change their minds.

Appeals from Liberals, parsons and professors are supposed to make them see reason and compromise with the workers.

But imperialism has, in two world wars—the second of which ended in atomic explosions—shown that it will destroy mankind rather than give up its hold on this planet.

Continued page 4, column 1

SEND SOVIET PLANES TO VIETNAM

Russell asks Kosygin

Newsletter Reporter

SEVERAL statements have been issued by Bertrand Russell from his Peace Foundation this week as the United States stepped up its aggression in Vietnam, including one calling on the Soviet Union to send aircraft to Vietnam.

Ho Chi Minh's statement about the determination of the North Vietnamese people to fight no matter how long the war lasts 'is an appeal to the conscience of mankind,' says Russell in a statement issued last Sunday.

He adds that Senator Richard Russell's threat 'to turn North Vietnam into a desert if the pilots captured after dropping napalm on cities and hospitals are tried 'is a brutal threat in the direct tradition of Hitler'.

Threat

'The threat of the U.S., which augurs the destruction of the Red River dykes, the invasion of the North and even the use of nuclear weapons, must be taken by every human being as a threat to his or her survival. Mass action opposing and obstructing the United States military and political apparatus is the duty of us all,' it concludes.

In a press statement issued on Wednesday, Russell reminds us that precisely 12 years ago the U.S. representatives to the Geneva Conference pledged that U.S. government would not use threats of force to disturb the agreements.

The statement says that even though the U.S. has not dared to declare war on the Vietnamese people, it is carrying out war crimes; its pilots and policymakers are criminals in the sense laid down at Nuremberg and set out in the Geneva convention.

'The Vietnamese,' it adds, 'are fully within their rights to try the pilots who torment them.'

A further statement issued on Wednesday announced that Russell had sent a telegram to Soviet Premier Kosygin asking him to use the Soviet air force to 'defend the Vietnamese over Vietnamese territory'.

The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign has called a meeting for August 6 at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, London, W.1. Speakers have yet to be arranged. A torchlight procession may be held later to the U.S. Embassy.

On the same day, the anniversary of the Geneva Agreements, President Nguyen Huu Tho of the National Liberation Front had appealed to Russell in a cable and offered the support of the Vietnamese people in the presentation of exhaustive evidence before the War Crimes Tribunal under urgent preparation.

The demand for such a tribunal has come from many personalities throughout the world. But, the statement adds, military defence cannot be forgotten.

Terrorise

The terrible reality is that Johnson's elections are a danger to mankind, the statement says. 'He will create a national emergency in order to terrorise Americans into supporting his policies of full-scale war by stages, while masking his plans with cynical talk of peace.'

In his appeal to Soviet Premier Kosygin, Russell says that 'world peace can be served not by allowing Johnson a free hand, but by unstinting help to the Vietnamese in their just case—a cause which is the same as that of all oppressed and exploited people, a cause which is inextricably linked to our hopes of a secure peace, for only the defeat of Johnson's policies will give the American people the means of replacing those who now rule them.'

THE attacks launched by Castro and Blas Roca against Trotskyism and, in particular, against The Newsletter, reveal the great uncertainty and fear of both world Stalinism and the colonial capitalists about the growth and influence of Trotskyism.

In previous articles we have pointed out the class basis of these attacks which are aimed against any extension of the socialist revolution into the semi-colonial world and against any independent bid for power by the working class.

That Stalinism—the counter-revolutionary agency of world imperialism—should place itself at the service of Castro is no surprise to us.

It is not an accident but flows from the capitalist-bureaucratic nature of the Cuban state and the bourgeois programme of its leadership.

If the Cuban state was a socialist one and its leadership was Marxist—as some people allege—it would have no need for the services of the jaded political pimps of Batista. On the contrary, it would have put them on trial for their treachery to the working class and let the workers deal with them.

However, the reality is that Roca and Castro have formed an unholy alliance to smash Marxism in Cuba.

To the editors of the 'Militant' and the 'International Socialist Review', and particularly Joseph Hansen, the leading spokesman for the revisionists in the United Secretariat, this new attack by Roca is a decidedly embarrassing business.

Apologist

The Socialist Workers' Party of America, and Joseph Hansen principally, has been until recently one of the most consistent and adulatory admirers and apologists for Castro's regime.

Cuba, to Hansen and company, was the pivotal-point and the central axis on which the final phase of degeneration of the Socialist Workers' Party and its break with Trotskyism proceeded.

By hiding behind the Cuban rebellion of 1959 and the nationalizations of 1960 and 1961, the SWP consummated an unprincipled unification with the Pablo-German revisionists in 1963.

This is how Dobbs and Hansen summarised this process:

"The Cuban revolution, coming at the close of a long process (and, we hope, the beginning of a new one), had the effect of precipitating many things.

In the Trotskyist movement, it increased the pressure for reunification and thereby also had the opposite effect of bringing out defects in theoretical understanding and political capacity.

The end result was a clarifying process that forced the movement as a whole to review all that it has accomplished, particularly on the theoretical level, since the end of the war." (Our emphasis.)

We have little to add to this statement, except to alter the word 'review' to read 'revise', because that was the whole purpose of the 'Cuban discussion'.

In his hasty retreat to new and unprepared positions, Hansen was forced to do battle with the majority of the International Committee led by the Socialist Labour League. Regrettably, for him, he was forced to commit himself to paper in the course of this struggle:

"These differences became sharpest over estimates and policies in relation to the colonial revolution, above all the Cuban revolution. (Our emphasis.)

The majority of the world Trotskyist movement (i.e., the Pabloite revisionists) long ago came to the conclusion that Cuba is a workers' state and that under Castro's leadership it has entered the road towards socialism; the Cuban revolution, in fact, being the opening of the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere." (Our emphasis.)

Dangerous

Carefully concealed behind this revisionist estimate of the Cuban rebellion were some very dangerous ideas whose real significance is being revealed today.

Foremost amongst them was the idea that a successful revolution can occur without the active intervention and leadership of a revolutionary party armed with Marxist theory.

The second plank of Hansen's platform was the notion that even if revolutionary parties are necessary, in some cases (as yet unspecified), they can always be organised 'in the process of the revolution'.

In other words, there is no necessity to 'organise the party and train a cadre before the revolution. This was what the Cuban events were supposed to prove.

To those who, like the Socialist Labour League, objected to Hansen's brazenly dishonest 'revelations' without revolutionary parties', he replied in the following manner:

"These weird conclusions are derived from a simple-minded sectarian pattern of thought."

When we pointed to the example of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party and stated that the October Revolution admitted no exceptions, Hansen replied loftily:

On Castro, Cuba, Roca and Stalinism

WHITHER HANSEN?

BY MICHAEL BANDA

'The revolutionary Marxist movement correctly (!) stresses the importance of building a revolutionary-socialist party. Healy converts the principle into an absolute, excluding any variation which reality may present us with.

Having made an exception of Cuba and having further made this exception into a general principle of social development, Hansen had only to sit back and wait for history's confirmation—and the extinction of the 'Healyite doctrinaires and sectarians'.

'Reward'

Alas for Hansen! Neither of these things happened. Instead, Hansen received his reward in the form of a slanderous and lying attack on Trotskyism by the 'ungrateful' Castro and Roca.

History, thanks to Castro and Roca, has given the lie to Hansen's 'theory' and the 'sectarianism' of the Socialist Labour League has received powerful support. This is indubitable.

If Hansen thought he was standing on a rock of theoretical firmness, he must now admit that in fact, it was nothing more than a dunghill of confusion.

An admission of fallibility from Hansen however would immediately pose a series of other questions, such as the Reunification Congress of 1963 the split with the International Committee, the expulsion of the Wohlforth group from the SWP and so on.

In fact, everything will be posed for discussion inside the United Secretariat and Hansen knows it.

So rather than acknowledge the correctness of the Socialist Labour League's attitude, Hansen in his reply to Roca is forced by the logic of his argument to concede positions to Roca by attacking the SLL. The retreat is developing into a rout.

Hansen, whether he likes it or not, must pay the full price of his uncritical acceptance of Castroism and rejection of Marxism.

In his reply 'Cuba: Which Road? Stalinism or Trotskyism?' (published in the 'International Socialist Review', Summer 1966), Hansen tries to pose as the spokesman of authentic Trotskyism and endeavours to dismiss the criticisms of The Newsletter as being non-Marxist and non-Trotskyist.

He does his best to assure Blas Roca that he stands closer to Castro (and Roca) than the dreadful Healyites and that Roca's attack is really the result of a misunderstanding.

If his reply is equivocal and undignified it is not because of any personal failing. No, it is the very logic of his political standpoint that makes Hansen do all this.

Hansen is more angered than even Roca is by the arguments of The Newsletter on Cuba. He calls them 'outrageous'. . . . The position of The Newsletter on the Cuban revolution is in such utter contradiction to the reality that the Healy group stands in absolute isolation. Its position on Cuba doesn't play the dirty game of imperialism as Blas Roca maintains, it only plays into the hands of Blas Roca.

We shall see about that. The Newsletter's attitude is as consistent as it is public. In short, we have always and everywhere refused to repose political confidence in either Castro or the Cuban Stalinists.

Defend rights

We fight under all conditions for the construction of a Trotskyist party in Cuba, and we defend the right of other left-wing groups such as the Posadas group to exist and function freely. Why and how does that play into the hands of Blas Roca, comrade Hansen?

Now let us see where Hansen really stands.

In 1963, Hansen had this to say about Cuba:

"The Cuban revolution was marked by the predominance of action over conscious revolutionary theory; but in its course, as was inevitable (sic), consciousness began asserting its rights and the Cubans themselves turned increasingly to the revolutionary classics in search of the meaning of what they had accomplished.

This road leads in the final analysis to Trotskyism, which contains the quintessence of revolutionary socialist theory. In moving in this direction, the Cubans have blazed a trail for millions of youth around the globe." (Our emphasis.)

Can Hansen now explain how his boss-eyed predictions of 1963 turned into the sombre reality of 1966? How does he square this prognosis with the disappearance of Guevara, the trial of Cabello, the persecution of the Posadas group and disarming of the militia, not to mention the slandering of Trotskyism? Did they perhaps read the wrong classics?

Of course not! In fact it is Hansen who has strengthened Roca and the Stalinists by his deliberate campaign of revisionist confusion. Once an apologist, always an apologist!

Let us remember, it was the same Hansen who tried, vainly, to cover up the shameful telegram of condolence from the SWP to Jacqueline Kennedy on the grounds that such actions would convince the American

'public' that Marxism and terrorism were separate and mutually exclusive things.

So now Hansen, after the nauseating Vyshinsky-style attack of Castro, thanks Castro for redeeming socialism:

"The rehabilitation of the word 'socialism' and the programme of socialism will likewise be listed in history to the credit of the Cuban Revolution. . . ."

Not only does Hansen still remain an uncritical admirer of Castro, he refuses to see any degeneration or deformation of the Cuban state and party.

Writing about the suppression of the Posadas group in Cuba (a fact he tried to ignore and belittle at the time) Hansen now remarks:

"The overhead cost of suppressing the group was rather high, for it gave substance to the false (our emphasis) charge that the Cuban revolution is going the way of the Russian Revolution, i.e., it is becoming Stalinised."

Committed

Readers of the 'International Socialist Review' must surely be excused if they wonder why, in the face of all this evidence, Hansen wants to protest at all!

As we showed earlier, Hansen has committed himself to a revisionist idea that Cuba is a 'workers' state' and a very good one too. Roca's attack raises a very legitimate doubt about the premises of that argument. So

once more Hansen attacks—not Roca—but The Newsletter.

The Newsletter, he alleges, is too pre-occupied with such formalities as soviets, workers' councils, etc.:

"This is quite a condemnation of their theoretical and political capacities and signifies their doom as a viable movement."

(The fact that Lenin took time out to write two major works on the question of soviets does not strike Hansen as being at all strange!)

Having pronounced judgement for the 25th time, he concludes grandiloquently:

Island Marxists

'Their (the SLL's) insistence on converting democratic norms into criteria marks them as sectarians. . . .'

That is not all, however: 'The entire colonial world remains largely a closed book to them. They are not really interested in it.'

You might ask why? Well, it seems, according to the great historical materialist, Hansen, that it all arises because 'they are quite content to vegetate in their placid little island where not even the cops carry guns.'

Presumably, if the British Marxists had lived in a different type of island, like Cuba, or in a whacking big continent like the USA, where cops tote guns, they would be less insular, less provincial and certainly more internationalist. Voila!

So now we know what's wrong with British socialism. Thank you Joseph Hansen! Thank you very much!

Being a bodyguard of Trotsky might not have made Hansen into a Marxist, but it certainly taught him to cover his retreat against back shooters.

"Cuba does not yet have a soviet form of government. And, this, too, is a grave weakness," he comments. We ask why are there no soviets? Hansen answers: 'The Blockade and armed aggression mounted by imperialism cut across this tendency. . . .'

A brilliant apology, very much in the tradition of Squaler in 'Animal Farm' explaining the degeneration of pig rule.

Whichever way we look at it, Hansen's supposition is thoroughly worthless, like so many of his arguments.

Highest form

Soviet rule in the USSR under Lenin reached its highest form precisely when the imperialist danger was gravest. Every socialist revolution becomes socialist precisely because it threatens the foundations of imperialism and thereby invites imperialist intervention.

As an example of the wilting democracy in Cuba, Hansen cites the new Communist Party. In forming this party, states Hansen, the Cuban leaders have 'registered real progress'. Some progress!

This august body has not held a single conference since it was formed. Its leadership was never elected, its programme was never voted upon, and its constitution is upheld by the secret police, and nobody else.

In fact it has all the vices of the old Communist Party, without any of its virtues. Hansen, in any case, has been around the Trotskyist movement long enough to know that one party does not constitute democracy no more than one swallow tokens Spring.

Defence

It is hardly strange then that Hansen in his extreme discomfort strikes out blindly at the Socialist Labour League. In fact he has to, because his article is not so much a reply to Roca as a cautious defence of Castro.

Hansen tries to convey the impression of Castro as a crazy mixed-up Marxist who is being hoodwinked by the crafty, scheming Roca, the grey eminence of Cuba.

In a revealing passage, Hansen comments:

"But Blas Roca's reference to Posadas here is only part of the smokescreen under which he advances a line in opposition to the line followed by Fidel Castro up to now of revolutionary struggle. . . . and again: 'Never has the Trotskyist programme had such reality as today. This is precisely what the Blas Roca's . . . fear and are seeking to block.'

Hansen knows that the despicable pogrom-like attack against the Guatemalan revolutionaries was begun, not by Roca, but by Castro. Hansen also knows that it was Guevara and not Roca, who purged Castro and interfered in the trial of Cabello.

Yet that main burden of his criticism is not against Castro, but Roca.

The implicit defence of Castro is made very explicit when Hansen comes to the burning question of socialist demands in the revolution. While criticising Roca's two-stage conception of the revolution in the backward countries, Hansen explicitly defends Castro's refusal to raise socialist demands in the early period of the Cuban rebellion.

"I do not deny that in 1959 a 'proclamation of socialism' in Cuba would have been widely misunderstood. . . . a 'proclamation of socialism' would have been misunderstood as a proclamation of Stalinism."

'It was correct of Castro to avoid that misunderstanding.' (Our emphasis.)

Conceal aims

Has Hansen considered the implications of this statement? If this is true in relation to Cuba it must be true in relation to all underdeveloped countries.

What then were the Trotskyists in these countries to do? According to Hansen, they should have concealed their socialist aims until after the conquest of power.

This is a thoroughly opportunist argument which will fool nobody, least of all the peasantry. Moreover, it contains two fallacies, both of which are equally pernicious.

Castro did not advance 'socialist' demands in 1959 because he had the tacit support of US imperialism. In fact, he was received in New York by the State Department. It was only when he antagonised US imperialism that he was forced to rely on the masses by indulging in socialist demagoguery.

When it suits his purpose, he will drop the socialist mask and adopt another one like Nehru did, or like Nasser.

Secondly, it is nonsense to suggest, as Hansen does that people in colonial countries are intrinsically hostile to Stalinism and are opposed to socialism. The fact is that millions of people are still attracted to Stalinist parties because they identify, mistakenly, Stalinism with the October Revolution.

Therefore, a declaration of socialist aims and programme, far from alienating the working class and peasantry, would, in fact, help to expose Stalinism and prepare the way for the conquest of power.

This does not mean that the party ignores democratic demands, but only that it combines these demands in the programme of the socialist revolution.

Hansen, as usual, tries to wriggle out from beneath all this with the reservation that since the Cuban rebellion there is no need for anybody to conceal his socialist aims.

"Socialism" Cuban style is bound to appear more and more attractive,' declares Hansen.

In response we ask 'Why should it? Who wants to emulate Cuba after the Tri-Continental Conference? Does any Trotskyist in Latin America desire a state system which enables the Stalinists to repress the Trotskyists and slander other left-wing anti-Stalinists? Isn't this what happened in Spain in 1936 and 1937? Hansen makes great play on the fact that the position of the Socialist Labour League on Cuba was thoroughly debated and decisively rejected by the majority of the Trotskyist movement.

Critical

If this is so, how does Hansen explain that the majority of Latin American delegates at the Eighth Congress of the Pabloite movement in 1965 were bitterly critical of Castroism—a viewpoint that was not shared, apparently, by Hansen and Germain?

When Hansen talks of democratic centralism and debate in the Unified Secretariat, he lies, of course. The Eighth Congress of his movement is proof of this.

In the discussion on Ceylon at the Congress, it transpired that the United Secretariat had suppressed a vital document on the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), submitted by the Ceylon section for discussion by the delegates.

To add insult to injury, Hansen and Germain rigged the conference so effectively that only one and a half hours were available to discuss the entire experience of the LSSP split, the coalition and the perspectives of the LSSP (Revolutionary)! The protests of the Ceylon delegate who represents the largest section of the United Secretariat, of course were ignored.

Hansen cannot reply to any of this. His reply to Roca reveals him as a devout admirer and worshipper of the accomplished fact. His method of answering the criticisms of The Newsletter is not that of a Marxist, but of a sterile radical. It is a monument to the bankruptcy of revisionism.

'Shoot to kill'

Greek govt. orders during peasant demonstration

AN EYE-WITNESS REPORT

On July 10, the Greek peasantry wrote yet another page of bloody struggle against the oppression of the state and the Agrarian Bank of Greece, which is reducing the countryside to starvation. This bloody Sunday on the Macedonian plain proved once again that Greek capital and its government can no longer count on anything but the brute force of guns for its survival.

THE complete technological backwardness of agrarian production in Greece and the unbearable exploitation of the peasant masses have developed the peasant movement into a volcano ready to erupt at any moment; each dispute between the capitalist state and the farmers is bound to lead to violent clashes.

the police, and a fierce battle of fists, truncheons and stones broke out.

At that moment a truckload of police armed with automatic rifles arrived. They started firing on the unarmed crowd, forcing the peasants back.

The clashes at the Dendropotamus bridge went on all morning, the peasants finally surrounding the city and bringing all traffic to a standstill.

At 1.30 they stopped a Salonika-bound train and were attempting to overturn it when the police attacked again, this time with rifles and Bren-guns. They mowed peasant youths to the ground, but failed to disperse the demonstrators.

Around 2 p.m., peasants from Kilkis riding 60 tractors managed to break through the police lines and triumphantly entered the city, immediately heading for the east end.

POLICE SCATTERED

There, in the working-class district of Phoenix, a large force of peasants had been isolated by the police.

Attacked from the rear by 60 tractors, from the front by the rest, and from above by a shower of flower pots and bricks from workers' flats, the police scattered.

Moving scenes followed with peasants embracing each other. With triumphant shouts they moved towards the city centre, cheered by workers.

In the meantime another group had broken through from the west of the city and arrived at Phoenix, joining up with the rest to form a large convoy through the main streets of Salonika.

Workers and students lined the pavements chanting 'We stand by you'.

Unable to stem the mighty tide, the police withdrew and the army was called in.

Five heavy tanks (M47's) blocked the road and faced the tractor convoy menacingly. Their awe-inspiring sight held the crowd momentarily.

But history once more repeated itself and the instinct of the masses proved correct. Workers and peasants roared out the slogan of the moment: 'The soldiers with the people!'

A few peasants ran forward. The troops did not shoot. They hesitated, then smiled!

Workers and peasants rushed to embrace the soldiers, many with tears in their eyes, and the tanks moved aside to let the peasants' convoy through.

With the two captured road-



Police and troops were ordered by the government to shoot to kill. In some parts, peasants recruited into the forces refused to fire on their relations from the countryside.

building machines in the lead, the peasants moved on, perched on tractors and on foot, while workers cheered them from the pavements.

Suddenly, scores of police reappeared, showering tear-gas grenades on to the demonstration. One young peasant attempted to drive a road-builder into the police barricades. He was hit in the chest by a grenade, brutally dragged along the ground to a police van.

The merciless tear-gas bombardment forced the peasants to scatter, abandoning 150 tractors in the Vardari district. Many others were abandoned in other parts of Salonika.

Throughout Salonika, clashes continued till evening. Weary and exhausted peasants slowly drifted away and workers returned to their districts.

Altogether 150 arrests were made—40 working men, seven women, three students and one tourist. The rest were peasants.

'TYPHOON'

One hundred and twenty were wounded and in hospital—15 had bullet wounds and four were gravely injured by machine-gun fire. Many more stayed away from hospitals, fearing arrest.

The streets appeared as if they had been hit by a typhoon. Rocks, sticks, police hats, peasants' caps and spent shells littered them. Police roamed the streets in armoured cars while others guarded key points of the city with fixed bayonets.

City people stayed away from the streets and there was complete calm—'law and order' had been imposed.

Permission for the demonstration was given only after the firm pledge of the leaders that all adequate measures to preserve order and avoid obstruction of traffic would be taken. . . . Around noon the director of the Agricultural Co-operative, Afentakis, visited me and declared that the Association had lost control of the march to the

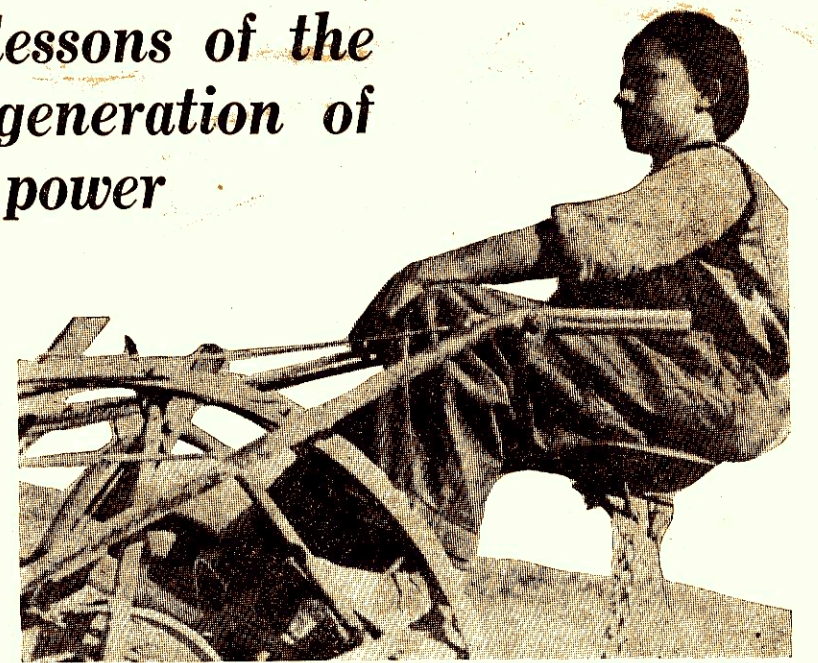
THREE decades have passed since, at dawn on July 17, 1936, General Franco issued his manifesto to the Spanish Army and Nation. These thirty years have seen world war, revolutionary upheavals and endless betrayals by the leaderships of the workers' movements.

But, as new crises rack international capitalism, the lessons of Spain are vital for a fresh generation of workers to learn. Only by grasping the real meaning of the defeat of the Spanish working class can victory over capitalism and its bureaucratic agencies be achieved.

Bureaucracy has tried its best to stop this historical experience being utilised, by means of wholesale distortion and suppression. For, what is usually referred to as the Spanish Civil War, between a fascist army and a democratic Republic, was in reality the process whereby a revolution was

In the present deep-going crisis of capitalism, the lessons of the Spanish Civil War must be learned by the new generation of revolutionary fighters in their struggle for power

SPAIN 1936-1966



Spanish peasants, like the workers in the towns, seized the means of production from the owners.

strangled. Even bourgeois writers today refer to the social revolution in 1936-37. But the Stalinists still maintain the myth about the 'defence of democracy'.

Workers act

The Republic, which elected a 'Popular Front' government in February 1936, would have been handed over to Franco without more than a protest by its liberal leaders, unless the workers had acted.

Franco had revolted to head off a wave of strikes in the towns and actions by the peasants. Hoping to be saved from the working class, the liberal politicians and their Stalinist and reformist allies called for calm; the workers ignored them.

Despite all the lies told since then by the Stalinists, a revolution broke out on July 19. Workers seized the guns which the government had refused to give them.

In Madrid, Barcelona, Malaga, Valencia and soon in Aragon, the fascists were defeated. Workers' militias took over the running of towns, controlled the factories,

patrolled the streets. They opened up the prisons, where militants had been held by the 'democratic' Republic. Peasants seized the land from the landlords, and set up agricultural collectives.

But the Republican government remained in the hands of the same or similar politicians. Without a revolutionary party, the workers could not smash the bourgeois state machine.

The analogy with Russia in 1917 is instructive. There too, the revolution in February left a situation of 'dual power': on the one hand the Provisional Government, on the other, the Soviets.

But where was Spanish bolshevism? Only a tiny group grasped the real nature of the problems for the working class.

The Communist Party of Spain was not a large organisation. But from the summer of 1936, it began to grow rapidly.

After an initial delay, the Soviet Union began to send limited quantities of arms to the Republic. The Communist Party gathered influence—on a programme of the maintenance of 'democracy'.

'Broad unity'

The argument, heard so often before and since, was that, by avoiding class issues and the question of socialism, broad unity could be achieved in the fight against reaction. In practice, this meant that the revolution had to be knifed. The victory of reaction was then inevitable, for the 'democratic' politicians were as terrified of the workers as they were of Franco.

This process could not develop immediately. It had to overcome the resistance of a class in action.

But with the aid of the slander and murder machinery of world Stalinism, the job was done.

The Spanish workers' movement had a history of militant struggle. But it was handicapped by the uneven development of Spanish industry, which left it with a deep influence of peasant and middle-class ideology.

This explains the importance of anarchism among the Spanish workers and peasants. The anarchist leaders, since they could not see the difference between a capitalist and a workers' state, became themselves the hostages of the former.

Not only did they give support to the Popular Front: they entered the central government in Madrid as well as the Catalonian administration. When in May 1937, the Stalinists sent troops to smash the workers' control of Barcelona, the anarchist chiefs held back any organised resistance. They went on the radio and broadcast appeals to the masses to surrender.

In Catalonia also was found the centre of the organisation called POUM. This was a middle-of-the-road grouping. While some of the leaders declared from time to time their admiration for Trotsky, they refused to carry out his policy and break decisively with the Popular Front. Thus the workers were left leaderless.

This was the time of the Moscow Trials and the great slander campaign that went with them. The Stalinists imported the GPU, Stalin's secret police, to murder anyone who attempted to develop revolutionary leadership. Both the POUM (denounced as a 'Trotskyite-fascist conspiracy') and the anarchists were destroyed in this way.

Members of the British ILP were among those who died in Stalin's Spanish torture chambers. And let us remember that members of the British Communist Party helped to organise these actions.

Alliances

In Spain, Stalinism became the vital agent of imperialism's action against revolution. Stalin was trying to achieve alliances with the 'democratic' imperialist powers, especially Britain, France and the USA.

For this he had to demonstrate his 'good faith', by holding back revolutionary actions. In theory, these policies were designed to aid the USSR; in reality, they strengthened reaction and prepared the way for the Second World War.

Perhaps the most important lesson of the Spanish revolution is the role of centrism. The POUM leaders, while they made propaganda for socialism and criticised the right-wing policies of the Communist Party, would not provide the leadership for a revolutionary struggle for state power.

If the workers' committees had been organised for such a struggle, a workers' Spain would have rallied the enormous sympathy which existed in the international working class into active that coming storm.

revolutionary support. A workers' government would, by liberating Spanish Morocco, have destroyed Franco's Moorish base, from which he drew 100,000 of his troops. By declaring that the peasants should have the land, it would have won over the peasantry, as Lenin and Trotsky did in 1917-21.

But by forming a halfway house between the workers and their Stalinist betrayers, the POUM leaders made it still more difficult for a new leadership to develop. 'Wait until Franco is beaten: then we shall fight for socialism,' they said. But without a workers' revolution, Franco could not be beaten. Well over 200,000 German and Italian troops fought with Franco. But, by destroying the workers' revolution, centrism and Stalinism between them enabled the imperialists to smash the workers.

Today, Spain is witnessing a new wave of workers' militancy. Once again, Stalinism emerges with its talk of 'broad alliances'. It even preaches to the Spanish

workers a 'peaceful road to socialism'.

The Fourth International, which alone continues the embodiment of the lessons of Spain in the working-class movement, must build on these lessons. It must construct a Marxist leadership on the basis of a resolute struggle against Stalinism and against centrism in all its forms.

Books to read on Spain include the following:

- Leon Trotsky: The Spanish Revolution (1931) Spain, the Last Warning (1939) Class, Party and Leadership (1939)
- Felix Morrow: Revolution and Counter-revolution in Spain
- George Orwell: Homage to Catalonia
- B. Bolleten: The Grand Camouflage



The wording painted on the side of the train taking workers to fight Franco reads: 'UHP United Proletarian Brothers Swear on these words brothers... rather to die than consent to tyranny.'

Chicago erupts again

Newsletter Correspondent

NEGRO workers in the black ghetto on Chicago's west side last week stormed on to the streets in another massive and violent protest against their oppression. For three days and nights they overturned the whole system of 'law and order' which protects capitalist property in this, one of the greatest industrial centres in the world.

The burning and shooting, the mass opposition to the police and the National Guard, was the answer of hundreds of thousands of these super-exploited workers against the system which enslaves them.

Accumulated anger

Policemen, parsons, social workers and leaders of the civil rights movement were all pushed aside by this elemental protest, symbol of the fighting capacity and historically accumulated anger of the Negro workers, which will assert itself over all these agents of a compromise with the oppressors.

Like the unprecedented riots in the Watts area of Los Angeles last year and the accompanying events in Chicago at that time, these renewed outbreaks of open working-class revolt produced utter bewilderment among spokesmen of the press and 'democratic' public opinion. The most common explanation seemed to be that last Thursday the temperature in Chicago went up to 100 degrees Fahrenheit! In the nine-

teenth century there were bourgeois economists who explained the recurrence of economic slumps by the appearance of spots on the sun!

The Negro worker, deprived of rights to jobs, to education and to decent housing, is rebelling against an international imperialist system which is threatening the whole future existence of humanity in order to preserve its vested interests.

In Britain, 'saving the pound (and the dollar)' requires a Labour government to create unemployment and poverty.

In Vietnam, preserving 'democracy' of the capitalist pattern requires the burning by napalm of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants, with support for the butcher Johnson by this same Labour government.

The west side ghetto was quiet again by the weekend for one reason only, because 4,000 National Guardsmen (territorialists) patrolled the streets in jeeps and armoured cars. This was the democracy being defended by 280,000 US troops at the same time in Vietnam.

The blood spilt in the streets of Chicago last week was spilt in the same cause, against the same enemy, as the blood spilt in the streets of Hanoi and Haiphong in the US bombing raids. On the same day the Chicago police ran out of ammunition, US commanders in Vietnam were calling for bigger supplies of bombs and munitions.

America contains the highest conquests of science and productive technique, able under common ownership and planning to secure the prosperity of the human race. But this wealth was accumulated on the backs of the

working class, and particularly of the oppressed Negroes.

These very developments in automation and modern physics make millions of workers all over the world 'surplus to requirements' as company statements put it. Every major capitalist country, far from tackling this question, is implementing new laws to prevent the organised working class from improving its share in the product of labour. There are no reform solutions to this problem, as British workers are having to learn under Wilson's government.

Road to freedom

The Negroes in the US are learning the same lesson. It is their position as the most underprivileged section of the working class which condemns them to the inhuman degradations imposed on them by 'official' American society. The road to freedom can only be through the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system, fighting alongside the organised workers everywhere, whatever their 'colour'.

Chicago last week was not a 'race riot'. It was the face of the coming American revolution. Those who turn away from it and concern themselves only with middle-class protest movements on this or that aspect of ruling class policy will be in danger of finding themselves on the wrong side of the barricades... literally!

One Jesuit priest who set out

to preach moderation to the Chicago Negroes came back hot-foot to his apartment under a ran of stones and bottles. The non-conformist Gregory did not do any better, and the press could only report that 'he was not actually assaulted'. As for Martin Luther King, while one or two British journalists interviewed him in his Chicago flat, there is little evidence that he actually ventured on to the streets. He no doubt remembers the reception he got in Los Angeles last year, after his pious endorsement of the need for the Federal authorities to re-establish 'law and order'.

The great wealth accumulated in the advanced centres of capitalist industry are no guarantee of peaceful paths to human progress. On the contrary, it is here that we find concentrated together all the elements of the future socialist society and the filth and oppression dredged up by capitalism from the past of class society.

With the preparation of a revolutionary leadership by the international working class, the undying fighting spirit of the Vietnamese and all other oppressed nationalities will be joined by the organised workers of the USA, Britain and the advanced countries and the workers struggling against the bureaucracy of the USSR and Eastern Europe, in the socialist revolution. The Chicago struggles are a lightning flash of that coming storm.

The position of the £ Wilson's dilemma

Newsletter Reporter

THIS week, the Labour government will announce in parliament a series of measures to tackle the present economic crisis which will undoubtedly constitute the most severe credit squeeze and deflation since 1945.

As a result, unemployment will rise sharply, even before measures such as the Selective Employment Tax (due to operate from September) begin to bite.

It is widely assumed that Wilson's measures will include a slashing of government expenditure on all fronts—roads, houses, hospitals, schools, expenditures in the nationalized industries; a sharp decrease in all credit facilities, including restrictions on bank loans, and investment plans by private industry; price increases on petrol, cigarettes and beer, import restrictions on a wide range of goods with the possibility of a complete wage freeze for the rest of the year.

PROBLEM WORSENER

The Labour government has done nothing to solve the fundamental crisis of British capitalism.

This is why these measures are now necessary.

Since October 1964 the balance of payments problem has worsened, especially during this year. There is no possibility of a balance being struck by the end of 1966, as Callaghan originally promised.

There has been a continual drain this year on the gold reserves (now standing at under £1,200 million).

Growth has been reduced almost to nil: the National Plan promised an increase in production of 25 per cent between 1964-1970; this is now likely (even before these measures were announced) to be under 15 per cent.

Labour did not inherit a British crisis. The economic crisis in Britain is inseparably linked to the deep crisis facing capitalism internationally.

At the centre of this crisis stands the USA, which as a result of massive military and 'aid' expenditures abroad, is itself faced with a worsening balance of payments position which has now required a cut-back in imports and a reduction of foreign lending.

LIQUIDITY CRISIS

This has produced a slowing down in the expansion of world trade and the emergence of an unavoidable 'liquidity' crisis.

British capitalism, dependent on the world market, now begins to feel the full blast of this policy, finding it more and more difficult to sell goods abroad to pay for a rising import bill.

The out-dated nature of much of British industry puts the ruling class in this country at an impossible disadvantage with

their better-organised competitors abroad.

The Labour leaders, trying to make adjustments within the confines of capitalism, face this international crisis. What alternatives lie before them?

Some 'experts' have suggested 'the devaluation of the pound. This would cheapen British exports, at the same time increase the price of imports, and thus bridge the balance of payments gap.

Such a policy would bring Wilson into immediate conflict with the capitalists abroad, especially President Johnson and the American capitalists.

Their goods would be placed at an immediate disadvantage and they would retaliate by devaluation of their own currencies, discrimination against British exports, or the suspension of any aid for the pound.

In fact the pound still remains an international currency of great importance, second only to the dollar, and such a policy would bring chaos into international economic relations.

Devaluation of the pound would also bring massive withdrawal of funds from London, with the loss of valuable income that this would involve.

So Labour will choose deflation as the necessary alternative. Wilson will try to solve the crisis by slashing imports, at the same time deflating all credit and capital expenditures at home, in the hope that this will direct goods to the export market and deter imports.

NOT SOLVED

Again such a policy, designed to appease the bankers, cannot solve the basis of the crisis.

Deflation on the now necessary scale will wipe out growth and make savage inroads into the investment plans of private industry.

Such a policy cuts out any chance of the modernisation and re-equipment of British industry.

It means the pound is 'saved' and the basic crisis intensifies. As important, deflation will bring the Labour government into sharper conflict with the working class and the trades unions which will be asked to carry the crisis on their backs.

Hence Labour is forced by the banks to press ahead with its anti-trade union legislation and plans for a wages freeze.

Wilson is in an inescapable dilemma because of the crisis of the system in this country and overseas.

It cannot be solved by 'plans' or 'remedies' which aim to preserve the basis of capitalist interests.

It can only be solved, from the point of view of the working class, by the expropriation of the capitalist class. In this task a new leadership in the working-class movement is the basic essential.

Tilbury dockers fight new scheme

Newsletter Reporter

OVER 1,300 Tilbury dockers struck this week in support of men who refuse to work a shed now operated by permanent Port of London Authority dockers. They walked out on Monday as the new scheme was implemented and returned on Thursday.

The decision to call off the strike was taken at a two-hour meeting on Wednesday when the men voted on a resolution of the local liaison committee.

Many were in favour of continuing the strike, others suggested a work to rule and some agreed on the return if the shed was blacked.

The scheme to which the dockers objected replaced 89 of them in No. 34 shed with 16 permanent PLA men.

It was claimed at the time that the opposition to the scheme first began in June, that an agreement had been signed behind the dockers' backs without any consultation or discussion at divisional committees.

Custom

Under this the 16 men would work with packaged cargoes and would receive £27 a week.

It has been custom and practice for casual dockers to handle cargoes on to the ships—the permanent men previously worked only on the quays.

Several dockers told our reporter that they saw this scheme as part of the wholesale attack planned by the government and employers on the casual dockers' job and conditions through the Devlin Commission Report.

Implications of the Carmarthen by-election

By Newsletter Reporter

OVER the past two years 'freak' election results have become almost a regular feature of British politics as the deepening economic crisis undermines the traditional, two-party equilibrium.

Latest in the list is last week's Welsh Nationalist by-election victory at Carmarthen.

Since 1925 Plaid Cymru, the Nationalist Party of Wales, has been a small group of intellectuals in the political wilderness. They could not make a break in the solid Labour-held constituencies of the industrial south, or in the Liberal-rural areas. Their recent success is a symptom of the explosive pressures at work in British society.

Firstly it indicates the bankruptcy of Liberalism. The recent Liberal revival was never more than an expression of lower middle-class protest.

But as the crisis of capitalism deepens it inevitably exhausts Liberalism. This middle-class ideology has no alternative to offer to the capitalist policies of Wilson. Thus the Liberals dropped from second to third place in Carmarthen, in a mere three and a half months.

Secondly it reflects the effects of the economic crisis of capitalism on south and west Wales. The coalfields are threatened with almost complete closure over the next few years, massive unemployment threatens the steel industry (especially the giant SCOW plant at Port Talbot) and the ports and shipping industry have declined drastically since the last war.

Ho Chi Minh

From page 1

Every struggle against imperialism, like that being waged in Vietnam, is a move towards the removal of this danger.

Only by the workers disarming the imperialists can world war be avoided.

If the Vietnamese workers were defeated, if imperialism succeeded in maintaining its hold in Asia, would the war danger vanish?

On the contrary, imperialism would then proceed to step up its preparations for war on China and the USSR.

Whatever our political disagreements with him, Ho's speech expresses the determination of the masses oppressed by imperialism to free themselves.

This must now find its echoes in the struggle in the Western countries.

The working class movement in imperialist countries like Britain must see its own fight against the ruling class as part of the same struggle for victory over imperialism.

That is the only road to peace.

ENV FACTORY STOPS WORK

Convenor's sacking sparks off strike

NEWSLETTER REPORTER

London, Wednesday

ENV ENGINEERING, the factory in Willesden, north-west London, erupted into strike on Wednesday morning. This was the culmination of a series of actions by the management, which is attempting to break down trade unionism in this highly-organised firm.

The strike followed a day of negotiations with the Engineering Employers' Federation. This meeting recommended that negotiations with the shop stewards, refused by the employers for some weeks, be resumed.

But on Wednesday, two shops involved in one of the many disputes in progress were locked out.

When a deputy convenor went out to discuss with the men concerned, it is claimed he was forcibly refused re-entry into the factory and was told he was dismissed for breaking a factory rule.

A complete stoppage began immediately, even though this was only a few days before the holidays.

'Abolish unions'

This firm has been proposing virtually to abolish trade unionism at ENV. This attack is bound up with the present actions by the Labour government.

It is possible that the measures taken by the management had been previously discussed by union leaders.

The attack at ENV is directed against the entire engineering industry. Conditions at this factory have made the pace for the entire industrial belt of north-west London.

A conscious political struggle is vital to rally workers to support of ENV, if trade unionism is to be defended.

Support for AEU brothers

The Tottenham AEU No. 7 branch passed the following resolution this week:

This branch notes the increase of redundancies in Britain, particularly in the engineering industry, and recognises the need for trade union organisation to fight against this.

We see this as the employers' attempt to pass the burden of the economic crisis onto the working class, and insist that the employers pay for their own crisis.

We therefore give our support to our brothers at ENV Willesden in their struggle against the management's proposals regarding redundancies, restriction of shop stewards activities, cutting down tea breaks and waiting time payments and other attacks.

We demand that the executive committee give official support to any action our brothers may take, if necessary calling on all engineering workers to support them.

We further demand that our union MPs immediately campaign for the nationalisation of the engineering industry as we feel that this is the only way in which our members can be safeguarded against these results of the employers' drive for profits.

Police called to council meeting

LOCAL councillors called on police to remove several tenants from a council meeting on Tuesday after a close questioning of the council's rent policy. Several tenants had been earlier allowed in, leaving 70 waiting outside.

Mr. Brown told the council they should freeze the rents and called on them not to carry forward the rent increases. Councillors said they could not do this.

At a meeting after the police action, tenants' leaders called on the tenants to pay the increase.

Important youth backing for tenants

Newsletter Reporter

AFTER a mass meeting attended by 1,000 Normanton (Yorks) tenants last Sunday (July 17), over 250 took part in a demonstration all round the town. Well to the fore throughout were the Normanton Young Socialists, many of them from council house homes.

Opening the meeting, held on a plot of land in the middle of a council estate, Mr. T. Brown of the newly-formed tenants' association, said that they were determined to carry the fight through and he thanked the YS for their efforts in the support of the campaign.

The support of the youth was of great importance and the Normanton tenants welcomed it. They had asked Dave Ashby, chairman of the YS National Committee, to speak from the

platform. Ashby said the meeting showed that intense feeling had been aroused by the means test plan and the tenants had rightly replied by organising.

He quoted many examples of bad conditions in council houses.

Was this the result of tenants and workers voting in a Labour government and a Labour council?

Must tenants pay?

Many houses had been paid for several times over. Why? If the council had run up bad debts, must the tenants pay for council wastage. His speech was loudly cheered.

Mr. Appleyard of the Tenants' Association attacked the so-called socialists who voted for the Prices and Incomes Bill and then put up the cost of living by rent increases.

The rebate scheme would assess people on wages before tax, National Insurance, etc. 'We will be taxed twice,' he said.

Local councillors had said tenants suspected this was a means test. They were right. Tenants knew it was.

Norman Harding of Cross Gates Tenants' Association (Leeds) said the main concerns of workers were houses, food and clothing. Any attack on these hit workers' living standards.

Big step

The foundation of Normanton Tenants' Association was a big step. What was needed now was a fight to change the rotten system.

'We need real socialists representing the workers. We have been told we were through with the means test and the bad old days of unemployment, etc. Now we must fight against a return to the bad old days,' he said.

A vote on a resolution of support for the campaign and the sending of a delegation to the council was carried.

Two letters were read to the meeting. One was from the Labour Party which disagreed with the tenants' views and was unable to be presented due to another meeting. The other was from the Young Socialists who came in support of the tenants.

Over 100 Newsletters and many 'Keep Lefts' were sold.

Fitters angry at union

MAINTENANCE fitters at Fenner's Transmission Engineering works in Hull are angry at the way their union, Amalgamated Engineering Union, has used an agreement, signed over 45 years ago, to get them to withdraw an overtime ban that had lasted three weeks.

The men had put in a claim for an extra shilling an hour after six out of 44 had left, making extra work for those remaining.

They say that before the six had left there was a minimum of overtime working, but afterwards it had become almost compulsory. They have also pointed out that what Fenner's save from the wages of the six who left would more than cover their claim.

The union says that the claim will have to go through 'normal procedure', but the men know how long normal procedure can take.

They know that they will have to win support from other sections in readiness for further struggles, which must include the revising of this 45-year-old agreement which, as one of the men explained, is an agreement for the bosses and not for the working class.

CP absent from Sheffield march

Newsletter Reporter

AS the Labour MPs filed in behind Wilson in the division lobby at the second reading of the Prices and Incomes Bill, Young Socialists and trade unionists from Yorkshire demonstrated their opposition to this Bill.

Shouting slogans against any such form of anti-union laws, a lively demonstration marched through Sheffield, which, in the past, has seen many rank-and-file demonstrations of workers.

'Leaders' absent

The fact is today, as Jack Gale, Socialist Labour League Central Committee member pointed out at the meeting held afterwards, that the leaders of these past movements—most notably the Communist Party—were absent from the demonstration.

In Sheffield and nationally, the only real campaign to oppose these laws and demand that they be withdrawn by the Labour

SOCIALIST POLICY

From page 1

This political strike was the mirror of the future struggles of the working class. The workers showed in this strike that they can and will fight in industrial action against the Labour government and its policies.

The question of political power, state power, is therefore posed. Will this power be used for or against the workers? If Wilson uses it against the workers, then he must be fought, and workers' state power established.

The renewed economic crisis, only a few short weeks after the 'rescue operation' by the international bankers, raises exactly the same questions of the use of state power.

If the shipping owners could not meet the demands for a living wage and 40 hours, then we need a state power to take the industry from them and introduce these measures by law.

If the banks and monopolies can stay in business only through Labour government policies which throw men out of work and cut living standards, then a workers' government is needed to take their money and their monopolies from them, and plan the economy in the interests of the people.

Nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, and building societies! This is the first basic need to solve the housing problem and to plan the economy.

Nationalization of steel, building and building materials, motor industry, and chemicals industry, and all industries manufacturing

No return to 1931!

From page 1

Needless to say, the defence expenditure will hardly be touched. Mr. Johnson, the United States President, has asked his friend Mr. Wilson not to do this, and Mr. Wilson, who licks Mr. Johnson's boots, will not do it.

The government of Wilson is the most craven, crawling capitalist, boot-licking government that has ever existed in the history of the labour movement. In comparison to Wilson, Ramsay MacDonald was a giant.

They knew this crisis was coming, but meanwhile they broke the seamen's strike.

They allowed the working class to be led into a trap, from which it is now not possible to extricate themselves without a series of most powerful strikes.

Reforms in Britain can no longer work.

Problem of power

The ruling class cannot pay for them. The seamen's strike was a political strike. The problem that was then posed was a problem of power.

The problem that is posed today in relation to these new economic measures of Wilson is a problem of power—the government of the working class over the capitalist class.

Should the working class allow themselves to be driven into pauperisation by the Labour Ministers drawing thousands of pounds a year salary?

We say no. It is necessary to fight back immediately.

We will not tolerate a return to 1931 and widespread unemployment.

We will not tolerate the rich idlers drawing their rich dividends and profits as they did in the depression years of the thirties.

We know that whatever dividend restrictions Parliament may put on these gentlemen, they have the means to remain in the background and hold back the payment of these dividends until they get the go-ahead.

They did it in the lifetime of the Labour government of 1945-51 and they will do it now. To talk of freezing wages under conditions where the employers continue to make as much profit as they like is something we will not tolerate.

The lesson of the Wilson government is that the working class need a new leadership but this must be a revolutionary leadership—a Marxist leadership, one that is prepared to take the power.

Wilson has plunged the working class into a revolutionary struggle whether it likes it or not.

Builders march and speak against P & I Bill

By Newsletter Reporter

MERSEYSIDE builders marched through Liverpool last Sunday and later held a meeting against the government's Prices and Incomes Bill.

All the fake 'lefts' invited to the meeting to speak failed to turn up.

Reg Perry, a member of the builders' committee, said the Bill was a giant conspiracy against the working class. Three years ago a document had been circulated to all the heads of the trade unions outlining such legislation, but they had never warned or told their members about the dangers of the proposals.

He said the seamen's strike had proved that the whole state would be used against the working class by the Labour government. It was no use waiting for official action.

Working-class political action was needed and a political leadership had to be built.

Seaman Gordon Norris told the meeting that the Prices and Incomes Bill was 'so much coming'. When it became law, it would mean state legislation of wages, as in New Zealand and Australia, where all increases are directly linked with productivity. Recently in Australia a rise of 16s was granted against a claim of 38s, he said.

BASIC CLAIM

If the legislation took a grip, it would prevent any basic claims. The seamen's basic claim had been reduced by the employers.

'We had to concede five days on leave, which is 10 guineas a month,' he added.

Earlier Perry had spoken of the way Hitler had taken over the unions in Germany—just two days after praising the union leaders and promising to look after their interests.

Opposing this view painter Tony McLennon, said: 'I would stress that we are not in 1933', because, he added, Britain was surrounded with socialist countries.

He felt that there were no great dangers to the trade union movement.

About 100 attended the meeting and nearly 200 had been on the march. Both actions could have been much more forceful if the Communist Party stewards in the area had made a real drive to bring the men from their sites out on to the streets.

The answer must now be sharp and clear. We are fighting for the English Revolution, for the struggle to take the power.

- We demand that Wilson's measures against the working class be immediately halted.
- We demand that the international bankers be told to mind their own business so far as the affairs of the Labour government are concerned.
- We demand that the capitalist class in this country be expropriated and all major industries be placed under workers' control with no compensation.

Issues are clear as clear as a knife edge.

Either capitalism is brought to an end by the struggles of the working class or we go forward in seven-league boots to the most extreme dictatorship of right-wing politicians since the days of Hitler.

The Socialist Labour League calls upon the working class not to have the slightest faith in the Labour leaders like Wilson and to treat the fake 'lefts', such as Michael Foot, who cover up for him, with contempt.

The issue is socialism or bankruptcy. The time has come to decide.

General strike arrests in India

UTTAR PRADESH was the latest state confronted with a Bundh (the word means 'close'), a general strike and stoppage of all services and of all activities of society, called by the opposition leftist parties as a demonstration of discontent.

The Uttar Pradesh government had reacted to the Bundh with arrests of 2,200 people as the state's left-wing parties' alliance pressed ahead with plans for a state-wide general strike on July 12.

The strike was to protest at rising living costs as a result of recent devaluation of rupee (by 36.5 per cent) and a recent increase in tax on land holdings. Dr. Lohia, the socialist leader who has played a prominent part in organising the strike, is among those arrested.

On July 12, all the socialist and Communist leaders were arrested.

In his press conference on July 10, Dr. Lohia said that if the state government succeeded in breaking the strike, opposition parties like his own would have to go underground, for there would be no other way with which to resist the government.

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