

Trotskyism triumphant

THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS are magnificent. What other socialist youth organisation in Britain today could mobilise 500 of its members, with all the finance and passport difficulties that were involved, and transport them, not just from London but from places as far afield as Aberdeen, to Liege in Belgium?

The political purpose of this visit was to link up with other socialist youth movements in Western Europe in a demonstration against the war now being waged by the United States imperialists in Vietnam.

Its timeliness is underlined by the fact that the headquarters of NATO has now moved to Belgium. One of the demands insisted upon again and again by the demonstrators was an end to the NATO alliance.

But where, our readers may ask, did the youth who marched in Liege come from?

In Britain, the Young Socialists owe their origin to a highly successful political struggle against the right-wing Wilson leadership, particularly during the years of 1963-1964 in which the right honourable gentlemen lost control of their official youth movement.

In return, they retaliated by attempting to expel the Young Socialists' democratically-elected leadership, and this produced a split on the eve of the 1964 General Election.

In France, the splendid contingent of revolutionary youth owe their origin to a break from the politics of Stalinism.

In Belgium, the socialist youth who marched were also expelled by the right wing of the social democracy.

In other words, the political origin of those youth who participated in the Liege demonstration was based on a fight against bureaucracy, either of the Stalinist or social-democratic variety.

Small wonder then that the memory of the heroic Hungarian revolution of 1956 remains precious and vivid in the memories of revolutionary youth.

For this revolution was essentially directed against bureaucracy—the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The appearance of several banners commemorating the revolution was entirely in line with the present-day experiences of youth. The fight to end the war in Vietnam, and to send NATO packing back to the White House can only be waged by those who wage, day in and day out, a mortal struggle against bureaucracy in the workers' movement.

At this point in the Liege demonstration, when the youth were lining up to march, they had an invaluable experience as to the real role of Pabloism.

The Belgian Pabloites, led by Mandel, the German Pabloites, led by Jungclass, and the French Pabloites, led by Frank, violently objected to banners being carried on the march commemorating the Hungarian revolution.

When the Young Socialists who were carrying them refused to take them down, Mandel's rather elderly young socialists called upon the assistance of the Belgian police to haul the Hungarian banner down.

But what else could be expected. Pabloism long ago rejected the need to struggle to build alternative revolutionary leaderships and replaced it with policies of adaptation towards the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucracies.

The Pabloites today, are nothing more than the conscious agents of these bureaucracies, who, in turn, are tied hand and foot to the big capitalists.

Since the police are the direct servants of capital, it was perfectly normal for the Pabloites to enlist their aid in the fight against revolutionary youth.

But then came the pay off. The youth refused to haul the Hungarian banners down and the Pabloites found themselves scornfully isolated amongst some 3,000 young people.

After the demonstration was held up for over an hour, they finally gave way and agreed to the banners being carried by the British and French Young Socialists.

This decision must not be assumed to amount to a conversion of the Pabloite liquidators. On the contrary, it was forced upon them by the revolutionary determination of young people in the fight against bureaucracy.

Mandel, Frank and the SWP were exposed in Liege as the handmaidens of imperialism—the Young Socialists led the fight against bureaucracy.

Trotsky, the most authoritative student of bureaucracy, would have been proud of Liege. Those youth who assembled there, we predict, will be in the forefront of all the major struggles against capitalism and its bureaucratic agencies in the years ahead.

MORE PHOTOS
see page 2



Liege- Belgium 15 October

The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Vol. 9, No. 465

October 22, 1966

Price 6d.

International links forged

BY A NEWSLETTER REPORTING TEAM

WITH ENORMOUS IMPACT, approximately 500 British Young Socialists linked up with 400 of their comrades from France to form half of a giant demonstration through Liege, Belgium, last weekend, against the Vietnam war and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

Four hundred and fifty-eight of the British contingent travelled by special train and boat; the remainder arrived independently by hitch-hiking and by car.

Links were forged between socialist youth from almost every European country in a joint effort which will have the most important repercussions for the international socialist movement and the working class.

Though the issues were plainly expressed in many different languages, through banner and slogan, this unprecedented gathering involved a wider, all-embracing desire—the building and strengthening of the Fourth International.

Youth, particularly from Britain, had travelled for hundreds of miles, many of them overnight, to attend the demonstration, which was called by the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes of Belgium.

Young Socialists began their journey on Friday, forming a powerful contingent at Victoria Station, London. A special train took them to Dover where they transferred to a special boat in the early hours of Saturday. This took them to Ostend, where they again boarded a train to whisk them through the Belgian dawn into Liege, just a few miles from the German and Luxembourg borders.

Meals had been arranged for them by the Jeunes Gardes and later they congregated on the Place de l'Yser for the demonstration. There was a great

Attempts were made to take this banner off the march. But the Young Socialists triumphed.

Defend union policy

ALL OUT ON NOV. 4th

NEWSLETTER INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

THE TEMPER of motor car workers are rising. At Vauxhall Motors, Luton, thousands of car workers have militantly demonstrated against the management as the entire industry moves closer and closer to unemployment day—November 4.

Meanwhile leading shop stewards in the industry have lobbied their union leaders meeting the engineering employers in York a few days ago. Under pressure, Sir William Carron and Co. were forced to register a 'failure to agree' over work-sharing.

Everyone knows that this policy is by no means adequate so far as constituting a defence of the future for car workers. Nevertheless the recording of a 'failure to agree' at the highest level provides an opening for an all-out official fight with the employers on November 4.

STRIKE IF NECESSARY

All the shop stewards engaged in the motor car factories affected by unemployment should now see to it that this 'failure to agree' is applied to the hilt on November 4.

In practice it means that not a single worker should be made unemployed and that strike action, if necessary, is taken to see that this policy is carried out.

For how else can the 'failure to agree' be implemented? To permit men to be sacked under conditions that are contrary to the policies of the unions would be nothing short of desertion of the unions on the eve of a real struggle.

This issue is one of union policy and in turn the trade union leaders must be forced to officially recognise all strikes called against unemployment on November 4.

Nobody should care two hoots as to whether or not the Labour government will be embarrassed by a strike in the motor industry. It is Wilson and Co., operating capitalism on behalf of the capitalists, who are responsible.

An official strike would therefore be a political strike against the government. And this poses the problem of power, which should be immediately translated into a demand for the nationalization of the engineering and the motor car industries.

Nothing less will suffice. It is a thousand times better to fight now than to let tens of thousands of workers be driven back to the degradation of the 'hungry thirties'.

- Implement the 'failure to agree' by strike action on November 4.
- Nationalize the motor car industry.

NATIONALIZE MOTORS—CALL

BIRMINGHAM No. 4 Amalgamated Engineering Union branch passed the following resolution at its meeting last Friday (October 14):

'In the present acute crisis of capitalism, resulting in short-time and redundancy for tens of thousands of workers, we demand the nationalization of the engineering and motor industries under workers' control.'

This is to be sent to the Birmingham district committee of the union and Birmingham Trades Council.



MANDEL (left) looking for his forces.

Strike call rejected

A MASS meeting of Rootes Pressings (Linwood, Scotland), workers on Wednesday rejected the call by 100 stewards for strike action against sackings due this week.

● See story page four—>

Delivery strike talks

THE MINISTRY of Labour has now intervened in the four-week-old strike of Birmingham car delivery men and is to begin talks with union representatives.

● See story page four—>

PUBLIC MEETING

Long live the Hungarian Revolution of 1956

CAXTON HALL (nearest tube St James Park)

Thursday November 17—7.30 p.m.

Speakers will include

MICHAEL BANDA, Editor, 'Newsletter'



BUILD INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Says 'Keep-Left' editor

AT THE MEETING, Aileen Jennings, editor of the Young Socialist paper 'Keep Left', who brought greetings on behalf of the Young Socialists' National Committee, said:

'I am pleased to have been in the leadership of a contingent of 500 Young Socialists who have worked night and day over the past month to make this intervention a success.'

Many more youth would have been on the demonstration from Britain, but had faced difficulties with their passports—a whole number of immigrant members had been unable to obtain visas because of their own governments.

NATO exposed

The demonstration had been called against the US imperialist war against the peoples of Vietnam. In doing so NATO, which was part and parcel of imperialist exploitation of colonial peoples, was being exposed, she said.

'This involves much more than a demonstration, even one so great as we have seen today,' she said, adding:

'It requires the construction of revolutionary parties in all capitalist countries, and can only be carried out through the development of the union and Birmingham Trades Council.'

Continued page 4, column 4 —>

amount of fraternisation, many of the British comrades renewing French and German acquaintances, and newspapers were exchanged and sold.

Many of the European youth eagerly bought the badge of the British Young Socialists.

Almost immediately, a section of Danish followers of Pablo attempted to provoke the Young Socialists around the English banner 'Long Live the 1956 Hungarian Revolution—Forward to World Socialism', knowing full well that armed police were around and would gladly intervene.

The youth, rallied by Newsletter editor Michael Banda, formed an unprovoked, stonewall defence.

The Danes gave up, and many left the Place.

By now, British, French, Italian, German and other sections of European youth had been waiting almost an hour with their banners poised ready to march.

DELAY

But the Jeune Garde were not in sight; just a few of their blue-shirted organisers appeared now and again.

It was soon obvious that this was due to the fact that the Jeune Garde were negotiating with the police to exclude the British and their 'offensive' Hungarian banner from the march.

Slowly Jeune Garde supporters began to appear and hurriedly sorted through and erected a few banners and red flags. About 30 marched off, but were held up by the British youth, who refused to march without the Hungarian banner.

With the threat of losing over

half the demonstration, the Belgian organisers were defeated and forced to declare over the public address system that the Hungarian banner would be allowed.

Immediately the British and French surged forward banners waving chanting 'Long Live the Hungarian Revolution', 'Trotskyism In—Hungarian Workers in—Stalinism Out'.

INTERCHANGE

This was just the beginning of a tremendous interchange of positive English and French chanting against the Vietnam war, NATO, the Geneva agreements, Stalinism, peaceful co-existence, US imperialism, etc., and demanding solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the world working class.

'Vive la quatrieme internationale' was taken up, not just by the French and English youth, but by many working-class on-lookers who crowded the pavements of the town applauding the demonstration.

These slogans and demands were kept up throughout the long march which took the youth to the Place St. Lambert for a meeting. Later the British Young Socialists left for their second night of travelling to return home.

The impact of the British and French delegations was expressed by one Jeune Garde supporter who told our reporter:

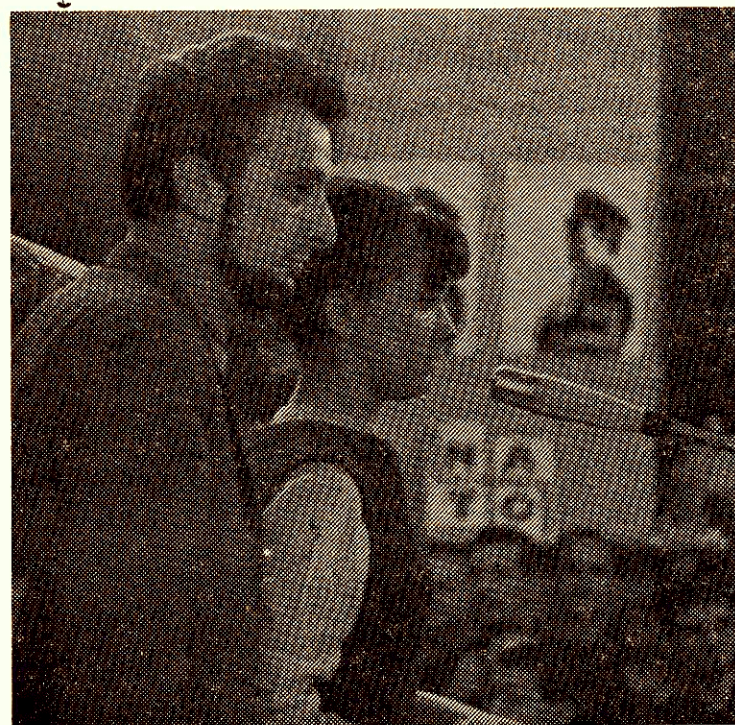
'I hope that the next demonstration the Young Socialists come to is called by the Fourth International. Our members are weak and the Young Socialists have helped us tremendously. I agree with you wholeheartedly in your support for the Hungarian revolution.'



European socialist youth on the march



The main banners of the British Young Socialist contingent are seen above as the march moves through Liege last Saturday. Their comrades of Révoltes in France are seen left with one of their many banners. The message is plain in any language.



Above right a French and English comrade ride on a car taking turns to lead the slogan shouting in both languages. With them are Italian comrades. On the left Christian Pinot of Révoltes interprets for 'Keep Left' editor Aileen Jennings as she speaks at the meeting after the march. On the right is seen just a small section of the huge European audience at the meeting.



THE DEVELOPMENT of the 'cultural revolution' in China has served as a pretext for yet another attack by the Soviet press upon Trotsky and Trotskyism. Without any direct reference to the recent events in China, 'Pravda' of September 16 links the unrest amongst youth today in both the Soviet Union and internationally with the appeal made by Trotsky to the youth in the first stages of his fight against the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

This article, written by a Dr. S. Kovalyov, has deep significance for the Trotskyist movement and it calls for clear answers to the following questions.

Firstly. What is the historical background of the events referred to in 'Pravda'?

Secondly. Why are these questions raised now by the Soviet bureaucracy?

Finally. How do these attacks upon Trotsky and the founders of the 'Left Opposition' relate to the present stage reached in the work of the Fourth International?

Briefly, 'Pravda' claims that Trotsky, together with those other communists who signed the 'platform of the 46' (the first Bolshevik manifesto of opposition to the growth of bureaucracy), was opposed to Lenin on the question of the development and nature of culture in the Soviet Union.

'Pravda' asserts categorically that Trotsky and the Left Opposition allied themselves with the 'Proletcultists' who were under the theoretical leadership of A. Lunacharsky, Commissar for Education in the first Bolshevik government.

The basic premise of this trend was that with the overthrow of capitalism, the working class had to begin anew the construction of a purely 'proletarian' culture which owed nothing to its old exploiters. They thus discarded all the highest points of all previous cultures, including the writings of Pushkin, the great Russian dramatist and poet.

Trotsky's views on this ultra-left tendency, which had little or nothing to do with Marxism,

are clearly set down in his book, 'Literature and Revolution', where he states:

'The working class strives to transform the state apparatus into a powerful pump for quenching the cultural thirst of the masses. This is a task of immeasurable historic importance. But, if one is not to use words lightly, it is not as yet a creation of a special proletarian culture. "Proletarian culture", "Proletarian art", etc., in three cases out of ten is used uncritically to designate the culture and the art of the coming communist society, in two cases out of ten to designate the fact that special groups of the proletariat are acquiring separate elements of proletarian culture, and finally, in five cases out of ten, it represents a jumble of concepts and words out of which one can make neither head nor tail.'

It would appear impossible to link Trotsky with a trend about which he wrote so scathingly. But this is precisely what 'Pravda' has to do in order to carry out the job of slandering Trotsky.

The relevant passage from 'Pravda' begins by stating that: "Denying the classical art culture, treating the classics of literature and art as a representative of the nobility and the bourgeoisie, the "proletcultists" often implemented the extremist

forms of primitivism in all spheres of artistic creation, representing this as "proletarian culture".

So far, so good. The article then begins to construct its fictitious bloc between Trotsky and the 'proletcultists'.

'A most harmful manifestation of this petty bourgeois distemper of the Machist* idea of universal distrust of, and contempt for, educated people, preached by the "left communists", who objected

* 'Machists'—This refers to the ultra-left faction within the Bolshevik party who took over from the idealist philosopher Ernst Mach certain subjective theories which they used to bolster their political line. It was the leaders of this group, Bogdanov and Lunacharsky, who after the revolution formed the 'proletcultist' tendency. Far from Trotsky being sympathetic to Machism, it was in fact Stalin who attempted to weaken the effects of Lenin's fight for materialism in the party against the Machists. This information is to be found in the new Soviet biography of Lenin under the editorship of P. N. Pospelov, pages 160-168.

also to the old school specialists being attracted to take part in the building of socialism.'

Again, this is hardly a charge that could be levelled against Trotsky. At the 8th Party congress in 1919, he and Lenin fought and routed the so-called 'Military Opposition' led by Voroshilov and guided from behind the scenes by Stalin.

It was the Military Opposition which carried on a running battle with Trotsky against his policy of placing ex-Tsarist officers in the staff of the Red Army, with special responsibilities for training new, working-class cadres for the armed forces.

LOYAL

Always under the strictest supervision by the Political Commissars, the vast majority proved loyal to the Bolshevik government. The small minority that betrayed the trust placed in them were made the pretext for attacks upon the conduct by Trotsky of the military affairs of the republic.

Lenin and Trotsky, though at one stage in a minority at the 8th Congress, won over the majority and finally isolated the Voroshilov-Stalin clique, which

was soon to become the core of the bureaucracy and to destroy Bolshevism and the Third International.

So we can be nothing but amazed when the next paragraph tells us that:

'In pursuit of their anti-Leninist line, the left sectarians, the Trotskyites in particular, sought at various times to make use of immature young people [just the charge made against Trotskyism by all varieties of bureaucracy today] by converting them into a weapon in the struggle against the party.' (Emphasis added.)

Members of the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League should take careful note of these words. They betray not only a scant regard for historical accuracy; that has never been the Stalinist strongest suite.

Far more important, they reveal an acute fear within the Stalinist bureaucracies of the coming together of the programme of the Fourth International with the world-wide rebellion of the youth against the bureaucratic politics of both Stalinism and social democracy. 'Pravda' does not take up such

questions without very good reason. It would much rather, if that were possible, leave them well alone.

But precisely now it feels compelled to drive a wedge between Soviet youth, being as they are an integral part of the international working class, and the history and traditions of Bolshevism and Trotskyism.

That is the warning 'Pravda' gives the bureaucracy when it refers to the appeal to the youth made by Trotsky in a series of articles published at the end of 1923 under the title 'The New Course'.

'Pravda' refers glibly to the resolution of the 13th Party conference of January, 1924, a conference already dominated by Stalin's nominees and yes-men, which took Trotsky to task for the views which he expressed in 'The New Course'.

Yet it requires little historical hindsight to see who was right on the question of the dangers and growth of bureaucracy.

In 'The New Course', Trotsky said the following:

'Bureaucratism in the state and party apparatus is the expression of the most vexatious tendencies inherent in our

Afraid of political radicalisation of youth

ROBERT BLACK writes

Soviet bureaucracy attacks Trotskyism again

situation, of the defects and deviations in our work which, under certain social conditions, might sap the basis of the revolution. And, in this case, as in many others, quantity will at a certain stage be transformed into quality.' ('The New Course', page 41.)

Contrast this sober assessment of the problems before the party and the state with the smugness of the resolution which condemned Trotsky, falsely attributing to him the view 'that the party "barometer" should be the young people at school'.

The degeneration of the Bolshevik party and the organs of state power remains an eloquent testimony to the political judgement of both Trotsky and the faction that coalesced around Stalin at the time of the 13th Party conference.

But precisely because the Soviet bureaucracy owes its very existence to the triumph of the Stalin faction over the Marxist perspective of Trotsky, 'Pravda' is forced to concede the real nature of the discussion.

Having done its hatchet work, the article resumes its humdrum course, complete with quotations from Lenin and the demolition of straw men.

But the main point has been made and, we are sure, duly noted.

We always knew that Stalinism

Continued page 4, column 6 →

PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF REVISIONISM in the United States today is the protracted and relatively low political development of the working class. The post-war inflationary boom strengthened temporarily many illusions in the viability of American capitalism. At the same time the cold-war witch-hunt resulted in the best militants being expelled from their trade unions and sacked from a large number of the most important industries. The Socialist Workers' Party suffered very severely from these setbacks.

The break-up of this situation became discernable in the early 1960s with the emergence of powerful movements amongst student youth around civil rights and later the war in Vietnam. In some respects this development resembled the CND movement in Britain during the late 1950s. They were, and are, predominantly middle-class movements which indirectly reflect the re-emergence of the working class into class politics in the metropolitan capitalist countries.

But for a revolutionary Marxist party to orientate itself exclusively on such manifestations of struggle is a fundamental error in terms of Marxist theory. In practice it means basing the activity of the party around the idea that the middle class can change society, when, in fact, this is the task and the task alone which the working class has to perform under revolutionary leadership.

This does not in any way mean that the working class no longer needs the support of such middle-class layers. It does indeed, but here again the vehicle for consciously guiding such support towards the working class is the Marxist party which on matters of principle bases itself on the revolutionary role of the working class.

The political degeneration of the SWP internationally was greatly accelerated by its about turn towards the petty-bourgeois radical movement inside the USA.

From here on it was only a stone's throw to sympathising with the late President Kennedy's wife when he (the President) was assassinated and from demanding that Federal troops be sent into Mississippi to aid the Negroes. This also marked the uncritical turn towards Malcolm X and later the slogan of Black Power.

Whilst it is the duty of the revolutionary party to provide critical support for such movements in order to direct them towards the working class, the SWP completely capitulated to them.

And yet, without the intervention of the powerful American working class, all these movements are in a blind alley from which there is no way out unless the revolutionary party mobilises this working class against capitalism.

Robertson rejects internationalism

It is at this point that we can see the real political implications of internationalism for the SWP. The Fourth International—its theory and organisational conceptions—is the only force capable of guiding and rectifying the course of a national section when it starts from impressionism and begins to capitulate to its capitalist environment.

It was precisely when such a need arose that the SWP broke of all its relations with the International Committee of the Fourth International and turned towards the Pabloite revisionists.

Only the International Committee could have at this stage assisted the SWP to overcome its difficulties, but Cannon, Hansen and Dobbs were contemptuous of the Fourth International outside the United States.

They had become arrogant American nationalists who were now hopelessly entangled with the politics of the petty bourgeois in the USA. They wanted the kind of international they could utilise for their own revisionist ends and Pabloism filled the bill.

When the Fourth International was founded in the summer of 1938, it based itself essentially upon the revolutionary potential of the international working class.

Into its theoretical armour Trotsky poured all the lessons and principles derived from the struggles of the modern proletariat against the forces of international capital.

Revolutionary internationalism is inseparable from the Marxist conception that the working class is the only class capable of overthrowing capitalist society and establishing socialism.

tional in 1953, maintained that sections of the petty-bourgeois Stalinist bureaucracy would, under pressure, move into a leftward direction and substitute themselves for the revo-

The revisionist Pabloite conception, which produced the split in the Fourth International party by taking the power.

Here is the essential revisionist bond which binds the SWP to the rump Pabloite outfit of Germain, Pierre Frank and Livio, which masquerades as the 'Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International' operating from Paris.

From its infancy the group in the USA, which is now led by James Robertson, was nurtured in the worst environment of petty-bourgeois politics, the Snachtman group which denounced the defence of the Soviet Union in 1940 and split from the Fourth International.

The group joined the SWP in the late 1950s at a time when Cannon and Co. were rapidly moving away from the Fourth International. Hence the early anti-internationalist tramping which Robertson's group brought with it from Snachtman now blended with the anti-internationalism of the SWP.

Back to revisionism

This did not at all mean that from then on relations between Robertson and the SWP leadership would be plain sailing. The basic core of Robertson's group is first and foremost a clique of petty-bourgeois friends whose politics are determined by the need to maintain at all costs their own little group.

If the preservation of this clique sometimes takes on the form of abstractly defending the correct principles of the Fourth International, then they will turn enthusiastically towards defending them, provided it does not interfere with their little friendly circle.

At the time when Robertson joined the SWP the party leaders having made up their minds to capitulate to Pabloism, were busily turning their attention towards the liquidation of all opposition to their policies.

They saw in Robertson's group a potential source of such opposition and this immediately raised the future of the clique.

For a time Robertson appeared to move politically in the direction of the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee.

Then came the crucial test. Since the struggle of the SWP was essentially being waged against the International Committee of the Fourth International it became essential that all those who supported the Committee should work under its leadership.

This is something which Robertson would not tolerate. He and his clique wanted the right to say and do as they liked inside the SWP and the USA without any interference from the international movement.

In other words they wanted the political authority of the International Committee without in any way being organisationally responsible to it.

Naturally, bearing in mind the anti-internationalism which was prevalent in and around the SWP, we could never agree to such a position.

Accordingly, the Committee drew up a list of proposals in 1962 which we insisted must be agreed by all the US participants in the political fight

The Robertson group of the U.S.A.

against the revisionist SWP leadership. These were as follows:

1. The tendency expresses its general political agreement with the tendency of the International Committee which has agreement around the 1961 international perspectives presented by the Socialist Labour League. It must therefore begin from the standpoint of its responsibilities towards the political struggle of this tendency in relation to the construction of the revolutionary party in the United States.

The tendency recognises that the building of the SWP as a revolutionary party depends on and derives from its adherence to the revolutionary international perspective and approach.

All discussion and disagreement within the tendency is part of the discussion within the international tendency. Patience will have to be exercised so that while time is allowed for such differences to be adequately discussed internationally, the political aims and functioning of the tendency remain unimpaired.

For this purpose, there will be facilities available for all members of the tendency to express their opinions in a special international tendency bulletin to be published by the Socialist Labour League. This bulletin will have a limited circulation amongst leaders of the international sections who will be invited to comment and participate in the discussion inside the tendency. All written discussion must be carried out within this bulletin.

2. The tendency must pay particular attention to the development of a perspective for work in the United States in relation to the trade union and the Negro movement.

The main political work of the tendency within the party will be to patiently explain the nature of the Pabloite revisionism and liquidationism as a method, and its relation to the problem of developing a concrete revolutionary perspective for work in the trade union and Negro movements. (Such a policy must be carefully presented, not in an artificial factional way, but in a way that will make sense to the activists in the party. The elaboration of the policy is therefore a matter that can only be carried out by most careful preparation.)

The more careful and thoughtful the preparation, the easier it will be to convince people in practice. If the preparation is carried out in a factional and subjective way, then barriers can be raised between the tendency and the rank and file which will slow down the rate of clarification.

The main political fight of the tendency must be directed against the right-wing elements

The sixth of a series of articles by G. HEALY National Secretary Socialist Labour League

finished centrist tendency is to give up the political battle before it has begun.

We must believe that by common work and political discussion it will be possible to win a majority of the party to adopt a correct line on Pabloism and for the building of the revolutionary party in the United States.

4. The present tendency shall dissolve and shall re-establish itself on the basis of the preceding point.

5. Only those comrades who accept these conditions can be members of the tendency.

We ourselves have, as you know, a long experience of working as a minority faction inside the British Trotskyist movement. We began this work in 1943 and it lasted for seven years. We did not assume leadership rights in England until 1950.

The proposals are based upon experiences we had during that time and are certainly not dictated by comrades Wohlforth and Phillips. During this period we accepted on a number of occasions advice with which we ourselves disagreed, but which we operated in practice because we ac-

cepted the revolutionary integrity and rich experience of those comrades who gave it to us. In this way we began to understand the real value of international collaboration.

Between September 1943 and March 1944, we fought a sharp struggle for the unification of all the Trotskyist groups in Britain. At the conference of our organisation the Workers' International League in September 1943, I was in a minority of one supporting this proposal. Then advice came from comrades in New York which laid down the terms for unification. These terms were presented as final and could not be debated or discussed. They had to be accepted or rejected as they were by all parties concerned, including our minority.

Since the unprincipled majority of our section wanted to deprive us of an opportunity to continue the struggle against them, they immediately opened up relations with the opportunist elements in the other groups and decided to accept the terms. Their reasoning was that by moving towards acceptance of such terms they could isolate us by an unprincipled combination. They did just that. When the unification congress took place in March 1944, we were deprived of minority rights on the National Committee of the fused organisation, the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Prior to this conference we raised the matter with the comrades responsible for the fusion terms but they told us that we could not insist on any rights and that we had also got to accept the terms as they were.

So reluctantly we accepted the terms and went ahead to make the fused organisation work. History has since revealed that the fusion was in our favour and not on the side of those who were manoeuvring and intriguing. If we had not accepted the terms and split from the fused organisation because we were not given any rights, then surely our tendency would have been destroyed.

I might add that we did not receive minority rights on the National Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party until almost two years later. Everything was done to persecute us as a faction but we refused under any circumstances to split no matter what the differences or to be driven out of the party. Our people were the best workers and nothing could be done to take this right away from them.

Early in the fusion it became clear that the leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party contained a mixture of ultra-Lefts, opportunists and centrists, but we resisted all attempts to characterise them

Continued page 4, column 1



