

# The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Vol. 9, No. 473

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## Birmingham

DEMONSTRATION  
Saturday, Dec. 17  
Assemble 2.30 p.m.

THE MINORITIES  
(near Lewis's)  
followed by a  
MEETING

★  
Two important  
demonstrations to  
attend this weekend  
against the  
wage freeze and  
unemployment  
★

## Newcastle

DEMONSTRATION  
Saturday, Dec. 17  
Assemble 2.30 p.m.

MORDEN ST.  
followed by a  
CONFERENCE and  
DANCE

## RHODESIAN CRISIS

### Why they cannot work

by  
Tom Kemp

THE THEORY behind United Nations sanctions is that the political aims of the majority of the members can be imposed on recalcitrant states by economic means in cases where their actions conflict with the Charter of that organisation.

The assumption is that no modern state can for long pursue a normal existence if its ties with the world market are cut, since every country's economic life is inextricably bound up with international trade.

However, the harm done by sanctions cuts both ways. Countries which impose sanctions have to accept that their trade with the offending country will be cut off.

In the case of Rhodesia, as a British colony, its commercial and financial links with Britain are particularly strong. Moreover, its geographical position makes its trade with the South African Republic, Zambia and the Portuguese colonies crucial for its economy.

To go from the partial sanctions already in existence for a year to mandatory sanctions imposed by the United Nations involves a number of new issues. Above all, of course, is whether other countries accept the political aims behind the government's call for sanctions. The answer obviously is no.

Portugal and South Africa do not accept these aims and Zambia cannot afford to cut off all economic ties with Rhodesia.

Sanctions without the support of these countries would, at most, be partial. To make them more effective would involve extending them to South Africa, Portugal and any other country which supported the Smith regime or insisted upon going on trading with it.

#### Wry smiles

The 'drama' of the Tiger meeting, the tension in the House of Commons and the great show of anger and 'sincerity' by Messrs. Wilson and Brown must have caused some wry smiles in foreign capitals. For a good part of the world the Rhodesian affair is a family quarrel between different sections of the British ruling class and is relegated to a minor corner of current interest.

In this way shrewd journalists and politicians indicate that they take the whole flare up, sanctions included, with a grain of salt. If Wilson was prepared to come to terms with the leader of a so-called 'illegal regime' represent-

ing at most 200,000 out of four and a half million people the chances are that talk of mandatory sanctions is only resorted to as a prelude to further negotiations.

Outside Britain it is widely understood that the call for mandatory sanctions against an erring colony is a sign of weakness. The British economy is in no state to carry forward a policy of sanctions including South Africa, without which the squeeze which can be imposed on Rhodesia will be strictly limited.

Mandatory sanctions applied to Rhodesian exports without the participation of South Africa could have a slow build-up effect on some sections of the economy, notably tobacco and copper production.

Both these commodities can, of course, be stored or could even be paid for in advance of eventual delivery.

#### Substitutes

Home production has already turned out substitutes for some imports; others could simply be done without.

Vital petroleum products are certain to flow in from South Africa. Such imports as vehicles and machinery can, as the example of other countries under blockade shows, be made to last longer by increasing maintenance work.

As for Britain, if the sanctions policy is pursued, sales will be lost which could worsen the balance of payments and weaken sterling and perhaps lead to a permanent loss of markets in Southern Africa.

As for the four million Africans the main effect of sanctions on them will be to reduce the demand for their labour power if Rhodesian export industries have to slow down. The Smith regime will thus possibly have to face growing militancy from the African working class if the sanctions policy really begins to bite.

A policy really aimed to bring down the Smith regime, and not to make a bargain with it, would not, of course, begin with economic sanctions or even with the air strikes spoken of in some quarters.

It would begin with the arming of the African people and regard majority rule as an immediate necessity.

It is clear, however, that Harold Wilson, and his left critics, are opposed to these conclusions and cling to capitalist methods of sanctions as a saving formula for yet another betrayal.

# BIG SANCTIONS FARCE

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

THE RHODESIAN CRISIS may turn out to have more far-reaching consequences for the decline of British imperialism than the Suez fiasco of 1956. Suez revealed that the oldest imperialist power was powerless when opposed by its younger American rival in the guise of the 'United Nations'.

In the past ten years Britain's decline has gone still further. The latest moves in the Rhodesian affair prove that London has to ask for UN assistance even in keeping Smith's settler regime in line.

And, as in the Congo, UN intervention implies a take over by United States capital.

That is why the effects on the already feeble British economy of the decision to apply UN sanctions are not merely temporary.

By weakening still further Britain's world position, it makes the dependence of the pound on the dollar still more abject and permanent.

The crisis of British imperialism means also a crisis of all the political agencies which serve its interests. The British working class, on the other hand, must support and aid every action by the African workers and peasants which will intensify this crisis.

The call for mandatory economic sanctions to be imposed against Rhodesia by the United Nations is no answer to the Smith regime. It will be used, especially by the African nationalists, as a means of evading a real struggle to overthrow white domination in Rhodesia.

The white settlers, whose role in Rhodesia has been to look after British investments there, are fighting for the privileges this has brought them against the threat of African advancement. The middle-class African nationalists, on the other hand, have shown themselves powerless to lead a movement to overthrow Smith.

#### Rivals

The white settlers and African nationalists are, as it were, rivals for the position of protectors of imperialist investment against the revolt of the African masses.

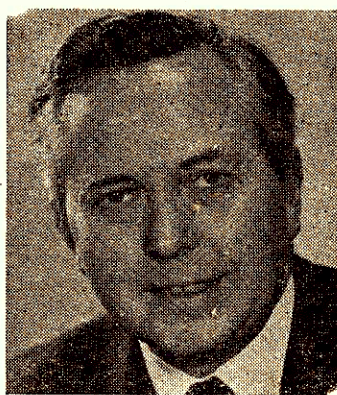
In the years of boom relatively peaceful transfer of power into the hands of men like Kenyatta and Obote could be arranged. But in this period of crisis such moves present great dangers for the imperialists.

In the mock-heroic meeting on the Tiger, both sides were doomed from the start. Wilson bent over backwards to give the racist Smith every possible chance to save his regime. He knew that the alternative to agreement spelled ruin for his imperialist masters.

But Smith, faced by the wild men of his Rhodesian Front, could not accept. There can be no future for white-settler domination in Rhodesia except by ruthlessly oppressing the African people.

Even if Wilson and Smith had cooked up some magical formula which had been accepted in Salisbury and London, it would

Continued page 4, column 5 →



WILSON: Bent backwards

### Kosygin's visit Via Paris to Washington

Newsletter Reporter

PRESIDENT DE GAULLE has one inestimable advantage over his Western colleagues in dealing with the Soviet leaders. In his first government he actually had Stalinist ministers by his side with Maurice Thorez, self-styled 'first Stalinist of France', as deputy premier.

There is little doubt, then, that he has the measure of Kosygin, understands the weaknesses and fears of the Soviet bureaucracy and knows full well that it has no taste for revolutionary adventures.

After all, if the Stalinists had wanted revolution what better place to have started one in the period 1944-1947 than in France.

Unlike de Gaulle, few Western politicians have lost their basic fear of the Soviet leadership and most of them still interpret its actions through the early resolutions of the Communist International before its degeneration under Stalin. This distorts their diplomacy towards Kosygin and Co. and gives de Gaulle his chance.

#### Balance of forces

De Gaulle's understanding of the real balance of forces is shown by his break with NATO, a military alliance set up ostensibly to deal with Soviet aggression, an always non-existent threat, and practically a means for the Americans to control the strategy of Western Europe. For years anti-communism



KOSYGIN

basic aims remain fundamentally divergent.

Kosygin knows de Gaulle's weaknesses. He offers him a way of resisting the growing pressure of American capital in France by developing trade connections with Eastern Europe.

He guarantees that the French Communist Party will remain a loyal and docile opposition ready, if needs be, to applaud a Gaullist rapprochement with the East.

But he also knows France's limitations. The real power lies in Washington, not in Paris, and

Continued page 4, column 6 →

## FRAUD LETTER 'LOST'

A FOREIGN-OFFICE file containing a copy of the so-called 'Zinoviev letter' of 1924 has some important documents missing. This was revealed this week in a collection of 'Documents of British Foreign Policy' published by the Stationery Office.

The famous letter was produced during the election campaign of October 1924 in an attempt to discredit the first Labour government, which had just fallen.

Zinoviev is supposed to have called on the leaders of the Communist Party to prepare for an armed uprising. The Tory press, and especially the 'Daily Mail', tried to link the letter with the policies of the Labour government in recognising the Soviet regime, and securing increased trade with the new workers' state.

It was never clearly revealed what revolution or armed uprisings had to do with this most inoffensive and timid of all Labour governments, which, according to the testimony of one of its leaders, Snowden, con-

finned itself to 'measures that we were likely to be able to carry', in other words to those with which the Liberals or the Tories agreed. But then witch-hunting smears are seldom noted for their accuracy or clarity.

#### Tories returned

The 'smear' achieved its desired effect for the Tory Party. They were returned to power with a big majority. Their votes however came entirely from those who had either voted Liberal in the previous election, or not bothered to vote at all. The working class was undeterred by the 'Daily Mail' and gave the Labour Party an extra million votes.

Anyone who knows anything about Zinoviev, one of the great leaders of the Bolshevik Party, later to be murdered by Stalin, or about the Communist International of which he was the leader, will know that the letter is a forgery from beginning to end.

Its very modes of expression (for example referring to the 'Third Communist International' rather than to the 'Third International'), its references to the

spurious 'military section of the British CP' (clearly designed to appeal to middle class 'anti-Red' scaremongers), are quite different from anything that would have appeared in a genuine statement by Zinoviev.

Yet it still seems to be in the interests of Britain's rulers to surround the 'Zinoviev letter' with an atmosphere of scandal and conspiracy. 'The Times' of last Monday referred to the affair as 'a first-class mystery'. The Foreign Office added to the fog by 'losing' the documents that show the reaction of Labour leader MacDonald to the letter.

It is usually assumed that it was published without MacDonald's approval. The documents which would have cleared up the question have strangely 'disappeared'.

Nowadays of course it is the Labour leaders themselves who use 'smears' against the militant workers who are forced to fight them. Wilson tried to surround the seaman's demands with the same atmosphere of mystery and intrigue provoked by the Zinoviev letter. It is to be hoped that

Continued page 4, column 2 →

## The Newsletter Reject Devlin!

THE DEVLIN COMMISSION proposals on the docks have now been accepted by the Transport and General Workers' Union. This should not come as any surprise to port workers.

This union, despite the 'left' cover of its general secretary, Frank Cousins, has always capitulated on the important questions concerning dockers.

The Devlin Report is perhaps the most important issue that has ever faced rank-and-file port workers.

It hands them back to private employers. It proposes modernisation of the docks and the employment of a select labour force which will mean the sacking of older port workers and greater exploitation of the younger ones.

No wonder the employers are pleased about the position of the T&GWU. They could hardly contain their joy.

As soon as Mr. Tim O'Leary made the announcement, they immediately joined him in saying that it was 'a new deal'. But it is nothing of the sort. It is an old deal, an old capitalist deal.

The dockers are to have their conditions of employment and work completely changed, simply for a few shillings extra in pay. They will have to work harder in order that the money which is about to

be invested in modernisation will be repaid with substantial interest. That is Devlin in a nutshell.

Now the fight shifts to the dock side and at this juncture Mr. Jack Dash calls upon all dockers to attend their union branch meetings. He is once again up to his old game of diverting the struggle of dock workers away from the real issues involved.

The dockers have already gone to their branch meetings and have been ignored by their representatives.

The fight is no longer going to be decided in the branches but by the strength of the men on the job.

Jack Dash and the Communist Party are up to their old tricks, just as they were during the seamen's strike.

They talk left and at the same time turn the attention of the dock workers in the wrong direction. Now that the T&GWU has spoken up and agreed with Devlin the only place the men can fight is on the quayside.

Rank-and-file organisation has therefore to be immediately built up in every important port.

Unless the dock industry is nationalized under workers' control the Devlin report cannot be considered. There must be all-out opposition to any

idea of returning to the dictatorial rule of private employers.

A struggle on the docks would find plenty of response from other sections of the working class who are now facing unemployment, shorter working hours and speed up. The time has come to make a real and firm stand against Wilson.

It is not only the docks which will be affected by such reorganisation; the railways are also to be reorganised along similar lines.

The employers are about to take advantage of the existence of unemployment by inaugurating the next stage of their offensive against the working class, which is speed up.

Where is Mr. Mikardo's Parliamentary Bill for the nationalization of the docks? Is not it time that the dockers and the working class forced these 'left' MPs to fight on their behalf?

Wilson is today the tool of the big capitalists and the port employers. Those MPs who say that they oppose him should now take the lead in openly breaking from him in Parliament.

We say: Out with the Devlin Commission Report! Nationalize the docks under workers' control without compensation to the present owners!



DE GAULLE

raged like a phobia in the State Department and in the European capitals. It blinded politicians to the willingness of the Soviet bureaucracy, especially after the death of Stalin, to do a deal on the lines of Potsdam and strengthened the hands of those who wished to wage a preventive war on the Soviet Union.

All this looks very dated in the light of the Cuban missiles fiasco and the evidence of the Vietnam war.

But if Kosygin wants to make a deal and de Gaulle recognises and understands this desire their



# Secret diplomacy behind Middle-East fighting

— From CHARLES PARKINS

THERE USED to be a saying among the Arabs—'When you hear the guns roar at Gaza, that is the voice of Western diplomacy'. Just ten years after the British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt, there are moves towards another war in the Middle East; and whatever fine speeches are made in the United Nations, it is the interests and intrigues of the imperialist powers that are the main cause now, as they were before Suez.

They are determined that the exploitation of the working people of the area by Western monopolies shall continue uninterrupted. They want to reverse any encroachment on their profits, whether by the workers and peasants of the Middle East countries or by the bourgeois-nationalist governments.

The Syrian government announced last week that it had decided to seize the assets of the Iraq Petroleum Corporation, after a prolonged dispute with the company. The imperialist powers have been preparing for such a situation likely to arise.

On November 13, Israeli forces, including tanks, penetrated the Jordanian border, broke through border-guard units and attacked the village of Es Samu, destroying houses, a school, a mosque and a clinic before withdrawing.

They did not engage the well-armed Arab Legion during this action. That British-trained and equipped force is now deployed in the towns and villages of the interior to suppress opposition to King Hussein.

This is the most striking feature illuminated by the raid. A division of labour is in effect between Israeli forces and Hussein's Arab Legion, almost like that between two neighbouring police forces.

Some superficial commentators in the British press have wondered why the Israelis chose to attack Jordan. The answer is that the Israeli raid was not aimed against Hussein's government at all but was a direct attack on the Arab workers and peasants.

## Carve-ups

These Palestinian Arabs were the victims of the first of the imperialist carve-ups of the Middle East after the First World War which gave Britain a mandate over Palestine and later the stooze Kingdom of Transjordan; then of Zionist colonisation which drove thousands of peasants from their land; then of the United Nations 1947 Partition Scheme—backed by both the USA and USSR—and the war which followed, in which one million Arabs were driven from their homes.

About 400,000 of these people found themselves in squalid camps in territory on the Western side of Jordan, which was occupied by the Transjordan Arab Legion, a largely Bedouin force under British officers.

This part of Palestine was annexed by Jordan, so that the relatively more advanced Palestinian Arab workers, peasants and intellectuals have had to endure a backward feudal monarchy which is really a puppet manipulated by the British and US governments.

Across the border, those Arabs who remained in territory now occupied by Israel are second-class citizens, to put it mildly. The villagers have lost their thousands of acres of land under expropriations.

Those who remain in farming suffer economic discrimination.

Nearly 10,000 others are working away from home, migratory labourers trying to scrape a living on building sites and in the orange groves, often forced to accept lower wages than Jewish workers and accommodated in sub-human conditions in unfinished buildings and disused cattle sheds.

## Discrimination

At least a quarter of these workers are teenagers. Their 'better off' brothers who stay on at school are still faced with discrimination when they leave to look for jobs.

These young workers and students support the 'New Communist' Party in Israel. Those on the Jordan side of the border, in the refugee camps and villages, and in Arab Jerusalem, support underground movements against Hussein.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation with its slogans against Zionism and against the monarchy and its guerrilla raids into Israel appeals to Arab youth on both sides of the border.

The Israeli authorities are afraid of these youth. The military governors running Arab districts in Israel have even broken up sports groups among village youth for fear that they might be training for other purposes!

The raid on Es Samu was aimed at 'punishing' that village as an example.

If the British and US governments, who after all have plenty of experience in these kinds of measures, have been not too happy in retrospect about the Israeli raid, it is because it did not succeed!

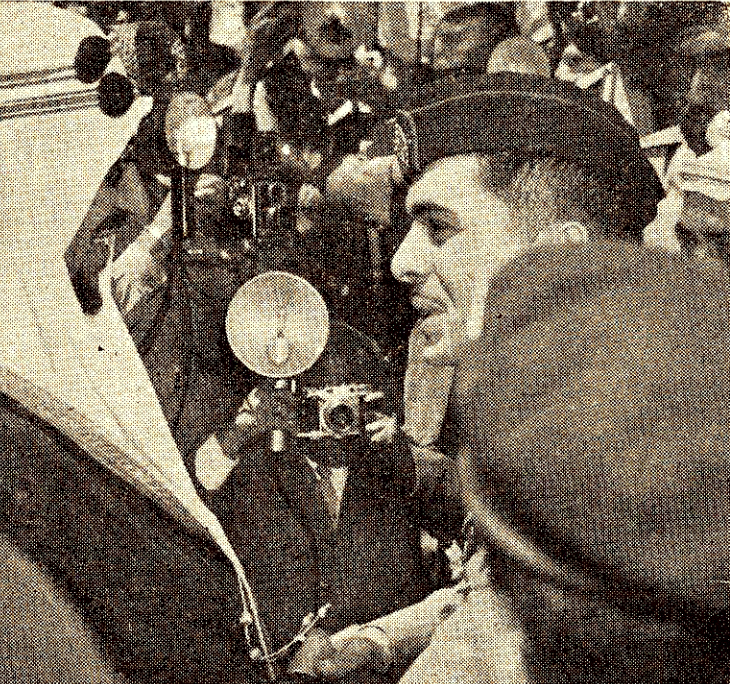
Far from being 'pacified' by the Israeli police action, the Palestine Arab youth have been incensed to a more determined struggle, demonstrating for arms, and the removal of the monarchy.

The truth is that the Es Samu raid, like the Israeli Air Force attack on Syria earlier in the year, was part of the general aggressive policy on the part of the Israeli government, which was not just decided in Jerusalem.

In March last year, Israeli premier Eshkol visited London for talks with Wilson, Brown, Michael Stewart and Denis Healey.

While in London he also met Averill Harriman of the US State Department. Eshkol returned to Israel full of enthusiasm for the 'understanding' he had found, although he did not actually state whether he had made one.

Bearing in mind Britain's policy of support for the Royal-



Ex-King Saud of Saudi Arabia meets King Hussein of Jordan.

In June there were more talks in London—Dr. Zvi Dinstein, Israeli deputy defence minister, met Denis Healey, Fred Mulley, Gerry Reynolds and Walter Padley, as well as Field Marshal Sir Richard Hull, chief of the Defence Staff.

Around this time, Eshkol, on another trip abroad, happened to bump into the Persian premier at an airport. Persia had been associated with Jordan and Saudi Arabia in talks about an 'Islamic Pact', which would meet in Mecca 'to combat all foreign ideologies'.

## More troops

It was not long after this that Israeli planes attacked Syria (once part of the United Arab Republic); and it wasn't long after a visit to Tel Aviv by the British Commander-in-Chief, Middle East forces, that the raid was launched on Es Samu.

British troops in the Middle East are now being heavily reinforced.

It is quite likely that they will be ready to intervene in Jordan to try and keep Hussein in power, and it is possible that something bigger is being prepared.

which might rock the imperialist boat! During Kosygin's visit to Egypt this year a communiqué was issued on the talks he held with Nasser. The issue of the Yemen and Israel were left out of this document altogether.

Surely something was said about them? The Soviet leaders have gone further by talking of a Tashkent-style 'solution' to the Arab-Israeli problem.

Of course, the Palestine Arabs would be left out of consideration at such a conference, just as the Kashmiris were left out at the original Tashkent talks, and the purpose would be a united front against revolution.

In effect, the only real purpose served by this new Soviet line is to try and camouflage the real warlike plans of imperialism and its allies, and to excuse Soviet abandonment of the Middle East problems.

By contrast, Soviet policy has done nothing to assist the forces for real Arab-Israeli peace.

At the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana, the Soviet delegates and the other Stalinists combined with Arab bourgeois nationalists to exclude any delegates from the Israeli working-class movement.



Some of the Arabs in Palestine, behind barbed wire.

ists in the Yemen Civil War, it is instructive to note what Eshkol told the Knesset on May 17, 1965 two months after his trip to London:

'Arab apprehensions of Nasser are indeed legitimate, as the Yemen has proved. Nor has Nasser refrained from subversive activity in other countries of the area, if in a less open form. . . . A day will come when the Arab countries which are a target for his stratagems will realise that the true division is not between Israel and the Arabs, but between lovers of peace and aggressors; and when they realise this fact, they will draw the logical political conclusions.'

In other words, the policy of Israel's Labour government is a common front with the Kings of Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, on behalf of imperialism against the Arab revolution.

In February this year, Abba Eban, Israel foreign secretary, had talks in Washington with US defence secretary McNamara. In the same month the US delivered to Jordan £30 million worth of 'Lightning' planes and one hundred Patton tanks.

A contract was concluded with Saudi Arabia to provide US military equipment to the value of between five hundred and seven hundred million dollars.

Saudi Arabia has been supplied with aircraft, missiles and British-made radar equipment enabling surveillance of air space for some 200 miles from her own border.

In May this year the US government announced that it was providing Israel with A-4 Skyhawk tactical bombers. (The deal had been fixed up in February, but was not announced until after Kosygin's visit to Egypt.)

When Hugh Gaitskell objected to the Suez invasion ten years ago, it was largely on the basis that America did not support Britain.

In the present stage of imperialist crisis, the US government has less room to manoeuvre and is determined with Britain to put the clock back in the Middle East.

It would be unfair not to acknowledge the helpful role played by the Soviet bureaucracy in all this.

In a period of imperialist crisis they do not want to do anything

Admittedly such delegates did not miss much, but the action is typical and it represents a policy of refusing to distinguish between the Israeli government and the working class.

While the Soviet bureaucracy is now inclining towards a rapprochement with the Zionists, the other policy, which is of course that of the Arab nationalists, may continue to influence some opponents of imperialism.

Yet during the recent strike by Haifa dockers, a Zionist paper

Continued page 4, column 2 →

## SPAIN TODAY

BY JULIO CAMPOS

AFTER 28 years of power, General Franco has decided to ask the Spanish people for support for his 'ley organica' or policy.

In 1947 there was a similar pantomime of a referendum. The slogan, as now, was 'yes' to Franco, without any sort of opposition.

At the time most people made a mockery of the 'elecciones' and apart from 'no', some Spaniards wrote the names of comedians like Cantinflas on their ballot papers.

Agents were placed outside the polling stations to make sure that every voter put 'yes' and nothing else, but there were no prosecutions because so many people had abused the referendum.

During the last two months trade union elections were held throughout the country in order to elect stewards and union representatives at factory levels of the Sindicatos—the government-operated unions.

Illegal groups in the opposition were confronted with a dilemma: to vote in order to get as many active workers in key jobs, even in the existing government-unions, or to abstain.

## Active in elections

Spaniards in exile, mainly from Toulouse, had played an influential role through their propaganda in favour of abstention.

But the Communist Party, well-represented in the Comisiones Obreras (Workers' Commissions), as well as left elements in the Falange, and even some workers' alliance movements, in particular ASO in Madrid, participated actively in the elections, contrary to the wishes of the exiled groups.

Twelve months ago in Madrid, a group of the official sindicatos and members of the underground CNT had a discussion on liberalising the Spanish unions. This move was condemned by their previous supporters.

A few weeks ago Franco announced an amnesty for actions during the Civil War and he dissolved the *Tribunales de Responsabilidades Politicas*.

Everyone realised this was a move to impress neighbours, particularly those in the Common Market and European Economic Community.

Once again it proved to be a new fantasy of the regime which, from time to time, gives amnesties to political prisoners and exiles, having previously denied the existence of political prisoners.

It was on this issue that Monsignor Ussia was kidnapped by the *Primeros de Mayo* (First of May) group in Italy some months ago. At the time the police were unable to find the people who did it and Monsignor Ussia was released by the kidnapers. They claimed to be members of the Spanish Young Libertarians and wanted to raise international interest about the state of political prisoners in Spain.

## Amnesty . . . then arrests

When the amnesty decree was published on November 10, the Minister of Information, Fraga Iribarne, knew that at the same time the police had arrested four men and a woman.

They were accused of attempting to kidnap a foreign personality (the names of the US Ambassador and Juan Peron, the exiled dictator of Argentina, were mentioned by the police).

The arrested, Luis Edo, Antonio Cafete, Alicia Mur, Jesus Rodriguez and Alberto Herrera, were soon accused of terrorism and banditry. This would avoid any international protests on political grounds, and meant that even heavier sentences could be passed against these Young Libertarians.

Edo began a hunger strike as a protest and they are all still awaiting trial. There is a fear that they have already been ill treated by the police.

So, ironically, at the same time that these people are arrested for opposing Franco, the Caudillo announces an amnesty for people who were faithful to the Spanish government against which he revolted in 1936.

Now Franco has promised to appoint a Prime Minister—a man hand-picked by him. The purpose of this 'revolutionary' step is to



Dressed in fascist style Jose Solis, Minister-secretary of the *Movimiento* and secretary of CNS (the Franco unions) addresses a recent meeting. Seated is the ageing Caudillo himself.

# The referendum pantomime

secure the continuity of the *Movimiento* and the principles of his oppressive regime.

He calls it the *ley organica* (organic law), which was the subject of last Wednesday's referendum.

The Caudillo has appeared on television and the radio has continued the campaign in favour of a 'yes'.

Large and colourful posters of the dictator have been hung in

Also in Madrid, four students have been arrested for daubing 'no' on some of the Franco posters.

A joint declaration by 12 opposition groups has condemned the referendum as opposed to the rights of the people.

One thing that Franco has achieved in this desperate attempt to avoid the collapse of his regime is the unity of the opposition groups.

From the most right-wing tendency to the anarchists the call has gone out to abstain from this farcical referendum. The old and new movements are distributing leaflets asking people to ignore the vote.

One leaflet reads: 'If you say "yes" . . . the result is dictatorship and Franco.'

'If you say "no" . . . the result is Franco and dictatorship. 'So do not vote at all.'

One of the most eloquent leaflets distributed is from ASO (the Workers' Trade Union Alliance) which proclaims that 'the "organic law" is anti-democratic, made behind the backs of the Spanish people in order to perpetuate the totalitarian system after the death of Franco.'

## Playing for time

Faced with economic and political difficulties, the Spanish regime is in fact playing for time.

The 74-year-old Caudillo creates a problem for his supporters and a glimpse of hope for the opposition. One Spaniard said in an interview: 'Spain will live when Franco dies.'

But Franco is still alive and intends to remain so until he finds a successor. So much does he value his life that he never travels by air and never outside Spain. (He probably remembers the example of Mola and Sanjurjo, leading rebel generals who died in 'air accidents' which were later found to be the work of saboteurs.)

So for the time being, he is still the man with the iron hand who forbids in the most violent form the presence of other ideologies apart from his fascist doctrine.

The so-called referendum is meant to be a vote of confidence in him, his ideas and the future of Spain under his methods.

But, under the risk of being arrested and imprisoned, the Spanish people are more and more following those workers and students whose actions are limited at the moment to propaganda and daubing of Franco posters.

secure the continuity of the *Movimiento* and the principles of his oppressive regime.



Fraga Iribarne, Spain's Minister of Information and Tourism, and the brains behind the 'liberalisation' pantomime.

the main streets, in the squares and on the buildings. 'No other slogan is allowed except 'Franco—Yes'.

Many voters have now received two ballot forms through the post. One is already printed with a cross against 'yes', while the others are blank.

There is a possibility that abstentions may be counted as a 'yes' as will any blank voting form put in the ballot box.

Civil Servants will lose 1 per cent of their wages if they do not prove that they have voted. They will probably be given a note—to be handed in when collecting their pay—when they cast their vote.

## Demonstrations

It is not surprising that nuns were given special permission to leave their convents on Wednesday to cast their votes.

Last week in Barcelona a demonstration organised by the illegal opposition groups was dispersed by the police and several people were arrested.

The demonstrators demanded the right to oppose the referendum.

# Apologies

THE FOLLOWING apology was printed in the December 10, 1966, issue of 'Socialist Leader', weekly paper of the Independent Labour Party:

MR. GERRY HEALY—  
AN APOLOGY

An article headed 'Violence on the Left' in our issue of 26th November quoted from and commented on a letter from a reader suggesting that Mr. G. Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League had instigated several of his supporters to assault and prevent him from selling literature outside the Caxton Hall, where the Socialist Labour League meeting was being held.

We have since been informed that Mr. Healy asked a steward to clear the pavement in front of the entrance of the Hall so that passengers alighting from coaches would not be delayed in getting to the meeting; that he certainly did nothing to prevent the writer of the letter or anyone else from selling literature; and others were selling literature on each side of the entrance without any interference.

We sincerely apologise to Mr. Healy for having published the suggestion that he employs violence or seeks to curtail freedom of expression.

'Peace News' published the following apology in its issue of December 9, 1966:

MR. GERRY HEALY—  
AN APOLOGY

In the correspondence columns of our issue of 25 November, we published under the heading 'Attacked' a letter from Ernest Tate which accused Mr. Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, of having instigated several of his supporters to assault and prevent him from selling literature outside Caxton Hall, where an SLL meeting was being held.

We have been informed that Mr. Healy asked a steward to clear the pavement in front of the entrance to the Hall so that passengers alighting from coaches would not be delayed in getting to the meeting; that he did nothing to prevent Mr. Tate or anyone else from selling literature; and that others were selling literature at each side of the entrance without interference.

We sincerely apologise to Mr. Healy for having published the suggestion that he employs violence or seeks to curtail freedom of expression.



**THE STREETS** of all the major cities and towns, particularly Colombo echoed to the splutter of fireworks, strains of music and general jubilation as members of Ceylon's Mercantile Union celebrated their strike victory on November 24.

Twenty-three days of resolute struggle had brought significant gains over and above the initial demands advanced by the Union.

As reported in my first article (The Newsletter, November 19), the government was involved from the outset in trying to extricate itself from the damaging effect of the dispute to the country's economy. Each day served to pile on the agony as far as the balance of payments crisis was concerned.

Desperately the government, through its Ministry of Labour, sought a 'settlement' of the dispute. There was a feverish scurrying to and fro of messengers between the Ministry, the CMU and the CEF (Ceylon Employers' Federation). But all to no avail!

The dominant section of the CEF—the great monopoly interests—were out to crush the Union.

The exchange of correspondence swiftly revealed that the employers were not prepared to concede anything. On November 1 they declared that all concessions to and agreements with the Union arrived at in discussions prior to the strike were withdrawn.

Almost immediately an altercation arose between the Ministry and the CEF. By November 10, after a number of informal discussions with the parties concerned, the Minister set out terms for a settlement. These now included the bonus issue, which the CMU had sought to include in the proposed agreement.

**NEW ELEMENT**

This new element now became the main focus of attention and bone of contention.

Further points were: Union check-off (a deduction of subscriptions from the wage packets by the employers); retirement gratuities; conversion to new scales; conversion of salaries of unmarried employees and a date for the proposed implementation of the future agreement.

The CEF now fell on the bonus issue and evaded committing itself on any of the other proposals. The CMU, for its part, accepted the Minister's proposals as a basis of discussion and a return to work by November 14, if all parties were agreed.

In the meantime tea, rubber and other commodities were piling up in the warehouses. Treasury reserves were affected.

The point was that the employers could afford to sit it out, confident that any immediate loss of revenue could be recovered after they had disposed

of the backlog. But to the government every day's loss of revenue was an irrevocable, irreparable loss.

To make matters worse, on the 13th day of the dispute the CEF came out with a wholesale repudiation of the terms of settlement proposed by the Minister. It insisted that the settlement of the bonus issue on its own terms was the basis for any further negotiations and advanced the operational date of any future agreement to the first of the month in which the major issues were settled.

This drove the Minister to issue a statement to the press on November 16 upbraiding the CEF and calling upon it to review its decision.

The union chose this opportunity to indicate to the Minister that the employers had been acting in bad faith from the outset and that the Union, for its own part, was quite settled in its determination to fight out the issues to the end.

It went further to demand that as an example of its goodwill, the CEF should make available a schedule of the minimum bonus its member-firms were going to pay, guarantees to ensure that the total bonus rate should be in accordance with past patterns, and further that there would be no victimisation at the end of the dispute.

If these undertakings were not given and the public was further inconvenienced by the strike continuing, the Union would call on the Minister to explain publicly the true state of affairs.

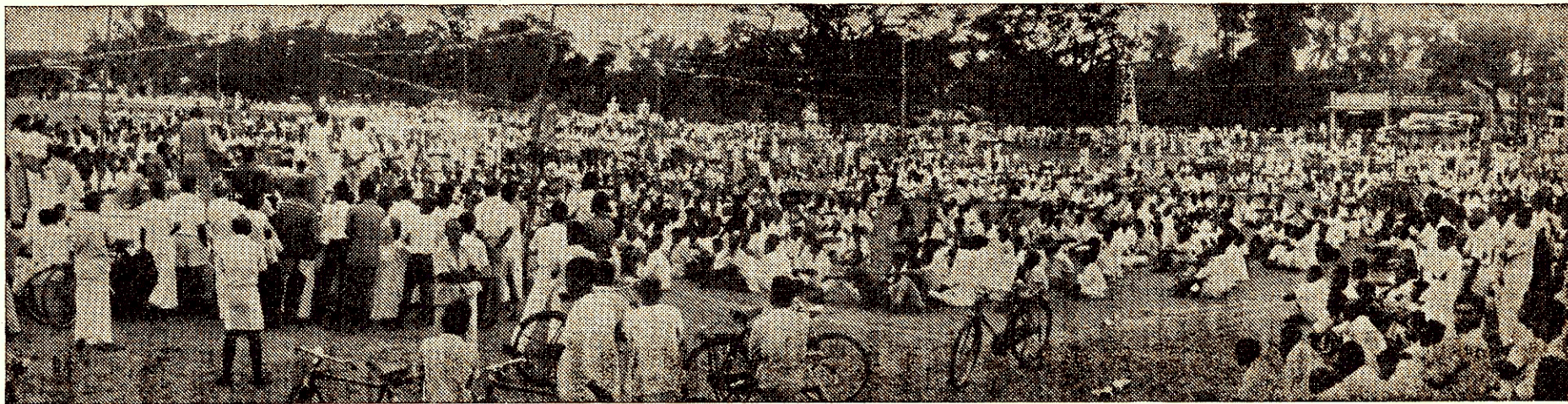
**IMPASSE**

It was clear that matters had reached an impasse and that the employers were determined to have it their own way.

The Union's case as far as publicity was concerned was manifestly popular. However, there was at this point considerable danger to the Union from another direction.

The ruling class, through its press, was gradually arriving at an unanimity on the need for state intervention in the

**on-the-spot report**



A section of a huge rally at Trincomalee at the beginning of the strike. Trincomalee port was paralysed by the strike, and the workers there gained support from their comrades in nearby Colombo when attempts were made to continue trade from there.

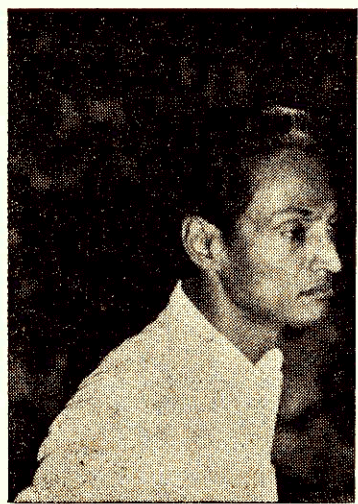
# Victory in Ceylon Mercantile strike

form of compulsory arbitration of the issues. It was clear that, given the popularity of the case of the Union and the committal of the government to certain proposals for settlement, the state could not at this point take any drastic action under the Emergency powers. Arbitration was its only way out.

On November 17 the bomb-shell burst. The Union's Port (Cargo) branches struck with lightning speed, placing an embargo on handling cargo of any of the strike-bound companies. This action was justified by the Union because the CEF had rejected the proposals of the Ministry of Labour for a resumption of talks and because of the diversion of cargo to Colombo from the port of Trincomalee where a lock-out exists.

The embargo was 100 per cent. There was not a single case of breach of decision, all blacklegs having been eliminated in a previous port strike.

The fourth week of the strike was opened by another press statement from the Minister which clearly and



Bala Tampoe, a member of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) and leader of the victorious strike.

It was an action which showed the revolutionary potential of the Union, which forged a unity between all languages and cultures, and attracted more workers to it.

publicly apportioned the blame for the continuance of the strike on the CEF.

By now, the strains within the employer's camp were beginning to tell and their solidarity to crack. Member-firms were threatening to pull out and settle unilaterally.

**CONCLUSION**

On November 23, a letter from the Ministry intimated that the employers had caved in, withdrawing their declaration of November 1. The revised terms for a conclusion of the dispute were as follows:

BONUS will continue to be paid at a rate not less than the quantum of bonus payments paid in accordance with prevailing practice prior to the collective agreement. Bonuses will remain ex-gratia and discretionary on the part of the employer. All existing bonus schemes to continue.

This gain constitutes an important advance on the part of the Union in that, for the first time in Ceylon trade union history the matter of

bonus payment is now a matter for contractual agreement. Thus the danger of the employers taking back what it gave in the way of wage increases in the form of a cut in bonus is mitigated.

CONVERSION to new scales have also been to the Union's advantage, the unmarried employee getting parity with the married.

RETIREMENT GRATUITIES are to be discussed on previous basis.

UNION CHECK-OFF: This is to be implemented if the member so desires. Since the CMU now has a virtual closed shop in most of the great establishments this means a practically complete check off.

DATE OF IMPLEMENTATION of Agreement: Here the Union has lost two months from that proposed by the Minister.

NO VICTIMISATION agreed with Minister's guarantee.

There has of course been the usual chorus of cavilling criticism from, strangely enough, the CEF and the

Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Reformist) to the effect that bonus remains an ex-gratia and discretionary payment on the part of the employer (as if bonus is anything else!) and that the date of implementation of the new agreement amounts to a loss to the Union. Sour grapes to both of them!

Now, suddenly, there is a bustle in the camp of the LSSP (Reformist). They feel that the CMU has stolen a march on their unions and even poached their membership. So they are working themselves into a proper lather to pull a strike, come what may.

They seem to have learned nothing from their previous debacle of January 8, when, as a result of a racially inspired stunt, they had 8,000 workers victimised for nothing at all.

The working class is less likely to follow these squeezed lemons than they have ever done in the past, particularly when they have the option in the form of the CMU.

At the height of the dispute, for instance, the entire work force at the state cement factory in Jaffna voluntarily dissolved their union and applied for membership in the CMU.

**POSTSCRIPT**

On the evening of December 1 the Union hired Colombo's open-air amphitheatre at Vihara Maha Devi Park for a victory celebration—a 32-item variety show.

The place was packed to capacity, 11,000 turned up! The organising committee had the invidious task of vetting a list of 23,000 applicants! A special show is to be put on for those who had to be disappointed.

What a show it was! Youth was to the fore as was to be expected, and what a variety of talent and professional competence!

For four hours, they held that audience captivated, except for the last item which was a bailla, a traditional Portuguese dance, which is also part of Ceylonese tradition. The audience broke up to participate in this dance as a gentle drizzle began to fall.

The show was multi-lingual, multi-cultural, that is, in Sinhalese, Tamil, Moslem, Hindi and English, a true expression of the great unifying influence the Union is beginning to play in the island's labour movement and national minorities problem.

## A new stage reached in British Stalinism

BY ROBERT BLACK

FROM THE beginning of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, the growth of this malignant disease in the working class was analysed as a surrender before imperialism of the spirit and basic propositions of Marxism.

Trotsky further proved that this revision of Marxism, the renouncing of the overthrow of world capitalism behind the slogan of 'socialism in one country', was the political expression of the conservative and privileged social group that emerged after the revolution in Russia—the Soviet Party and state bureaucracy.

From 1926 onwards, Trotsky fought against this bureaucracy and its corrupting influence on the sections of the Communist International as the principal barrier within the working class to the socialist revolution.

Its role in the British General Strike of 1926, the Chinese Revolution of 1927, the rise and victory of fascism in Germany, and its sidetracking of revolutionary movements via the 'popular front' in both Spain and France prior to the Second World War, provided indispensable support for world capitalism as it staggered through a series of crises following its partial stabilisation after the end of the First World War.

Stalinism repeated this rescue operation after the Second World War, and through deals between the bureaucracy and the heads of the two leading capitalist states, Britain and the United States, derailed for the second time mass movements that struggled to overthrow capitalism in Western Europe. In giving capitalism these extra decades of life, it thereby prolonged the dominance of the bureaucracy within the Soviet Union itself.

Post-war Stalinism in Britain has lived, therefore in the shadow of this deal between the Soviet bureaucracy and the vic-

torious imperialist powers, and despite the tactical twists in Soviet diplomacy, has loyally served as a public relations department for the bureaucracy in its dealings with the British ruling class and the government of the day.

But because the bureaucracy remains a degenerated and corrupted remnant of a once revolutionary party (the Russian Bolshevik Party) and because its international agencies reflect a similar, though not identical, process of political decay within the capitalist states, the prospects of co-operation with social-democratic governments offer scope for the communist parties in countries such as Britain, where points of contact with the social-democratic bureaucracy can be established from the shop floor and the union branch right into parliament and the cabinet itself.

**Closer ties**

The two years of Labour government that the working class has experienced bring out these points most clearly. The deepening crisis of British capitalism throws the Stalinists into a far closer relationship with the right-wing labour and trade union bureaucracy than at any time since its period of class collaboration during the Second World War.

But even during the period of the Second World War, when British capitalism leaned heavily on the reformists and the Stalinists, the attacks upon the working class and the depth of the crisis itself did not develop so sharply as they do today.

Part of the preparation for this crisis that the Socialist Labour League makes is, therefore, an analysis of the new stage that Stalinism has reached in response to the demands put upon it by the Soviet bureaucracy and its allies within the Labour bureaucracy in this country.

Part of this analysis must be a study of the Stalinist press, as it is here that the future strategy of the leadership of the British Communist Party will be hinted at, if only in a veiled form.

'Marxism Today', the theoretical journal of the Communist Party, began a discussion in its October issue on the question of the nature of the state.

internationally, at a time when the state intervenes more and more in the affairs of the trade unions, working conditions and wages, and plays an increasingly more important role in attempts to regulate capitalist production.

The question becomes doubly important when the issue is one of a state headed by a Labour government, for now it is bound up essentially with the role of opportunism: the attitude Marxists should adopt first of all to the government of Wilson itself, and secondly, to those who characterise this government as 'progressive' and 'somehow better' than the last Tory government.

We agree that clarification on the role of the state in politics is essential if the working class is to carry out a successful fight against the incomes policy and unemployment, and see this struggle through to the eventual overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

But the discussion in 'Marxism Today' has taken another turn entirely. This journal, edited by none other than James Klugman, author apparent of the long-awaited history of the British Communist Party, has serving on its editorial board leading Stalinists such as Party secretary John Gollan, Maurice Dobb, Arnold Kettle and Maurice Cornforth.

It cannot be said therefore that these men are unaware of the direction the discussion on the state has taken, and the full implications that this has for Marxist theory and the work of the party in the trade unions.

In fact, this discussion is seeking to revise the party programme, drafted by Pollitt and Stalin in 1951, and to replace it by one more in keeping with the latest developments in the British and international political scene.

'The British Road to Socialism', as many party members have found out, involved a break with all previous Leninist teachings on the role of parliament. In its own words, it asserts that a General Election fought on the issue of a socialist solution to Britain's problems could bring decisive results. . . . In this way, using our traditional institutions and rights, we can transform parliament into the effective instrument of the people's will, through which the major legislative measures of the change to socialism will be carried. ('British Road to Socialism', page 10.)

This statement (inserted on the instructions of Stalin, as we have

now been told by Khrushchev) attacks Leninism on two counts.

Firstly, it assumes that parliament can be a neutral instrument between classes, and can respond to whichever class has a majority of its representatives elected to it.

The capture of such a majority is portrayed as the break-up of capitalist political power. Secondly (from which the first proposition is derived) it implies that parliament is the central organ of state power, to which all other departments of the state are subordinate.

Yet all the experience of the class struggle under capitalism has surely established that capitalist power radiates out from the banks and industry through its army, police and law courts, and that parliament serves mainly as a screen to conceal this real structure of class power.

Surely the two years of Labour government have established for all time that it is the bankers who rule?

But now, amazing though it may seem, the 'British Road' is up for revision—to the right! James Harvey, in the December issue of 'Marxism Today', considers this programme to be sectarian and dogmatic on several important questions.

**'Urgent need'**

Challenging the initiator of the discussion (Ian Brownlie), who argued that the Marxist theory of the state was adequate for current political questions, Harvey insists 'that this theory is in urgent need of development in a number of directions'.

First he takes a swipe at Lenin's attack on the justification of bureaucracy made by Kautsky. Against the Marxist and Leninist theory of the withering away of the state apparatus under workers' rule, Harvey develops a new theory of bureaucracy.

But to discuss bureaucracy, and particularly its virulent growth in the Soviet Union, is to discuss not only Lenin's attitude to it, but the political bloc that he made with Trotsky to fight it, and the development of this fight in the period of the rise to power of the Stalinist faction in the Soviet Communist Party.

Harvey, of course, does not intend to open up this question for discussion:

'I do not wish to pursue the developments which took place in the Soviet Union after Lenin's

death. It is sufficient to note that even in Lenin's day, bureaucracy had grown up in the state apparatus and the Party.'

The rise of such a bureaucracy within what Stalinists (including Harvey) claim to be a socialist state, demands sooner or later that someone has the courage to revise openly Lenin's belief that socialism and bureaucracy were mutually exclusive.

Harvey takes on this job:

'It does not follow, of course, that because the theory of the withering away of the state set out in "State and Revolution" requires to be modified in relation to the Soviet Union, it needs to be modified in relation to the transition to socialism in Britain. Nevertheless, there are good grounds for thinking that it does.'

The theory therefore has not only to be adjusted to the vested interests of an entrenched bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, but also to the social and political privileges of the bureaucracy within the labour and trade union movement in Britain.

Here lies the significance of Harvey's argument, that it draws together and recognises the community of interest between these two bureaucracies, and attempts to present a 'Marxist' justification for their counter-revolutionary record and role within the working class.

Bureaucracy plays such a vital role in the preservation of capitalist rule that the ruling class naturally looks with favour on any political tendency that attempts to conceal the existence of this corrupted layer within the labour movement, or as Harvey does, present it as an essential feature of any social system where large-scale industrial production takes place.

In fact, Harvey would like to see the term bureaucracy abolished altogether, as he explains in a footnote:

'The term "bureaucracy" has only to mean something bad and unnecessary. This creates a problem in terminology, because compulsion between officials and the people under socialism cannot be eliminated immediately and indeed has a positive role to play in strengthening socialist relations of production. For this reason I have preferred to use the rather clumsy term "administrative compulsion" in place of "bureaucracy".'

Bureaucracy is thus emptied of its class and political content. It becomes simply a question of

technical administration, 'connected with the elements of compulsion that pervades the functioning of an administrative apparatus, both in a capitalist and socialist society'.

Stalinism here draws closer both to its new-found allies in the 'state capitalist' group (which holds that the Soviet Bloc states and China are capitalists) and to the latest political and sociological theorists, who argue at great length that capitalist society has now been superseded by a new social formation, industrial society, a term which embraces both the Soviet Union and the advanced capitalist states.

**Alliances**

This step towards the schools of bourgeois sociology and the anti-communist tendency of state capitalism reflects on the theoretical level the alliances that the Communist Party builds with various opportunist groups within the labour movement, and the general turn that it has made over the last two years towards the middle class.

Harvey attempts to develop a new theory of the state in opposition to that of Marx and Lenin. He finds 'State and Revolution' by Lenin 'mainly concerned with the co-ercive aspect (of state power)'. Throughout the book there is a pre-occupation with violence.

Of Lenin's proposition that the state 'is the organisation for the suppression of some class', Harvey claims that 'the situation is different in Britain today'. (Emphasis added.)

He then goes on to argue that because of conflicts within the capitalist class, we cannot speak of the state representing that class as a whole, and that the class struggle 'may be reflected inside the state apparatus and its mode of operation'. This contradiction, Harvey asserts, gives the state apparatus an independence from both the contending classes in capitalist society.

Harvey is now able to arrive at his main goal—the role of the state under modern monopoly capitalism. 'Marxist' writers have in the past tended to stress its negative characteristics, seeing it only as the instrument of the monopoly capitalists. The positive aspects have been neglected. (Emphasis added.)

'State intervention in the economy is to be welcomed as it contradicts the idea that profit is essential for economic success. Continued page 4, column 1

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**CONTENTS**

Editorial

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Continued page 4, column 1



# Lancs tenants stage a rent strike

## New Stage

From page 3

It also creates more and more opportunities for the labour movement to influence the character of state intervention and to run it in a democratic, rather than a capitalist direction.

For this gradual erosion of capitalism to take place, the working class has no need to hold political power, even in the reformist sense advocated in the 'British Road'.

Harvey falls out even with this Fabian programme where it states 'one thing is clear, socialism can only be built with power in the hands of the people, led by the working class'.

This is no longer clear, at any rate for Harvey:

'But it is no longer clear that the transformation from state monopoly capitalism will take place in this way. Since the social character of the productive forces is already imposing itself on the state under capitalism, the working class can have the opportunity to narrow down the power of big capital before political power is gained, and to compel the taking of measures which earlier were contemplated as being taken after political power had been gained.'

The task of the actual removal of capitalism can now be handed over to the capitalist state itself, which, being staffed by 'officials' who are concerned purely with the maximum efficiency of production, will, stage by stage, extend the socialised ownership of the economy.

This role is presumably to be taken on by the Labour government, which the Stalinists insist has been sensitive to pressure when tactfully applied from the right quarters.

What Harvey in fact advocates is the adjustment of the programme of the Communist Party to the reality of its trade union strategy over the last period of Labour government.

The evolution of Paynter in the Miners' Union, Dash on the docks and now Etheridge in the motor industry is summed up in Harvey's theory of the role of bureaucracy and the state in the class struggle.

On the contrary, both have a progressive historical mission. In order that they can carry it out the working class must renounce the taking of political power, and instead exert 'democratic' pressure upon the state apparatus via its own bureaucratic unions and parties, in order to achieve what Harvey rather picturesquely calls socialism.

This lag between the programme of British Stalinism and the reality of its policies reflects the rapidly maturing crisis of capitalism and the sharp swing to the right that it has necessitated within both the labour and Stalinist bureaucracies.

It now attempts to perform the invaluable service to capitalism of concealing the class role of the state and bureaucracy, and of spreading confusion on the nature of parliament and nationalization under capitalism.

Harvey is in fact a new spokesman for a long-established Communist Party right wing that up until recently has been headed by old-stagers such as Dobb and John Campbell.

The strength and influence of this wing of the party will undoubtedly grow, though it remains to be seen what attitude the current central leadership of the party, headed by Gollan and his clique, will adopt towards it.

This attack upon Marxism is only part of a general strategy of Stalinism. In its discussions with the Catholic hierarchy it cuts a ludicrous figure as they proceed with their 'dialogue'.

NEWSLETTER CORRESPONDENT

**EIGHTY PER CENT** of the 700-odd council tenants of Little Lever, near Bolton (Lancs.), are withholding rent increases of up to 26s. imposed on them by their local council.

In spite of the freeze, the council has been instructed by the government that they have to clear their housing account deficit by next March.

The deficit has built up rapidly in the past few months due to the crippling interest charges on loans for housing.

At a council meeting on Tuesday, where the public seats were packed with tenants, the Labour councillors' only policy was to rescind the increases until a meeting was held with the Minister of Housing. But the Ministry has already said that the increases are 'reasonable'.

The council rejected a motion to rescind the increases by the chairman's casting vote.

### Cost £70

The chairman is a local milkman who, according to the local press, has stated that if the deficit was paid from the rates it would cost him £30 a year.

In fact, some tenants will be paying £70 extra a year if the increases go through.

It is reported that since the chairman made this statement his milkround has dwindled significantly on the estate.

Now that the government has taken the go-ahead to all councils for rent increases, there will be a spate of such attacks on workers.

What is required is a campaign to get the council to rescind the increases in defiance of the government and go into deficit, coupled with the demand for the nationalization of the banks and finance houses who make vast profits from interest charges.

## Convenors lose positions

IN THE NOVEMBER 24 election for the East Birmingham District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union shop stewards, a number of leading Communist Party members failed to get re-elected.

They include Peter Nicholas, convenor at the Rover factory, Tysleye, Birmingham, and Arthur Harper, convenor at Tractors and Transmissions, Washwood Heath, Birmingham. This defeat is viewed by some workers as 'the direct result of weak leadership in the fight against redundancies'.

The defeat of Harper has raised speculation about the possible result of elections in his factory.

## LETTER

From page 1

when future historians come to examine Wilson's smear speeches that vital documents relating to them do not 'disappear'.

It is also to be hoped that those who have to fight 'smear' campaigns now will know that the best way to deal with them is not to ignore or avoid them, as MacDonald tried to do in 1924.

Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*: 'The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution.'

The British Trotskyist movement is well used to witch-hunts, in its youth movement its trade union work and elsewhere.

It has learned that only a clear principled fight such as Marx outlined will make it possible to build a working-class leadership that can secure a socialist society.

## MIDDLE EAST

From page 2

commented bitterly that these workers had done more damage than 18 years of Arab blockade.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation, although it reflects the revolutionary aspirations of the young Arab workers and peasants, is actually, consciously or otherwise, leading them into a blind alley.

China, which appears to support its line, is guilty in this respect. Israel, because of the large Jewish working class, cannot be treated just as a colonial country.

## Ineffective

Guerrilla tactics and raids from the outside are ineffective so long as the Zionist leaders can rely on a base in the Jewish population. But the Jewish working class in Israel is also involved in a struggle against the

## Union takes collector to court

MAGISTRATES at Oxford adjourned on Thursday (December 8) a prosecution brought by the Transport and General Workers' Union alleging fraud by a union collector.

The collector, Michael Barlow of Brightwell Baldwin, Watlington, Oxfordshire, was charged with wilfully withholding or fraudulently mis-applying £170 when he was acting as union collector at Morris Motors (Cars).

The complaint, brought by Thomas Alfred Heard of Transport House, Birmingham, under the Trades Union Act of 1871, said that part of the money had been recovered, but that £115 was still outstanding.

Barlow, in a letter to the court, said he had been away from Oxford for a period but was now able to settle the matter out of court.

It will be recalled that during the 'noose trial' hoax at Oxford earlier this year, Mr. Barlow was also in the news—he promised to furnish the press with details of a so-called 'inner cabinet' running the strike.

## Gasworks strike

OVER 180 craftsmen from a £3½ million gasworks plant at Stoke walked out on Tuesday after 40 night-shift workers were told they would be made redundant on Friday instead of December 23. Men returned when the 40 were assured of jobs for the extra week.

# Gollan poses as saviour of money crisis

SECRETARY OF the Communist Party of Great Britain John Gollan, speaking at a meeting of the Woolwich Polytechnic (London), General Studies last Thursday (December 8), explained how the CP would aid British capitalism to solve its economic crisis.

Over half of his time was spent on showing that Wilson's government was not socialist, a fact which the capitalist journals such as 'The Economist' has admitted for the last 18 months or so. But, of course, 'The Economist' is more up on capitalist affairs than Gollan who failed to mention that the present government is controlled by the international bankers.

Gollan's 'analysis' of the world economic situation was based on the assumption that there is no major crisis of capitalism, but only the short-term problems caused by fluctuations in the trade cycle.

All would be well, he said, if Wilson was to reflate the economy—he even offered to do the job himself.

He said nothing of the growing contradictions of capitalism and its manifestations in the crisis of world liquidity.

Instead he attempted to solve the problems of capitalism by methods which the capitalists themselves find unsuitable (i.e., reflation). They know they are faced with a liquidity crisis and demand major attacks on the British working class to maintain and increase their profits.

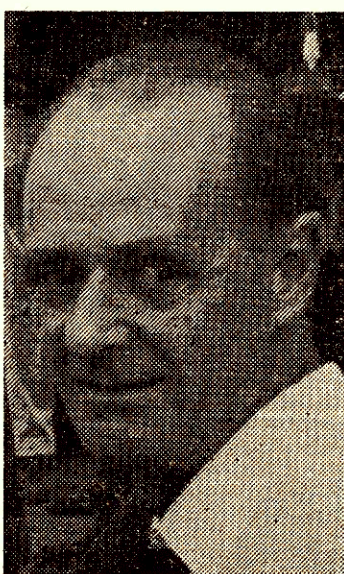
### Freeze 'collapse'

Gollan seemed unaware that the capitalists needed the wage freeze. He claimed that as it would not solve Britain's economic difficulties, it would 'collapse' and socialism would take over.

He fed his audience with abstract socialism and gave no indication how the Prices and Incomes Act would 'collapse'.

Nothing was said about organising the working class against the wage freeze and in reply to a question about the seamen's strike, Gollan said that it was an economic, not political, strike.

If merchant seamen were paid more, he said, more efficient workers would be attracted to the industry and the balance of payments crisis would be 'eased'!



GOLLAN: Denies Lenin's analysis of the state, 'It's different in Britain,' he says.

The parliamentary road to socialism was the only way to defeat capitalism.

He was asked whether Lenin was correct when he said about the bourgeois parliamentary means:

'... it has been proved that participation in a bourgeois democratic parliament... not only does it not harm the revolutionary proletariat, but actually helps it to prove to the backward masses why such parliaments deserve to be dispersed: it helps their successful dispersal, and helps to make bourgeois parliamentarianism "politically obsolete"' (Lenin, 'Left Wing Communism', page 42.)

### Different here

This, Gollan said, was not true in England. Conditions were different to when Lenin wrote in 1920 and it was now possible to achieve socialism through parliament. Instead of exposing parliament the CP believed that it was the gateway to socialism.

Lenin sums up the 'parliamentary road' extremely aptly. CP members should take note:

'... only workers' Soviets, and not parliament, can be the instruments whereby the aims of the proletariat will be achieved. And, of course, those who have failed to understand this up to now are inveterate reactionaries.' (Lenin *Ibid*, page 61.)

On Rhodesia, Gollan proposed that Britain send troops to fight for 'majority rule'. Rhodesia was only a question of 'colour'.

'If Smith had been brown or black, England would have sent in troops,' he asserted.

To Gollan Rhodesia is a question of colour, not class. Only true Marxists call for the arming of the African workers and peasants against the Smith regime.

On all major issues facing the working class in the present crisis Gollan had an answer to aid the capitalists. But it was not the end of his ideas of how the working class would come to power.

### Met generals

He told the meeting how he was once asked to speak to high-ranking officers of the British Army at the Royal Military Academy. The purpose of his speech was so that the generals 'could learn something about their enemies the communists'. He even asked the army: 'How about having some communist generals?'

# Shoppers welcome wage freeze march

CHRISTMAS SHOPPERS in Glasgow turned their thoughts to questions other than Christmas trees, cards and gifts for the family when the Young Socialists marched through the crowded streets last Saturday demonstrating against Wilson's wage freeze and unemployment.

The demonstrators assembled at Queen's Cross where a short meeting was held to explain the purpose of the demonstration. A number of young people from the locality spontaneously joined the demonstration and at the end of it said they wanted to join the Young Socialists.

FROM MICKIE SHAW

## ABERFAN TRIBUNAL

# Many feared coal tip would slide

### Chairman told

BEFORE THE ABERFAN TRIBUNAL adjourned on Wednesday for Christmas, the chairman, Lord Justice Edmund Davies heard of the fears of many villagers about the No. 7 killer tip.

There was also an attack on Lord Robens by Mr. Philip Brown, a 61-year-old retired miner who broke through the police cordons in October to demand personally that Lord Justice Davies should hear the truth from the villagers, and should not 'whitewash' the facts.

Mr. Brown said Lord Robens had made a misleading statement when he claimed in a TV interview shortly after the disaster that a NCB official knew there was a spring under the tip.

The stream said Mr. Brown had flowed a few yards below the base of No. 4 tip until it was covered by a slip, and broke out further down the hillside underneath No. 7 tip.

### Headmaster afraid

He told how the late Mr. Williams, former headmaster at the Pantglas school, always said he was afraid of the tip.

Schoolteacher, Mr. William Lloyd Evans, who lived in Moy Road and lost his wife and children on October 21 in the disaster, spoke of fears among his family and friends about the tip.

On Monday Lord Justice Davies said he was astonished that there was no NCB record of a 'substantial' slip in 1963 on No. 7 tip. It is thought the tip cracked at the same spot this year.

This lack of records is perhaps not surprising as there is nothing in the Mines and Quarries Act or other legislation laying down safety regulations for colliery tips.

## Rhodesian Crisis

From page 1

not have prevented breakdown at some later stage.

If Wilson was aware of this, why all the trouble of his trips to Salisbury and Gibraltar? The answer is to be found in the difficulties of the two main political parties in Britain.

By going as far as he did to appease Smith, Wilson hoped to help Heath to maintain the stability of the Tory Party. The right-wing Tories, with their last-ditch stand against American encroachment on British imperialist investment, would otherwise topple the Conservative leadership, and with it Wilson's de facto coalition with Heath.

On the other hand, the rejection of the Tiger deal in Salisbury enables Wilson to keep the Labour 'lefts' quiet—they will be quite happy now that their beloved United Nations is involved.

The South African rulers are also urging Smith to reach a settlement. Economic sanctions can strike blows at their trade also and weaken their power.

## Us pose

The Americans, as on so many other occasions, will soon pose as the great progressives. They will seek agreements with African nationalism, supplanting the British as political and commercial patrons of the 'independent' African governments.

There can be no solution to the problems of Africa except through the revolutionary victory of the African working class. And by striking a blow at the British employers, this would help the working-class movement here to beat back the attacks now being made upon its organisations.

That is why the Socialist Labour League has refused all along to parrot the cries on the left for the sending of British troops against Smith (as if such a thing were possible), or for UN intervention.

Instead we have demanded the arming of the Africans of Zimbabwe so they can get rid of their oppressors and take the wealth of their country out of the hands of usurping white farmers and monopoly investors.

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Socialist Labour League members and student members of Glasgow University Marxist Society also participated.

Colourful banners and posters demanded: No wage-freeze, no laws against the trade unions, no unemployment; nationalization of the banks and major industries under workers' control and without compensation; an end to the Smith regime in Rhodesia and the arming of the African workers.

### Attracted attention

Marching cheerfully along in spite of an intensely cold wind the marchers kept up a consistent chorus of slogan shouting which attracted the attention of Christmas shoppers and caused them to pause in large numbers on the pavements of the busy streets. Slogans included:

'Wage freeze out, Rising prices out, Laws against the unions, out, out, out.'

'Labour must nationalize—All left MPs must fight.'

'Wilson out, Smith, out, African Workers in, in, in.'

'Wilson out, Smith out, black and white workers must unite.'

Along the whole route of the march only one dissentient voice which called 'Up Smith' was heard from the bystanders and it received no sympathetic echo anywhere.

As on the demonstrations against imperialist war in Vietnam and those held earlier this year against anti-union laws and the wage freeze and in support of the seamen's strike, the Young Socialists again on this occasion won wide support for their demands from the older workers, trade unionists and housewives.

There is no doubt that the lead given by the Young Socialists in fighting for socialist policies in Britain and internationally has found a ready response amongst the workers in Glasgow and that support for these policies will continue to grow and become concretised in joint action and demonstrations against Wilson's government in the months ahead.

## 'Economic miracle' collapsing

IN BRITAIN, open associations of social-democratic and capitalist parties in government have normally only taken place in periods of severe economic crisis or war. In Germany, such a government exists now, led by an ex-Nazi, and including the German equivalents of Wilson, Greenwood and others.

The significance of such a government at this stage in German history should not be underestimated. It is true, as was pointed out in last week's Newsletter, that the growth of neo-Nazism does not represent a movement of the same significance as in the 1930s.

It does however indicate the depth of the crisis facing the German petty bourgeoisie and ruling class. The need for a 'national' government at this time also indicates the depth of the crisis facing German capitalism, for all the apparently 'miraculous' recovery of the German post-war economy.

### KRUPP'S LOSSES

The persistent rumours in recent weeks that Krupp's is faced with severe losses, dealt with by an almost deafening silence in the European financial press, shows yet more flaws in the 'miracle'.

Krupp's, which just 25 years ago was running on slave labour and is still under the same management, has recently lost money through failure of firms from under-developed countries to pay for the goods that have been supplied and through the need to secure loans at fixed rates of interest. The firm has greeted with a curt and unexplained denial enquiries about whether it was faced with any big losses.

The big car monopoly Volkswagen has announced lay-offs this week. It is clear that with such problems as these looming on the horizon, the ruling class in Germany needs its 'national' government. Such an alliance can mean only big attacks ahead for the German working class.

Brandt's meeting on Thursday with General de Gaulle, grouse-shooting companion of Mr. Kosygin, shows that the European monopolists need to come closer together before Britain's entry into the Common Market.

In order to prepare for the big struggles that will be faced by the German working class as a result of the monopolists' problems, it will be necessary for them to build a revolutionary leadership and a section of the Fourth International.