First published April 1978 reprinted August 1978

MADIST

# SOGALST

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT

REPRINT ... STILL £1.20

the cocidity party

### CONTENTS

PREFACE		4
PAR	T ONE. LEFT IN APPEARANCE, RIGHT IN ESSENCE	9
I	THE STATE  PF's failure to grasp the class nature of the state	9
	A. Nationalisation: is the state sector less capitalist than the private sector?	10
	B. The 'cuts': should socialists campaign for the welfare of the	
	working class or the welfare of the capitalist state?	14
	C. The machinery of the state	18
-	D. Seizure of state power	20
II	THE LABOUR PARTY	
	PF's failure to expose the Labour Party's role	25
	A. Is the Labour Party less capitalist than the Tory Party?	26
	B. The history of the Labour Party: an example of how PF	
	"straddles the barrier of past and present"	30
	C. The Labour Party and the labouring masses today	35
	D. The Labour Party: deadly enemy of the working class	39
III	THE TRADE UNIONS	-
	Are trade union politics the same thing as socialist politics?	43
	A. 'Doing something' versus 'What is to be done?'; theory and	
	practice in the SWP	44
	B. Trade unions are not revolutionary organisations	49
	C. PF, the SWP and the trade unions today	53
	D. Party-building: should socialists build a revolutionary vanguard or	56
	just "gaze with awe upon the posteriors" of the masses?	30
IV	BRITISH SOCIETY TODAY	
	Who are our enemies? Who are our friends?	63
	A. Defining the bourgeoisie: PF goes into partnership with the Central Statistical Office and William Hickey	65
	B. Whatever happened to the middle class?	67
	C. The proletariat: how PF transforms the greatest class in history	07
	into a flock of sheep	70
	D. Britain: an imperialist society	74
	D. Dillant, an impolante society	, 4

## Available from

New Era Books 203 Seven Sisters Road London N 4 Phone 01 - 272 - 5894

V	REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN  PF's failure to take into account the factors for revolution in Britain	
	today	79
	A. The collapse of British imperialism	80
I (	B. Britain and the two imperialist superpowers	84
	C. The danger of a new world war	87
	D. Britain and Ireland	94
	E. Revolution in Britain: what stage is it at?	98
PAR	T TWO. WHAT IS SOCIALISM AND WHAT HAS PF PUT IN ITS PLACE?	104
I	SOCIALISM IN THEORY	
	What are the fundamental ideas of socialism, and what has PF	
	substituted for them?	104
	A. 'Eat, drink and be merry' versus dictatorship of the proletariat	105
	B. Bourgeois individualism versus democratic centralism	110
	C. 'Permanent revolution' versus the worker-peasant alliance and	
	socialism in one country	114
	D. Trotskyism versus Leninism	118
	E. Syndicalism versus party-building	119 124
	F. Spontaneism versus proletarian revolution	1.24
II	SOCIALISM IN PRACTICE	
	What is PF's case against socialism, and what is the case for the	
	defence?	130
	A. What indeed about Russia?	131
	B. Stalinism: Uncle Joe in historical reality and in Trotskyist	
	my thology	134
	C. Soviet foreign policy: two distinct periods	139
	D. PF on China: a deafening silence	145
	E. Third world revolution	151
ш	THE TWO WORLD OUTLOOKS	
	Is PF's outlook that of the proletariat or that of the bourgeoisie?	159
	A. PF's failure to grasp the role of class struggle in history	160
	B. The hollowness of PF's opposition to racism	166
	C. PF's bourgeois culture	176
	D. A "question of attitude"	183
CON	ICLUSION	• 0.5
	The SWP-where it stands	189
IND	INDEX	

For trade terms apply to New Era Books

or Publications Distribution Co-operative
27 Clerkenwell Close
London EC1R OAT Phone 01 - 251 - 4976

The Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) has been receiving quite a bit of publicity in the mass media during the last year or so. There are many organisations in this country which claim to break with the reformism of the Labour Party and outline a revolutionary road to socialism; but of them all, the SWP are currently being represented as the whizz-kids.

Certainly the SWP has a flair for publicity, and provides articulate spokesmen for its brand of politics, who strike a very 'left' pose and at the same time provide very quotable comments which are enthusiastically publicised in the papers and on TV as being the last word in 'revolutionary socialism'.

However, there's a bit more to socialist politics than the SWP suggests. In fact on closer examination one finds that, hidden behind the apparent clarity and forcefulness of what the SWP says, there lies a lot of confusion, and even some elementary errors that genuine socialists have long warned against. The harmful results are now becoming evident, as recruit after recruit is attracted by the 'action', burned up, disillusioned and demoralised, with the result that present members of the SWP are now easily outnumbered by ex-members.

We aim to take a closer look at the ideas and policies of the SWP and see how they tally with the fundamental ideas of socialism. We have concentrated much of our criticism at the SWP's best-selling publication, Paul Foot's pamphlet, Why you should be a socialist, the case for the Socialist Workers' Party, which conveniently illustrates many of the most glaring faults of the SWP. We do not, however, restrict ourselves to discussing this pamphlet; our criticisms also range over a much wider area of what the SWP says and does.

Many fundamental questions face workers' struggles in Britain today. Though we do not claim to have all the answers, we do at least claim to be confronting the questions, in contrast to the SWP, which puts more effort into dodging questions than into coming to grips with them. Not only through our criticisms of the errors of the SWP, then, but also through what we put forward by way of an alternative, we aim to provide

### THE CASE AGAINST THE SWP

A clearly, sometimes amusingly, written contribution to the debate on 'socialism and how to get there'. Time Out

A serious critique of the politics of the Trotskyist tradition... Doing this in an amusing and readable style..., they at the same time give a clear outline of their own politics.

The Leveller

Reprint... still £1.20.

# COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT