

GUNTHER HITS OUT AT GAITSKELL - BROWN TALKS OF SADNESS

In a scarcely disguised attack on Gaitskell and his 'anti-Common Market' ^{speech} at Brighton, Ray Gunther spoke out for the pro-Marketeters in the Labour Party at a school run by his union - the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association. He said it is "quite meaningless to talk of about a thousand years of our history." and the "Labour Party dare not be negative or cowardly. With Europe there is the great hope; to stay out will by the turn of the century possibly mean the end of a great history." Also speaking last Saturday, Brown, although not being so open in his opposition, spoke of "moments for sadness and concern" at Brighton. He evoked the memory of Bevin and other "great Socialist leaders of the past" who would have shared "our contempt for MacMillan, de Gaulle and Adenauer" but who thought that the coming together of the nations of Europe was essential. Some idea of how much socialism there was in the speech of Gunther can be gleaned from the fact that he gave as an example of the progress made the fact that there were Protestant observers at the Vatican Council in Rome!

There has been much speculation in the bourgeois press as to whether these speeches mean that there will now be a right wing revolt as in the past there have been those of the left. Just how things will develop in the immediate future depends upon factors which are not public knowledge, e.g., the intentions and moods of the pro-Marketeters of the C.D.S. and right wing trade unions. It seems more likely that Gunther was making it clear that he would maintain his position rather than the start of an all out fight. However, from a longer-term we can be certain that some kind of right-wing revolt will take place. The extreme right wingers represent that section of the Labour Party which is an almost direct and undisguised representative of capital in the ranks of the Party. The Tories are to spend one million pounds in a campaign to popularise the idea of Britain joining the Common Market, moreover, all the influential bourgeois journals are piling on the pressure and are making a direct appeal to the right wingers. From the point of view of British capitalism it cannot envisage a situation where if the Tories take Britain in the Labour Party on achieving power would take the country out. Therefore the whole fight will pivot on this question, with the almost certainty in the last analysis of Gaitskell climbing down. But we haven't reached this stage yet and the right wing will act as a pressure point against a policy of revocation of entry.

In this situation the marxists have the duty of (1) carrying out as big a campaign as possible of education from a strict class point of view on the real significance of the Common Market; and (2) of seeking to get as broad a front as possible on the issue or revocation of entry. In this way they will be helping to fan the embers of a right wing revolt, an event which can do nothing but good from a socialist point of view.

WILL INDIA FIGHT CHINA WITH RUSSIAN MIGS?

It is difficult to get a clear picture of what is happening on India's northern frontier and what has set into motion the renewed outbreak of fighting. The bellicose utterances of Nehru and other Indian leaders combined with a denial by the Chinese that they have crossed the McMahon line (which they don't recognise anyway), the fact that what is at stake is merely thousands of square miles of barren waste-land, the growing influence which the Chinese seem to have in Nepal, all indicate that we must probe beneath the surface what is causing this conflict. The last time this conflict came to the fore (November/December 1959) Nehru was obliged to withdraw crack Gurkha units from the fighting because the latter had become disaffected, largely because of the influence of the land reform in Tibet. The best reports of this appeared in the Daily Express, early December, which had a reporter on the spot. India's difficult economic position and especially her severe balance of payments crisis which is largely being ameliorated by U.S. assistance suggest that the whole affair is, from Nehru's point of view, a good opportunity to divert the dissatisfaction of the Indian people. From a revolutionary point of view there are many important side-issues, it is very likely that the dispute will intensify the Sino/Russian schism. Unless the Khrushchovites are willing to make a stand against Nehru it seems quite possible that there may be an open break between Moscow and Peking, which would have profound political consequences. There is no sign of them doing so, information to hand suggests that the international stalinist movement is in a dilemma on this issue - the Daily Worker has reported the statements of both sides without comment. Winter will soon be on the Himalayas and the problem may be postponed, but between the leaders of the Chinese workers state (no matter what their faults) and the Congress regime which has been the main block to the development of revolution in the worlds second largest state our choice is clear. Whose side will the Khushchovites take?

In this issue of the Bulletin we give two extracts from the European Community Bulletin which show the manner in which agencies of the European Economic Community 'interfere' in the internal affairs of member countries. Of course we bring this forward not because of our fear of 'foreigners', but because in class terms these things represent the ganging up of various capitalist classes to put the burden of rationalisation onto the workers of one country. The case of the Belgian miners is well-known; although the contendents appear to be the E.C.S.C. and the Belgian Government, in reality, the wrangling boils down to an argument about the best way to sack thousands of the Belgian miners. (The same issue of the journal reports plans to 'readapt' the jobs of 4,300 German miners, 2,200 French and 700 Belgians). The Dutch transport case is not so direct. However, it shows the power exercised by the High Authority to insist on the publication of Transport rates in the 'interests of free competition.' As we know, under modern conditions this means in the interests of big monopolies and this, in the last analysis, means in the interests of the most efficient exploitation of the working class. The only answer to the ganging up of the monopolies is the ganging up of the workers across state boundaries and is hoped that readers of the Bulletin will use this information to proselytise the idea of a workers united front in face of a united front of monopolists.

Belgian coal

from the Bulletin of European Community
(September 1962 issue)

The High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community has made the first moves to end the isolation of the Belgian coal industry. The High Authority considers that the continued isolation of the industry could now hinder the redevelopment plans made necessary by the uncompetitive condition of some Belgian mines. The isolation of the Belgian coal industry, by means of quotas on imports of coal into Belgium from Community as well as non-Community countries, was introduced as a special measure in 1958 to protect the industry from the coal crisis which started that year. Since then the High Authority and the Belgian Government have cooperated in closing down uneconomic pits. Continued protection has substantially reduced pit-head stocks, but it is also providing what the High Authority considers may be encouragement to keep uneconomic mines in operation.

For this reason the High Authority has decided that from August 1st. imports into Belgium from Community countries of anthracite, low-volatile coals, and anthracite and similar briquettes should be completely freed. Quotas for imports of other types of coal, and export quotas for Belgian coal to Community countries, were increased by 10 per cent. At the same time the High Authority asked the Belgian Government to prepare further proposals for the rationalisation of the Belgian coal industry to be considered by the E.C.S.C. Council of Ministers early next year. Belgium will close down 500,000 tons of capacity between July and December of this year. The High Authority has already provided readaption funds for the miners involved.

Dutch transport case

from the Bulletin of European Community
(October, 1962, issue)

The Court of Justice of the European Community on Jul 12 rejected the Dutch Government's contention that the High Authority's recommendation on the publicity of transport rates in the Coal and Steel Community was illegal. The Dutch Government claimed that the High Authority has overstepped its powers in making the recommendation. The court's decision, which upheld the High Authority's view that the principle of the publication of transport rates was laid down in the Paris Treaty has put an end to the uncertainty which has surrounded the issue for several years. The Dutch Government made its first appeal against the High Authority on this issue three years ago. In its judgement, the court stated that price publicity was essential if transport firms were to be able to compete freely. According to the Court the Treaty of Paris does not limit itself to forbidding discrimination but stipulates adequate publicity of all forms of transport rates for coal and steel throughout the Community.

The court stated that the High Authority has power to insist on the member states' execution of their obligations under the Paris Treaty by means of a recommendation, although it has no powers to impose new obligations not mentioned in the Treaty. In this case the High Authority had followed this procedure correctly, according to the Court, and the recommendation opposed by the Dutch Government did not exceed the High Authority's Treaty powers. Finally, the Court approved the High Authority's recommendation to the member states to institute effective controls....to ensure that their rate-publicity measures were being applied.....

NOTTINGHAM LEFT PUBLISHED: The first issue of Nottingham Left has appeared, it is published by the Nottingham University Socialist Society and contains articles on: the Common Market, NALSO, student activity in Australia and America, a poem by Yevtushenko, etc, etc,. It can be obtained for 6d (8½d P.P.) It is hoped to bring out further copies with the collaboration other local N.A.L.S.O. groups.

Readers of the Bulletin will remember the announcement of a Committee to get teachers, technicians, etc. to go to Algeria to help in reconstruction. Some idea of the desperate need is given in the following extract from New Society of 11/10/62. Ed. Note.

The school year in Algeria was due to start on 1 October; but by 15 Sept. the last day for re-registration, financial inducements (equivalent to salaries between 53 and 63 per cent higher than in France) and moral appeals had persuaded no more than 1,500 French teachers to return to Algeria.

Compared with last year's force of 23,000 primary and 4,000 secondary teachers in public schools, estimates of the staff for the coming term total some 6,000 primary and less than 500 secondary instructors. Practically all the country's 400 university lecturers left Algeria, and have not returned. With Moslems accounting for only 10 per cent of the teaching force, a full start to the school year must depend on the return of the bulk of the French teachers; and nobody knows when this will be. Although the Algerian government has now fixed the official opening of the schools for 15 October, the programme will be drastically curtailed.

Oddly enough, the departure of the French will actually reduce congestion in the secondary and university classes, where the colons were in a majority. But the situation in the primary schools, where the Moslems outnumbered the Europeans by eight to one, will be acute. Between 1954 and 1961 the number of Moslems attending primary classes for seven to eight years of regular schooling had risen from 317,000 to 800,000; and it was to have reached one million by 1963. Even so, this would be only some 55 per cent of all children of school age.

Possibilities of replacing French teachers are very limited. Towards the arabization of its schooling Algeria has asked the Arab League for 2,000 teachers now, and an additional 4,000 over the next five years. The League should certainly be able to provide some teachers, particularly from Egypt and Lebanon. Unesco has promised Algeria some 80 secondary teachers, and Russia has offered a further 100. But all of this is marginal. Some rudimentary instruction is being given by the F.L.N., but an attempt in Algiers to get older children to teach the younger ones ended in chaos. It may be that the French army will have to step in once again. Last year, about 80,000 children were being taught by teachers serving in the Army and presumably these classes could be extended. But the threat of serious waste of much-needed skill is all too clear.

ALGERIA AND MOROCCO CLASH OVER OIL AND ORE REGION from the Financial Times(Oct.17)

The Algerian Army attacked the fortress of the Sahara town of Tindouf, which is claimed by Morocco, and killed 130 of the tribesmen occupying it, because they refused to haul down the Moroccan flag, according to the Maghreb Arabe Presse, the semi-official Moroccan agency. Although the fighting is said to have taken place on October 2, the agency seems to have kept the news to coincide with the visit to the Algerian Mission in Rabat of Mr. Mohammed Khider, Secretary-General of the Algerian Political Bureau.

It says that the situation at Tindouf is "serious" and communications with Morocco have been cut. The pro-Government weekly, Al Istiqlal, called for a settlement of the Moroccan claim with the Algerian Government without delay. One of the world's biggest iron ore deposits is at stake. At Gar Djebilet, near Tindouf, are estimated to lie 650 million tons of ore with a 57 per cent content. The chances of oil and natural gas are also believed to be promising; at any rate the French Safrep concern and a subsidiary of B.P. have been given concessions to prospect by France, on the assumption that Tindouf was in French Sahara, which has now been ceded to Algeria.

King Hassan of Morocco has been pursuing his claim by getting the local Reguibat tribe to proclaim, with suitable publicity, that they recognise his sovereignty. It is difficult to confirm the story current in Rabat that they have been bribed to do so. The official Moroccan line is that Mr. Ferhat Abbas, recognised Morocco's Saharan claims when he was head of the Algerian Provisional Government in exile, and that, given a bit of time, his successors can be relied upon to act accordingly. Now the uncompromising action taken by the Algerian forces makes it seem that time is not on Morocco's side.

INTERNATIONALIST SOCIALIST REVIEW, AUTUMN 1962 AVAILABLE: We have received bulk supplies of this journal. Costing 2/6, post 4d extra, it contains a number of very interesting articles; "Can Wall St. Afford Peace?" by Art Pries, "In Defence of Dialectics" by Arne Swabeck, "Venezuela Today" by L. David, "Gerhart Hauptmann" by Trent Hutter, "Africa, Truth and the Right to Travel" by William Worthy (the Negro journalist sentenced recently for going to Cuba without a passport) and a number of book reviews, and a review of various American periodicals. As well getting a copy themselves all readers of the Bulletin should make every effort to sell a number to their political contacts. It compares very well with any similar journal appearing in Britain today and will sell well.

(Contd. from Issue No 39/40)

	Terms of Trade		
	1950	1955	1961
Industrial countries	94	95	104
Other countries	-113	108	98

(Unit value index of exports divided by unit value index of imports)

The less-developed countries account for about 30% of the total of world trade. One of the principal factors sustaining the volume of their exports in post-war years has been the increase in petroleum; in 1955 this was nearly four times as much as in 1937-38, nearly six times as much as in 1928. Over the ten years 1951-1961 the volume of oil exports rose at an annual average rate of 9 per cent (though the years 1957 and 1958 were affected by the Suez crisis). There were however, reductions in crude oil prices in 1959 and 1960.

Industrial countries.

The trend of exports from the industrial countries since the war has fallen roughly into two periods. Up to the early 1950s, North American exports were nearly twice as large as in 1938; by 1951 they had risen by a further 20 per cent. In 1948 Western Europe's exports were still only four-fifths of what they had been in 1938; by 1951 they were two-fifths greater than in 1938. By 1961 however, both Western European and North American exports were just under three times their 1938 volume.

The rise in Western European trade reflects the rapid expansion of industrial production - by 90 per cent between 1950 and 1961, twice the rate of increase in North American production. This expansion, though slowed down, was not checked in the years of recession in North America in 1954 and 1958. The only year in which European production was almost stagnant was 1952; this was a year, however, in which North American production increased. Thus expansion in Western Europe during the 1950s has been less affected by the trade cycle in North America than during the 1930s. This has contributed to the relatively smooth increase in world trade.

Trade prospects this year.

World industrial production expanded rapidly in 1961, largely because of the big increase in the United States as it recovered from recession. It continued to expand in the early months of this year, and the average level will be substantially above 1961, although the rate of increase during the year will not be as fast as last year's.

High and steadily increasing world industrial production should lead to a greater demand for industrial materials. Trade between industrial countries seems likely to increase at about the 1961 rate. Exports from industrial countries in the first quarter of this year were still rising and about 4 per cent above a year earlier. Total world trade should show some further expansion during the year.

COMMENT: Some may consider that the above is merely a compilation of facts and statistics which have little relevance to the struggle which faces us. They would be profoundly mistaken for behind the trends shown in this article is the process which is one of the most revolutionary factors in the world today. The scissors movement in export prices (the tendency of the prices of manufactured goods to rise, whilst the prices of primary commodities tend to drop) translated into human terms means hundreds of thousands, even millions, of peasants getting less and less in return for their back-breaking labour, whilst at the same time they have to pay more and more for any manufactured goods they need. To the masses of workers in the underdeveloped countries it means unemployment and increased exploitation. To both these groups it means that the operation of the world market to bring about an intensification of 'neo-colonialism' which in turn means that the whole basis of their life can be destroyed by processes over which they have not the slightest control. It is the 'anarchy of the market' on a higher level and in itself demonstrates the moribundness of capitalism. Translated into political terms these processes mean that there can be no political stability in the underdeveloped countries whilst these countries remain subordinate to the world market. Together the human, economic and political consequences provide a motor force for the whole colonial revolution. Moreover, as recession hits the West and each capitalist state attempts to break out of the problems created by stagnation and competition the process will be intensified. We can therefore say that for a whole period the colonial revolution will tend to deepen and become more 'social' insofar as it is forced to choose the socialist path by the very nature of the problems that face it. We can, therefore, expect more and more 'Cubas' with all the consequences that will flow.

Oct 8 - President Kennedy, in his Aug 13 radio-TV speech on the state of the U.S. economy, asserted that the July "economic indicators do not warrant the conclusion that we are entering a new recession". Kennedy's speech along with his July "economic indicators" was shortly tossed into the wastebasket of history. On Sept 21, a department of Commerce compilation of 17 key indicators for Aug. was publishing in Business Cycle Developments. As Joseph A. Loftus of the New York Times so tactfully put it, the indicators were "somewhat less encouraging than they were a month earlier". Nine pointed down; seven; up; one remained unchanged. Among the nine pointing down were such key indicators as durable goods manufacturers' orders, machinery and equipment orders and the average work week of manufacturing production workers.

On Sept. 30th, the New York Times published an economic survey of the 3rd quarter of 1962. The headlines read in part; "Economy mixed" and "Outlook Cloudy" and "Output Levels Off." In fact, the only bright note in the survey was the observation that "business so far has escaped a much-predicted recession . . ." That's like a doctor cheerfully telling a person expected to die within six months, "Well, you are still alive I see." Hardly anyone of repute in the field of economics has predicted a recession before 1963. But hardly anyone of standing in this field - except direct mouthpieces of the Kennedy administration - will declare that there will not be a recession next year, starting quite likely with a post Xmas decline in January and February.

If some economists are reluctant to make their views public the reasons are threefold. First, some are really puzzled. Second, some are afraid that pessimistic predictions may trigger an even speedier economic decline or a sharp stock market break of the proportions of last May and June. And third, there is fear of reprisal.

The last point is certainly one important reason why "few economists or business men are rushing out with firm predictions," as pointed out by M.J. Rossant in his "View from the Fence," a special feature in a financial section of today's New York Times. They recall only too well what happened to Ewin Clague, long-time head of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, when he told a national gathering of experts in Atlantic City last June 19th that the historic trends and indicators signal a recession in 1963. The mild mannered and conservative Clague was immediately subjected to an insulting public rebuke by the then Secretary of Labour, Arthur Goldberg. Clague was compelled to make a humiliating public disavowal of his Atlantic City Statement. In today's Times article, Rossant gives a very revealing example of the frame of mind of the professional economists dependent for their livelihood on the largesse business organisations, business controlled universities or the big-business government.

" . . . even in private, economists appear over cautious. An informal poll of ten economists revealed are expecting a decline in 1963 but do not think it prudent to say so. Another four admit that they are confused by economic indicators and have not made up their minds. One thinks the economy will show a rise over the next three quarters. And one took the view that a substantial cut in taxes will prevent a decline but doubted that congress will act unless confronted with a serious deterioration".

In short, out of the ten economists questioned, five expect a decline, although one sees the possibility of avoiding a recession through legislative action he does not expect Congress to take. Four hesitate to give any opinion, which suggests they are not prepared to rule out a recession. Thus, nine out of ten either foresee a recession or do not exclude it on the basis of the available economic statistics and trends. Rossant is troubled by what he calls the over cautious attitude of the economists. He does not mean that they will not state their opinions openly but that they will not take a position in variance with the statistical evidence - that they will not say "up" when the data points "down". He complains that they are relying "on statistical indicators which are themselves fallible". And this "can lead to error". But Rossant has to concede that if the indicators are right, "then the so-called standard forecast, the one that most economists will except is likely to call for a gradual topping out of the rise followed by decline."

Well, if Rossant is seeking positive optimism in spite of the statistical evidence, I suggest he button-holes almost any one in the Kennedy's administration's hire. But Rossant discounts the reliability even of Dr. Walter W. Heller, "the Administration's chief economic prophet." Rossant observes acidly: "For who ever heard of a government official forecasting a recession before it actually occurs?"

to be continued next week.

The following report appeared in La Conquista, 1st October, the journal of the Italian G.F.G.S. (the Nenni Socialists Youth Federation). Ed. Note.

At Kessingland in England, there was held from the 7th to the 14th of September a European seminar of left-wing young socialist organisations, in which which E.P. Thompson, Henry Collins, E. Roberts, John Rex, M. Kidron, Tony Cliff, R. Miliband and several others participated. The seminar which had as a theme 'Reform or Revolution', was organised by N.A.L.S.O. and by some Young Socialists, both of which are connected with the Labour Party, and by the journals New Left Review and Young Guard.

Among the participants at the seminar, besides the sponsors, were the English Y.C.L., the Norwegian Union of Socialist Students, the review Clarte of the Swedish Socialist Students, the Association of Austrian Socialist Middle-school Students, the Socialist Young Guard of Belgium; and our organisation was represented by comrades Giacardo Lucerni and Guido Pollice. There were also present some fifty young people from English youth organisations and from the Labour Party. The initiative taken at the Ariccia Congress at Rome, promoted by the F.G.S., to set unity of action and discussion of the left-wing organisations of Europe, led us to join this seminar.

The discussion, although it was not at a very high level (excepting the session held by Ernest Mandel of the Belgian Left Socialists) demonstrated the great need for ideological precision in seeking to regroup and unify in action the diverse forces of the English Left, so that they may undertake a concrete struggle against the right-wing of the Labour Party and towards revolutionary perspectives for the English Workers' movement. Today more than ever it is necessary for the forces of the European Left to unify, to work out a revolutionary strategy which leaves no room for reformism: because today's "reformism" is that of Fanfani, MacMillan, Kennedy and similar people. The international workers' movement needs to discover how to organise itself as a class, and to pose concretely the alternative to the power of capitalism.

It was with this intention that we participated in this conference, and with this intention we shall join in future meetings, in the hope that from them it will be possible to develop concrete political action in every country.

KEEP LEFT AND THE TECHNIQUE OF THE AMALGAM

One of the techniques used by the Stalinists in their attempts to discredit their political opponents (and especially those of the left) was, and is, that of the amalgam. Trotsky, who analysed this technique in the 'Stalin school of Falsification' and who perhaps coined the term, was one of its chief victims. The whole purpose of the trials of the 30's, now denounced by Krushchov, was to establish a 'connection' between the old Bolsheviks and the worst enemies of the working class - the fascists. Constantly, the Stalinists used this technique up to the time of the 20th Congress, and now some of the diehards still attempt to settle the arguments of the left against the C.P. with the charge of being 'police agents' and 'agent provocateurs'. Unfortunately, it is not only the Stalinists who use this technique, moreover our tendency has been the victim such amalgams. When the Internationalist dared to criticise the Newsletter National Assembly of Labour, the editorial of that paper, relying on the fact that most of its readers had not read the Internationalist completely misrepresented what the paper had to say about the Assembly. It moreover linked this criticism with an attack made on the Assembly by I.R.I.S. the extreme right-wing pressure group.

In the last few weeks the Keep Left been pushing the line that the Tribune and other lefts have assisted the right wing in its proscription of Keep Left despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary. The line of Keep Left seems to be that they have some kind of 'divine right' to criticise, sometimes in an extremely vicious way, all and sundry, but that the moment anyone criticises them is lining up with the right wing. An all time low has been reached by Keep Left in this campaign when it says in the October issue that it has heard that all articles in Young Guard have to be submitted to Gunther. This is, as the person who wrote these words knows, a complete and utter lie. Only the right wing profits from this kind of thing, and the general effect is to cause demoralisation and an undermining of the fight against the witch hunt. Healthy indignation on this matter should not cause us to let up in any way our campaign against the proscription of Keep Left and other publications and we should to these things as a political phenomena and not as personal failings. That such techniques are used arise from the wrong politics of the supporters of Keep Left and the extremely undemocratic nature of its supporting organisation. Nothing would please the right wing than for the supporters of Young Guard to indulge in a counter-campaign (or for that matter the supporters of Keep Left).