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THE BULLETIN

*An Information Service
for
Socialists*

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Letter to Readers.

First we must apologise for the poor quality of the duplicating of some of the last week's issue. Unfortunately, there was technical trouble which arose from using the wrong type of ink - we won't make that mistake again!

Since the report in the 'Bulletin' was written there has been progress made in the campaign for solidarity with the French strikers. In Nottingham a letter is being sent to the local papers signed by prominent Labour Party members and trade unionists. The signatories include several local government candidates, the agent, secretary, parliamentary candidate and president of one constituency, and members of the University staff are among others who have signed. The letter is also to be used as a collecting sheet in factories, Unions, wards, etc. We hope next week to be able to report on a whole range of activity in this field.

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BEECHING'S PLAN: This arises from the general situation which faces British capitalism. Lumbered with out of date industries and facilities it seeks to streamline itself by carrying out widespread rationalisation. However, each measure of rationalisation in one particular field creates problems in another. Beeching's plan will intensify the contradictions in industrial development between one region and another, and between the town and countryside. It will transfer from the rails to the roads a vast amount of traffic which in turn will make the already serious congestion almost unbearable in the big towns. Only vast capital expenditure could all exist to that situation. All in all the whole affair gives socialists the opportunity to show how outmoded and moribund the capitalist system is, and to pose the socialist alternative. It is also a terrific attack on a section of the working class and will mean thousands joining the dole queue at a time when the prospects of getting alternative work is very remote. Moreover the areas where there will be the heaviest closures and redundancies are precisely those where a high level of unemployment already exists.

Socialists must oppose this latest attempt by Beeching, in the interest of British capitalism, to load the burden of rationalising the railways onto the backs of the workers. The plan must be fought by a strategy which will bring wide sections of workers into action. It would be a grave error to see the main burden of opposing the plan imposed upon the railwaymen themselves.

The Labour Party must become the focal point for a political struggle against the closures which will be linked with an industrial struggle against sackings. Wide sections of workers who use the railways and who now face the prospect of paying much higher fares or even a complete lack of transport can be mobilised, locally and nationally, against a particular closure and against the plan in general. Local government elections are in the offing and this opposition can be made into a key issue. Labour controlled councils should be made to pledge themselves to fight tooth and nail against the plan. Everything which is planned should have as its aim the bringing into action of the mass of the people. Would it be impossible to organise a lobby of Parliament in protest against the murder of the railways? - we think not and local councils would be the bodies to do this.

Such a campaign would dovetail with and inspire a union campaign against the sackings. A policy of complete nationalisation and the planning of all transport, of no sacking and an end to compensation must be posed together with the idea of the railways as a social service. This policy combined with the general slogan of the return of a Labour Government pledged to carry out clause four would evoke a tremendous response.

THE BATTLE OF PARLIAMENT SQUARE: It is important for us to understand what happened at this lobby and to draw the conclusions. The basic reason for the disturbances was the high-handed approach of the police and the couldn't care less attitude of a large number of M.P.'s. The majority of the participants were ordinary workers who went to the demonstration accepting the reformist slogans under which it was organised. Many of them had travelled overnight, had taken a day off work and had either raised the fares out of their own pockets or through their organisations. After all this they were kept waiting for an hour or so with hardly any progress in seeing their M.P.'s. Not surprising then that they saw red. Thus we are brought to the obvious conclusion that, convinced that some one is trying to 'put something across t them' the British worker will react vigorously. And that, without doubt, given the slightest degree of leadership the British workers will acquit themselves very well indeed - this is our hope for the future.

- 1517 Faced with the development of a sizeable and united left-wing, the leadership of the Nottingham City Labour Party have become considerably alarmed. The East Midlands Regional Organiser, Cattermole, usually conspicuously absent from such gatherings, turned up at the last one with a proposal to exclude members from outside the city limits from the right to speak or vote. This means that Trade Unions who have, say, 400 members in Nottingham, but are represented by a delegate who happens to live just beyond the city boundary, are disenfranchised: a fact which was pointed out from the floor of the meeting. But Cattermole's proposal has a good non-geographical reason behind it: an increasing number of left-wing delegates are being elected to the City Party and the outlying areas provide some of the most vocal of these. This accounts for the fact that Cattermole is prepared to swallow his words, for some five years ago he compelled a reluctant City Party to accept the rights of delegates from outlying areas to be present. Clearly, interpretation of the rules is dependent on the political weather prevailing at any given time..... but Cattermole will have to get a very big constitutional umbrella indeed to protect himself from the flood of left-wing sentiment that is being built up in Nottingham today. Moreover, were the proposals of the Boundaries Commission to be implemented he would be forced into another about-turn, for these would include in the City those elements he is anxious to exclude.

DERBYSHIRE MINERS SUPPORT FRENCH STRIKERS.

Branches of the National Union of Mineworkers throughout Derbys. are being asked to collect money towards a £500 target which will be sent to France to assist the miners there in their struggle for an 11% rise. Two officials of the Derbys. N.U.M. have arrived back in England after studying the French mining dispute on the spot and the branches have pledged their support for the French strikers. Comrades in Nottingham are assisting in this collection and collection sheets for this purpose can be obtained from the International Bookshop.

FORD MANAGEMENT IN MORE PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS AT HALEWOOD.

According to the Financial Times Ford Motors have postponed giving a substantial pay increase to its 3,400 Halewood employees because maintenance men at the plant have rejected a new shift system. This co-incides, says the Financial Times with the management's announcement of a scheme for encouraging a family atmosphere. National Union officials agreed on March 14th that in exchange for rates of pay at Halewood being brought up to the Dagenham level, the management could introduce a system of double day shifts. The two day shifts were to be the equivalent of the day and night shifts worked at Dagenham. Agreement was then reached at local level for the production workers to operate the agreement from next Monday. Skilled workers were expected to gain about £2 a week, semi-skilled 36/- and unskilled 31/-.

The trouble arose among 400 maintenance men who were under the impression that the double shift did not apply to them, and they refused to work it. Fords claim that they can only allow the increase if the double shift is worked by all employees. The two shifts were to have lasted from 6.35 a.m. to 3 p.m. and 3 p.m. to 11.25 p.m. with a 25 minute meal break for each shift, thus allowing the plant to be in continuous work for most of the day.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS UNEMPLOYMENT DEMONSTRATION. From a Hackney Correspondent.

On Saturday the 23rd March, the East and West Surrey Young Socialist Federations organised an unemployment demonstration in the Croydon area, finishing with a meeting in front of the Town Hall. Marchers and onlookers heard Stan Mills (N.U.R.), Walter Wolfgang and John Palmer address the meeting. While the meeting was in progress, several people joined the Labour Party.

EAST ISLINGTON THINKING AGAIN ?

The caucus on the East Islington Labour Party CLP is apparently beginning to think again over the admission of certain comrades who they have repeatedly refused to allow membership to. The Young Socialists involved, having had their meetings closed down by the local party have been asked to re-apply for membership. This follows the campaign of support for Gus Macdonald, on which we have already commented. His ward and Constituency Party, and the Glasgow City Labour Party have all come to his support and any further bigotry on the part of the East Islington Party will be particularly obtuse in the light of this.

Y.S.A. LEADER SPEAKERS TO CALIFORNIA STUDENTS. (From a 'Militant' report.)

Leroy McRae has finished the West Coast leg of this nation-wide speaking tour, which is developing into the most successful tour the Young Socialist Alliance has ever run. American students are displaying particular interest in McRae's subject - the growing mood of militancy among Negroes - and with what the young Negro socialist has to say about the future of the struggle. Campus meetings for McRae, who is the national organizational secretary of the YSA, have attracted an average of over 100 people. A high point was registered at San Francisco State College, where 500 students heard Leroy at an outdoor rally on the campus. At Oakland City College the YSA spokesman held a street meeting at which some 75 students, mostly Negroes, engaged in a lively discussion. Members of the Afro-American Association (AAA) participated in the debate. The following evening the AAA and YSA held a forum where differences and similarities on the approach of the two militant organizations to the question of the Negro struggle for equality were aired and discussed. Don Warden, chairman of the AAA, presented his organization's viewpoint, and McRae spoke for the YSA. Over 200 attended.

McRae began his tour in Chicago with appearances at the University of Chicago, Roosevelt University and Northwestern. His meeting at Northwestern drew 150 students. From Chicago he traveled to Denver, San Diego, Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area, Seattle, and Vancouver. In the latter city, over 200 Canadians turned out to hear about the Negro struggle in the United States.

The Midwest leg of his tour will carry McRae to the St. Paul-Minneapolis, Madison, Milwaukee, Chicago for a second time, Bloomington, Ind., Louisville, Nashville, Yellow Springs (Ohio), Columbus, Cleveland, Detroit, East Lansing and Ann Arbor.

Recent issues of Comment have included supplements containing letters which discuss resolutions for the coming CP Congress. In the 9th March issue, a Brixton reader made a plea for more theoretical debate : "I would suggest that a real attempt at a Marxist estimation of questions such as coexistence, role of imperialism in 1963, an estimation of 'revisionism' and 'dogmatism', the role of the colonial revolutions and of the uncommitted nations is needed. Have we no new light on the transition to socialism since the last draft of the British Road?" A week later, Peter Seltman (Preston) criticised the draft political resolution. In particular he opposed the aim of transforming the Labour Party as the primary line of struggle within the working class : "Despite the presence at various times of sincere, devoted working class members of the Labour Party, this Party is the product of political perversion of the class struggle in Britain. It has developed in this way with the direct encouragement of the bourgeoisie.....This is not a temporary condition of the Labour Party. It has been a permanent feature of the Labour Party from its beginnings. As long as the Labour Party exists within the framework of the bourgeois state this condition will also exist."

This same contributor was even more critical of the attitude towards Parliament : "Section 3, lines 136-9 state 'sovereignty would be transferred from the people and Parliament to bureaucratic commissions, acting on behalf of the Common Market, with powers to give directions over-riding Parliament'. What does 'would be' mean? Does sovereignty now rest in the hands of Parliament and the people? If we mean this, then we are revising without comment all previous Marxist-Leninist views of the State, since parliaments are not separated from, but are part of the state machine. The implication is that Parliament is, or can be, independent of class.....Since the relations of parliaments to the state machine of capitalism is one of the chief issues now under discussion internationally, it is amazing that this Resolution refers to it only in two places."

In the last issue, (March 23rd), Muriel Seltman (Barnet) compares the political resolution unfavourably with the 1960 Moscow Statement of the 81 Parties : "The imperialists must be forced to accept peaceful co-existence and the weakening of imperialism anywhere in the world is the only effective way of doing this." She continues, "Nowhere in the Draft Political Resolution is the anti-imperialist struggle identified with the struggle for peaceful co-existence. Surely the call for withdrawal of British overseas troops of occupation should be accompanied by a positive statement of solidarity with all colonial peoples fighting for their independence and especially those who have been forced into armed struggle in Brunei, Aden and Oman? These national liberation movements are in the forefront of the struggle for peace....."

Note : "Comment" published by the British Communist Party, is the successor of "World News". Readers are probably more familiar with it under this previous name.

The Shah's "revolution from the top" - land reforms aimed at winning support from the peasants to forestall the feared "revolution from the bottom" is not meeting with all the success the Shah had anticipated. A report from Teheran appearing in "U.S. News and World Report," indicates what the current situation is.

"Several thousand mountain tribesmen have revolted in Southern Iran. They have captured several military stations and laid siege to others. Although Iranian officials have tried to keep details of the fighting secret, they are known to be worried. The fear is that the revolt might spread, and officials are anxious to snuff it out before other tribes are encouraged to join. The revolt began on March 1st, with a sudden attack on a gendarmerie post in the region of Kazerun. The post of 12 men was wiped out. Soon, action spread. Unable to put down the revolt with four army battalions normally stationed in that area, Iran's government has rushed in three battalions of re-inforcements, including paratroopers. The Air Force has also gone into action, strafing and bombing rebel strongholds.

"Despite these measures, on March 10th an Iranian Army Officer returning from the rebel area reported that the situation was getting worse. On March 11th, the Shah sent his military chief to do whatever was necessary to crush the rebellion. Centre of the revolt is the Province of Fars, an area twice the size of Switzerland. The rebelling tribes number nearly half a million. There are more than three million other tribesmen in Iran's mountains who have grievances against the government, and among them are the Kurds, a strong volatile group who have long sought autonomy. The idea at first," the report continues, outlining the motives of the peasants, "was just to take away from landlords all except one village. But when this was accomplished early this year, many peasants in the villages retained by the landlords raised protests. They too, wanted to own the land they were tilling.

"Many of those peasants seized control of the land by force. Landlords who tried to enter were barred. Some were manhandled. A few were killed. Their houses were destroyed, their orchards cut to the ground. The result was that the Government got pushed further than it had originally intended to go. It expanded the land reform to restrict the property rights even of those landlords owning only one village. The Shah's 'revolution from the top' is one that many Westerners long have regarded as necessary to bolster his regime. But the Shah is finding that it also has loosed some forces which may prove most difficult to control." (US News and World Report, March 25th 1963).

JAPANESE TRANSPORT STRIKES SPREADING. From a Financial Times report.

The growing wave of spring strikes called by Japanese unions to back demands for wage increases and higher minimum wages reached a new peak of intensity on March 26th when private railway and bus workers walked off their jobs for four hours, affecting nearly 9 million commuters throughout Japan. Participating in the strikes were workers belonging to 157 unions in private railway companies which carry the bulk of Japan's commuter traffic. The Unions which are affiliated to the General Federation of Private Railway workers' Unions are demanding an average monthly wage increase of £5 and a minimum wage of £14 per month (sic). The railway strikers were joined by some 30,000 taxi drivers and 60,000 workers in the synthetic chemical industry.

UNITED STATES GUARANTEES TO LATIN AMERICAN PRESIDENTS.

"The United States will provide military help to any freely-elected Latin-American government which asks for it to meet Communist infiltration and subversion".

"The United States is militarily prepared to provide such help in a hurry".

"The United States in co-operation with Latin American countries if possible, but alone if necessary, will see to it that no further Communist regimes get established in Latin America".

These are the main points of a secret testimony given to the House Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee on Latin America by the Assistant Secretary of State, and later of promises given by President Kennedy to Central American Presidents at the meeting in Costa Rica. Kennedy also reaffirmed the policy that the United States would take in giving military action to restore governments to office if they had been ousted by Communists and put Presidents back into power even if the Communists had succeeded in carrying out a coup.

STRIKE SPREADS IN PERU.

From Hsinhua.

Government employees in Anchas and Libertad provinces, Central Peru joined on March 24th their fellow workers in Southern Peru in the strike which started on March 19th to press their demand for a wage increase. Government employees have started a 72 hour strike. The strike is reputedly winning wide support throughout Peru.

MEXICAN WORKERS MARK NATIONALISATION ANNIVERSARY.

Two thousand Mexican petroleum workers marked the 25th anniversary of Mexico's nationalisation of its oil industry at a meeting in Mexico on March 23rd. The workers also gave a banquet in honour of Mexico's former President, General Lazaro Cardenas, who decreed the nationalisation measure some 25 years ago. Cardenas, speaking at the banquet, denounced Imperialism for continuing to plunder Mexico's under-ground resources and intervening in its internal affairs by economic and diplomatic pressure or the threat of force. Nationalisation of the oil industry, he continued, with the enforcement of the agrarian reform at that time were actions asserting the sovereignty of the nation and a defence of its interests.

Recalling Mexico's agrarian reform, he said that the reform had been blocked by foreign monopolists who had wanted to keep intact their latifundia in Mexico. They had tried to incite some Mexicans to oppose their brothers fighting for land. He also denounced the monopoly capitalists for seizing every opportunity to infiltrate openly or secretly into Mexico's industries, jeopardising the national interests. (From New China News Agency.)

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The St. Anthony's Papers No 14, an issue of the occasional papers published by the Oxford College of that name is devoted once again to Far Eastern Affairs. Included among a number of papers of varying value is a most interesting report of G. Gomori, a Hungarian refugee, of some interviews he had with leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party. The bulk of the article gives an account of an interview with Aidit, Secretary of the Indonesian Party, which took place at the beginning of 1961. Asked about his attitude to Sukarno and "guided democracy", Aidit spoke of the President of Indonesia with great respect ("he seemed to me to be more pro-Sukarno than quite a few nationalists", says Gomori). When pressed for his opinion about the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat in Indonesia, Aidit agreed that he did "not apply it" to their country. These revisionist views did not prevent Aidit from vigorously attacking the Yugoslavs and applauding the Albanians, who, he said, "fight for pure Marxism".

Naturally, Gomori was interested in the Indonesian CP's appraisal of the events of 1956 in Hungary. Aidit thought there was a counter-revolution in Hungary, and that "Hungary is not an issue any more". But, he went on, "if this makes you any happier, I would not mind if through a miracle, Imre Nagy would be resurrected from his grave."

"FOURTH CLASS TO LENINGRAD" ?

From a report in the Daily Mirror.

"Russia's newest, whiter than white liner, the Mikhail Kalinin, docked at Tilbury yesterday and issued 'come aboard' invitations to the public. For the occasion, the Russians scattered around leaflets entitled 'Communism means Equality'. The leaflets struck an odd note when the visitors learned that the ship had FOUR classes ! "

KHRUSHCHOV VERSUS THE ARTISTS. (By a special correspondent.)

In our last issue we gave the first part of an article dealing with K.'s March 8th. speech, this is the balance. (Ed. Note) Khrushchov himself takes the artists very seriously he said: "Let us see what would happen . . . if the advocates of peaceful co-existence of various ideological trends in literature and art get the upper hand. As a first step, a blow would be dealt to our revolutionary gains in the sphere of socialist art. By the logic of struggle things would hardly end there. It is not impossible that these people . . . would make an attempt to come out in opposition to the revolutionary gains." (Our emphasis) In other words K. is saying that the Soviet state could be undermined if the artists have freedom of trends! This is a reflection of the bureaucracy's fear of political trends. Moreover, the fight the artists are putting up has real political implications - and they are using the slogan 'back to Lenin' to challenge the monopoly of power. Ehrenburg, quoted Lenin as saying to Lunacharsky: "...I don't want to impose my tastes on others." Yevtushenko, to quote K. again "... came out in defence of abstractionism. He attempted to justify his position by alleging that there are good people both among realists and formalists, and he referred to the example of two Cuban artists who had sharply differed in their views on art and then died in the same trench fighting for the revolution." Thus we see for the first time for a whole period the emergence of an open opposition in the Soviet Union. This opposition, arising out of the process of 'destalinisation', will have a catalytic effect on Soviet society.

1523 The latest Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin (March 1963) in discussing Britain's economic position devotes considerable space to the question of exports. After examining prospects in particular markets it says: "For the immediate future it seems likely that world demand for manufactures will increase, if less quickly than of late. In these circumstances UK exports cannot be expected to grow more than modestly unless there is an improvement in the UK's share of trade. Such an improvement might have been easier to achieve if the UK had joined the EEC. UK exporters would have gained access on favourable terms to a large and growing market; entry would also have exposed British industry to greater competition at home, and thereby made it easier to promote the continuing changes which are needed. Both these advantages are now denied, further change, has, therefore, become much more necessary and much more difficult. The immediate needs are restraints of costs, which requires in its turn an effective incomes policy, and aggressive salesmanship."

Moreover there is another dark cloud on the horizon - it appears likely that there will be a crisis in the medium and long-term credit system used by Britain (and other countries) to boost its exports (especially of heavy goods). The UK has sought to ensure that its exporters, whether trading with less developed countries or with other countries, are no less able to grant such credit than are their foreign competitors. Information is presented about the activities of 400 of the larger exporting firms. The exports concerned are mainly capital goods including all forms of machinery, railway and road vehicles, ships and aircraft; together these account for nearly half of all UK exports outside the sterling area. Over the last 10 years total exports to countries outside the sterling area have increased. But the rate of growth of credit has been faster than the growth of exports. Figures show that a little over one third of total exports on credit during 1961 were to North America and Western Europe; Latin America took $\frac{1}{4}$ and other countries outside the sterling area, underdeveloped and otherwise, a little over one third also. The proportion of credit going to the last groups has since increased at the expense of credit to Western Europe and North America. This is particularly important in the case of exported engineering goods, and is quite significant in the light of the recession in engineering.

Credit facility extensions however present their problems and the Bank has this to say: "This analysis has been concerned solely with the trends of export credit granted to importers outside the sterling area. Although comparable figures for the sterling area are not available, there is little doubt that the same trends apply. Within their limitations, the figures demonstrate the growing volume and lengthening terms of export credit granted by the UK, it is true in greater or less degree of all industrialised countries. This has implications both for the developing and the capital exporting countries. Some of the former have already shown signs of building up a dangerously heavy burden of medium term debt and there are fears that others may encounter similar difficulties. Lengthening credit terms result of course in increasing delays in the receipt of proceeds with consequent repercussions on the reserve position of the main exporting countries."

The National Economic Development Commission estimates that exports must increase by 10% if the economy is to sustain a growth of 4%. From what the Bank of England has to say on the export prospects for this country, this target seems to be very remote. If National Productivity Year is to yield the same results in the export field as it has in the field of employment, then Neddy is likely to prove of the same doubtful value as Nick.