

# THE NEWSLETTER

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a service to socialists

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## HOW LONG WILL ETU BOSSES STAY IN THE PARTY?

By our Industrial Correspondent

**H**OW LONG will Frank Foulkes and Frank Haxell, the leaders of the Electrical Trades Union, remain in the Communist Party following their rout at the hands of delegates to the union's annual conference last week?

This was the question in the minds of delegates as they came away from Folkestone, having put the Stalinist leadership to flight. Monday's rank-and-file victory on Hungary was catastrophic for the two Franks; but by the end of the week they were humiliated men, with a lot of explaining to do to Communist Party industrial organizer Peter Kerrigan.

What made their defeat so crushing was that it was not inflicted by Right-wingers, but by a vigorous Left-wing opposition, supported by many Communist Party members, which hammered them over and over again on both political and industrial questions.

In the debate on a resolution, carried unanimously, asking for a contracting electricians' charter, every speaker from the floor criticized the leadership.

Why had the Executive conducted no campaign to improve conditions in the contracting industry? Why had they instructed members to return to work in numerous strikes for better conditions or against victimization?

### What really upset the Stalinists

But what really upset the Stalinists was the statement by the mover, Mr. Allom (Reading):

'You say that you are against stabilization of wages in the engineering industry and that you opposed the agreement for a six and a half per cent increase plus strings.

'Can you tell the conference how it was that you agreed to an understanding with the contracting employers for an increase of four and a half per cent (twopence halfpenny an hour) and stability in wages for one year?'

And to prove his point the delegate quoted from the EC's own minutes.

The platform was again embarrassed in the debate on automation and redundancy.

Moving a resolution asking for a struggle for the principle of 'no sackings', Mr. Hadley (Sheffield) criticized the redundancy settlements reached last year at Standards, BMC, Nortons and Briggs.

(Continued on back page)

## HUNGARY

### MORE HUNGARIAN COMMUNISTS IN JAIL THAN UNDER HORTHY

THERE ARE more Hungarian communists in Kadar's prisons than were imprisoned under Horthy.

They include such veterans of the Hungarian working-class movement as Zoltan Vas and Geza Losonczy; the communist intellectuals Tibor Dery and Gyula Hay; the young novelist Tardos; the journalists Haraszi and Gimes; the young communist Gabor Tanczos, secretary of the Petofi Circle; the communist officers Maletér and Kopacsi; the communist student leaders Markus, Janos Varga and Pozsar.

Hundreds of communists have been executed by Kadar's

### SOME EVENTS OF THE WEEK

**CANADA:** Winning 110 seats out of 265, Tories defeated a Liberal Government for the first time since 1935.

**FRANCE:** By 240 votes to 194 the National Assembly approved M. Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury (Socialist Radical) as Prime Minister.

**JAPAN:** The Meteorological Institute announced that radioactive fall-out from the first Christmas Island test on May 15 had been recorded in Japan.

**ALGERIA:** Twelve Muslims were killed and over 30 wounded, 100 shops were wrecked and twenty cars burned, in anti-Muslim riots by gangs of French youths.

**HUNGARY:** Six 'counter-revolutionaries' were sentenced to death, two others jailed for life, five sent to prison for terms ranging from six months to two years, after a two-week trial at Győr.

**ITALY:** The government of Signor Zoli resigned, after corrected figures of a confidence vote showed it had failed by one vote to obtain a majority—unless Zoli was prepared to accept the votes of the neo-fascists.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** Thousands of professors, lecturers and students of Capetown University paraded through their city in protest against the Universities Apartheid Bill, which will forbid multi-racial university education in South Africa.

**ALBANIA:** Diplomats reaching Belgrade from Albania said siege-like conditions prevailed in Albania following the flight to Yugoslavia of Panajot Pjaku. Police and military forces had been built up to 100,000—one in ten of the population.

**USA:** The Senate internal security sub-committee subpoenaed Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel prize-winning chemist, to explain whether 'communist organizations' were behind the petition signed by 2,000 scientists calling for an international agreement to stop H-bomb tests.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA:** Deputy Prime Minister Dolansky called for a 'revision' of wage rates and a tightening of wages discipline, warned that piece-work bonuses would be slashed, said it was urgently necessary for Czechoslovak industry to raise productivity.

**USA:** Refusal of Trans-World Airlines to hire a stewardess on the grounds that her legs are 'unshapely', her teeth 'unattractive' and her complexion 'poor' is to be challenged by New York State. The girl is 21, shapely, attractive, intelligent—and a Negro. A State investigator alleges that TWA 'has maintained a policy of barring Negroes from employment as flight hostesses' and thus contravened New York's Fair Employment Act.

AVH. Among them are the communist journalist Gabor Folly, the communist poet Istvan Eorsi, Maletér's lieutenants Prasz-mayer and Kabalacs, Istvan Angyal, leader of the revolutionary youth of the Ninth District of Budapest, Baligt Papp, leader of the party's youth organization in Dunapentele (Sztalinvaros) . . .

Kadar's police have, however, at last found a real live White Terrorist, whom they have put on trial for killing progressive people. He is 70 years of age, and his crimes date from . . . 1919. Why he was not punished between 1945 and 1956 has not been explained.

## COMMENTARY

**T**HE BRITISH GOVERNMENT have scrapped the special controls on China trade. No doubt the Tory leaders will cite this in order to soothe those 'Suez rebels' in their party who have demanded that the Government assert its independence of the USA. The decision has been criticized by some American statesmen, such as the Assistant Secretary of State for Asian Affairs, Mr. Robertson.

It is clear however that decisive sections of the American capitalist class were not displeased. Britain's decision drew only a mild rebuke from Senator Knowland, the Republican leader. The *Manchester Guardian* commented that his speech was 'for the record rather than for any sustained campaign'. Britain's action was given an almost unanimous welcome in the leading American newspapers. In fact it is quite likely that it was taken after full discussion with the US Government, who may have encouraged it in order to prepare the way for similar action on their part.

American big businessmen are more and more demanding a shift of policy towards China. The fiction that Chiang would one day return from Formosa to "liberate" the mainland by force has long been buried in America, wrote *The Observer* last Sunday, in an editorial asking the US Government to 'move boldly and bring its policy into line with realities' and calling for a policy that would seek to exploit the differences between the Chinese and Soviet leaders.

It is just such a policy that American statesmen are preparing. Eisenhower himself has been reported as doubting the effectiveness of 'policies which could serve only to cement Russia and China'. Soon after the lifting of the special embargoes on China trade by Britain he declared that the time might be approaching for a reconsideration of trade with China. The end of the American embargo has been advocated by Henry Ford II and the *Wall Street Journal*.



**P**RESSURE for the lifting of the embargoes is not due solely to a desire to exploit the tensions in Sino-Soviet relations. In the background is the increasing competition for the world's markets. Britain was herself driven into action out of fear that Japan and West Germany were preparing to jump into the China market. The US textile manufacturers see a lifting of embargoes as bringing release from the pressure of Japanese textiles. The choice before the US Government is either to let Japan trade with China—or give increasing aid to Japan to preserve an economy cut off from its traditional Chinese markets.

China certainly has a vast need for goods. To meet that need properly capitalist industries would have to be planned in line with Chinese economic development, and there would have to be cheap long-term credits. To build China's economy in this way, and so strengthen the non-capitalist world, clashes with the interests of British and American big business. The fight for East-West trade and the fight for socialism are closely linked.

## WHY I RESIGNED

by Jim Roche

Jim Roche's record was set out in *The Newsletter* last week. He resigned after a Congress report-back meeting in Leeds, at which the vote on the Congress decisions was 32 in favour, 27 against. Yorkshire district secretary Bert Ramelson commented: 'We spent £5,000 on the Congress, and this is what we get.'

AFTER twenty-seven years' membership of the Communist Party I find that I can no longer remain within its ranks. It is with regret that I take this decision since it will mean that I will no longer have regular contact with some of the finest men and women in the British Labour movement.

I am leaving the Communist Party because I refuse to place it before the working-class or before truth and justice for the whole of humanity.

The crisis in the Communist Party reaches further back than the Twentieth Congress or the events in Hungary. Before these events there was a decline in membership, in Daily Worker sales, in the influence of the party, that indicated that something was fundamentally wrong inside the party.

The Khrushchev speech at the Twentieth Congress was a blinding light making clear what had previously been unclear. The events in Poznan and Hungary underlined the lessons to be learned.

These events should have been the signal for the British party leadership to encourage and promote the maximum amount of criticism and discussion in order to probe deeper into the reasons for the continued isolation from the British Labour movement and the working class.

Instead of placing itself at the head of such a movement, the leadership exhibited all the worst features of a rigid, uncompromising bureaucracy and decided to stand firm. Nevertheless pressure compelled it to shift its position repeatedly and ultimately forced a special congress.

Those of us who thought that this would mean a comradely airing of differences and an earnest desire on the part of everybody to sift truth from falsehood and to find the way forward for the British people were soon disillusioned.

**We saw the leadership acting as a faction against the membership, making every effort to prevent delegates being elected who had a critical point of view.**

At the special congress itself hundreds of amendments to rules were denied discussion. Of the hundreds of amendments on the party's programme and the political resolution, only a handful were discussed, and these were chosen by the Executive Committee nominees. Yet the leadership say that the Communist Party has more democracy than any other political party!

We saw a sham fight between Ernle Burns and R. Palme Dutt on 'proposing fraternal association' or 'promoting fraternal relations'—an insulting deception of the members. Its real object was to prove the impossible, i.e., that it is possible for a minority to become a majority under the present leadership.

### Rank and file kept in ignorance

At the same congress it was re-emphasized that those who hold minority views on leading committees are not permitted to put them before members. An EC member must not give his own point of view except to the EC. A District Committee member cannot put his own point of view to his own branch or an aggregate meeting of members in his own locality.

The rank and file must be kept in ignorance of ideas as well as facts. They must not attend schools or conferences organized by socialist forums. They must not meet together and discuss politics except in party branches and organizations where a check can be kept on them.

The definition of education is that it is for the purpose of teaching how correct the EC is. 'They want to bring a famine upon our minds when we shall know nothing but what is measured by their bushel'.

Three hundred years separates the British people from such nonsense.

The CP has now a self-perpetuating bureaucracy, which not

only interprets rules, it also makes them.

It has an anti-democratic organization aimed to indoctrinate but not to educate. It pretends infallibility, always speaking ex cathedra, and hiding from argument behind quotations and slogans. These are for the ever-dwindling faithful. For the unfaithful there are always plenty of labels that excuse argument.

Its policy has become reactionary on conscription, on the H-bomb, on elections and on unity. On all these questions the leaders further isolate the members from the British Labour movement and the working class.

Their characterization of the murder, torture and kidnappings of socialists, communists and others, that took place abroad, was that these were 'errors', 'mistakes' or 'abuses'.

Such a bureaucracy can never win the British people or lead them to socialism. With their dual morality they are not to be trusted. Because I want to remain a socialist I am compelled to withdraw all support from the bureaucracy.

## ECONOMICS

### IS THE TRADE BOOM COMING TO AN END?

By our Economic Correspondent

WORLD trade in manufactured goods has been expanding since 1950, thanks to the enormous expenditure on arms since then and the consequent need for large investments in industry in order to cope with the additional demand.

The industries particularly affected are iron and steel, heavy and light engineering and the motor car industry, plus the fuel industry and the auxiliary trades depending on these industries.

Since coal is not capable of rapid expansion, the expansion in fuel has been largely in oil. Production has increased from 466 million tons in 1948 to 857 million tons in 1956.

At the same time the oil companies' share prices have flared

### BLUEBERRY PIE ROCKS WALL STREET

Every time President Eisenhower vomited last Monday Wall Street registered a fall in share values of 500 million dollars.

Two thousand million dollars had been lost before reports that the President was recovering caused a rally.

How stable is an economy tied so closely to the President's belly?

up by nearly 700 per cent—from an index figure of 95.2 in 1950 to 640.6 on May 29, 1957.

But this expansion is not enough. New sources of power are needed. Reliance on oil is also unsatisfactory for political reasons, as the Suez crisis showed.

Therefore new investment due to the technological changes in fuel production was added to the investment needed to cope with the expansion of industry caused by arms expenditure.

Atomic energy is not the only technological change. Pressure on industry and manpower has compelled industrialists to speed up research into electronics.

The full extent of these changes must not be exaggerated. But their effect has been to put pressure on the supply of both capital and labour.

The colonial revolution has also added to the pressure on the supply of capital goods. Asian, African and South American countries, deliberately prevented in the past, as far as possible, from developing their own industries, are today expanding their industries.

The result of all these developments is that world trade in manufactured goods has increased in the past three years from 29,086 million dollars in 1954 to 33,894 million dollars in 1955 and 38,545 million dollars in 1957.

Britain's share in this expansion is constantly rising with the world total, but at a slower rate. Her proportion of world

trade is therefore falling: in 1954 it was 20.42 per cent, in 1955 19.7 per cent, in 1956 nineteen per cent.

This constant fall has been going on steadily since 1950, when Britain's proportion was 25.7 per cent. And it is this process which is worrying the Treasury.

Britain cannot afford to spend on armaments the amounts she has spent in the past six years. She must increase her investments and modernize her industry or be outdistanced by all her competitors when the expansion in world trade ceases, as it will with the slowing down of arms orders.

The arms programme need not be seriously cut to cause an end to the growth in world trade. Even if the cost of armaments is stabilized at its present level world trade will in fact begin to shrink.

Already there are signs of overproduction of more raw materials: foods, metals, fibres, for example.

India is restricting the import of capital goods and the USA has put a quota on the import of woollen goods. The beginnings of a much more intense competition in the world's markets can be clearly seen.

## SCIENCE

### THE TRUTH ABOUT BRITAIN'S H-BOMB

By J. H. Bradley

NUMEROUS Press reports in the last few weeks have suggested that the first British H-bomb was in some sense a 'clean' bomb, as it did not lead to heavy fall-out.

In the normal triple-decker, or fission-fusion-fission bomb, the second (fusion) stage is facilitated by the heat and neutrons generated by the third (fission) stage, so that they proceed in part simultaneously.

The theory is that the last stage of the normal fission-fusion-fission bomb was eliminated, leaving only a uranium or plutonium detonator and a lithium deuteride fusion bomb. If this were so, it would mean that Britain had reached the same point as the USSR was at in August 1953, with the conceivable difference that the Soviet bomb could not then be dropped from an aircraft.

Thus we would have made a bomb which, according to highly unreliable American sources and The Times, would be more advanced than any American bomb.

There seems to be no published evidence for such ideas. The American Press reports upon which certain Labour MPs based their questions can be traced to a United Press dispatch from London on May 19—and are therefore derived from Mr. Macmillan.

It is much more probable that Britain has used the principle discussed in the first issue of The Newsletter, and has exploded a triple-decker bomb high in the atmosphere (three miles or more) over water.

### Huge propaganda campaign a blind

In this way nearly all the radioactive products formed are swept into the stratosphere, and as Mr. Macmillan claimed, very little fell near the test site. The huge propaganda campaign by the Government and Press, and such former scientists as Lord Cherwell, is seen as a pure blind.

Although there is no evidence that it has actually been made by Britain or the USA, it is instructive to consider the possible purposes of a clean H-bomb, i.e. one containing little or no uranium or plutonium.

A modern aircraft can carry a load of about ten tons. A large part of the weight of any H-bomb is firing and control mechanisms, as may be worked out from the published maximum explosive power of 14 megatons.

If, therefore, Britain had not been able to make a triple-decker which an aircraft could carry, she might make a double-decker, which could still explode.

Such a bomb would be very expensive per unit explosive power compared to a triple-decker, but might still work rather inefficiently; lithium deuteride is probably about \$400 a pound, against a few cents per pound for U<sup>235</sup>.

On the other hand, many of the tests by all countries are

designed to make a bomb small enough to go into an inter-continental missile. A bomb for this purpose might have to be a double-decker, again because of weight and space limitations.

Some American reports suggest that we have done this, but should be treated as pure speculation. The Japanese will probably publish their findings in a few weeks. If they show any appreciable amount of fission products,  $U^{237}$  or  $Pu^{239}$ , the Government version will be proved completely misleading.

Japanese measurements of the tidal wave produced will give some idea of the height of the explosion. Such information is normally available only in the American scientific Press.

Meanwhile, the problems about the last Soviet H-bomb remain unsolved (The Newsletter, No. 1). The figure of 4Mev. given there for the least energy required to make  $U^{237}$  out of  $U^{238}$ , is wrong and should be 7Mev. The error does not affect the argument.

Any reader who wants a fuller semi-technical account of these matters is advised to read Dr. Ralph Lapp's series in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Chicago), particularly September 1956, and Prof. J. Rotblat's article in May 1955. This journal can often be borrowed through your public library, or in the Science Museum and Patent Office Libraries.

## LONG-RANGE MISSILES

By our Science Correspondent

THIS ARTICLE contains some facts the military had rather keep quiet. It may help Blimp to realize how futile his secrecy really is, for it is based on nothing but elementary scientific considerations.

Unfortunately, any government which has not understood from the Geneva Conference on Nuclear Energy that secrecy is a myth, is unlikely to learn now.

We are threatened with Soviet rockets able to deliver an H-bomb on London, a range of about 1,000 miles. There also exist anti-aircraft (or anti-rocket) and 'short-range' (200 miles) missiles carrying H-warheads; 5,000-mile missiles are under development.

The long-range missiles are at present all ballistic, i.e. the motor works only for a short time at launching, after which it may as well be dropped, and the missile coasts to its destination like a shell.

Ballistic missiles cannot be deflected by radio interference; on the other hand, they cannot evade counter-missiles. The next stage will probably be to fit small wings, so that some steering can be obtained at the end of the journey.

Anti-aircraft and short-range missiles need power during their flight, and much more complex guidance systems.

Considerations of weight require that as much of the guiding mechanism as possible shall be at the ground station, which plots the path of the missile by radar, issues control signals, and explodes the warhead at the right moment.

## The transistors work happily

Any radar sets in the missile use transistors as far as possible instead of valves, as these are smaller, lighter, require less weight of batteries, and work happily even at very high accelerations.

Ultimately missiles will be built using radar or infra-red homing systems, magnetic or celestial navigation, or even doubly-integrating accelerometers such as those developed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Manchester Guardian, April 20, 1957), which are a sophisticated version of dead reckoning.

Missiles might even become capable of evasive action, or tortuous pre-set courses designed to hinder interception. Coverings which do not reflect radar waves will not be used yet, as they add too much to the size of the missile, and therefore to air-drag.

Vast improvements in non-reflecting coatings will be needed before they will absorb radar beams of all wavelengths.

Metals are the best reflectors of radar waves, and will at first be used for the skin in order to withstand very high temperatures generated by air friction.

The principal aim of the artificial satellites to be launched

during the International Geophysical Year is to elucidate how the density of the air varies with height up to 600 miles above the earth. These studies are important both for aerodynamic control mechanisms and in order to avoid overheating missiles.

Warheads for anti-aircraft missiles will almost certainly consist of atomic, or small, 'clean' hydrogen bombs, in order to avoid heavy fall-out on the defending country. Low power weapons will have to be used to avoid blast, heat and radiation damage to land underneath.

Anti-aircraft missiles under ground guidance need to be much faster than attacking missiles, which means at least ten times the speed of sound in the near future. During World War II, proximity fuses exploded at a fixed distance of about 40 feet from the target.

No doubt modern fuses can explode at the point of nearest approach, but it is doubtful whether this is now the best solution, with missiles moving almost as fast as blast waves.

The solution has probably been worked out at the taxpayer's expense—and will be checked by extensive and fabulously expensive trials.

While blast may be sufficient to deflect ballistic missiles off-course, homing missiles must be destroyed by heat as they are insensitive to blast because their own high accelerations already require strong structures.

Every effort will be made to intercept attacking missiles over the sea or sparsely populated areas, since it is possible to fit devices to make them explode when struck by a strong blast or heat wave. In that case the attack would cause some damage, even though not nearly as much as desired.

## Far beyond our resources

It is the existence of missiles so difficult to intercept which has led many scientists to believe Civil Defence impossible. If just one were to reach London, the rescue problems would be far beyond our resources; the blood supply is not enough to cure even the potentially savable casualties from a 1945 atomic bomb.

Dispersal of British industry and housing is impossible and putting even our main factories underground prohibitively expensive.

Any government which seriously imagined Civil Defence to be feasible would have insisted that at least new factories be underground. Ours does not even credit our people with the wit to understand the problems involved, so all the explanations are left to anti-government scientists.

In writing this article I have been helped by the excellent handbook on Civil Defence published by Voennizdat, Moscow, and by many articles in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, Chicago.

USA

## WITCH-HUNTERS HIT A LABOUR SCHOOL

From our Los Angeles Correspondent

THE California Labour School has been since 1942 the largest, best-known Labour and Left-wing educational institution on the West Coast.

Its services were used by over a hundred unions. In 1945, when the United Nations was launched in San Francisco, the US State Department designated the school official host to the labour delegates.

In March 1955, Attorney General Brownell instituted proceedings against the school under the McCarran Act. This spring, the Subversive Activities Control Board branded it a 'Communist-Front organization'.

The Attorney General had previously included the school in his notorious subversive list. Its students were tailed and harassed by FBI agents.

The Treasury Department stepped in and took away its tax-exemptions as an educational body. All but the holdest financial contributors were frightened off. Then the school was hooked for back taxes under an ex-post-facto ruling. After a compromise settlement was reached and the money paid, the government revoked its promise.

The final act came early this May when US Treasury tax agents padlocked the school properties and forced it to cease operations.

All this to a private educational institution!

The directors of the school were right in saying: 'Thought control, as practised by the US government these days, is a rough, tough proposition. The idea is to hit the victim from all sides with everything you have.'

## SWITZERLAND

### VETERAN SWISS COMMUNIST QUILTS CP

From our Zurich Correspondent

FOUNDATION member and prominent leader of the Swiss Communist Party (Partei der Arbeit der Schweiz), Emil Arnold, has left the party in protest against re-Stalinization.

Believing that the party is too dominated by bureaucracy to carry through the necessary discussions on overcoming the harm done by Stalinism, he has appealed to party members to join with other socialists in a new socialist Left.

A friend of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Willi Muenzenberg in the First World War, Arnold was jailed in Germany as a Spartacist, and was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the twenties.

He was arrested and jailed several times in Switzerland, the last time in 1953.

## USSR

### HOW THEY WASTE STUDENTS' TIME

ONE of the factors in the discontent of Hungarian students in the period leading up to last October's outbreak against the Rákosi-Gerő regime was the wasting of their time with compulsory attendance at lectures on 'Marxism-Leninism'.

These lectures were given by incompetent hacks in a spirit of mechanical dogmatism.

An article in the Moscow journal Party Life (No. 9 of 1957) shows that Soviet students suffer under the same imposition, and also that they are beginning to revolt against it.

Entitled 'The Teaching of Social Science in Higher Educational Establishments', the article includes the following passage:

'A considerable proportion of the lectures in social science are delivered in a dull way and with insufficient power of conviction.'

'At times one can observe a scene like this in the lecture hall—the instructor reads from his script, not looking at his audience and totally indifferent as to whether his students are listening to him or not.

'Meanwhile the audience leads its own life; some read newspapers, some do their homework and others exchange opinions. Many are annoyed by the fact that their time is being wasted.

'At a party meeting in one institute the following incident was quoted. An instructor, reading a lecture on the history of the CPSU, and paying no attention whatever to the meaning of what he was reading, uttered some absurdity.

'When the astonished students asked him how they were to understand what he had just said, the lecturer replied: "Sorry, comrades. I must have skipped a couple of lines in my text."

It is not accidental that less than half of the students attend the lectures of some instructors; but the latter are, as a rule, far from the idea of blaming themselves for this.

'The Deans of faculties and party bureaux concerned, instead of demanding that the instructors improve the quality of their lectures and helping them to do this, appeal instead to the students' sense of discipline...'

L.H.

### A STORY ABOUT STALIN'S DEATH

FRANCE-SOIR carried a dispatch quoting Polish communist sources which stated that Stalin died of a fit of rage after threatening to deport all Jews from Russia.

The details, the paper said, were revealed by Ponomarenko, Soviet Ambassador in Warsaw, during an interview with Polish communist journalists.

According to Ponomarenko, at a Politburo meeting in February 1953 Stalin alleged there was a 'Zionist and imperialist plot' directed against the Soviet Union. He threatened to deport all Jews to Biro-Bidjan in the Soviet Far East. Biro-Bidjan already held thousands of Jewish exiles.

Molotov, whose wife was Jewish, told Stalin that this would have 'a deplorable effect' on public opinion outside the Soviet Union.

Voroshilov is reported to have thrown down his Party card, saying: 'If such a step were taken I should be ashamed to remain a member of our party, which would be completely dishonoured.'

Stalin flew into a rage and shouted at Voroshilov: 'It is I who will decide when you no longer have the right to keep your membership card'. Then Stalin had a stroke from which he died a few days later.

France-Soir said it accurately reported the interview given by Ponomarenko.

### THE RIGHT OF DIVORCE IN RUSSIA

The repeal of Stalin's law penalising abortion has encouraged open expression in the USSR of a demand for the repeal of his restrictions on the right of divorce—restrictions which made divorce practically unobtainable except for persons who were both comparatively well-to-do and of good standing with the party.

The Literaturnaya Gazeta of February 21, 1957, published a survey of the many letters it has received in response to an article it carried on September 13, 1956, under the title 'Does Love Exist?', dealing with this question.

Most of the writers supported the views of the author of this article, V. Kiselev, urging 'the elimination of the existing "red tape" that surrounds the obtaining of a divorce'. One of them declares: 'Life demands a return to those principles of family law that were worked out with the direct participation and under the guidance of V. I. Lenin.'

### CIVIL WAR HISTORY TO BE REVISED

The first two volumes of the official Soviet 'History of the Civil War' came out in 1935 and 1942 respectively and were widely criticized for suppression and distortion of facts.

According to an interview given to Literaturnaya Gazeta by Professor S. Naïda, of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Volume Three, covering events between November 1917 and March 1919, will be ready for publication very shortly.

Volume Four, going down to February 1920, is to be published in time for the Fortieth Anniversary of the October Revolution, and Volume Five, bringing the history to its conclusion in November 1922, before the end of this year.

During 1958 the first two volumes will be revised and the revised versions published.

### 1956 TALKS: WHY NO SOVIET STATEMENT?

(This is the fourth in the series of articles 'Talks with Soviet Leaders on the Jewish Question'.)

AFTER attempts for eight years it finally became possible to officially take up the whole question of Jews in the Soviet Union with the top leaders of the Soviet Communist Party.

On August 21, 1956, an official delegation of four representing the Labour-Progressive Party arrived in Moscow to present a number of political questions to the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The status of Soviet Jewry was one of these questions. I was very gratified to see this tormenting question finally placed by an entire party delegation as a central problem.

With regard to this, our delegation made history.

For, although representatives of many Communist Parties often made inquiries about developments in Soviet Jewish life that were difficult to understand, no other party—to my knowledge—had ever placed this question not as a marginal matter but as one of central importance requiring full discussion with the Soviet leaders.

### Fourteen hours in conference

We were given a great deal of time. There were many discussions and meetings with leading individuals and groups. Four official conferences with top leaders and assistants took up about 14 hours over four separate days.

Among the chief leaders taking part in one or more of the sessions were Ponomarev, member of the CPSU Central Committee; Suslov, member of the Politburo and Khrushchev, first secretary of the party.

The 'Jewish question' played a prominent part in these conferences and the last session, at which all the above-mentioned leaders were present, was almost entirely devoted to discussion of Jewish problems in the Soviet Union.

And whereas the other questions discussed are of great political and social significance—and I might write of them on another occasion—I will here limit myself to the 'Jewish question'.

For the sake of brevity I will indicate the main questions we raised in this connection and the explanations we received. At the end I will attempt to draw conclusions.

And now to our questions.

In view of the fact that no official explanation has been given of events of 1948 and 1949 during which all Jewish institutions—including the Jewish publishing house and the paper *Ainikeit*—were closed and Jewish writers, cultural workers and community leaders arrested; and the circumstances around the arrest of the Jewish doctors have not been sufficiently clarified, there is a strong body of opinion in other countries—particularly among Jewish people—that an official or at least an authoritative statement openly drawing proper conclusions is necessary to clear the air and create the social and political atmosphere for the renewal of Jewish cultural-social activity within the Soviet Union.

The answers were in substance the following.

It is true that Jewish writers and leaders suffered at the hands of the Beria gang, but writers and leaders of all other peoples and republics suffered no less.

The Ukrainian writers suffered proportionately more than Jewish writers. The same was the case with the Georgians. Russian writers also were victims.

### Dead Jewish writers rehabilitated

As for the 'doctors' affair' more non-Jewish than Jewish physicians were arrested at the time. When I interjected that the official charge against the doctors was a plot to kill Soviet leaders on order from the 'Joint Distribution Committee' and Zionists and that therefore the affair had taken on an anti-Jewish character, I was told that a number of the non-Jewish doctors indicted were also accused as agents of foreign countries. (Whether the answer is satisfactory is another question.)

Since Beria and his group were exposed, everything is being done to correct the wrongs, they said. The government has openly condemned the frame-up of the doctors and all of them are back at their previous posts.

The dead Jewish writers have been rehabilitated along with others, their families are being assisted and their works published. Those who did not perish have also been rehabilitated and are continuing their work.

Regarding the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, we were told it became in its later stages a sort of aid society engaged in securing jobs and living accommodation for Jews. This called forth great dissatisfaction in some circles.

People asked why this committee intervened and sought special concessions for Jewish citizens while all others took up their problems directly with local government bureaus.

About *Ainikeit*, the organ of the Anti-Fascist Committee, we were told that this paper had done great damage, playing into the hands of anti-Semitic elements by constantly exag-

gerating the rôle Jews performed in the post-war reconstruction of ruined cities and regions.

'That Jew is head of the project in Minsk.—That one is head of the project in Vilna . . . and so on.' It went so far that many Jews complained about it.

When later I asked a very respected Jewish activist whether these claims were justified, he sat stunned. It is not true, he said, that the Anti-Fascist Committee engaged in such work.

What may be true is that Mikhoels, eager to help everyone, may have given letters to individuals needing a place to live in those post-war years. But even if he did that, he did it as a member of the Moscow Soviet.

### A public explanation 'unnecessary'

'These things were thought up by Jewish renegades who played the part of informers. The same was true,' he argued, 'about *Ainikeit*.'

**The answer to our request for a public explanation was that in their opinion it was neither necessary nor well-advised.**

Not necessary because the wrongs are being corrected and actions speak for themselves. And not well-advised because such a statement would create much dissatisfaction. Other peoples and republics who also suffered from Beria's onslaught on their culture and artists would wonder: why a statement only about Jews?

Well, again it's the same. Whether the answers are satisfactory or not, is a separate matter and I will write about that later. But these were the replies to our first question.

## DOCUMENT

### A YOUNG WORKER SPEAKS OUT

One of the most effective speeches at last week's annual conference of the Electrical Trades Union was that made by the youth observer Bernard Parkinson, of Wigan.

This 23-year-old skilled maintenance electrician was elected chairman of the union's Eighth (and for the time being last) Annual Youth Conference at Ramsgate last November.

We give here the full text of his speech.

ON BEHALF of the youth observers, I would like to say how pleased we are to attend our first policy conference to represent the youth of the ETU.

This week we have witnessed discussions on industrial, political and international problems which we have found very interesting.

Some people may say that these problems are too deep for the younger members to understand, but I think if you would care to examine the report of last year's national youth conference and previous youth conferences, you will find that the level of discussion reached a very high and sensible standard, but what I think is still lacking is encouragement from some of our older members to help us in the struggles and conflicts of our own minds.

Engels, the famous German socialist, once stated that conflict is the mother of all political parties; perhaps we can take this a step further and say conflict is the father of trade unions. We are not ashamed of conflict, either when we are fighting for conditions on the job or when we are arguing for our own ideas on the conference floor.



This week we youth representatives have witnessed ideas being presented and principles being fought for, and I think we have all learned how to fight for ideas new and old.

Naturally, youth likes new ideas, but let us hope we have also respect for the old principles which have been with the Labour and trade union movement for many years, principles which were tried and tested by the international working class.

Youth faces many problems which are the same as those of our older brothers and some that are different. Like our older

brothers, we are exploited by the capitalist class. Like our older brothers, we are affected by the housing problem, by rising prices, by war and the threat of war.

Our separate problems are mainly due to the fact that we are more severely exploited by capital—we need new homes, we receive less pay, we have our education programmes cut and we suffer from conscription . . . and will until 1962. We look to the conference to take up these questions and help the youth wherever possible.

Don't think that youth leaves all its problems to the adults to solve. In spite of Tory and Right-wing propaganda, there has been an awakening of militancy in the youth of Britain. Young engineers played their part alongside their older brothers in recent industrial disputes.

In the Labour Party there is a revival of youth activity—despite Transport House and not because of it: in the Young Communist League there has been a growth of a critical Left wing, determined to re-examine the roads to Socialism, particularly after the events in the Soviet Union and in Hungary.

In the universities too, there has been a growth of new ideas and a questioning of old dogmas by young undergraduates. Students and young trade unionists were right at the head of the Suez demonstrations.

Not only in Britain is youth astir but all over the world. In Western Germany there have been huge demonstrations by young trade unionists against militarization. In Cyprus, school children and teenagers have battled against British occupation. The same story could be told of Egypt and Algeria.

And to complete the picture, was it not the youth of Hungary who demonstrated in favour of a genuine socialist democracy, against bureaucracy on the one hand and against a revival of Horthyite fascism on the other?

Of course, British youth is influenced by these events. Of course, many young people turn to politics and to the trade unions. It is up to the adult movement to welcome and encourage them.

In this respect may I conclude on a critical note: the youth of this union is the future leadership. If economies are to be made, then we believe youth should be the last and not the first for the chopper.

I am sure the youth of our union is prepared to forgo delegation fees to discuss and (we hope) to make union policy.

Surely, by sacrifices of an even smaller dimension by the delegates to annual conference, or by the membership as a whole, youth could still have its conference!

If the Labour and trade union movement is to progress towards the day when we shall establish a real socialist society, to end capitalism with its perpetual war and crises, then youth must not be curbed.

Finally, brothers, may I once again thank you for the opportunity of being here and of being able to tell you what we think.

If we are critical here and there, if you don't agree with all we say, let us agree that frankness and plain speaking is the best way to build our union into an even more powerful weapon in the hands of our class.

## LETTERS Ex-Communists: The Debate Goes on

### IS A NEW MARXIST PARTY THE ANSWER?

BOTH Mary Vernon and Dick Goss seem to express the confusion that exists about the future of ex-Communist Party members and the best way of establishing socialism in Britain.

The existence of the various journals and forums now coming into being make it possible to study genuine Marxism, untarnished by 'official' explanations of the Communist Party leaders who for so long have masqueraded as the 'only' Marxists.

It seems to me that what is needed is a really democratic revolutionary party linked to the existing Labour movement, and with a programme and policy different from those of the Communist Party and the Labour Party.

R. Grange, London, N.W.9.

### WE MUST BUILD A NEW LEADERSHIP

MARY VERNON looks at the Labour Party, sees only Right-wing leaders with their 'bans and proscriptions' and concludes therefore that work in the mass party is both fruitless and frustrating.

Doesn't this ignore the increasing Left-wing development of the rank and file, which has thrown up the Bevanite movement and made Tribune the public expression of its opposition to the leadership?

The victory of Bevan in the struggle for the treasurership—a fight lasting over three years which was finally won by the pressure of the trade union militants on their respective leaders—signalled, not bewildered and frustrated ranks, but a movement mobilizing itself for action.

It is here that Marxists can provide leadership. Those entering from the Communist Party will find others working inside the constituency parties, putting forward demands, indicating the necessity for the overthrow of capitalism and not its reform, and the need for a new leadership relying on the strength of the working class.

Comrade Vernon should ask herself if it is possible today to talk in terms of a socialist programme and yet ignore the party in which the working class seeks its political expression.

We cannot lead from the outside, but must go through the experience of our class, and on the basis of clarification and consistent programme build a new leadership that will carry the working class forward to socialism.

Norman Tennant, London, S.E.27

### PARTIES ARE NOT AN IMMEDIATE ISSUE

DURING their lifetime Marx and Engels applied their techniques of analysis to many current problems. The yours since their death have seen vital new developments in many fields.

The conclusions they arrived at are no longer valid. The method by which these conclusions were obtained alone remains, for us to apply to a distinctly different world.

It is necessary to create the essential organizations for the education and linking together of scientific socialists.

Organizations for discussion, education, research, publication need to be created, linked together but not held in a rigid framework. This is the primary need of today.

These organizations can then influence others in a creative manner, and can rekindle the spirit of creation that is so necessary to science and that is so important a part of the radical tradition in this country.

The other outstanding need is the setting-up of the necessary machinery for the collection and dissemination of news—the creation of a Marxist Press which will give the basic facts and interpret them in accordance with the principles of scientific socialism.

Such a service would be more than a service to socialists, but a service to the whole working class in its struggle.

The question of political parties is not an immediate issue. The Labour Party is the mass working-class party, and the more Labour people who can participate in the study of Marxism the better for the whole movement.

But I do not believe that at this moment it is political parties that are decisive in the movement towards socialism. The period ahead is bound to create new political forms, but it is early to predict precisely.

Answering the question 'Where do we go from here?' I would say that we must bring together all socialists into organizations for discussion and study; that we must develop serious organizations for truly intellectual activity and collect funds for this purpose.

We must unashamedly go to the recognized organizations of the people, such as trade unions and co-operatives, for support.

We must also pay particular attention to creating a socialist newspaper, bearing in mind the need to convey the news accurately, and also the vital rôle of a newspaper as a political organizer, more flexible than a political party, and one which can be of enormous value.

Peter W. Roe, Bushey (Herts.).

**PLEASE READ ASJ BEFORE YOU SLATE IT**

PROFESSOR CARR'S *The Interregnum*, Deutscher's *Russia After Stalin*, *Heretics and Renegades* and *The Prophet Armed* were never sent to the *Anglo-Soviet Journal* for review. As Mr. Veall knows, the Society for Cultural Relations cannot afford to buy books.

Professor Carr's other books were sent for review and were reviewed. I have always presumed that the reason 'The Interregnum' did not arrive was the smallness of the ASJ's circulation and a publisher's restriction on the number of review copies sent out.

The SCR is a non-political organization and the ASJ does not review works that are strictly political.

The works of Stalin—admittedly very much a borderline case—contain much economic and social matter; the reviews of them in the ASJ, which are the only part of the book reviews with which critics can legitimately quarrel, were dealt with openly and publicly at the last Annual General Meeting, when the reviewer agreed that his general attitude had been wrong. How long will Mr. Veall flog this dead horse?

There is nothing remotely approaching 'crude Marxist dogma' in such reviews as Professor Willan's on electron diffraction, Professor Cahen's on orientalism, T. Shebunina's on 'translations' of Gorky, J. Ellis's on philology, B. Lubetkin's on architecture, or for that matter my own on various literary subjects.

**ETU (Continued from front page)**

He attacked the ETU Executive for covering up for the Right wing of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, whose inadequate fight had been responsible for the sacking of thousands of men.

He demanded an explanation from the EC for sending three electricians back to work at Nortons on June 25, in a strike which was officially recognized by the Amalgamated Engineering Union from May 29 to the beginning of November.

EC spokesman Mr. Goldberg justified the return to work of the electricians on the ground that only a minority of the Norton workers was on strike.

Mrs. Walker (Finchley), a shop steward at Standard Telephones, criticized the EC for not bringing pressure to bear on the Confederation to organize a real campaign for higher wages for women.

By Thursday it was clear that the EC was beating a retreat on all the major political motions. One calling for the abolition of conscription was supported by the EC (against the Communist Party line), although the previous year they had opposed abolition and had asked instead for a twelve months' call-up.

In a debate on peace the EC accepted two motions, both of which linked the struggle against war with the struggle for socialism, which Haxell had explicitly objected to in the debate at the 1956 conference.

Then came what for the platform was the most disastrous session of all: Thursday afternoon, when the union's journal *Electron* was discussed in secret session.

**Electron should be more representative**

The major controversy was on a motion asking for *Electron* to be 'more representative of the viewpoints of the rank and file', for it to be controlled by 'an elected rank-and-file committee of five, plus three officers', and for 'four pages of the paper to be freely available for correspondence of a controversial nature from members of the union'.

Speakers referred to the bias in reporting; the suppression of minority opinion; the silence over past events in Hungary and the reticence over recent executions of workers there; the silence over the trial and imprisonment of Professor Harich.

One speaker said there had been 'a whole series of glowing eulogies on Eastern Europe by delegations . . . which have been shown to be fairy stories'.

Foulkes said the motion had been defeated, but when asked

I do not think I should have received a grateful letter from a recent university author for a piece of 'crude Marxist dogma'.

We have not reviewed any legal book—because we have not received any for some time now. We have, however, published more recent legal matter—Statute on Procurator's Control, Need for Constitutional Reform, Local Government—than anyone else.

It would be patently ridiculous to exclude Marxist writers from the *Anglo-Soviet Journal*. Certainly some of the reviews are Marxist. Equally certainly many of them are genuinely non-political.

May I implore your subscribers to do us the justice of actually reading it before concluding that they would prefer an *Anti-Soviet Journal*?

Stella Jackson,  
Assistant Editor, *Anglo-Soviet Journal*.

[With all due respect, may not the reason why some publishers have ceased to send review copies to the ASJ (while continuing to send them to such journals as *Soviet Studies* and *Slavonic Review*) be that they have found the reviews published in the ASJ unfair?

We would instance two reviews of legal books which the ASJ has published in recent years, both by its President, Mr. Pritt.

Incidentally, can Miss Jackson confirm that the reviewer who has sat so long on 'Notes for a Journal' is Mr. Andrew Rothstein himself?—Ed.]

to use tellers on the vote he refused. For a few minutes there was pandemonium, while Foulkes and the mover disputed hotly.

Thursday saw, too, the collapse of the EC on the following motion:

**This conference is disturbed at the continued division of Germany. It protests at the banning of the West German Communist Party, the growing militarization of West Germany and its participation in Nato.**

**It also protests at the continuing lack of freedom for alternative genuine independent working-class parties in East Germany.**

**Conference also regrets that the Western Powers and Russia look on Germany as a pawn in the jockeying for positions in Europe. Conference urges the Executive Council to mobilize the maximum support in the Electrical Trades Union for a campaign in the broad Labour and trade union movement for:**

- 1) The immediate withdrawal of all troops from West and East Germany;
- 2) The right of the German people to choose their own government by immediate free elections;
- 3) The legalization of the West German Communist Party and the legalization of alternative working-class parties in East Germany.

Briefed to oppose this motion, Mr. Batchelor for the EC was told to support it in a brief whispered conversation on the platform with Haxell during the speech of the mover.

The earlier decision of the Communist Party fraction on this motion was therefore ignored.

The fact that under pressure the Stalinist leaders of the ETU accepted such a motion without a fight suggests that some of them may be considering deserting the party.

The conference showed what a basic change there has been in the ETU. The Communist Party machine has been seriously weakened, while Left Labour and dissident communist elements have grown.

In the EC elections next September the EC nominees may well be defeated in a number of districts.

And the ETU conference will assuredly widen the gap between the industrial members of the Communist Party and their leaders at Hayes and King Street.

(A Young Worker Speaks Out: page 42)