

International Bulletin

Vol. 1. No.22

May 18th 1962

ALL OUT AGAINST THE WITCH-HUNT

We will not know until the next N.E.C. meeting until how much of the recommendations of the Organisation Committee of the Labour Party will be put into operation. Their recommendations, as reported in the Guardian of May 16th, amount to a full scale witch-hunt of very considerable dimensions. As such they will lead a full scale fight inside the Labour Party which will paralyse it for some considerable period. As we are approaching the time of preparation for a general election, one is led to speculate why the right wing, from their point of view, should launch a full scale attack. But of course we are not dealing with completely rational people - anyone who has seen Gaitskell and Brown at close quarters will testify their insane hatred of the left. Gaitskell's remarks at Glasgow on the occasion of the May Day disturbances seen to support those who believe that these people are acting out of vindictiveness rather than out of a fully worked out strategy. It may be that cooler heads on the N.E.C., despite their equal hatred of the left, might modify the extent of the purge.

Whatever the exact form of the purge, we must see the whole affair in its general political context. The witch-hunt and the fight against it amount to a very sharp expression of the class struggle, all the more because the two extremes in the Labour movement are slogging it out. On the one side we have the complete representatives of capitalism in the Labour movement, the right wing, and on the other, we have the revolutionaries representing the conscience and the future of the movement. Both sides are looking for a fight; Gaitskell and co. feel confident after reversing the Scarborough decisions, heartened by the way the Union conferences are going this year, and cocky after their successes in 'disciplining' the Parliamentary Labour Party, would like to settle accounts with the left once and for all; the left is angry, and to a considerable extent frustrated, Gaitskell's absolute contempt for conference decisions by his attitude towards the resumption of tests by the West, the fight around the implementation of conference decision on Polaris, the failure of the leadership to really oppose Tory policies have all made for this feeling. The recent success of the Liberal Party strengthen those in the right wing camp who say that the best way of winning the next election is through a big Liberal vote. The left sees its strength in the Young Socialists and the huge Aldermaston demonstration, and is profoundly influenced by the industrial struggle.

The strategy of the left must be to turn this attack by the right wing into an offensive by the left. We must defend all positions and avoid the fight being diverted into organisational forms, we must at all stages politicalise the struggle. We must use this affair to unite the left, and all those who want to keep the Labour Party a workers party, around an alternative leadership to the present right wing clique. We must establish in everyone's mind the simple fact that it those people who are trying to carry out the decisions of the conferences of the Labour Party and Young Socialists who are being purged by precisely the people who have consistently opposed conference decisions. We must point out the outcome of this struggle: if Gaitskell succeeds in driving out the left for a long period there will be nothing to bar his way in his endeavours to refashion the Labour Party as the Democratic Party. This declared aim of Gaitskell very clearly reflects the attitude of the bourgeoisie who in a period of crisis inside the Tory Party do not like the prospect of the return of Labour Government with a large left wing,, especially when it looks at the evolution of the Transport and General Workers Union. We must demonstrate who is disrupting unity, who is infiltrating the movement (with Tory methods and ideas) and who is against democracy.

The fight will be bitter, and there may be many casualties (especially those who will want to 'contract out' of the Labour Party) but we have vast reserves - if only a few per cent of the 150,000 Hyde Park demonstrators were to be active in the Labour Party, Gaitskell would be beaten easily - and the fight will take place in a very different context from others when the right have launched a witch-hunt. This time the fight will take place with a back ground of industrial struggle at all levels, and sometimes on a very high political plane e.g., the anti test strike and the nurses solidarity movement, moreover the capitalist class has a crisis of policy and is divided. Victory in this fight can and must be won and can give us the means of uniting a firm left wing in the Labour Party which would mark a big step forward in the political evolution of the British working class. We will return to this next week.

BRITISH CAPITALISM'S STAKE IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

The development of the movement against the two dictatorships in the Iberian peninsula - Franco and Salazar - raises the question British capitalism's stake in the two countries. It will be important for understanding the attitude of the British Government to the movement as it grows to realise the extent of these interests. The following two extracts give some idea of what is involved.

RIO TINTO (extracted from L.R.D. Fact Service)

Among British capitalist interests in Spain are those of the Rio Tinto Company. This huge holding company has investments in copper and uranium mining in Northern Rhodesia, Canada, Australia and Elsewhere; It formerly owned and operated 32,000 acres of copper and sulphur mining property in the province of Huelva, Southern Spain. In 1954 the Spanish assets were transferred to a new Spanish company Cia. Espanola de Minas de Rio Tinto S.A., but Rio Tinto Co. has still 33 1/3% of the Spanish company's capital, and continues to provide it with technical and commercial services in London.

The directors of Rio Tinto include some leading British merchant bankers, industrialists, and people with diplomatic and foreign office connections. There is Mr. Gerald Edward Coke, of S.G. Warburg & Co., merchant bankers, he is a Governor of the B.B.C. and he married a daughter of Sir Alexander Cadogan, formerly head of the Foreign Office and Chairman of the B.B.C. 1952-57; Baron Guy de Rothschild; Mr. David R. Colville, partner in N.M. Rothschild & Sons, merchant bankers; Mr. Victor Cavendish-Bentinck formerly of the diplomatic service and Ambassador to Poland 1945-7, now chairman of the Committee of British Industrial Interest in Germany and director of a number of companies operating in Germany; Sir Percy ale Liesching, permanent under-secretary for Commonwealth Relations 1949-55 and High Commissioner for U.K. in South Africa 1955-58; J.N.V. Duncan Assistant-Secretary Control Office for Germany 1946-7; Sir Mark Turner, managing director of Kleinwort, Benson Ltd. (merchant bankers), employed temporarily at the Foreign Office 1944-45 and Under-Secretary Control Office for Germany 1945-7.

According to the "City Press" (May 4th) Kleinwort Benson is participating in a Society to which a group of European banks also belong which has been formed in agreement with Madrid's Banco Urquijo to take a 50% stake in a Spanish investment trust, the S.A. de Inversion y Renta. This followed a Spanish ministerial decree, published on March 15th, allowing non-Spaniards to buy Spanish securities with foreign currencies converted into pesetas in the Spanish money market. Up to 50% of the capital of any company may be so acquired. In the first investment trust issue the British slice will be placed privately by Kleinwort, Nenson. Preference is being given to Spanish companies having "know-how" agreements with major European and North American manufacturers. The 'City Press' remarks:

"Spanish pride requires that the foreign investor should go into partnership with the Spaniard. But this type of partnership has already proved successful in many countries. It is said that in the days when Welsh coal and Biscayan iron were constantly shipped between Bilbao and Cardiff, the bowler hat was fashionable in Bilbao. In oranges, sherry and table wines, olive oil and grapes there is a big trade between Britain and Spain. In textiles it tends to increase and Britain still has an investment in mining."

The Banco de Bilbao has an advertisement on the same page: "The Bank's services include assisting you in capital investments you contemplate making in Spain."

THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE TELEPHONE COMPANY (extracts from chairman's statement)

"Total Revenue for the year at £4,021,936 is £306,365 higher than the 1960 figure. Total Expenses including Royalties to the Portuguese Government Renewal of Telephone Plant, Depreciation, Taxation, Directors' Remuneration, and Service of Debentures, amount to £3,273,452, an increase of £171,472 over the previous year. Net Profit is £748,484 as against in 1960, an increase of £134,893. Your Directors recommend and the Accounts provide for a final dividend of 6% on the issued Ordinary Stock, which, together with the interim dividend of 3% paid in November last, make 9% for the year. A dividend of 9% on the "A" Ordinary Stock is also provided for in the Accounts.

"These dividends, together with the dividend on the 6% Preference Stock require £428,137. General Reserve is increased to £1,800,000 by a transfer of £250,000 and the balance on Profit and Loss Account carried forward is increased by £70,347 to £426,9191

".....Throughout the 75 years which have passed since your Company was formed we can justly claim to have rendered a most valuable service in Portugal and to have built up a telephone network which, size for size, compares favourably with any in Europe and, perhaps, in the world. In return we have always enjoyed conditions of complete amity with the Portuguese Authorities who have at all times shown a ready understanding of the problems and difficulties involved in providing and operating a large utility service.

".....but, I am glad to say that there are already signs in international financial circles of restored confidence in the strength of the Portuguese Economy after the setback caused by disturbances in Africa last year.

".....Subject to unforeseen circumstances the outlook for 1962 is satisfactory."

COMMENT: comrades will remember that in Batista's days the Americans ran the Cuban telephone services.....

OLD BOLSHEVIKS 'REHABILITATED' BY BACK DOOR METHOD

In an article in the latest issue of "Problems of Communism" Jane Degras draws attention to the way several Old Bolsheviks have recently been 'rehabilitated' in a very round-about way. She writes:

"Surreptitiously and obliquely, the process of rehabilitating Stalin's victims continues, if rehabilitation is the right word to apply to the rather elementary act of publishing for the first time the dates of their deaths. We now learn from the new edition of the protocols of the 11th Party Congress (1922), recently issued in Moscow, that Karl Radek, who was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in 1937, died (how?) in 1939, that Rakovsky (sentenced to twenty years of hard labour in 1938) died in 1941, Sokolnikov (ten years' imprisonment in 1937) in 1939, etc...."

Karl Radek was one of the leaders of the Communist International in Lenin's day. In 1910 Radek began active work in the ranks of the German revolutionary opposition. In the years of the First World War Radek joined the Zimmerwald Left from the outset. After the death of Luxemburg and Liebknecht Radek became the leading politician of the German Communist Party. In the twenties Radek worked in the Communist International as a member of the presidium of the E.C.C.I. After Lenin's death Radek belonged for a number of years to the Left Opposition. But in 1929 he capitulated to Stalin, serving the latter zealously until January 1937 when he was framed up in the Second Moscow Trial.

Rakovsky was a long time revolutionary, he participated in the Labour movement in a number of countries and was especially active in the Balkans prior to the first world war. He was a member of the bourgeoisie who broke with his class, sacrificed his fortune and devoted his entire life to the workers movement. After the October Revolution, Rakovsky was chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine and performed there great and important work in consolidating the Soviet power. Rakovsky later served the Soviet Republic as ambassador. One of the leaders of the Left Opposition who was finally broken after years of exile, he capitulated to Stalin only to be framed up like so many of Lenin's closest co-workers during the infamous Moscow Trials.

Sokolnikov was an old bolshevik who in the twenties served as People's Commissar of Finance. Although never a member of the Left Opposition he was framed up with the others in the second Moscow trial (January 1937).

DENMARK - COMRADE MOLTVED LECTURES ON TROTSKY OVER RADIO

During a series of discussions on the question of stalinism over the radio in Denmark comrade Moltved gave a lecture on Trotsky. Giving his opinions as to why the Soviet Government launched the attack on Stalin, he said that this was the result of a social process and pressure from below. This pressure starting among the intellectuals reaching the workers is not against communism but against a distortion of communism. He said that the seriousness of this opposition was demonstrated by the strike in Odessa and other demonstrations. Outlining the main developments in the fight of the Left Opposition against rising stalinism, comrade Moltved gave his reason as to why at this stage the people are revolting against stalinism, linking this with the growth of industrialisation. Moltvet finished by saying that Trotskyism had been vindicated by these events and that the Fourth International was intervening in the process. He said the final overthrow of the bureaucracy is inevitable - but this would not be done by the bureaucrats themselves.

INDUSTRIAL ACTION AGAINST NUCLEAR TESTS

Over 700 workers from the Carrington's Petro-Chemicals in Cheshire went on a one-day strike on Monday, May 14th, to protest against the resumption of tests by the West. The same day 100 workers marched through Liverpool in support of the stoppage. For most of them it was an expensive walk, meaning two or three pounds less in their pay packet. Mr. S. Howard, chairman of the Shop Stewards committee and also chairman of the Carrington's Peace Committee, headed the march.

Among the unions represented were the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, the E.T.U., the Constructional Engineers' Union, the Heating and Domestic Engineers, the A.E.U., the Boilermakers, and the Plumbers T.U. delegates came from the Petro-Chemicals, Henderson's Ford and Crosby Baths building sites, from Eric Bemrose (printers), Automatic Telephones, I.C.I. (Runcorn) and British Railways. Both the stoppage and the demonstration were the immediate result of a meeting addressed by Pat Arrowsmith at the Petro-Chemicals site when a resolution from the floor had been overwhelmingly carried with only thirty men from a total of 800 voting against a token strike.

At the end of the march the demonstrators gathered at the Pier Head where a thousand nuclear disarmers had disturbed the pigeons only a couple of weeks before. The theme of this meeting was: "If the Unions united on this issue we just can't fail." "This is the first time we've demonstrated against nuclear tests, but it won't be the last." said one of the speakers, a young building worker. "Pat Arrowsmith came and talked to us on the site and we were all terribly impressed by her arguments. There will be more demonstrations like this and there will be bigger ones."

BELGIUM - NATION-WIDE ANTI-NUCLEAR STOPPAGE (based on report in Peace News)

At 11 a.m. on May 8th nine million people in Belgium, nearly half the population of the country, took part in a nation-wide demonstration against nuclear weapons. Men and women in factories, offices, at home and in the streets took part in a symbolic stoppage for 10 to 15 minutes. In Brussels and other cities traffic was brought almost to a standstill for several minutes as car and tram drivers and pedestrians observed a symbolic silence.

At the Stock Exchange in Brussels, just before 11, a group of young people arrived with posters calling for disarmament and peace. There were shouts of "We want peace" and "We want disarmament" The police then stepped in and seized the posters, in some cases with a good deal of violence. Some of the demonstrators protested against the action of the police and pointed out that the demonstration had received official approval from the Government.

Gaston Debunne, national president of the public services trade union C.G.S.P. and co-president of the "May 8 movement" (originally founded to mark the end of the Second World War) which originated the nation-wide demonstration, said that it had been a great success. The four main points of the May 8 movement policy are: the end of all nuclear tests, use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only, settlement of international disputes through negotiation, and agreement for general disarmament under international control. Affiliated to the movement are the three largest trade unions and various peace, youth and social organisations.

I.N.D.E.C. GETS A HEARING IN NOTTINGHAM

On Sunday May 13th, 70 to 80 supporters of the anti-nuclear weapons ^{movement} listened to speakers from the Independent Nuclear Disarmament Election Committee who included Stuart Hall, former editor of New Left Review. Four others including Laurie Kershaw, national treasurer of the C.N.D. arrived from London. During their contributions it became increasingly clear that there are many different opinions within I.N.D.E.C. - in fact Stuart Hall didn't really put the 'official' I.N.D.E.C. point of view over in his contribution (the opening one). What he put forward really amounted to suggesting that C.N.D. supporters should very selectively choose a by-election to have a trial run. On the other hand Laurie Kershaw (whose lack of political clarity maybe gathered from the fact that as well as being a supporter of I.N.D.E.C. he is listed as one of the sponsors of the Labour Party Common Market Committee) put forward an argument which was based upon, among other things, an alleged public opinion poll in which 50% or so were supposed to have declared themselves for nuclear disarmament. Other I.N.D.E.C. speakers were clearly against any truck with work in the Labour Party. Only one speaker from the audience supported them, even then it was from an ultra left point of view (opposing Parliamentary tactics in general). All other speakers from the audience opposed I.N.D.E.C. from points of view which ranged from Marxism to orthodox C.N.D., the former spearheading the criticism.

MOVE TO START YOUNG ENGINEERS' PAPER

At its last meeting the Nottingham District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineers' Union sent a resolution to the Executive Committee of the Union calling for the establishment of a paper for young engineers. The resolution, which was passed unanimously, originated from the Nottingham Junior Workers' Committee of the Union. The Junior Workers' Committee want a paper 'controlled, edited and written by young engineers for young engineers.'

MAKING THE BOSSES PAY!!

Anyone who complains about the cost of our publications should spare a thought for the poor bosses. If left-wing socialists think they have to fork out a lot for their information ^{they} should take a look at what the bosses have to pay. One of the most widely used intelligence services is "The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited" a highly profitable concern. Among its services are a weekly newsletter analysing major trends in world markets; Quaterly Commodity Bulletins on Paper, Rubber trends, Hard Fibres, Oilseeds and Grains; a monthly bulletin on Retail Business; Quarterly bulletins on certain industries, e.g., Motor Bussiness; and 57 different quarterly reviews on various countries. But before you rush off and subscribe to any of these consider the prices:

Spotlight, the weekly Newsletter,	£20 per annum
Commodity Bulletins	£30 " "
Monthly Bulletin on Retail Business	£20 " "
Quarterly Reviews on different countries	£10 " "

ECONOMIST ANGRY AT PORT EMPLOYERS' 'SURRENDER'

The Economist, which had run a campaign to persuade the Government to stand firm on the docks wage claim, is angry about the settlement reached. After saying, in previous issues, that the Government should have backed up the employers by making it clear that they would have used troops to break the strike, it writes:

"The port employers' surrender which bought off the dock strike was even further out of line with the Government's income policy than the nationalised electricity industry's inflationary wage award last November...."

this could have been avoided because:

"....it cannot possibly be said that inflation was rendered inevitable by an exorbitant pressure of demand or by an urgent need to recruit more workers. On the contrary, the docks industry is at present working at a more depressed level of activity than for some time past; in Liverpool - the most militant area - an average of 8 per cent unemployed higher every day in the first quarter of this year....."

in fact:

"The Government's income policy was breached in the docks dispute because the Government made no attempt to implement it. Ministers could have stopped the final large breach of their guiding light (even if not the smaller, initial one) at any time up to Saturday of last week, simply by saying that in their view a further inflationary increase in the employers' offer would be an even worse disaster for the national economy than a full-scale national strike."

it draws the conclusion that:

".....until the Government and the country at last come to realise the folly of constantly encouraging employers to run away from any threat of national strikes - and until it has become invariable Government practice publicly to blazen forth the guiding light during each crucial wage negotiation."

that there will be a constant inflationary twist which will adversely effect export costs.

COMMENT: the Economist is being unfair to the Government insofar as it ignores the Government's statements about taking all necessary steps to keep essential supplies going. Coming a few days before the final date for negotiations this could only strengthen the hand of the employers. In fact it is almost certain that but for the combination of tremendous pressure from the rank and file delegates, reflecting the discontent arising out of the low earnings which dockers have received in the last year or so, and the fact that at this stage Cousins and the leadership of the T.G.W.U. are taking a 'firm' line that the Government's threat would have been effective. As it is Britain's workers have learnt a lesson, if they stand firm, if they make it clear that they will not be moved by either threats or appeals to think of the 'nation's welfare' that they can make substantial advances in their living standards. This lesson will give a tremendous impulse to militant action throughout industry. This is what has really made the Economist so very angry.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE WITCH-HUNT

South Nottingham Federation of Young Socialists opposes proscription

At its last meeting the Executive of the above body held on the 16th of May the following resolution was passed:

"That this South Notts. Federation of Young Socialists strongly protests against the recommendation of the N.E.C. organisation sub-committee of the Labour Party to proscribe the youth papers, Young Guard and Keep Left. We support the right of all Young Socialists to write and publish their own papers and demand:

- (a) there should be no proscription of either of these papers;
- (b) that the proposed enquiry into the activities of the Young Socialist National Committee members should not take place;
- (c) that the threat of expulsion facing several Young Socialist members identified from photos as taking part in the Labour Party May Day rally (Hyde Park) be withdrawn.

We consider that the right of freedom of expression is essential in any Democratic Socialist Party and that by its proposals the N.E.C. sub-committee is acting in a way directly contrary to this."

Copies of the resolution have been sent to Transport House, and the Young Socialist branches in the Federation.

Central Nottingham move to oppose witch-hunt

At its last meeting the Central Nottingham Young Socialists sent the following resolution for consideration by the Constituency:

"That this Central Nottingham Labour Party strongly protests against the recommendations of the N.E.C. organisation sub committee....."

The resolution is substantially the same as the one above.

Greetings to Lord Russell on the occasion of his 90th birthday

The same day as the press report appeared of the moves by the Labour Party to discipline Lord Russell for his sponsorship of the Moscow disarmament conference a group of Labour Party members and supporters in Nottingham organised a move to send him a message of greetings. It reads as follows:

Dear Lord Russell,

We are a group of Labour Party members and supporters in Nottingham, who are pleased to greet you on the occasion of your 90th birthday. Your devotion to the cause of world disarmament provides an example to us all, of devotion, courage and self sacrifice, and contrasts ^{most} sharply with the actions of your denigrators in our own movement.

Yours sincerely,

The letter was endorsed by the following members of the staff of Nottingham University:

Professor J. Kinsley
Professor B. Tate
Doctor J.W. Daines
Doctor E. Mitchell
Mr. M.W. Barley
Mr. George Hibbard
Mr. R.S. Smith

Professor M.W. Partridge
Professor E.A. Tate
Doctor J.C. Daniels
Doctor M. Partridge
Mr. Gordon Douglas
Mr. Neil Scott
Mr. D.B. Steele

and Messrs. K.S. Coates, Noel Williams and Bob Quinn from the W.E.A., other signatories included Mr. Peter Donaldson (Leicester University) and Harry Wheatcroft the rose grower. There were some 50 other sponsors holding various positions in the labour movement and from all four constituencies in Nottingham.

The message of greetings was reported in the press and copies went to Lord Russell and Antony Greenwood, who is a member of the N.E.C. of the Labour Party.

We are informed that steps will be taken in other parts of the country to organise similar actions. In view of Lord Russell's refusal to back down on the sponsorship of the Moscow conference this campaign will give a broad focal point in the fight against witch hunt.