

International Bulletin

Vol. 1. No. 3/3

Price Sixpence

Aug. 10th 1962.

FRESH FISSURES IN THE LABOUR PARTY RIGHT WING

Anyone who is of the opinion that the right wing of the Labour represents a unified force which is concerned only with a struggle against the left should consider carefully the disputes concerning the Pilkington report and the Common Market. The resignation of Christopher Mayhew as official opposition spokesman on television and radio affairs, combined with the disclosure that Brown, along with Cassandra and the cartoonist who draws 'Daughter of Jane', is a hired hand of the Daily Mirror empire of Cecil King, has given Gaitskoll a first rate headache. Some unkind people have suggested that the fact that Brown gets £1,000 a year for advising the Daily Mirror on industrial matters may influence his attitude towards the Pilkington Report. That the Daily Mirror is opposed to the Pilkington Report is apparent from its hysterical reaction when the Report was made public, and one can understand this in view of the financial stake which is threatened if the Report is fully implemented. On the Common Market the right wing^s split right down the middle two of Gaitskoll's lieutenants, Roy Jenkins and Douglas Jay, find themselves on opposite sides of the fence, and conduct a polemic, in and out of Parliament, almost as bitter as that against the left. The letter signed by Clement Attlee and supported by 100 odd Labour M.P.s. was countered by a statement from the supporters of the Common Market which had over 80 M.P.s' signatures.

Divisions of this kind are inevitable in the present period. Traditional social democrat parties are the product of the upsurge of capitalism and the mass basis for reformism which they reflect is associated with a certain minimum of prosperity, and therefore room for manoeuvre, in the capitalist system. The rise of the workers states, the everencroaching colonial revolution and, now, the end of the post-war stability of the Atlantic bourgeoisie has its impact on the social democrat parties. The right wing throws up groups and tendencies which want to change the class character of these parties, get rid of the old-fashioned socialism and convert these parties into purely 'second' capitalist parties. This meets with resistance not only from the left but also from sections of the right whose basis is in the class character of the party. These processes and conflicts are by no means fully conscious or fully thought out but they have a profound influence on the political life of these parties. The above mentioned conflicts fit into this category - despite all of the confused argument (sometimes chauvinist) opposition to the Common Market flows from an instinctive class suspicion, and those who want the implementation of the Pilkington report put 'principles' above the possible loss of Daily mirror support (both in the form of propaganda and salaries).

Marxists must of course utilise this state of affairs, firstly, in a defensive way - it is much harder for a divided right wing to carry out a purge - and, secondly, by going over to the offensive and setting certain aims which if achieved would change the relationship of forces in the Labour Party. We must raise the question of Brown's position as Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party and Chairman of the Organisation sub-committee. Brown, the would be purger of Collins, Russell, et al, had the nerve to grill Young Socialists about their alleged secret factional activities (which amounted to open and advertised Young Guard discussion meetings) at the same time as he kept quiet about receiving his £1,000 per year (plus 'expenses'?) from the Daily Mirror. Brown who would like people deprived of Labour Party membership for 'associating' with proscribed organisations, has 'associated' ('actively' and 'persistently') with the world's biggest newspaper monopoly for a number of years behind the backs of the Party membership. While people went to Moscow with the idea of furthering the fight for peace (no matter how mistakenly), Brown goes to the Daily Mirror to get a thousand quid a year. Which is the greatest crime? We suggest that if these arguments are put forward in a forceful way and from a class point of view the mass of the Labour Party membership will give their answer and we doubt whether Mayhew will come to Brown's defence. The removal of Brown from his positions would be an important victory in the fight against the witch hunt and in the whole fight to isolate the extreme right wing Gaitskoll faction.

J. (Nottingham) 10/8/62

EDITORIAL NOTE: This issue of the Bulletin is a double issue and covers two weeks. The holiday period, the lack of reports and the need to translate certain articles led to a delay. Weekly production will be resumed commencing with the 17/8/62 issue. Please help by getting reports in as soon as possible. Subscriptions have also tended to lag behind in this holiday period, please make sure you have paid.

Comrade M. (Liverpool) in issue 31, (July 27) of the International Bulletin made a well-meaning, but in my opinion, wrong-headed comment upon the demand of certain "apparent socialists", who demanded the dismissal of the Fascist Jordan from his job as school teacher in Coventry, following the smashing of Jordan's attempts to hold a meeting in Trafalgar Square. Comrade M. correctly advises, "The way to combat Fascism is by agitation and extra-Parliamentary action" This, is as far as it goes, is correct, but unfortunately he flies off at a tangent and denies his own theses, for these were precisely the methods the Coventry workers employed. It is difficult to understand why he goes on to criticise the logical conclusion of these efforts, that is the dismissal of Jordan, and why he admonishes certain "apparent socialists" not to combat Fascism by "supporting 'legal' coercion by the administrative apparatus". Are we to understand that when comrade M. talks of democratic rights, he undertakes to extend and protect the rights of those openly dedicated to crush and extirpate the democratic rights of other people, especially those of the working class?

The facts are these:- the "administrative apparatus" happens to be the Education Committee of the Coventry City Council run by one of the most left wing Labour Parties in Great Britain. The "legal coercion" was applied by the working class parents of the pupils at Jordan's school, who ably supported their mums and dads by giving Jordan the "bird" when he turned up at the school after the Trafalgar Square incident, the whole campaign being rounded off by firm support from the 70,000 odd trade unionists through their various branches and final pressure being applied (if any was necessary) by the Constituency Labour Parties representing more than 6,000 individual members, through resolutions to the City Council. The outcome was that this admirer of the maniac Hitler was sacked and the conclusions that we militant socialists (along with our friends "the apparent socialists") automatically reach are that this was a necessary job well done, in working class socialist fashion.

Whether the means employed by those involved fits strictly into comrade M.'s formula of fighting Fascism, by "agitation", and "extraparliamentary action" (whatever that may mean, if you don't talk about concrete things, like mothers, fathers, children, T.U.'s L.P.'s, etc.) the end result was a working class victory. In my opinion, a model piece of socialist activity on a local scale - an example of how to pull the Fascists up short by mass action. In different circumstances, different means would be employed, but when we march around with placards demanding the banning of Fascism, this is precisely the form of action we are demanding bourgeois governments to take; if we do not mean this then the slogan is meaningless. By these means we intend either to force boss-class politicians to take action against their own potential allies or smoke these politicians out as defenders of Fascist thugs.

The burden of Comrade M.'s comments is that he fears that "...this type of action is double edged and could be applied to the whole of the Left". This method of reasoning has a long ancestry. It is an old Liberal-bourgeois and social democratic red herring. The classical field of its operation was Social-Democratic Germany, and it was trotted out not only to oppose mass action against the Hitlerites, but also on occasions when specific action was called for against particular thugs. Over and over again in the Weimar Republic of Germany in the post first world war period (during the rise of Fascism) Fascists committed atrocities against Socialists, Communists, Jews, and other opponents. Government officials, Army Officers, and Police Chiefs aided the Brownshirts to brutally assault and assassinate working class opponents. When the storms of protest arose from the left, calling for their dismissal, the inevitable free advice was handed out from newspapers, Parliamentary benches and public platforms by Liberal and Social-Democratic master-minds - "Don't kick the Fascists and their friends out of their job, or the same thing may happen to the Left". Most of these pampered thugs and their protectors survived these protests and in Hitler's time, waded through the blood of millions of people, amongst whom were ironically enough these self same "democratic" liberal and socialist "advisors". The facts are that all Fascists are deadly enemies of working class liberties and intend to be the executioners of its socialist vanguard. We must accept the lessons of Germany, Italy, Spain, etc., and do all in our power to politically injure and crush the Fascists both as individuals and as groups; this includes the use of all legal means provided by the bourgeois state machine.

But comrade M. fears that to use this state machine or "administrative apparatus" will boomerang against the left. Surely it is obvious that the 70,000 trade unionists and the 6,000 labour workers who supported the parents, in one city alone, in securing Jordan's dismissal, is a demonstration that the workers are powerful enough and class conscious enough to handle any Tory bureaucrats or would

continued over/

Jordan's dismissal continued/

be De Gaulle who has totalitarian aspirations. A working class which is strong enough to enforce its will to the extent that either local or national governments are forced to take action against the Fascists, is sufficiently powerful to resist attacks upon the socialist left wing.

No weakness on our part on this question of Fascism is permissible. The resurgence of Fascist activity should be a warning to the whole Labour movement. The fact that working class resistance to the Fascist cliques has forced them to split and openly compete for support amongst their tattered ranks by rival public meetings, should not lull socialists into complacency or any weakling cries for "democratic rights", "free speech", etc., to be accorded to these potential Eichmans.

500 SIGNATURES TO YOUNG SOCIALIST ANTI-FASCIST PETITION

In connection with various anti-Fascist activities, the Nottingham Central branch of the Young Socialists organised a petition calling upon the Government to support Fenner Brockway's Bill to outlaw racialist activity. Over 500 signatures were collected in a couple of weeks and sent to Fenner Brockway.

PLUMBERS' TRADE UNION PROTESTS AGAINST RESURGENCE OF FASCIST ACTIVITY

At its August meeting the Nottingham branch of the Plumbers' Trade Union passed the following resolution:

"That this branch condemns the activities of Fascist organisations and fully supports the action of Fenner Brockway, M.P., in his Bill before the House of Commons outlawing racial discrimination."

NEW LIST OF SPONSORS FOR TRADE UNION PAPER

A fresh list of sponsors appears in the latest circular sent out by Ernie Roberts asking for support for the proposed Trade Union paper (see previous issues of the Bulletin). The new list consists of:

Frank Alluan, M.P.; Goe. Craddock, M.P.; Tom Badstovener, A. E.U.; R.W. Briginshaw, N.A.T.S.O.P.A.; Ald. W. Callow; S.O. Davies, M.P.; Percy Bolcher, T.W.U.; George Elvin, A.C.T.T.; Bob Edwards, M.P., C.A.W.U.; W. Griffiths, M.P.; C. Harrington, N.U.R.; Hugh Jenkins, Equity; Russel Kerr, A.S.S.E.T.; Walter Kendall, U.S.D.A.W.; R. Kolley, M.P.; Dave Lambert, A.U.F.W.; Ian Mikardo, A.S.S.E.T.; Stan Mills, N.U.R.; W. Monslow, M.P., N.U.R.; L.J. Nicholas, N.U.R.; Don Pullen, A.S.L.E.F.; John Rankin, M.A., M.P.; Ernie Roberts, A.E.U.; H. Scanlon, A.E.U.; Stephen Swingler, M.P.; Ald. Tom Shaw, A.E.U.; A.C. Torode, S & D; R. Tench, N.U.R.; Prof. E.A. Thompson, Bert Wynn, N.U.M.

Tory crisis continued/

In any case it is probable that the Conservatives will postpone the date of an election until entry into the Common Market is settled, not wishing to entrust this matter to a workers' party which is not so disciplined on this matter.

It is generally agreed that for 6 months the British working class has shown a spirit of strong determination against the austerity measures of the Tory Government. If this resistance has not resulted in widespread struggles, it is due above all to the absence of a left sufficiently unified and centralised to appear as a competent alternative leadership to the miserable gang around Gaitskell and Brown. Without such a left each section of the vanguard risks fighting in isolation, and risks being demoralised. The first signs of such a development are already apparent amongst some of the young supporters of C.N.D. who wish to place themselves in the backwaters by standing as unilateralist candidates in the elections (This refers to I.N.D.E.C. : Ed. Note)

Uniting and fusing the young enthusiasts of the C.N.D. and the Young Socialists, with the left of the trade unions, the dissident workers and the militant opposition in the local Labour Parties remains more than ever the task for the next stage in Great Britain.

This article is a translation of an editorial in the latest issue of Quatrieme Internationale (July, 1962), French language theoretical journal of the I.B.C. of the Fourth International. Ed. Note.

It is not so long ago since the Tories won the General Election easily and various lower middle-class sociologists and ideologists gravely affirmed that it was a case of a 'fundamental swing' resulting from the 'new structure' of the working class after the second industrial revolution. But it is sufficient that the Conservative Government imposes a pay pause of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum, and a year of stagnation, if not slight recession, for the 'fundamental drift' theory to be so exposed that it dissolves into nothingness. The Tories march from defeat to defeat; from one by-election to another losing in places a half, a third or even sometimes more than half the votes they obtained at the General Election.

At first it seemed that the Liberal Party, miraculously coming to life, was getting the votes of the disgruntled Tories. It was said, in addition, that the Liberals were taking one vote from the Labour Party for every two votes that it took from the Conservatives. Since then, however, the picture has changed somewhat. It seems today that the General Election will not lead to a Government which cannot govern, the Liberals holding the balance between the Conservatives and Labour but that Labour will obtain an absolute majority in the House of Commons.

At first sight it would appear unbelievable that the Labour Party should be enjoying such a resurgence. For some years, in effect, the extreme right wing policy of Gaitskell and Brown has done everything to discourage the masses, to efface the difference between their programme and that of the left conservatism. This policy, with its treachery, deception and foolishness, has filled the hearts of the advance guard of the working class with repugnance. The latest, and particularly scandalous, example of this betrayal was the brazen about turn on the question of nuclear policy. At the time of the resumption of the Russian tests, Gaitskell, conforming with the decision of the last annual conference, declared that his party was hostile to all resumption of tests, no matter which country resumed them. But hardly had he returned from a lightning trip to Washington, than he approved the resumption of nuclear tests by the American imperialists declaring them 'indispensable to the defence of the free world'. Crowning this perfidy he even launched a purge against supporters of C.N.D., the unilateralist movement which enjoys the support of tens of thousands of young people and hundreds of thousands, even several million trade union workers.

If despite all these efforts to make the Labour Party practically identical with the Tory Party the workers party once attracts support from resolute voters, it is because British imperialism is going through an exceptionally grave crisis, and in face of this crisis the British proletariat and the petty bourgeois sections that it drags along with it are instinctively looking for the class solution to this problem. And, in their tradition with their outlook, they can conceive of a class solution only through the return to power of a working class Government.

The crisis of British Imperialism follows the slow progressive decline of her position in the world and a rapid loss of ground in face of the European Common Market. In four years production within the Common Market has increased by more than 30% whereas in the same period production in Great Britain has only increased 13%. To get out of this impasse the most powerful and decisive section of the bourgeoisie wants integration with the Common Market. But this question deeply divides the Tories and becomes an additional cause of their crisis.

The progress of the colonial revolution in Africa, and its resurgence in South East Asia, will be menacing in the immediate future to two key positions of the old empire which still exist: the copper belt of Rhodesia and Singapore. Overwhelmed by financial difficulties, a prey to incessant labour unrest, sceptical as to his future prospects, Macmillan's team no longer knows where to show its face and sends its ministers to the four corners of the earth to try to settle its most important problems.

The Tory Government is not obliged to resign although it has obviously lost the confidence of the majority of the electors. Only Labour Governments hasten to resort to such traditional procedure because they never feel strong enough alone when they are in power. Macmillan will have to content himself with remodelling the cabinet and continuing until there is an improvement in the economic situation that promises a better electoral result. He can hardly hope to regain his majority. But a big comeback for the Tories would either restore a majority for the bourgeoisie (the Conservatives plus the Liberals), or lead the right wing of the Labour Party to make a pact with the Liberals; an act which would provoke a split in the Labour Party.

Five members of Labour Party N.E.C. denounce proposed amendment

A tremendous fillip to the fight against the proposed amendments to the rules of the Labour Party which would make 'association with proscribed organisations' a crime punishable by expulsion was given by the action of five members of the N.E.C. in writing to the Guardian denouncing the move. We produce the text of the letter below and ask all readers of the Bulletin to use this letter and the article by Dick Crossman to the full in the fight against this McCarthyite move. Of course, the arguments of the five (or for that matter those of Crossman) are not a clear analysis, we should make that in our statements, but the action by the five will greatly facilitate our campaign, especially by making it easy to gain allies. The text reads:

"We agree with Dick Crossman's article in the "Guardian" of July 27th on the latest disciplinary diktat in the Labour Party, but we do not think he has fully explained the motivation which, consciously or subconsciously, lies behind it. Such an explanation is not simple, because the action represents a diametric reversal of the attitudes of three years ago. At the 1959 party conference Hugh Gaitskell himself spoke of the damage inflicted on the party's reputation by some Labour councils who are guilty of "excessively rigid standing orders, or, more generally, of apparently arbitrary and intolerant behaviour." Why, then, the backsliding into a similar rigidity and intolerance and on a larger scale? Why a constitutional amendment which is far more sweeping and far more offensive to libertarians than is necessary to offset the alleged danger to the party? Dick Crossman gives part of the answer, namely a desire to close a constitutional loophole which prevented the expulsion of Lord Russell, John Collins, and Lady Wootton. But that is not all: these three aroused the disciplinarians' ire not merely by escaping the block but by daring to argue with the executioner.

"The powers given by the new amendment are therefore designed not merely to discipline the heretic (the existing powers already provide for that) but to make the disciplinary act so nearly automatic that the victim will have little or no opportunity to defend himself. They are, in fact, designed not merely to punish the dissentient but also to silence him. Fortunately, however, the final decision rests with the party conference.

Yours etc.

Barbara Castle, Tom Driberg, Anthony Greenwood, Jonnie Lee, Ian Mikardo.

More facts come to light about East Islington

The scandal of the East Islington Constituency Labour Party in keeping people out of the Labour Party by refusing to accept their transfer which was exposed by the New Statesman is no new thing. Letters received by that journal from members, former members and would-be members of East Islington C.L.P. bring to light a very unseavoury state of affairs. Pat Haynes says that the Party is a typical example of the type criticised in the Pamphlet Mechanics of Victory, one where ".....local oligarchies do not like the idea of an increased membership diluting their hold over the local machine." Ian Norrie reminds us of the business in 1958 "when the party pundits there declined to accept a number of would-be members because they were supporters of C.N.D." he goes on to explain that it was only after Anthony Greenwood intervened and the matter was brought before the N.E.C. that some of them got in. Eric Fletcher, the member for East Islington, had refused to interfere. Ernest Millington relates how when he had newly arrived in East Islington during the General Election campaign he went to the Party office and offered his services, he received the enquiry "Are you a member of C.N.D.? If so we don't want you here"

Tribune in an editorial on the question refers to treatment received by Gus MacDonald, a Young Socialist from Glasgow and a former member of the Glasgow B.C., who was told that his application to transfer had not been accepted. The ward meetings are so poorly attended that all three are held on the same night. The income from party subscriptions for the year 1961 was under £71 which is a paid up membership of less than 250 - in a constituency with a 4,500 Labour majority and almost 100% Labour representation on the council!! In this constituency which so rigidly interpretes some of the rules, both the chairman and the treasurer live outside the constituency in flagrant violation of the rules. The political consequences of such a set-up are shown in the fact that when at the last G.M.C. it was suggested that a vote of congratulations be sent to Eric Fletcher on his fight in defence of Carmen Bryan (the West Indian girl who was to be deported), the idea was angrily voted down. We are informed that many trade union branches who have attempted to affiliate have been prevented from doing so by the simple expedient of the Party secretary not replying to the application. Here, in our opinion, lies the solution. These trade union branches should insist on their rights, and if necessary enlist the support of their national organisation. Even big-time bureaucrats will insist on getting the value of their affiliation fees and will no doubt be very angry with their small time replicas in East Islington.

We produce here, comments by two journals of big business the Financial Times and the Economist on the Government's National Incomes Commission. The former says, in effect, that the Government has introduced 'old nic', without thinking things out, as a political move, the latter thinks it out for the Government and calls for it to be the start of a tough incomes policy. The Financial Times of 27 July says:

".....set up an Incomes Commission. All of this was anticipated, all of it is very fine as far as it goes. But the timing of the announcement, particularly where the Incomes Commission is concerned, leads one to suspect that the Government is primarily interested in convincing the country that it has a policy to offer and that the practical difficulties implicit in any incomes policy have yet to be properly thought out."

The Economist of 28 July has this to add:

"By far the most important part of the Prime Minister's mouse in the bag is therefore obviously the proposed National Incomes Commission. The Government (which has reiterated that it will restrain aggregate profits by "fiscal and other means") will henceforth "indicate publicly its views that this new commission should be asked for its advice before any settlement is reached of any really major or pace-setting wage demand. But one had better set down brutally here the different ways in which it would seem that this experiment might go.

"The least useful outcome will be if the commission merely becomes a device whereby groups of workers, usually in the public service, who had not got that year's average inflationary wage increase, are enabled to get it as well as (and on top of) everybody else. This would merely then be a device for spreading a little more inflation a little more ostensibly fairly all round. The second least useful outcome will be if after the Government has "indicated publicly" that it thinks the commission should advise on particular wage claims, these claims are then often blithely settled by inflationary wage increases without any regard to the Government's statement of work. Politicians would then no doubt regard the whole experiment merely as a device for casting odium on the Government. In fact, however, even a development of this sort would not be wholly pernicious compared with the present appalling mess; it would be a positive sign that the Government no longer regarded itself as purely neutral even in private wage settlements, and it is probable that the nationalised industries at least would then have greater inhibitions about granting wage increases of which the commission would plainly disapprove.

"The best outcome will plainly be if the commission becomes the main body for setting the pace of each year's main wage settlements, in line with expected increases in national productivity. Bluntly, however, the trade unions are likely to accept its recommendations only if they think that they cannot get more money by other means: in other words by threatening or fighting strikes. Probably they will think for some time they can. Whether the Government should "insist" on referring particular claims to the commission even over the protests of the union concerned therefore boils down to two questions. Is it better that an agreement to refer a wage claim to the commission should be the eventual ladder held out to a union to climb down on to after an unsuccessful strike, albeit a pretty bitter ladder because it will presumably be one it has refused to counter-ance before calling its members out? Or is it better that any union which is contemplating strike action should know that if it refuses to take part in argument before the commission, an inquiry into its wage claim might go forward none the less, without its own official summary of its own case having been heard (if it is really silly enough to boycott the proceedings)? On balance we would prefer the second alternative, because there would then be blazoned forth a specific figure that the public would know had been adjudged to be the maximum increase consistent with the national interest, the maximum terms on which it would be economically sensible to settle or avert the strike. If it be said that this is a receipt (as written we think this should be 'recipe', Ed. Note) for industrial strife, the answer is that, if a tough incomes policy is married to an effective policy for growth, there need be no strife, because all will benefit."

COMMON MARKET 'TRADE WAR' WITH UNITED STATES

The following report appears in the July issue of the European Community Bulletin:

The Common Market Council of Ministers decided on June 5 to raise tariffs on 5 products in retaliation for the increase in duties imposed by the U.S. on imports of wool-carpets and glass into the United States. The 5 U.S. Products with a Common Market import volume of about \$27 million, are polythene, polyesters, synthetic fibres, artificial fibres, varnishes and watercolours. The new rates will come into force on August 1, a little over a month after the new U.S. rates.....Common Market President Walter Hallstein, speaking at a press conference in New York on June 12, said that Belgium had been particularly hit by the action of the US Government. "This has caused Belgium a considerable loss and produced unemployment in her glass industry...."

The Algerian revolutionary leader, Ben Bella, who figures so prominently in current developments in that newly independent nation, made a point of granting his first interview, after release from a French prison, to Carlos Franqui, Director of the Cuban newspaper, Revolucion (March 31). The following is a translation of that interview:

"We live in Algeria but our heart is with Cuba," Ben Bella told us, and he went on: "This is a truth, not an empty phrase; the fundamental line which we have chosen is the same and it determines the closeness and the unity between our peoples and our revolutions." Ben Bella received us at the door of the house which the Moroccan government had made available to him in the outskirts of Rabat. Outside, anti-aircraft guns among the trees guarded the sky, alert for any colonialist attack. Ben Bella shook our hands vigorously. Moments later it seemed to us that this man had been a lifelong friend, not the extraordinary leader, the hero whom we were meeting for the first time. Ben Bella gives the impression of being in good shape, filled with energy and youthfulness for the great battle which is going to decide the destiny of Algeria and of Africa.

After an hour of conversation it is our opinion that French colonialism is never going to forget that for five years in French prisons Ben Bella deepened his learning of the revolutionary science, that to his fighting experience was now joined the theory which would permit him to see the course with total clarity. At every moment we sensed the sympathy which Ben Bella has for the Cuban Revolution. He knows Fidel's speeches, Che's book, the Second Declaration of Havana, and the many books and documents about Cuba which have been published in Europe. He enthusiastically recalled that each day in jail he and his comrades had read our newspaper, Revolucion, so that now he was granting his first interview as an honor and a distinction to Cuba, while hundreds of journalists from all parts of the world were besieging him....

"What are the perspectives and tasks of the Revolution after the peace accords?" we asked, and he answered sometimes in Spanish - a language he speaks well enough - and other times in French, which was translated for us by our correspondent in Rabat, Amaro del Rossal, in this manner: "The peace itself does not fulfill the objectives of the Revolution. The peace is a compromise. We need to transform this situation towards the fundamental objectives of the Revolution. The reconversion sets before us the problem of time. If the time were to be too extended, the revolutionary enthusiasm, the revolutionary spirit, the morale to struggle of our people would be liquidated. If that situation should last too long it would cool the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. The revolutionary consciousness, the energy and enthusiasm of the Algerian people are the fundamental capital which must be directed towards the essential tasks of the Revolution now, towards the construction of socialism later."

And Ben Bella continued: "The first objective is the Agrarian Revolution as in Cuba. You first made the Agrarian Revolution and afterwards you began to build socialism. Simultaneously with the building of a new Algeria, we must take part in the battles in Africa against colonialism and neo-colonialism." Ben Bella spoke to us enthusiastically of the revolutionary struggles in Angola, South Africa, Rhodesia and the Congo. He explained to us that on his first visit to the Algerian refugees and the A.L.N. in Oudja, he had taken with him Mario Andrade, revolutionary leader of Angola, in preference to Olden, candidate of the U.S.. He had also taken Motssawayi, of South Africa; Dicanor Jnawe, of the Cameroons; and Djido, of Nigeria who represent the most anti-imperialist currents of Africa. As Ben Bella had told us he was familiar with the Second Declaration of Havana, we asked about the struggle of guerillas and about the role of the peasantry in Latin America and Africa. His answer: "Yes, I know the Declaration of Havana, the thesis of Fidel and also the articles of Che Guevara in this sense. The peasant masses play a great role in the struggle. They are able to take vanguard positions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and it is beginning from this reality that we have struggled in Algeria, whose example should be taken to heart in the colonized countries and especially in Africa."

Ben Bella, when referring to Cuba, spoke with warmth, as if speaking of something that was his own: ".....The experiences of Cuba are very useful for us. Although we are in Africa and you are in America, we are very close, the geographical factor is secondary.....There is an identity in reality and in ideology. The internal and foreign questions are complementary, the national and international problems unite or separate peoples." I asked him if he wanted to visit Cuba and he replied: "I will visit Cuba as soon as possible and I will feel in Cuba as if in my own home. My greetings to Fidel, Raul, Che Guevara and Dorticos." And continued Ben Bella: "In the French prison, I received a very beautiful letter from a Cuban girl. To her, to the people of Cuba, through the medium of Revolucion, my greetings. I am happy to know that Algerian children and wounded are recuperating in Cuba. To them, our affection." As we thanked him for the interview, he concluded: "It is a revolutionary satisfaction to grant to Cuba my first interview."

ED. NOTE: The article has been slightly shortened to cut out repetition. The Newsletter of 28 July describes Ben Bella as "reactionary". No comment.

The following is the text of a leaflet given out in French and English at Helsinki to participants in the world Youth Festival.

Dear Comrades,

The Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky and by the Left Opposition of the Communist International to defend Leninist principles against Stalinist revisionism, greets the youth of the world gathered in Helsinki to express the fraternity of the peoples of the world.

The Fourth International greets this youth that lives in a decisive stage of the history of mankind, the stage of the disintegration of imperialism and capitalism, the stage of the world struggle for Socialism.

But today this youth lives under the threatening shadow of the nuclear destruction of mankind. The Fourth International declares to them: there is no other means to remove this threat than the victorious struggle for the disarmament of world capitalism, for the conquest of power by the workers in the principal capitalist countries, Great Britain and the U.S.A. It is a dangerous illusion to believe that it is always possible to avoid war by the mere exertion of pressure upon capitalist governments, through the so-called policy of 'peaceful co-existence'. Faced with the dilemma of capitulating without a struggle to the rising revolutionary tide and defending itself by all the means at its disposal, including the use of nuclear weapons, U.S. imperialism will undoubtedly launch a nuclear war, if not thwarted in time by the working class of that country.

THE FIGHT FOR WORLD VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IS NOT ONLY A FIGHT FOR THE ENSURING OF A BRIGHTER FUTURE, BUT, ABOVE ALL, IT IS A FIGHT FOR THE VERY SURVIVAL OF MANKIND.

To ensure the victory of the struggle of the working class for Socialism it is the duty of the working class militants of these countries to give maximum practical and disinterested aid to the irresistible tide of the Colonial Revolution which at present encompasses more than half of mankind. This must be continued uninterruptedly until the completion of a genuine agrarian revolution, the nationalisation with workers control of banks, industries, transport, the establishment of socialist planning and the harmonious industrialisation of all these countries.

The Cuban revolution has furnished a classic example of this process of Permanent Revolution, which led a colonial revolution to establish a Workers' State. Glory to those comrades around Fidel Castro who led the workers and poor peasants of Cuba to victory and who are successfully defending the conquests of their revolution first against the counter-revolutionary intervention of Yankee imperialism and, secondly, against the attempt made by the Stalinists around Escalante to impose a kind of bureaucratic development!

Glory to the heroic Cuban proletariat, vanguard of the rising Latin American Revolution! In the colonial and semi-colonial countries it is necessary to follow the examples of Fidel Castro without a mechanical repetition of his methods in order to understand that it is not through any kind of 'peaceful road', through an alliance with the national bourgeoisie, but only through a revolutionary road that the national and social liberation of these countries can be achieved.

The Cuban example must be thoroughly studied by the Algerian masses, who after six years of bloody war against imperialism have now obtained their first victory: national independence. This is however only the beginning of Algeria's social revolution and not its final stage. The proletariat and the poor peasants can consolidate their revolution provided they engage in a radical agrarian revolution, in the construction of a State based upon committees of workers, soldiers and poor peasants, in the nationalisation of large enterprises and in the planned development of a socialist economy.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL warmly greets in particular the Communist youth of China, of the Workers' States of Europe and Asia and of the Soviet Union who are for their peoples the guarantors of a Communist future. After the long Stalinist night, the awakening of a spirit of criticism among the youth of these countries is one of the decisive factors which led the bureaucracies of these countries to abolish the most detestable features of the Stalinist dictatorship.

continued over/

But this is only the first stage towards the regeneration of the Soviet power of the workers in these countries. In order that socialist democracy may be established on a higher plane it is necessary that the workers become masters of the State and of the economy, that they manage their factories through Workers' Councils, that democracy be established in the Kolkhozes and that the economy as a whole be re-orientated in the interests of the mass of the consumers. The victory of socialist democracy, the overthrow of the power of the bureaucracy cannot be even conceived without the reintroduction of the freedom of tendencies within the Communist Party, and the freedom to establish more than one workers' political party on the basis of the Soviet Constitution.

DEAR COMRADES,

Mankind finds itself on the threshold of a radiant future, but it will achieve it only through conscious revolutionary action. For the triumph of Socialism it is necessary to build a new Leninist International new revolutionary mass parties THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL has now the programme and cadres for such parties in more than thirty countries of the world.

Fight with us for the defence of the workers' States, for the victory of the Colonial Revolution, for the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism, for the defeat of the bureaucracy, for the world power of the workers!

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

LABOUR REVIEW DISCOVERS 'NEW SPEARHEAD OF REVISIONISM'

The current issue of Labour Review (Summer 1962) is 'devoted to the struggles against revisionism' according to its editorial. After saying that "...Transport House...the Communist Party...Socialist Review state capitalists and the tiny Pabloite fragment" are 'united' on the question that the Socialist Labour League should be destroyed, it goes on to talk of the international field. It claims that the Fourth International has been 'virtually destroyed' and then comes to what, one feels, is the whole point of the editorial:

"At this point, others, whose proud boast it was that they were orthodox Trotskyists, are seeking ways and means to unify with Pablo. The parrot-cry goes up: 'forget the past! Let us not discuss the political reasons for the 1953 split with Pabolism.' In other words, allow the young cadres of the Fourth International to flounder in theoretical confusion because some of the older members of the movement have abandoned Marxist theory and capitulated to Pablo. They are frightened that a discussion will smoke them out.

"This new group of revisionists would have us write history along these lines. In 1953 we had a deep-going split with Pablo, now all this is forgotten, it was, in fact, a nightmare; it never happened. Forget the past, look only to the 'new reality'. This shameful abandonment of Trotskyist theory constitutes the new spearhead of revisionism against the Marxist movement."

Later in the editorial it declares that "...there can be no unity between the Marxists and the revisionists." Our views on this question are well known and have been set down in these columns, but it is worth noting again the extreme sectarianism of these people who lay claim to the title of being 'the Marxist' and who denounce all those not in their organisation as revisionists.

QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE SUMMER NUMBER AVAILABLE

We have received copies of the Summer, 1962, issue of Quatrieme Internationale, French language theoretical journal of Fourth International. This contains a good number of interesting articles: two editorials deal with Algeria and Spain, editorial notes cover the Wall St. Crash, the Crisis of the Tory Party (translated elsewhere in this Bulletin), the sacking of Escalante, and the Sino-Soviet dispute, other articles include the first part of an analysis of Portuguese imperialism, West Irian and Indonesia, the Crisis in Germany, etc. Of special note is a 'Eulogy to Trotskyism' written by comrade Pablo whilst in prison; Pierre Frank's discussion article on 'New Problems of the Socialist Revolution in Europe' which examines the problem of elaborating a transitional programme in Western Europe under present conditions; and P. Richards contributes an article on Tukhatchevsky. Comrades who can read French should get their copy immediately (1/9 post paid)

THE MILITANT AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW: We shall be obtaining regular bulk supplies of both these journals before the end of the month. Will all readers please let us know, as soon as possible, how many each of these two very useful journals they will want to handle? In particular we want to let our American comrades how many copies a week of the Militant we can handle.

The resolutions for the 61st Annual Conference of the Labour Party to be held at Brighton from October 1st to October 5th, show that the C.L.P.s are very angry with the various attacks which have been made against democracy in the Labour Party, and are overwhelmingly against the Britain's entry into the Common Market. Of the 26 on Party Administration 6 (from Glasgow Woodside, Esher, Nottingham North, Newbury, Willesden West & Billericay C.L.P.s) call for greater democracy for the Young Socialists. Another 3 (Solihull, Hornchurch and Ruislip Northwood C.L.P.s) oppose the increasing use of proscription. Solihull calling for the scrapping of the whole present system of indiscriminate proscription. 5 more (Stoke Newington & Hackney North, Hammersmith North, Manchester Exchange & Finchley C.L.P.s and the Assoc. of Correctors of the Press) attack the action of the N.E.C. in discriminating against left Parliamentary candidates by refusing to endorse them. Not one resolution in this section approves the measures the N.E.C. has taken against left wingers.

There are no less than 47 resolutions on housing, a sure indication of the widespread feeling caused by operation of Tory Housing policy, the dominant themes being calls for control of land, speculative building, security of tenure to tenants, and a modification of the financing of local government building. Some call for outright public control or ownership of the building industry and/or land (Liverpool Toxteth, Leeds South, Barrow, Tottenham, and Swansea West C.L.P.s) Seven call for the restoration of municipalisation of all housing to the party's programme. Another (North Cornwall C.L.P.) calls for a campaign for public ownership of land to end speculation. Education commands 18 resolutions, all of which criticise the inadequacies of the present set up but again there is an emphasis on changing the method of financing 6 calling for a change in this respect. A further three call for increased salaries for teachers. Another from the Socialist Educational Association criticises proposals of the N.E.C. in relation to changing the system of secondary school examinations. More concern about social services is shown in nine resolutions which criticise the Tory attacks against the Health Service. And another 20 resolutions raise points in relation to aspects of the Health Service such as Control of Drugs, allocation of hospital bed, etc.

Of the 51 on the Common Market, only one supports entry unconditionally (Aldershot C.L.P.); another supports 'negotiations for British membership...on suitable terms' (Birmingham Stechford C.L.P.); six more are in favour but specify terms which are unlikely to be met, and 39 are uncompromisingly against entry. Two of the latter come from unions - Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association, and the National Society of Metal Mechanics. Many criticise the leadership for sitting on the fence and others call for the future Labour Government to be opposed to membership. Nearly all pose the question in terms of loss of independence, commonwealth interests etc., most also fear that membership would prevent a future Labour Government from carrying out measures of socialisation, etc. But only one, from Swansea East C.L.P. poses the alternative of the socialist United States of Europe, the same time calling for a conference of European workers' organisations.

The next lot of resolutions are on the need for planning for economic expansion, one coming from the Constructional Engineering Union, another from Liverpool, Walton C.L.P. draws attention to persistence of unemployment in the Merseyside area and expresses the opinion that this will become a national problem. It draws the conclusion that from this situation a democratic socialist plan of production and expansion is necessary. Ormskirk C.L.P. says that the first phase of such a plan would mean taking into public ownership of private monopolies, noting that the chemical industry would be among them (Gaitskell please note!) Three resolutions on the Cotton industry, mirroring the crisis in that industry, come from Clitheroe, C.L.P., the United Textile Factory Workers' Association and Accrington Trades Council and Labour Party. The last two calling for what boils down to protection by restricting imports. Resolution 198 calls on the N.E.C. and the Parliamentary Labour Party to more vigorously denounce capitalism, Pudsey C.L.P. no doubt felt that this is not being done at present. The Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers and Islington East C.L.P. are worried about the trend towards monopolisation expressed by the take over bids, etc. Three resolutions cover the need for an Income Policy from Berwick and East Lothian, Norwich North and East Surrey C.L.P.s. An extraordinary and selfcontradictory resolution from West Ham South C.L.P., first protests against the Government's interference in wage negotiations, and then calls for a future Labour Government to legislate compulsory arbitration including the reintroduction of order 1305!!! (comrades will remember this was used against strikers until the 1945 Labour Government was forced to withdraw it after Dockers' leaders charged under it had been let off - the court was surrounded by dockers at the time!). Two more from North-East Derbyshire and Normanton C.L.P.s protest against Government interference in wage negotiations.

The continuing problem of high unemployment areas is reflected in the 12 resolutions on the direction of industry coming from 7 Scottish C.L.P.s, 3 North Eastern C.L.P.s and one Union - the Foundry Workers. - the other coming from an agricultural area, South West Norfolk C.L.P. Although several of these urge the use of nationalisation and state financing of industry as a method of combating the problem, none really puts a socialist alternative or lays the blame fairly and squarely on the capitalist system. Redundancy is the main theme of three resolutions which seek to get the Labour Party committed to the idea of statutory compensation. This combined with demands for retraining and removal expenses limits the struggle to that of getting the state to giving industry a helping hand when in difficulties. Unless these demands impose the burden on industry itself and are combined with a fighting programme to oppose all sackings, they will merely serve to take the sharp edge of militant opposition to efforts by capitalism to put the burden of technical change on the working class.

Under Foreign Policy 35 resolutions are listed, of these only four can be said to be multilateralist and pro Gaitskell. 18 are specifically unilateralist - two coming from Unions, the Fire Brigades and Boil^{er}Makers, and the others from Craigton (Glasgow), Handsworth (Birmingham), Horsham, Epping, Leeds N.E., Holborn and St. Pancras, Lincoln, Croydon N.W., Kingston, Chelsea, Hertford, Hull N., Altrincham and Sale, and Battersea C.L.P.s, and Stockport Borough Labour Party. Three advocate a 'neutralist' line of withdrawal from all military alliances Ayr, C.L.P., Buckinghamshire Federation of Labour Parties and Portsmouth Borough Labour Party. Three identical resolutions from Bristol S.E., Cambridgeshire and Lowestoft C.L.P.s call for the foreign policy of the Labour Party to be based on U.N.O. (with reforms, e.g. admission of China and giving greater weight to the new states of Africa and Asia). Other pro U.N.O. resolutions are directed against the resumption of tests and draw attention to the U.N.O. resolution on the subject, coming from North Angus and Mearns, Sheffield Hillsborough, Walthamstow East C.L.P.s and Hertfordshire Federation of Labour Parties. Wimbledon C.L.P. calls on the conference to reaffirm last year's condemnation of all nuclear tests and draws attention to the fact that not all the leadership has supported this line, a point which is also made in Epping C.L.P.'s resolution which calls the censure of these leaders. Three resolutions deal with Foreign forces stationed in Britain and call for their withdrawal: Newcastle Under Lyme C.L.P. opposing both American and German forces but the Tailor and Garment Workers is only concerned with Germans, Edinburgh Borough C.L.P. recalls last year's anti-Polaris resolution and deeply regrets that the leadership have not implemented it.

Various other resolutions in this section cover disarmament, Berlin, Visitors from East Germany, aid to underdeveloped countries and World hunger. An interesting one from Ilford Borough Labour Party puts forward a series of points designed to commit the Labour Party unreservedly to the struggle of the peoples of colonial countries for liberation. Mansfield C.L.P. opposes the American blockade of Cuba, and Mid-Befordshire C.L.P. and Newcastle Upon Tyne Borough Labour Party both call for economic measures against the South African regime.

The next big batch of resolutions cover Nuclear Weapons Tests, which for some unaccountable reason have been separated in the agenda from those of Nuclear Disarmament. Of the 19 resolutions on this subject all oppose tests by all countries, three coming from Unions - the Post Office Workers, A.S.S.E.T. and the T.G.W.U., the latter calling for the reaffirmation of last year's decision on this subject. Cannock, Gower, Barking, Middleton and Prestwich, Southgate, Manchester Blackley, Wembley N., Wrexham C.L.P.s and Sheffield Trades and Labour Council all add their implicit condemnation of Gaitskell, several of them calling on the N.E.C. to campaign for this policy. A very strongly worded resolution from West Renfrewshire C.L.P. calls the tests 'murderous' and 'intolerably wicked'. Ebbw Vale, Sheffield Hallam, Chislehurst, Lancaster and Stroud C.L.P.s, and Norfolk Federation of Labour Parties are explicit in their condemnation of the leadership. Stroud C.L.P. links this with the failure to implement the Polaris resolution and calls for the N.E.C. to organise a campaign on this subject.

Public Ownership and nationalised industries covers 22 resolutions, of these four are explicitly or implicitly calling for the implementation of Clause Four; from Ilford South, Ince, Leeds East and East Grinstead C.L.P.s. Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party elaborates a shopping programme and calls for 'workers management' (to) 'be an integral part' of the policy. Gaitskell again is under fire, by implication, in resolutions from Hull East, Chigwell, Islington North, South Norfolk, Lewisham West, C.L.P.S which either deplore public statements contrary to Party policy or call for the nationalisation of I.C.I.. The Scottish Painters' Society calls for the nationalisation of the building and civil Engineering industries; Poole C.L.P. for that the building materials industry, too list
continued over/

the motor car industry (from East Ham North and Birmingham Aston C.L.P.s), the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association wants reaffirmation of the decision to nationalise the road haulage industry, Harrow East C.L.P. considers that the passenger and goods air transport should be completely nationalised, and from the only area which has nationalised pubs - Carlisle C.L.P. - comes a call for the brewing industry to be brought under public ownership. Dissatisfaction with Tory policy towards nationalised industries is expressed by the C.A.W.U., N.U.M., and Newark and Thurrock C.L.P.s. The fire of the three main railway unions is concentrated against Tory policy towards the railways; the A.S.L.E.F., N.U.R. and T.S.S.A. all having resolutions on this subject, other resolutions on these lines come from Darwen, Leyton, Crewe, Doncaster, Birkenhead, Derby North, Don Valley, Hastleigh, Pembrokeshire, Buckingham and Lewiss C.L.P.s and from Birmingham Borough Labour Party. Nearly all these call for the principle of the railways being a social service and not a profitmaking undertaking to be adopted.

Pensions and Welfare Payments form the next big block of resolutions nine of which call for an immediate increase in retirement pensions, others suggest such improvements as changing the structure of National Assistance, increased N.A. for the blind, extension of free milk facilities, improvements in Widows' pensions, and the clearing up of various anomalies in National Insurance Benefit. 19 resolutions cover local government finance, no doubt reflecting the difficulties of Labour Party workers engaged in local government in face of the Tory 'dear money' policy. Birmingham Perry Barr, Abingdon, Salisbury, Sittingbourne, Portsmouth South, Reading, Bradford North, Birmingham All Saints, Bristol West, South Dorset, South Gloucestershire C.L.P.s and Coventry and Enfield Borough Labour Parties all call for a different form of financing local government to that of the rates system. Bradford South C.L.P. and the Painters and Decorators Union feel that the Government should take over some of the responsibility of local government finance, whilst Paisley and Rother Valley C.L.P.s and the Plumbing Trades Union calls for reduction in the interest rates charged by the Government the latter calling for interest free loans for certain categories. Wolverhampton Borough Labour Party calls for a complete reform of local government organisation. There are four resolutions opposing the Tory plan for the reorganisation of local in London, the abolition of the office of Alderman is called for in resolutions from Nottingham South and Cardiff West C.L.P.s. Two resolutions call for the lifting of the rule barring local government employees from becoming members of the Council that employs them.

Back again to C.N.D. two resolutions from South East Derbyshire and Hornsey C.L.P.s are alarmed by the conflict between the Labour Party and C.N.D. The former putting a strongly worded point of view deploring 'the recent vilification of the C.N.D.' and warning that such behaviour can lead to the creation of a 'bureaucratic monolithic party machine'; the latter is of the opinion that membership and support for the C.N.D. is compatible with Labour Party membership. The N.E.C. again comes under fire in a resolution from North Dorset C.L.P. attacking the treatment of the four sponsors of the Moscow Peace Conference. Three resolutions call for the restoration of the whip to the five member of Parliament who had it withdrawn for their defiance of Gaitskell's disregard for Annual Conference policy, they come from Orpington and Ealing South C.L.P.s and Merthyr Tydfil Trades Council and Labour Party.

The Pilkington Committee report finds three supporters in resolutions from Stockton on Tees, Gosport and Fareham, and Howden C.L.P.s. Advertising, Consumer protection, taxation, trawler subsidies, the prohibition of deerhunting are all matters which have more than one resolution in the miscellaneous section. Birmingham Ladywood C.L.P. calls for the reaffirmation of support for the abolition of the death penalty. Two resolutions, from Bury and Radcliffe, and Plymouth want a decision that Labour will only form a Government when it has an overall majority. The Radcliffe report on security comes under fire from a resolution from Edinburgh Central C.L.P. There are four resolutions on fascism and immigration policy, The Association of Cinematograph and Allied Technicians calling for steps to be taken against the resurgence of fascism. North Norfolk C.L.P. wants the immediate break up of the Krupps combine. The last resolution listed is from Nottingham Borough Labour Party calling for the establishment of a Labour Press

CANADIAN LEFT WING SOCIALIST PAPER SOON AVAILABLE: From September will be handling copies of Vanguard a Canadian left wing socialist paper. This will be of especial interest in view of the recent formation of the New Democratic Party of Canada which is modelled on our own Labour Party. Comrades wanting to receive the paper regularly should let us know immediately, the price will be 4d (plus postage) and it appears monthly.

We have received copies of Fourth International No. 14 and now the sales drive must begin. Despite the fact that the journal has not so many pages this time, it remains one of the best bargains in theoretical journals. Moreover, this issue will be of very great help to us in our political work in this country. In particular, there is a very well written and concise editorial on the "British Labour Movement and the Common Market." This article as well as analysing the principles involved in entry into the Common Market outlines very clearly the tactics that we should adopt in relation to this problem. It is very important that those who are in any confused by either (1) the line of critical support for entry or (2) the C.P./Tribune line of chauvinistic opposition, should be sold a copy.

Germain's article analysing the new programme of the C.P.S.U. and the text of the resolution passed by the International Secretariat on the repercussions of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. not only give a thorough and concise assessment of the present stage of the crisis of stalinism, but also refute those who slander our movement by saying that we are against the political revolution in the U.S.S.R. The article on South Africa gives an interesting picture of the prospects in that country. Again two articles by Michael Pablo, both taking the form of letters, as well as giving well thought out marxist positions of a whole series of problems connected with the Cuban and Algerian revolutions, give us the opportunity to refute many lies which are spread about our lines and attitudes on these questions. An unusual article by an Indian comrade, Materialism and the Indian Bourgeoisie, examines the relationship between ideology and political thought and applies this to Indian problems.

Every comrade must draw up a list of his contacts and organise the sale of the journal to them. If each of us could ensure that all the 'likely people' read it this will help us immensely in our long-term work of ensuring a firm ideological basis for our movement in Britain. We should use this issue as a basis for discussion with other tendencies and for our own educational work. It is important to ensure that the journal is on sale at the Left Clubs, etc. Steps must be taken to see that it is sold on the big demonstrations in London and elsewhere.

M.C.F. ACTIVITIES IN MERSEYSIDE

This report has been sent in by an active member of the Merseyside M.C.F.

At the February 20th E.C. meeting of the Merseyside M.C.F. a motion was passed after vigorous discussion condemning the action of Dr. Jagan in calling upon British troops to deal with the recent disturbances in Guiana:

Despite the sense of apathy in relation to the Immigration Bill in Liverpool, a demonstration took place on Saturday, February 25th, with the co-operation of the Trades Council, ending with statements on the Bill by representatives of that body and John Baird, M.P.. The discussion was useful and revealed the need for much closer racial unity on such common issues as housing. Purely parliamentary rejection of the Immigration Bill was insufficient. Young people were prominent in the demonstration but it is clear that the working class must emerge from its slumber on this question, as on every other issue, if the Tory offensive is to be effectively blocked.

NOTTINGHAM PROTESTS QUICKLY AGAINST KENNEDY'S THREAT TO RESUME TESTING

The Nottingham organisers of an anti-nuclear weapons demonstration were lucky with their choice of date - March 3rd. Coming the day after Kennedy's statement about the resumption of tests by the United States the march was most topical. After a motorcade in the morning nearly 100 supporters of C.N.D. took part in the demonstration, some eighty marching with others giving out leaflets, etc. The meeting which followed was well attended despite the periodic flurry of snow. It was noteworthy that public reaction was generally friendly and despite the cold many people were prepared to stop and listen quite intently. The marchers included Young Socialists (who sold over 60 of their paper Young Guard), students from the university and teachers training college, Labour Party members, Afro-Asian West Indian Union members, trade unionists, etc.

55 M.P.s SIGN 'PABLO' PETITION

Fifty five M.P.s have signed a petition calling upon the Government to give permission for comrade Pablo to visit this country. They are mostly Labour but include Liberals. Other personalities in the political and intellectual world have signed too.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN REVOLT

This year's annual conference of Young Socialists, the second, will take place at Easter in London at the St. Pancras Town Hall. The conference covers the Saturday and the Sunday, no doubt the majority of the delegates will take advantage of this to join the Aldermaston march as it enters London on the Monday. This year, as last, the greater part of the resolutions show a spirit of revolt, not only against the right wing policies of the Labour Party leadership but against the bureaucratic control over the activities of the Young Socialists.

There are three resolutions on constitution and two of these -- from South Paddington and Aberdeen -- give a complete programme of democracy for the Young Socialists at all levels. Other resolutions on organisational questions have a left wing undertone and probably reflect a desire to avoid bureaucratic manipulations that the Youth Officers have used in the past against the left. Into this category come the resolutions on age limit and membership of branches. There are a whole spate of resolutions on the questions of Young Socialist newspapers -- no less than four call for the democratic control, by the Young Socialists themselves, of New Advance, coming from Esher, Finchley, Hull (West) and Chelsea. Seven resolutions call for the right of Young Socialists to have their own newspapers and oppose the attempts by the bureaucrats to take measures against Young Socialist papers. One of these mentions Keep Left by name, from Tonbridge, and the others from Islington North, Coventry Central, Birmingham Aston, East Ham South, Ruthenglen and Leeds East seek to establish the principle of freedom of the press. Not one resolution supports the present set-up in relation to New Advance. Three resolutions call for the circulation of National Committee minutes to branches and other details of business. Another from Norwich North condemns the decision of the National Executive Committee in refusing to allow the Young Socialists to affiliate to the Movement for Colonial Freedom and calls upon them to reconsider this decision.

The right wing hand is apparent in four resolutions, two on party unity from South Bedfordshire and Camberwell, Dulwich and another two on signposts for the sixties from Newcastle, North and Blackpool. Woodrow Wyatt has support for his idea of a Lib/Lab coalition from Chopstow. There are seven resolutions making radical demands on two of youth's specific problems Apprenticeships and education.

Youth Socialists' revulsion against racialism is shown by no less than fourteen resolutions condemning racialism and the colour bar Immigration Bill. One other while deploring the Immigration Bill shows some signs of racist pressure significantly enough from a locality where sections of backward workers have become infected by racialism -- Smethwick. Two of the resolutions call for support for Brockway's anti discrimination Bill -- Yarmouth and Devizes, while ten call for a real campaign against the Bill Yarmouth, Leeds South-East, Cashalton, Hendon North, Wandsworth, Clapham, Skelmersdale, Wallasey, Gateshead, Pudsey and Brierfield. Nearly all the resolutions link racialism with capitalism and show a high degree of political understanding.

Of course, it is defence which has provoked the greatest number of resolutions again. Of the 20 resolutions, broadly speaking, two only can be considered as supporting the right wing, though another is specifically anti-unilateralist. The two right wing ones from Kensington South and Romford call for support of the Blackpool policy of the Labour Party, while Greenock, being anti-unilateralist in its preamble, goes on to call for the unilateral renunciation of nuclear deterrence. Five resolutions are affirmations of unilateralism from Bournemouth, Hammersmith North, Wembley South, South Shields and Croydon. Six extend opposition to nuclear weapons to include the calling for the withdrawal from military pacts and bases from this country -- Isle of Thanet, Coventry East, Holborn and St. Pancras South, Leeds North-East, Leicester South-East and Ilford Central. One from Glasgow, Govan calls for the implementation of the Blackpool Labour Party policy of opposition to Polaris and German bases. Three can be said to be anti-West German and probably reflect C.P. influence -- Harrow West, Chingford and Paignton, although the Chingford resolution links opposition to NATO to the support given by NATO to Portugal, etc. There is a very comprehensive resolution from Glasgow Gorbals which apart from the above points links the fight for peace with a fight against capitalism and poses the withdrawal of all British troops from overseas and co-operation with other working class organisations throughout the world.

Of eight resolutions on the United Nations only one criticises the UNO for its role in the murder of Lumumba. Liverpool West, Derby and Derby -- The others all call for support of UNO. This reflects the confusion in the movement which in reaction against the Tories' attitude gives uncritical support to UNO. Three resolutions call for the withdrawal of British troops from colonial, semi colonial countries and from Western Germany -- Billericay, Leicester South-West and Liverpool Walton, the latter pointing out that while Britain remains capitalist these troops can only uphold imperialism.

Five resolutions oppose the reintroduction of conscription Wandsworth Streatham, East Ham North, Ealing South, Hadleigh and district and St. Pancras North - the last two linking the question to the class nature of war. Of nine resolutions on the Common Market, five are in opposition following the Tribune line more or less - Accrington, Harlow, Huddersfield, Wandsworth Putney and Croydon South. One is in support, listing certain safeguards - Wednesbury; one supports the present sitting on fence attitude of Gaitskell and co. - Trowbridge; while another, West Bridgford, of all things calls for an enquiry into wages structure of lower paid workers. Only one resolution comes near to putting a class line on the question - Birkenhead - but falls down in not putting forward a programme of action in addition to propaganda for a United Socialist States of Europe.

On domestic subjects, there are five resolutions on housing and land, two of which - Barking and Heston and Isleworth - put a very militant policy forward including nationalisation of the land. The three on the pay pause, from Huyton, Manchester Gorton and Wembley North, all in one way or another call for the Labour Party to link itself with the struggle of the trade unions against the Tory attack on living standards. This is dealt with more concretely by two resolutions on industrial action, from Dennistoun and Glasgow Woodside, which call for Labour Party support for all industrial action, the latter calling for an end of the automatic condemnation of unofficial strikes. There are two resolutions on the House of Lords both opposing labour Party participation and one calls for the abolition of the institution - Southend and Ogmere; two others attack the monarchy, from East Barnet and Birmingham Yardley, the former calling for its abolition. While another from Epsom attacks the Tories for using the Honours system for their own purposes.

Three resolutions on Algeria all call for support for the Algerians, the one from Edinburgh North calls for the expulsion of the French Socialist Party from the Socialist International. This call is also made in the Nottingham West resolution which, as already reported in the Bulletin, urges full support for the FLN and the Algerian Provisional Government. Neath points out that class and race discrimination will only be abolished in a classless society. An interesting resolution from Irvine calls for the reading and studying of working class political literature, such as the Communist Manifesto. Two resolutions on Labour Party affairs reflect the concern felt at the eating away of democratic rights in recent months, Nottingham North deplures the rigid application of discipline to Labour Party M.P.s while Hornchurch calls for the removal of all bans and proscriptions.

Thus we see in these resolutions an almost complete programme of revolutionary action and perspective. The resolutions are overwhelmingly left on every subject. The germs are here present for a new marxist leadership with the main problem of converting this left orientated movement into a mass force. This will be the main task in the coming period for Young Socialists and no doubt, if these resolutions are anything to go by, they will acquit themselves admirably with energy and enthusiasm.

MARCH 1962 YOUNG GUARD OUT

We have received the latest copy of Young Guard. This issue which is a big improvement technically, especially in the lay-out, reflects a growing orientation towards active struggle. There is a supplement by the Glasgow supporters of Young Guard on trade unions which is both informative and educational. Anyone who can introduce young socialists or young trade unionists to the paper should do so immediately. This will be a good issue to begin with.

ANTI COLOUR BAR DEMONSTRATION IN GLASGOW

On Saturday 24th, February, about 50 people, mainly young Socialists started out on an anti colour bar Bill demonstration in Glasgow through the City Centre. By the time it had reached its destination the march had swelled to some 200, again mostly Young Socialists. The Trades Council supported by sending several speakers to the meeting which followed the march. The Labour Party was represented by John Rankin M.P.. Gus MacDonald spoke for the Young Socialists. The Young Socialists were also conspicuous because of the many banners they carried - both large and small, this together with the two loudspeakers vans gave the march colour and force. To give the demonstration plenty of publicity Young Socialists went out putting up bills and posters, several were caught by the police and had their names taken, two of whom subsequently have been approached to appear in court.

A NOTE ON PAYING FOR THE BULLETIN: Those who do not like the idea of the 3d poundage on P.O.s they buy being used to help to produce H.Bombs, etc., can avoid this by paying in stamps, 2½d please. Twelve will pay for one month.

The increasing use by the Government of the armed forces under the Emergency conditions as a means of beating down the working class movement had, on the Government's own admission, the outcome which the LSSP had repeatedly foretold. A military police group had been tempted to plan a conspiratorial seizure of governmental power. Wide arrests of leaders of the working class movement were an integral part of their plan.

It would appear that the plan was discovered accidentally and that the Government was able by use of other sections of the military and the police to arrest a number of conspirators and suspects at a late stage. Undoubtedly, not all the conspirators have been discovered, nor have all the ramifications of the conspiracy been unearthed. The danger of further adventures organised from the same reactionary quarters continues unabated.

The Government continues to persist in the policies which really created the situation and the opportunity for this attempt. The prolonged Emergency regime gave the police and the military special powers and an increasingly important position in the day-to-day administration. Further, the direct resort to the military in the attempt to break the harbour strike and other strikes, and the placing of the military at various key points in the economy and administration in the effort to beat down the working class movement, left the Government more and more dependent upon the armed forces for the maintenance of itself in power.

Moreover, the working class which is the only organised force in Ceylon capable of giving immediate battle to military-police usurpers and of mobilising the entire masses in resistance, has been deliberately deprived by the Government of the necessary freedom of action. Democratic and civil liberties have been suppressed. The right of public meetings and demonstrations has been denied, a censorship has been clamped down on the press and on publications, strikes have been made illegal and the Government has taken, and is exercising the power to imprison strikers without trial.

If further coup attempts are to be prevented this situation must be ended forthwith. It is futile to rely on the military and police to counter military-police conspiracies. The people of the country cannot leave it to the military and the police or even to the Government to protect their democratic and constitutional rights, and civil liberties against conspiratorial military-police attacks. The administration must be cleared of the armed forces, and normal civil administration restored. The regular armed forces must be withdrawn, and the volunteers and pioneers withdrawn. Negotiations to settle the current strikes and strike issues must be commenced. The democratic and civil liberties of the people must be restored. In short, free the people to defend their rights.

INDIA - LAST RESPECTS TO NATALIA PAID AT MEETING

A meeting of Trotskyists and their sympathisers was held in Bombay on Sunday, January 28th, 1962 to mourn the death of Comrade Natalia Trotsky. Those present included members of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India and the Revolutionary Socialist Party of India. The two parties have forged a united front in Bombay with the object of striving for the unification of marxist forces in India. Comrade C.G. Shah, a veteran marxist and one of the founders of the Communist movement in India presided. The following resolution was adopted by the meeting after several speakers referred to the contributions of Natalia to the revolutionary socialist movement:

"This meeting of Trotskyists in Bombay and the sympathisers of the International Trotskyist movement expresses its profound grief at the sad demise of Natalia Trotsky, the wife of Leon Trotsky.

"On the eve of her death, she demanded from the Soviet Government the political rehabilitation of Trotsky, her husband who campaigned against the Soviet bureaucracy, the stalinist distortion of marxism-leninism and betrayal of world revolution. Her allegiance to world communism and international class struggle transcended her personal feelings which were poignantly wounded by the cowardly murder of her son, her husband and suicide of her daughter. We, the Trotskyists, the sympathisers of the Trotskyist movement will transform our profound grief at the death of this heroic proletarian revolutionary into an iron determination to work more strenuously for the overthrow of our class enemy, the world bourgeoisie and destroying stalinism which is the principal obstacle to that historic objective. While mourning the death of comrade Natalia, we renew our pledge to dedicate ourselves, with reinforced will and determination, to complete the unfinished task of world socialist revolution which was so dear to Trotsky and the heroic band of Trotskyists in which Natalia Trotsky finds a prominent place."