

# International Bulletin

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## TORY CRISIS IS THE CRISIS OF BRITISH CAPITALISM

The sweeping changes in Ministers and wholesale sackings by Macmillan are the political expression of a deep and thoroughgoing crisis which faces British capitalism. Briefly, the dilemma which faces the Government is as a result of a policy of attempting to carry on as a 'great power' long after the material conditions for such a posture have disappeared. To play her role in the world today, capitalist Britain needs to maintain forces all over the world, give 'aid' to the underdeveloped countries and maintain a level of armaments far beyond her capacity. In addition keeping the pound as one of the major trading currencies involves a financial stability which is upset every time there is production boom (the latest example is the almost neck and neck race between inflation and industrial production as expressed by the Government's figures for June). Keeping forces stationed all the way round the world involves (as the U.S.A. is finding out too) vast expenditure in foreign currency, which must be balanced by extra exports. A huge armaments programme puts a tremendous inflationary pressure on the whole economy. Armaments expenditure is entirely unproductive from the point of view of the economy as a whole and the price of raw materials, machine tools, etc. is inflated owing to 'artificial' competition. Technical capacity has to be maintained on a par with the 'other side of the iron curtain' regardless of need. Whilst these and many other features of a 'cold war' economy may for a period be instrumental in keeping down unemployment they provide no permanent solution to the contradictions of capitalism.

The Tory political crisis is a reflection of the crisis of policy which is affecting the British capitalist class when confronted by this impossible situation. Internationally, capitalism is faced with the same kind of problems, all of which stem from one basic process - the advance of world revolution, whether expressed by the colonial revolution, the advance of the workers states (politically and economically) or the now steadily growing movement in the advanced capitalist countries. To grasp this fact is essential to understand the process and put forward a solution.

One of the greatest crimes of the Labour leadership is that they present the Tory crisis as arising from 'Tory mismanagement', the left must counter this by pointing out that the crisis arises from basic capitalist policies, and generally speaking the Tory Government is probably carrying these out as efficiently as anyone could. In fact the policies of the Labour Government would most likely make the crisis much worse with disastrous effects for the working class and the Labour Party. What is needed is a complete reorientation, a policy of making structural changes in the economy, of making thoroughgoing inroads into the power of capitalist interests in this country and internationally a policy of a complete reversal of 'cold war' politics. Such a transitional programme would on the one hand inspire and mobilise the working class, and on the other provoke powerful resistance from the capitalist class, thus the stage would be set for a revolutionary transformation of British society.

The elaboration of such a transitional programme, together with the building of an alternative left leadership with the Labour Party form the major political tasks of Marxists in Britain today. The transitional programme must be one which will bridge the gap between the consciousness of the mass of the Labour supporters, and the tasks which face us in a social transformation of Britain; the alternative left leadership must be one which accepts (even if in stages) such a programme and yet at the same time provides an alternative to Gaitskell and co. in the eyes of the mass of Labour supporters. Those who think all this is Utopian should remember that thousands of miners, railwaymen, aircraft workers, etc. will learn capitalism just can't deliver the goods in a most convincing way. Moreover in the face of the chronic crisis of British capitalism, with a background and interpenetration of the ending of the relative stability of western capitalism, the alternative is increasingly authoritarian capitalist Governments.

Editor - July 17.

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL NUMBER 15 AVAILABLE

We have received quantities of the May/July issue of Fourth International which contains, among <sup>other</sup> articles: an important article on the world crisis of Stalinism after the 22nd Congress, two articles on Iberia, the Second Declaration of Havana, Michel Pablo on the 2nd year of the Angolan Revolution and two interesting articles on India. Every effort should be made to ensure the widest sale.

Keeping people out in Islington

The New Statesman of 13/7/62 reports the following case (we have shortened their account for space reasons)

".....Last week the executive committee of the East Islington C.L.P. (which has a membership of under 500 although the Labour vote is well above 17,000) had before it six applications for membership - apparently the sum total of its recent recruiting. One of them came from from Mr. James Young who runs the trade and subscription departments of The Statesman & Nation Publishing Co....Mr. Young was not, in fact, a new applicant for membership of the Labour Party - he was merely seeking a transfer (after moving his residence) from the Hornsey party of which he has been a member for the past 5 years. And being a fully-paid member of the Labour Party in good standing he had understandingly assumed - when he made his application.....last February - that his transfer would be a matter of routine.

"Interviewed first of all by three local worthies in April....Mr Young last week found himself summoned to appear at a full meeting of the constituency executive. There nine members of the East Islington party cross-questioned him for almost an hour. The main burden of their inquiries centred on four issues -- was he a member of the Committee of 100, was he a member of C.N.D., did he read Tribune, did he approve of Mr Michael Foot? As it happens Mr. Young has never been a member of the Committee of 100, he has recently become highly critical of C.N.D. - and though he does read Tribune and is.....an admirer of Mr. Foot's radicalism, these grounds of objection will probably turn out to be too fragile even for the East Islington Labour Party"

as The article then goes on to comment, quite correctly, that these questions are quite irrelevant to the rules and constitution of the Labour Party as they are offensive to democratic practice. There will no doubt be a big correspondence in the columns of New Statesman on the issue and we should participate in this. This case will give us the opportunity to raise the question of people being kept out by refusing to accept transfers. At least one of our comrades was affected by this not so long ago, and several other left-wingers have to our knowledge been eased out of the party in this way.

Kent Miners stand firm on Harrington

Despite the refusal of the N.E.C. of the Labour Party to endorse the candidature of Illyd Harrington as prospective Parliamentary candidate for Dover, The Kent N.U.M. have decided to sponsor him again for this post. In a statement on the question, made after meeting held on the 12th July, Lester Magness, president of the Kent N.U.M. said that the decision to renominate him was to bring such pressure on the N.E.C. that it would be impossible to refuse to endorse him. He also stated that no reason had been given for the N.E.C.'s action and that Harrington remained on the 'B' list of people suitable for nomination.

The ECONOMIST is pleased with George Brown

In an article entitled 'Labour Unity', the Economist, organ of big business, has this to say about the Labour Party:

"..... In general the Labour Party appears to be in its healthiest internal state for years. Transport House is at last being revitalised with Mr. George Brown firmly in control. His organisational ability is beyond question, and his trade union background is a valuable source of strength to Mr. Gaitskell. So, paradoxically, is his elephantine tactlessness towards some of his colleagues; for Mr. Brown at present forms a useful lightning conductor, attracting away some of the hostility and vituperation that would otherwise be concentrated entirely on the party leader."

Lord Russell pays his subs.

Fenner Brockway has reported that Lord Russell has paid his six bob subscription for 1962, but that he made it conditional <sup>that</sup> the chairman of the Minffordd Labour Party (and the rest of the members) paid his aswell. Comrades will remember that several members of Lord Russell's C.L.P. threatened to resign in view of the N.E.C.'s attitude. In paying his money, Lord Russell said he felt "no enthusiasm" for the present official policies of the party.

The significance of Lord Russell's attitude towards the Labour Party should be impressed upon those members of the Committee of 100, etc., who are campaigning for people to pull out of the Labour Party.

The New Statesman of 13/7/62 carries an interview between Ben Bella and K.S. Karol which took place in Morocco a few days before the journal was published. We reproduce extracts here for the information of comrades:

"Certainly," he said, "I regard the Evian agreement as a compromise, and it must be considered as the point of departure rather than as an end in itself. But let me repeat that I am not opposed to it. My disagreement with Ben Khedda has nothing to do with this subject."....."But of course there were all sorts of internal crises within the F.L.N. while I was imprisoned. They were due to personal antagonisms. The fundamental question was what kind of revolution we were making in Algeria. It was to break out of the vicious circle of these controversies that I put forward a political programme for the future of Algeria to the meeting of C.N.R.A. (the parliament-in-exile) in Tripoli."

"....I have always insisted that the party is the political leader of the nation and that it must control the army. This programme was adopted unanimously; it was endorsed both by the leaders of the A.L.N. and of the resistance units within the country. It is therefore wrong to speak of conflict between the political and military wings of our movement. But when it came to choosing the political leadership of the party, things were different. Most of our comrades who have been carrying on the fight in the interior are dissatisfied with the way things have been run in the G.P.R.A. (the provisional government), and they did not wish to accept candidature of some of its members. When Ben Khedda and the others disagreed with majority, they walked out."

He said that the leading members of the G.P.R.A. were planning to set up a dictatorship directed against the F.L.N. militants. - 'a police apparatus which would be incompatible with the premises of the revolution. If I struggle against the G.P.R.A. it is solely so that the revolution may be saved.' .....He said he thought there was still a chance of reaching a peaceful settlement. The C.N.R.A. should be recalled so that the problem could be dealt with in a democratic fashion.....

"....My whole career shows that I strongly oppose racialism. Some of my best friends are Jews; some the lawyers who defended me were Jews. I shall never forget what they have done for our revolution. I would never allow any racial discrimination in my country." When pressed to give more details of his revolutionary programme, he said: "It must, in my opinion, be inspired by socialism, it must be based on the participation of the masses and its most urgent task is land reform." ..... "I am most interested by what has been done in Cuba, but conditions vary from country to country and I couldn't say that we should exactly follow Cuba." As he said goodbye, Ben Bella repeated that he would like to see the army controlled by a disciplined revolutionary party. This would enable Algeria to steer a course towards some kind of socialism.

CHAIRMAN OF SENA SUGAR ESTATES PRAISES PORTUGUESE AUTHORITIES

The Chairman of Sena Sugar Estates, Lieutenant-Colonel C.B.R. Hornung, D.L., in his report to the 42nd Annual General Meeting of that company had some nice things to say about the Portuguese authorities. After saying that 'in view of the number of agitators in many parts of Africa...whose aim it is to disrupt law and order, it is necessary to be vigilant and to keep the closest touch with the Authorities.....' He went on to say:

".... Once more it is my pleasure to thank the Portuguese Authorities for their assistance and sympathetic understanding of our problems and we, in our turn, have done our best to meet their wishes. The misfortunes which have overtaken Portugal with her Overseas Provinces and the grossly unjust attacks which have been made on her policy are very much to be deplored but I am pleased to note a distinct change in world opinion and recognition of the most valuable role that Portugal is playing in maintaining stable conditions in her territories. Her critics would be well advised to study the recent legislation emanating from the Minister for Overseas in connection with labour relations, to realise how great a degree of protection African Labour today enjoys throughout all her Overseas Provinces."

Readers of the Bulletin will not have to be told how hypocritical the above is, but could anything show more clearly the role of the Portuguese Authorities as acting as the policemen in the interests of British and other foreign investments in their colonies. This underlines the fact that the British Labour movement has a heavy responsibility in the fight against Portuguese colonialism.

WANTED! REPORTS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS: Comrades will have noticed that we are getting more reports but the Editorial Board is still far from satisfied, and we know many things happen without reports being sent in. Likewise although most comrades are paying regularly there has been a little slipping behind recently.

## A LETTER FROM AFRICA

We have received the following letter from the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions of Zanzibar. The letter speaks for itself, but the following article gives more detail, and in addition we shall be taking steps to ensure a very wide circulation of full details of the repression in that country. Ed. Note.

Dear Comrades,

Thank you for your letter of 7th July, with International Bulletin. We have already posted some materials on the situation at home.

The situation at home has not changed, though there have not been any more arrests and detentions yet, since the Colonial British Resident still has the Emergency Powers (which he bestowed onto himself), we feel most insecure. In other words, we are in perpetual fear of being arrested and detained to suit H.M. The British Resident's Plan of suppressing all the progressive forces, before he hands over political power to the reactionary clique.

On the other hand, the 13 Comrades are still detained without trial. They recently appeared before the so-called Advisory Committee; the findings of this committee is secret and in any case the British Resident is not bound by the advice of that committee.

As for our beloved leader, Comrade Babu, he is now serving 15 months imprisonment, while at the same time he is serving detention. We have lodged an appeal against the imprisonment, the hearing date has not yet been fixed. I am afraid, we have no faith with the colonial judges, and hence we do not put much hope on the outcome of the appeal.

We appeal for moral and material support and our immediate demands are:-

- (1) Unconditional release of all political prisoners;
- (2) Lifting of emergency and the British Troops stationed here, to leave our country;
- (3) Genuine Independence this year.

We thank you for your solidarity in our struggle.

With fraternal greetings.

Yours in the struggle.

Ahmed A. Qullatein.

Deputy - Director International Dept.

Zanzibar shows the true face of British colonialism by a member of the E.B.

It is a popular misconception fostered by the British press that Britain is willingly divesting herself of colonies to create independent Commonwealth countries, but occasionally we have evidence which clearly shows that where British colonialism is in a strong position, the same traditional methods are still used. Such was the case in Cyprus, and more recently Zanzibar where a State of Emergency has existed since July of last year.

We have received information about the situation there from two independent publications "Zanews" and "Worker", produced by left-wing organisations in Zanzibar. These organisations, the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions, the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the Youth Own Union, have consistently campaigned against British colonialism and for real independence for their country. The reaction of the British administration was swift and sure. On May 5th of this year altogether 15 leading members of the 3 organisations were arrested and thrown in prison, without trial, where they remain under emergency powers, only the British Resident can order their release. Relatives, friends and wives are not allowed to visit them. Since then provocations have continued, people in the street are arrested on 'suspicion', beaten up to obtain 'confessions' before they are released after 24 hours detention without food. As is usual with British colonialism, a 'plot' was discovered to burn down the British Information Services.

As reported in the letter one of the arrested men Comrade Babu, publisher of Zanews has since been sentenced to 15 months imprisonment. This is in a general attempt to suppress the progressive forces of the working class in Zanzibar before any moves are made to create another 'independent' state. Our comrades continue to circulate their papers exposing the lies and hypocrisy of the colonial administration, not knowing who will be arrested next or for how long they will be allowed to go on publishing.

They ask for our support, moral and financial, in their struggle, and also that we make known our protests against the imprisonments of their political leaders. Resolutions passed through trade union and Labour Party branches should be sent to the Colonial Office, Church House, Great Smith St., London S.W.1. and to The British Resident, Residency, Zanzibar, East Africa.

ATTENTION TO BACK PAT ARROWSMITH by a Liverpool C.N.D. C

The struggle reported in the Bulletin of 8th June continues in the Merseyside C.N.D.. Despite the adoption of industrial action by the National Conference the bulk of the Merseyside Central Committee remain opposed to any effective industrial work. Pat Arrowsmith, the industrial organiser, is nominally employed by the Central Committee, but is actually paid by donations from individual Campaign supporters. Some of these supporters were originally under the impression that Pat's activities would be confined to conventional C.N.D. matters, and they are now agrieved to find that their money is being used to "foment industrial strife."

Things came to a head at the last Central Committee meeting when the treasurer announced that the Industrial Committee was £12 in debt. This caused an outcry from the familiar coalition of stalinist, 'liberal'-pacifists and religious elements. At one stage it looked as if Pat would be given notice at once but determined protests from two of the delegates brought about a compromise, and it was decided to defer the matter to a special meeting with the Industrial Committee.

It is clear from all this that if industrial action is to continue on Merseyside the Industrial Committee must become self-financing.

#### YORK - 'CIVIL DEFENCE' PROTEST STOPS COUNCIL MEETING

On Tuesday, the 3rd of July, members of the York Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament stopped a meeting of York City Council for ten minutes while a statement was read out to the full council chamber protesting at the expense of civil defence in York. About 10 Y.C.N.D. members entered the public gallery, and without giving any warning to the Council, Anthony Hall, Chairman of York Y.C.N.D., read the protest to the 40 strong York City Council. One Labour Councillor shouted "Hear, hear," and the rest of the council was in utter confusion, with the Lord Mayor calling for order.

#### FINGERPRINTING BY FORCE AT NEWBURY

based on Peace News report

The police used force to fingerprint at least two demonstrators arrested at the Greenham Common U.S.A.F. base on June 23rd, it has recently been announced by the Welfare Group of the Committee of 100. The Newbury police attempted to photograph and fingerprint all those arrested at the demonstration, and many demonstrators naturally resented this action, resisting it by such means as covering their faces or clenching their fists to make fingerprinting impossible. Barry Walker, aged 17, had his clenched hand forced open by two policemen. More serious was the case of John Tremain who, on refusing to be fingerprinted, was taken to a room by four policemen who forced a paper-clip under his nail and said that if he didn't give his fingerprints they would rip his nail off and say it came off in a scuffle. John Tremain at this point reluctantly allowed the police to take his fingerprints.

#### POLICE AT GOODWIN PRESS

Two detectives from Cannon Row Police Station visited the premises of the Goodwin Press in Fonthill Road, London N.4. on July 4th, in connection with leaflets the press had printed for the London Committee of 100. The leaflets, on which is reproduced Bertrand Russell's hand-written appeal to join him in a civil disobedience demonstration at the Air Ministry on Sunday, September 9th, were printed a few weeks before the incident.

So far sixty thousand have been distributed throughout the country. They outline a sit-down demonstration in Whitehall at 3 p.m. involving a minimum of 7,000 Committee supporters. "If we don't get 7,000 pledged demonstrators," says the leaflet, "we shall postpone the action until we do. This will be the most powerful protest against nuclear war we have ever held." A spokesman for the Committee of 100 explained that the purpose of the September 9th demonstration was to challenge people whether they would "press the button" The leaflets quote an extract from the Official Secrets Act trial of six Committee members at the Old Bailey last February in which the Crown's principal witness, Air Commodore Magill, Director of Operations at the Air Ministry, replied when asked this question: "If the circumstances demanded, I would."

#### DES LOCK GETS 15 MONTHS

Comrades will have read in the press of the shocking case of the sentence of 15 months for 'incitement' imposed upon Des. Lock, member of the London Committee of 100. We must take urgent steps to launch a campaign against this particular sentence, there is a possibility of a successful appeal because the magistrate made an error when sentencing. This charge has been also used against trade unionists recently. Next week's Bulletin will contain an article written specially for the Bulletin by a comrade who was charged with 'incitement' recently.

SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (U.S.A.) DECLARATION FOR TROTSKYIST UNITY

The Socialist Workers' Party of the United States has declared itself for the unity of world Trotskyism. We produce herewith an extract from the Militant, journal of the S.W.P. of July, 2nd., 1962. We base ourselves on the report which appeared in the Newsletter of 14/7/62, and cannot therefore vouch for the completeness of this report. The extract reads as follows:

"A resolution, based on positions taken at the last convention of the Socialist Workers' Party (published in the summer issue of International Socialist Review), was submitted by the majority of the Political Committee to the National Committee. This resolution stressed the consequences of an interdependent process - the great upsurge in the colonial world, the tendency of the Soviet people to restore proletarian democracy, and the struggles of the workers in the imperialist centres for security and a better standard of living.

"These movements have given rise to fresh political currents, some of considerable scope and of leftward direction, above all in the colonial world at the moment. The Cuban Revolution in particular, having opened the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere, was singled out as exceptionally meaningful.

"In the light of the encouraging vista, the majority resolution expressed the fraternal opinion that an extra effort was now needed to unify the world Trotskyist movement which has remained split into two main factions for some nine years. Unification is feasible in view of the substantial agreement on the major political issues of the day. Differences that do remain are largely of an organisational nature and should not block reconstitution of a united movement so long as good will prevails.

"The resolution asked the two groupings in the Fourth International headed by the International Secretariat and the International Committee to let history be the final judge of who was right in the dispute of 1953-54 and to hold over for later discussion such questions as might still be related to those differences."

The same issue of the Newsletter also carries a resolution adopted at the Fourth Annual Conference of the S.L.L., in which it is made clear that the present position of the S.L.L. leadership is direct opposition to that of the S.W.P. on this question. The resolution says "Without political clarification of the problems facing the international working class and the Marxist movement and without a thoroughgoing analysis of the experience of the International since 1940, there can be no rebuilding of the Fourth International. Any attempt to unify and organise the forces at present claiming to be Trotskyist without such a discussion would be a backward step.....The first task in the process of political clarification is to expose the revisionism which produced the 1953 split and which has since then led the International Secretariat further along the path of opportunism and liquidationism...." In other words where the S.W.P. finds that there is substantial political agreement, the S.L.L. says that the differences are wider than before. The language of the S.L.L. resolution is full of the usual denunciations which sectarians are so fond of making against people with whom they have some political differences.

The coming together of the S.W.P. and the rest of the Fourth International will represent a tremendous step forward for the movement. In addition to the United States there are groups in Canada, Switzerland, Japan, Peru, Chile, Bolivia and other countries which will come in too. Certain Marxist groupings which have hesitated to support either side in the dispute will be much more likely to join the Fourth International. Especially important is the fact that relations with the Cuban Revolution will be much facilitated by the unification. For our part we will benefit in many ways, not least of all will be the fact that we <sup>can</sup> use the publications of the S.W.P. more fully - the Militant and the International Socialist Review. The Militant is a weekly open Trotskyist paper which has a good coverage of world news as well that of the struggle in the U.S.A., the International Socialist Review is high quality quarterly theoretical journal which has a very good potential sale in Britain. The S.W.P. has a good printing and publishing concern from which the whole International will draw benefit. Lastly, but no means least, unification will make it much easier to influence comrades coming towards Trotskyism from Stalinism, social democracy, the colonial revolution, etc. The proliferation of small groups has been instrumental in disillusioning many people and any step in the opposite direction will be of great value. Those sectarians who try to resist this process will be left behind by history. In Britain we have the job of beginning this process, in very difficult circumstances, which however will be much aided by international reunification.