

# International Bulletin

Vol. 1. No. 35

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Aug 24th 1962

## UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES SOAR - AND WORSE TO COME

As Marx explained in Capital, industrial capitalism needs a reserve army of unemployed to function. Like any other commodity Labour Power finds its exchange value through the operation of the market and via the laws of supply and demand (which do not determine the exchange value but enable this value to express itself) Certain theorists have claimed that the long period of full employment enjoyed by advanced capitalist countries has proved Marx wrong. In actual fact even in those countries where full employment has been the rule, other methods of regulating wages have evolved. Large scale immigration, a continuous process of rationalisation, the winning of sections of the trade union leadership to a policy wage freeze, the bringing into the labour market of large numbers of peasants, etc. have been instrumental in preventing wages from becoming too exorbitant. (As Marx demonstrated, with a reserve army of unemployed, competition between employers for labour, trade union action, etc. would push wages up and up) But these methods can only temporarily fill the bill, moreover the situation is complicated by the fact that the contingencies of the cold war make large scale unemployment undesirable from the capitalist Governments' point of view.

The latest figures produced by the Ministry of Labour show a marked increase in the last month or so. Between July 16 and August 13 unemployment rose 63,773 to a total of 464,191. This is the highest figure for 2½ years and represents a percentage of 2.1. of the labour force. This compares with a figure of 1.4 in August of last year. On the other side of the balance sheet the number of notified vacancies fell by 24,504 to 226,000. This relationship between the number of people looking for jobs to the number of jobs available has changed drastically to the detriment of the working class in the last year - now there are two people looking for jobs for every job available, then it was the other way round. The seasonally adjusted figures are not available yet, but these will give an even gloomier picture; excluding school leavers, the number of unemployed rose in August by 21,180 as compared with the 'normal' figure of 9,000; on the other hand vacancies fell by 24,504 as compared with the 'normal' figure of 16,000.

These figures came out at the same time as the B.T.C. decision to rundown the Railway workshops to the extent of making 20,000 out of work over 5 years. This comes shortly after plans to close down large sections of the railways, and to stop production in many Scottish pits. British shipyard owners have dropped hints that there will be large scale closing of yards over the next two years. A survey conducted by the Birmingham Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions amongst 3,000 shop stewards in the motor-car industry gave a picture 'bleaker than for some years.' In the last week it has been announced that: the G.E.C. Lander St. works in Birmingham is to close (1,000 to lose their jobs); the B.A.C. Luton works (1,300 to lose jobs) to close; Napier Aero Engines, Acton to finish production (2,500 to be sacked) redundancies have been announced by Bellpurch, London (100); Wolsey, Kimberley (Kotts.) (number not stated; and many smaller firms. Thus we have a situation where, even without a recession, there will be a continuous unemployment tendency on top of an already bad position. This, moreover, comes before Britain joins the Common Market (or failing that is subject to the intense competition that would follow) which would subject large sections of backward British industry to immediate cut-throat competition.

As noted in last week's Bulletin, British workers are in a fighting mood over large sections of industry. The spate of small strikes has continued: Car workers at Fords (500 walked out over suspensions); at Morris Motors works (Oxford), 300 struck over the attitude of a supervisor, and at the key factory of Lucas (Birmingham) there is the threat of a strike over a wage demand which would bring the motor car industry to a halt; two more strikes at Fylingdake involved 160 Spidermen and 170 Air Conditioning workers; during the week the A.U.B.T.W. made the strike of 100 bricklayers at Stewart and Lloyds (Corby) official; they are expected to do the same with 70 builders on strike at Derby Lane (Liverpool) construction site; up in Glasgow the 2,000 workers at the Remington Rand factory (Hillington) went on strike in protest against redundancy; 100 supervisors at the Smart & Brown factory (Spennymoor) struck for higher wages; work stopped at the Lurgi construction site at Birmingham over bad conditions; 140 crane drivers at Hull docks had a one-day token strike; the Post Office Engineers' Union has banned all overtime on the Post Office cable fleet; and the A.S.S.E.T. has done the same in B.E.C. factories at Luton, Stevenage and Bedfordshire to combat redundancy. Thus the stage is set for big struggles. Only out and out unchallenged treachery by the Labour movement bureaucrats can head it off. Marxists must make this impossible.

## HELSINKI YOUTH FESTIVAL 1962.

Although the dismal failure of the 8th. World Youth Festival was much over-rated by the capitalist press, it was still in the final analysis a failure, both politically and emotionally. The fascist riots, the walk-outs of various delegations and individuals, the stagnant politics and the Russian atom explosion all served to make even the staunchest Stalinist doubtful of the significance of the Festival.

Outwardly, politically speaking, the Festival maintained its Stalinist adhesion, but inwardly a contradiction was noticeable between, on the one hand, the revolutionary politics of the Colonial comrades, and on the other, the Kremlin revisionists with their talk of peaceful co-existence and paths to Socialism. How frustrating it must have been for many of the delegations from the Colonial countries who are in the midst of a revolution and who feel the naked bayonets of imperialism, to listen to talk of peaceful methods to oust people like Salazar, Verwoerd, and Welensky. It was noticeable that at one of the meetings a Chinese spokesman who spoke on peaceful co-existence received a standing ovation. By far the most popular of all the delegations was the Cubans, and it is certain that some jealousy was felt by our hand-picked Soviet comrades. The Soviet delegation was an illustration in itself of the inner turmoils going on in the Soviet youth, as only 15 students were present and none at all from Moscow University. Where, according to an English student who was on a year's exchange visit between London and Moscow University, Soviet youth, particularly in the afore-mentioned University, is in open revolt against the bureaucracy.

On the attitude of the various delegations towards Trotskyists and Trotskyism, one could only state that many people would openly discuss matters with us and no antagonism was felt. On one occasion when an Austrian comrade was distributing leaflets to the Czechs who were standing around looking a little perplexed, the Algerians passed by and on reading the leaflets embraced our comrade, leaving the Czechs even more perplexed. When we were distributing leaflets, many people stopped and discussed them with us, and only a few handed them back. However the attitude of the people at the Youth Festival towards Trotskyists was not shared by the Finnish bureaucrats who were in charge of the organisation of the Festival. We were followed, pushed around, and attempts were made to snatch the leaflets from us, although they fully understood that the leaflets contained no anti-Festival statements. At one stage, in fact, they called the Finnish police in, and two of our comrades had their names taken and a few of the leaflets confiscated. This again happened when three more of our comrades were distributing leaflets outside the restaurant where various Colonial delegations were eating. On the last day their animosity reached fever pitch as we attempted to distribute our leaflets at the closing demonstration of the Festival. Both Finnish police and Stalinist bureaucrats joined forces to push us across the other side of the road, and one of our Ceylonese comrades, an official delegate on behalf of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party was severely manhandled by a considerable number of Finnish bureaucrats. After a disturbance of such gravity the police intervened and two of our comrades were taken to the police station. Comrades from Denmark, Britain, Australia, Ceylon, etc., helped to give out the leaflets. Other comrades took part in various delegations, and comrades from the S.W.P. were present, one speaking from the platform as a spokesman of that party.

I should estimate that most of the politically interested people at the Youth Festival received one of our leaflets. I feel that this represents a great step forward, as only five years ago we would have been more than severely manhandled. Many valuable contacts were established from various countries, and we established contact with a monthly periodical printed by Finnish ex-C.P. dissidents who published Natalia Trotsky's letter to Kruschew.

The Youth Festival, therefore, has been productive for the Trotskyists if not for the Stalinists, and I think we have succeeded in making an impression on the Festival.

( Editor's Note: This article was especially written for the Bulletin by a Young Socialist who participated in the Helsinki Festival.)

### BACK ISSUES OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AVAILABLE AGAIN

We have just received a quantity of No.s 11, 12, 13 and 15 of the Fourth International, which we did not have for some time. Number 11 contains comrade Pablo's article on the liberation of women which has aroused a lot of interest; No. 12 contains the complete documents of the 6th World Congress; and No. 13 contains the article by Ortiz on Cuba which effectively answers many of the ultra left criticisms of our attitude towards Cuba. Number 15 is the current issue and we ran out before meeting all the orders which were placed.

The trouble with my type of brevity is that it can provoke the excessive airing of what is basically an unimportant issue. Comrade W. makes the usual point about Fascists having to be harried wherever they arise, but what particularly struck me about the Jordan affair, indeed even the big turn outs against the recent Fascist rallies, was the sheer blind emotionalism involved. Fascism appears in the streets - high blood pressure, general excitement but what the hell was ever done about the Immigration Bill, where was the tremendous sense of outrage on this? Jordan proceeds to get the best for his opinions, but what about the whole rotten edifice of our educational system, its inability to provide a bare minimum of understanding of values or ideas for the young? Does Coventry or any other local education committee go into reverie about this? No! The ideas, values, taught -- are the ideas, values of the society around them -- lets have the Coventry Education Committee leading off on this score. That Committee, and I don't care whether its left or right, acts as the unpaid servant of the existing system. The emotionalism in relation to the Jordan issue reminds one of the hectic emotional slush of the Bevanite period, another time of empty gestures. The J.P., that decrepit bunch of reformist nits, excels itself on such occasions, a further exchange of maudlin emotion allied to political inanity.

Comrade W. brings in the analogy of Germany when the state and local government were furiously conniving with Fascist gangsters. As a matter of interest, how many of these people were actually removed? Did it make any difference if they were? Were not the real struggles in Germany reflected in the street battles, strikes, etc? Was not the fate of Germany sealed because the C.P. and the Social Democrats proved a rotten leadership, whereas the Nazis, the bourgeoisie and the functionaries connected with them in the existing apparatus knew what they wanted? The class struggle is not decided by frigging about in connection with some insignificant Fascist teacher. In any case, if the level of consciousness is so high, and the victory so significant why was Jordan appointed in the first place or not thrown out before?

When I used the term extra-Parliamentary, I meant a movement free of all established committees, not working through such committees, but outside them, independently, spontaneously and dealing with Fascists <sup>outside the law</sup>. Certainly the bourgeois administrative apparatus can be used to serve working class interests, e.g., the Bill against racialism, the factory Acts, etc., but such uses are strictly limited. Marxists would only use Parliament the better to smash it.

The dismissal of Jordan was a trivial administrative act which means little in itself and I remain unrepentant in my scepticism over using the existing apparatus in any serious combat against these people. The emphasis on this type of action breeds all sorts of peculiar illusions about local government being the "servant of the people in a free country." (Presumably, of course, Comrade W. would support the Public Order Act, after all it can be used against the Fascists; its interesting to note that the regulation banning Fascist meetings in Trafalgar Square can also be used against S.W.D.)

I regret having brought up the issue because in the context of affairs in this country its of little importance. I still see nothing gained for the left by this dismissal, except a feeling of self-righteous satisfaction for the people who have done it. Its a pity the hot air generated by that episode didn't go into something more constructive, such as building greater unity between the white and coloured workers against their common oppressors. Neither am I going to say how splendid the bourgeois state is for arresting Jordan. I'm not going to applaud a state apparatus which has enforced the Immigration Bill and now has an awkward problem. But, of course, I forgot, we should "make" the police do our bidding and "make" the Tories smoke out the Fascists and "make" them stop being capitalists.

Incidentally, I can't remember "free speech" being my absolute. You have my full permission, Comrade W. to smash up Fascist meetings, just keep the "legal" capers at a distance.

#### TROTSKY'S WRITINGS ON FASCISM OUT SOON

A compilation of Trotsky's writings on the nature of Fascism and on the best methods of fighting it originally published by the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, will be available soon (probably by the time of the next Bulletin. This will be a very useful pamphlet to sell in view of the discussions which are taking place in the Labour movement. To quote a Communist Party lecturer at the Italian S.P. college, Trotsky's writings give the finest analysis available of Fascism. The pamphlet (24 pages of text) will cost 1/3 post paid.

(EDITORIAL NOTE: The article which follows was submitted originally to Socialist Review, which has now ceased publication. There is a need to take up the wrong ideas put forward by Alasdair MacIntyre in a political fashion, which this article attempts to do. The hatchet job done by "James Baker" in the current Labour Review is an excellent example of how not to polemicize. While making some correct points against MacIntyre, the Baker article concerns itself mainly with a subjective and spiteful examination of MacIntyre's past and his personal motives. If one wished to adopt this technique, one could point out that "James Baker", whose real name is Dr. Frank Girling (a name under which he has written in Labour Review, so that we are not giving away any military secrets) has written articles on Africa so "orthodox" that Her Majesty's Stationery Office has not hesitated to publish them (he also wrote for the C.I.A. Problems of Communism, almost the only British C.P. member who left in 1956-7 to have done so). This method leads nowhere. What is needed is to take up wrong ideas and seek to correct them from a Marxist standpoint.)

"I have always said that the one thing that prevented the Labour Party getting into power and staying in power was our inherent tendency to argue." Thus Mr. Gaitskell, reported in The Guardian on May 7 and quoted by Alasdair MacIntyre in his "Open Letter to a Right-wing Young Socialist" (Socialist Review, June 1962) There are even some on the Left who, instancing the endless disputation among Marxists, would echo Gaitskell in a rather different context. Naturally the readers of this paper reject this view, not because they enjoy argument about serious matters for its own sake, but because they believe that the building of socialism and the taking of power which will make this possible, can proceed only on condition that the views of every tendency in the working class movement be ventilated and tested in the living experience of the class.

That is why even socialists who have much in common are obliged to spend a good deal of their time arguing with each other. It is why I now take up the cudgels against both the underlying analysis of Alasdair MacIntyre's article in the April Socialist Review and the practical conclusions he draws from it. "What has been predicted", writes MacIntyre (and past issues of Socialist Review and International Socialism bear unpleasing witness to this truth) "is the end of Traditional social-democratic politics and an Americanization of the political scene". As a matter of fact the crystal-gazers of the respective editorial boards have on occasion looked deeper into their balls, have cast serious doubts on the likelihood of Labour winning another General Election and have prophesied that the welfare schemes of private industry and those of "non-ideological" Tory Governments since 1951 have cut away the classical base of social democracy in Britain.

It is to be hoped that recent ructions in Wall Street and the City, the end of the "pay pause" (enforced less through struggle than through the sufficient threat of struggle), and the current crop of by-elections (illustrating the continuing solidity of the working class Labour vote and its refusal to be decoyed by the Liberal image) have placed some of these rosy predictions in their proper proportion. The ruling class makes concessions neither out of generosity nor from astuteness, but only under pressure from the working class organised politically as well as industrially (as our American brothers, still without "socialised" medicine or any other state welfare benefits worth speaking of, have still to learn) So far from such concessions heralding the end of social democracy, they make its electoral success more assured at the moment when it becomes necessary for the ruling class to call (or attempt to call, as poor Selwyn would say) a halt to such concessions. What will finally presage the end of social democracy will be the moment when the capitalist class (whether served by a Tory or a Labour Government) reaches the point where no more reforms are possible without challenging the continued existence of capitalism, thus impelling the workers reluctantly on the road to revolution. Until then, social democracy will be with us, however much we may wish it away.

This holds true, of course, of Comrade MacIntyre's other prediction: the Americanization of the political scene. Much as Gaitskell would prefer to lead a Kennedy type Democratic Party, he will not get his way -- and if he pushes his luck too far, the worse for him (those loyal colleagues, Brown and Wilson, wait in the wings for the day when Hugh gets too "ideological"). Have the lessons of the fight on clause four, and especially the powerful warning speech of the impeccably right wing Ray Gunter, been unlearned so quickly? Not by Gaitskell, even if by Alasdair. On the contrary, it is far more likely that we shall witness (perhaps after the next minor Wall Street dislocation?) an Anglicization of the American political scene, with the formation of a quasi-reformist American Labour Party on the pattern of the New Democratic Party in Canada. This classic prognosis -- indeed, campaigning slogan -- of the American Marxists now appears more probable of fruition than ever before.

"The character of British industry and with it the character of the British working class has changed." Any marxist would be a stupid fellow if he denied that vast technological developments (inducing even certain changes in capital formation, e.g., the decline in power of the banks) have indeed taken place, and with them changes within the specific weight within the industrial structure of technicians, skilled workers and labourers. But what interests Marxists is the ownership of industry; what interests them is the relationship in which the various layers of the working class stand, to each other on the one hand and to the owners of industry on the other. It is common knowledge (indeed it is a matter of some embarrassment to the Tories, as the Brroll proposals on shareholders' voting rights indicate) that not greater diffusion, but ever-increasing concentration is the universal trend where the ownership of the celebrated "commanding heights" is concerned. As for the "new", technician members of the working class (for that, of course, is what they are), they show signs, as befits a fresh layer moving into action for the first time, if anything of greater radicalism, for the time being, than the more established layers (contrast the leaderships of the draughtsmen and the supervisory staffs with, for example, those of the railwaymen and miners). If the leaderships of recent industrial struggles have been "uncommitted" (as is only very partially true -- most have been led by Communists, which does not of course mean that the workers concerned are "committed" Khrushovites) that is because, alas, Marxists are not yet sufficiently active or sufficiently established in industry to give leadership to these actions.

We come now to the business end of MacIntyre. We are led, quite logically, to be sure, if we accept his premises, to the truly astonishing proposal for a united front with.....Tony Crosland! For if, indeed, the prospect were one of the steady undercutting of social-democracy and an "Americanization" of the political scene, then this would imply the reduction of every socialist organisation to the status of a sect. The Labour Party, shorn of its trade-union base, would probably be willing even to campaign for "really punishing redistributive taxation" and an end to "a lot of educational privileges." It is impossible to resist, however, the temptation to borrow Comrade MacIntyre's crystal and to prophesy that, in such a situation, Mr. Crosland would not be around to do any of the campaigning!

I shall briefly state another prospect -- one which, I have put in the pages of this paper as consistently, if not so persistently (then shame on me) as Alasdair has put forward his (the writer refers to the Socialist Review here: [a note]) The Labour Party will remain, on present showing for some years to come the vehicle which reflects the existing level of the working class, organised politically within its ranks to fight a capitalism which will grow, not more liberal, but even meaner and more viciously murderous, in its decline. But this Labour Party is itself the arena of a sector of the class struggle: wherein the Right-wing leaders, as direct agents of the capitalist class, will be confronted by the solid working-class base of the Party which will, at first to be sure under confused and centrist leadership, seek to challenge their hostility to socialism and betrayal of its principles. A split in such a Party is both inevitable and desirable. The task of the Left is to fight to isolate the far Right, thus placing upon it the onus of split and the sacrifice of casualties, preparing at the same time the cadre, steeled in struggle, which will construct the mass revolutionary party of the future.

J.F. (London)

#### IMPORTANT VICTORY IN FIGHT FOR LABOUR PARTY DEMOCRACY

The N.E.C. of the Labour Party has reversed its previous decision to withhold approval of candidature of Councillor James Kerr for South Edinburgh. No reason was given for this decision, but it is no doubt as a result of a big and consistent campaign by the Edinburgh City Labour Party and the South Edinburgh C.L.P.. This struggle needs to be taken forward now to reverse other such actions by the N.E.C.: Ernie Roberts for Horsham, and other excluded candidates include Stan Mills, Dennis Hobden, Walter Wolfgang and Jo Richardson. Iltyd Harrington, whose candidature for Dover was not approved - again without any explanation, has not been included on the short list for the selection conference of Dover C.L.P.. This fight has been lost despite the campaign the Kent N.U.M has waged.

#### GEORGE BROWN KEEPS QUIET

This week's Tribune draws attention to the silence of George Brown despite their challenge to him about his relationship with the Daily Mirror. Obviously he is trying to 'sit it out' until the clamour dies down. The left shouldn't allow him to get away with this - where he goes he should be met by placards demanding an answer, Transport House should be bombarded with resolutions, etc. etc.

A meeting in London August 16 convened by Alderman Fred Tonge, L.C.C., has resulted in the setting up of an adhoc Anti-Fascist Committee to combat fascism in the capital. As well as Tonge, members of the committee include Bro. Harry Francis of the Musicians' Union, Stanley Mayne from the National Council of Civil Liberties, and representatives from London District of the Tailors and Garment Workers, the Movement for Colonial Freedom, and Labour Councillors from Paddington, Stoke Newington and other boroughs.

The committee will circularize all trade unions, Labour Parties and Minority-community organizations as well as issuing a general statement and appeal, and will run a campaign to build support for Brockway's Bill to ban racial discrimination.

Main discussion at the first meeting centred on whether, and at what stage, to hold a mass anti-fascist counter-demonstration in Trafalgar Square and to attempt to get the Labour Party and T.U.C. to back this. This, alongside demonstrating London workers' hatred of and determination to fight fascism in all its forms, would have the effect of forcing the Tory Home Secretary to interpret his recent ruling on use of the Square. The Left lined up behind this proposal but there was support for the argument, often plugged in the Daily Worker, that what is needed is a campaign of resolutions only, avoiding a "provocation" to Henry Brooke!

Despite this argument on tactics (which of course is the expression of something more deepgoing), what should be stressed at the moment is the importance of building such committees in every provincial centre and London metropolitan borough so that a good and fruitful campaign, with plenty of opportunity for political explanation alongside, can be opened up.

GREAT YARMOUTH C.N.D. GROUP TO BE ESTABLISHED by an East Anglia correspondent

Steps are to be taken to set up a C.N.D. group in Great Yarmouth (and it is hoped a youth group too) arising out of the activity of a comrade who gathered together some 30 names of likely supporters. The first meeting has been called for September 7th and a good attendance is expected. We can also report that Norwich C.N.D. (which is helping the Great Yarmouth group) is holding factory gate meetings.

GLASGOW YOUTH FORUM UNDERWAY by a Glasgow correspondent

At the first meeting of the Glasgow Young Socialist Open Forum, 47 members of the Y.S. heard Bruce Millar, an extreme right wing M.P. put his case. The next meeting is to be addressed by D. Gilson (Glasgow's Housing Convenor) and the one following that will consist of a debate on the theory of state capitalism. It is expected that as the forum gets established that it become the centre of political discussion amongst Young Socialists in Glasgow.

NO COLOUR BAR RALLY BRINGS QUICK RESULT by S. (London)

On behalf of London Region Y.S., Paddington Young Socialists organised an all-day open-air rally and meeting August 4 to protest the Tory colour-bar Immigration Act and the recent fascist provocations. Speakers from youth and the adult movement were heard by several hundred passers-by in a busy shopping area.

As a result the Y.S. locally has gained 20 or so new members and contacts, including a number of young West Indians. The branch meeting held August 17 with many "hard core" members away on holiday saw an attendance of 35 to hear a speaker on the struggle developing in Spain against Franco.

KOSSINGLAND REGISTRATIONS STILL ROLLING IN

Registrations for the Kossingland camp continue to come in at a steady rate and have now reached 83, enquiries are coming in quick and fast and it is certain that the total number in attendance will be in the 100 region at least. A notable feature of the recent week or so has been the number coming from the London area and the surrounding suburban areas (which as readers will know was the weak spot). There have been more registrations from abroad including one from Austria. A rather disappointing feature has been the lack, so far, of registrations from colonial comrades, etc.. The organisers, in view of the large number of African, Indian and other students in Britain, anticipated a good number of participants from this source. However it is not too late for anyone to register but this should be done as soon as possible.