

*THE
BULLETIN*

*An Information Service
for
Socialists*

CONTENTS.

- Page 1. - - - Editorial.
- Page 2. - - - Monopoly and Mergers.
U.S. Unemployment.
I.M.F. Director warns.
British industrial stagnation.
- Page 3. - - - Y.S. Conference resolutions.
Redundancies and T.U. notes.
- Page 4. - - - Venezeulan ship in Brazil.
Revolution Africaine.
Congo workers strike.
Azihari back in North Borneo.
Colombia peasants seize land.
- Page 5. - - - Alliance For Progress ?
U.S. Intervention in Venezeula.
- Page 6. - - - Bus strike in Colombo
U.S. "aid" and Ceylon.
L.S.S.P. calls for nationalisation.
- Page 7. - - - Yugoslavia's new constitution.
N.Z. C.P. nearer Peking.
- Page 8. - - - Left Opportunism.

Letter to Readers.

The final epitaph to Gaitskell has been written, or rather spoken, significantly by a Tory. It was reported that Mr. Martin Redmayne, who is Government Chief Whip, had said at a meeting during the weekend that Mr. Wilson had taken a "new lurch to the left" and had swept away Mr. Gaitskell's "patient struggle to keep the Labour Party respectable."

Some Comrades have been in a position to supply us with such materials as staples, duplicating paper etc. It may be that other readers who are in a similar position would like to use this means of making a contribution to 'The Bulletin.'

Published by :- The International Bookshop, - Produced
4, Dane St., by
Alfred St. Central, voluntary labour.
Nottingham.

THE AFTERMATH OF WILSON'S ELECTION.

We did not comment upon the election of Harold Wilson last week because at that stage there was nothing to indicate what path he was going to take. The position is not much clearer this week but certain moves have been made which although contradictory are straws in the wind. Wilson's reaffirmation of clause four in Parliament, which has brought forth a Tory campaign to discredit him, and other measures which have been announced seem to be part of a campaign to present a radical face. On the other hand the composition of the new shadow cabinet shows no change from the overwhelmingly right wing orientation. The idea of George Brown as spokesman for foreign affairs (and therefore foreign minister) is sickening- but will Denis Healey be any better? On the other side Brown's spoilt child act plus his stressing of differences with Wilson when he spoke on television indicate he took his defeat very badly indeed. We have yet to see how this works out but if Wilson goes 'too far' he may face an extreme right revolt. The latter would most likely break out on the question of clause four especially in view of the Tory campaign. The extreme right wing is always sensitive to what it calls 'public opinion', but what is really the bourgeoisie using the press, etc. for its immediate political aims. A right wing revolt at this stage, and if the left take advantage, could be very useful in helping to push the whole Labour Party to the left.

Wilson however has failed so far to present the Labour Party as a radical alternative on several questions which have come up in the last week or so. There has been in this period a whole series of issues which have demonstrated the process of the Tories shifting the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working class. The interference in the Teachers' pay award, the sitting of 'old nic' to investigate the 40 hour week award to the Scottish plumbers, the report of 'Neddy' which called for increases in wages to lag behind production, etc., presented an opportunity for the new Labour front bench to present the radical face and also link itself with the trade union struggle. This it signally failed to do.

The unemployment figures which show an increase in the number of fully unemployed of 42,000 instead of the usual rise of 2,000 cannot be blamed on the weather this time. A fter this bigger than usual increase, on top of the already high figures, the reason must be sought elsewhere. The fact that this unemployment can only be explained by the combination of stagnant or declining production and widespread rationalisation is a wonderful weapon against capitalism. Neither the Labour front bench nor the Communist Party have used this argument, the former still on about Tory inefficiency and the latter are concentrating on a campaign around the question of Russian oil.

Thus we have the paradox that whilst capitalist is showing daily that it cannot 'deliver the goods', i.e., satisfy the ordinary needs and aspirations of the mass of the people and condemns large sections to mere existence, nobody is effectively putting forward the socialist alternative. Only a strong Labour left which appears in the eyes of the mass of Labour supporters as an alternat-ive to the existing set up can do this. In fact the appearance of such a left would help materially to push Wilson nearer this position. It is clear that Wilson's victory is no substitute for such a left no matter what advantages may accrue from his leadership.

Some measure of the concentration of British industry is given in the Bow Group pamphlet "Monopolies and Mergers". Using information from the census of production of 1958 the authors have calculated the percentage of output in various industries accounted for by the three biggest firms in each industry. The 12 most heavily concentrated industries in 1958 were:-

	Output	Ratio		Output	Ratio
	£m	%		£m	%
Man-made fibres	43	89	Mineral oil refining	31	87 $\frac{1}{2}$
Locomotives etc.	34	82	Tobacco	78	80 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sugar	15	78 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dyestuffs	22	76
Explosives, fireworks	29	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	Margarine	7	70 $\frac{1}{2}$
Soap, detergent, etc	29	69	Cement	23	67
Steel Tubes	58	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	Watches and Clocks	5	65

NEW U.S.A. UNEMPLOYED FIGURES OVER 6%. Financial Times report, Feb 19.

"The U.S. Labour Secretary, Mr Willard Wirtz predicted today that unemployment across the nation would soon rise above 6%. With unemployment currently standing at 5.8 per cent Mr. Wirtz's remarks serve to add to the doubts about the soundness of the economy which have sprung from the discouraging trend of leading national indicators over recent weeks. Mr. Wirtz told a meeting of the A.F.L. C.I.O. executive council that the administrations main attack on the growing unemployment problem would be President Kennedy's Tax Bill. But the A.F.L. C.I.O. president Mr. George Meany questions whether this alone would prove sufficiently effective." Thus, unemployment in the land of plenty, the show-ground of capitalism is twice as great as it is in this country, where conditions are weekly deteriorating.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND DIRECTOR WARNS OF RETURN TO THIRTIES

Mr. Per Jacobsson, director of the International Monetary Fund remarked on Feb 19th : "A new situation has arisen which shows certain similarities with what happened in the early thirties." He urged the Western Countries to take "definite measures" to avoid "repeating the sad experiences of those years". He was addressing the graduate school of Business Administration at New York University.

BRITISH PRODUCTION FIGURE REVEALS STAGNATION.

Industrial production moved down a point in December, taking the provisional index figure back to its October level of 115, on a seasonally adjusted basis. Taking 1962 as a whole the all-industries figure averaged 115 against a figure of 114 for 1961. Ariso as small as this falls far short of the National Economic Development target for an average rate of growth of 4 % between 1961 and 1966. Its interesting to note that these figures include part of the severe winter period, during which production in the coal, gas and electricity supply unions has gone to record levels. The rise here has been more than off-set by the sharp fall in the output figures of the construction industries. A comparison between the four months September to December and the preceding four months shows that the average was between 0.5 per cent and 1 per cent below the average for May to August. The drop in the all-industries index to a provisional 115, is matched by a similar fall in the manufacturing industries index, also to 115

YOUNG SOCIALIST CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS PUBLISHED.

The provisional list of resolutions, not yet amended, for the Y.S. Annual Conference is now in the hand of Branches. There are very few overtly right-wing resolutions on the Agenda, a very great deal supporting "Keep Left" in its campaign against proscription, and others calling for the nationalisation of industry and the land, and for unilateral nuclear disarmament. Several resolutions, particularly those from Ilkeston and South Nottingham call for a new constitution for the Y.S. along the lines of that possessed by the National Association of Labour Students Organisation. The accusation against "Young Guard", made earlier through "Keep Left", that the paper had to be approved before publication by Labour right-winger Ray Gunter, is repeated as an aside in a resolution from Littlemore Y.S. branch which criticises Transport House for proscribing "Keep Left" whilst allowing another "'Young Guard' to be published provided the paper undergoes scrutiny by Transport House". Thus Littlemore stirs things a little more, a move which can only be an attempt to divide the Left at conference against itself, on the basis of an accusation devoid of any sort of foundation and cheap in essence. N.B. Full coverage of developments in the Young Socialists will be given in next week's "Bulletin".

THIS WEEKS' REDUNDANCIES AND TRADE UNION NOTES.

Among the increase of 71,892 unemployed this month, the army of jobless has been augmented this week by the imminent dismissal of 1,100 men at the Remington Rand typewriter factory on the Hillington Industrial Estate, Glasgow. The firm of Gray (Tees) in the North-East, a ship-repair company, on Thursday, laid-off a number of men according to the Financial Times, and in Northants, the shoe factory of JohnCave and Sons part of the Eaton shoe group is to close down. 40 women workers will lose their jobs as a result of this move. In Coventry, the Whitworth Gloster Aircraft Co. is making 19 coppersmiths redundant. A further 155 workers, including 58 women are declared redundant by International Computers and Tabulators at Letchworth, Herts. On Monday, some 400 workers at the Nottingham Royal Ordnance Factory were officially declared redundant.

Meanwhile, among white collar workers, the firm of Richard Thomas and Baldwin is cutting the size of its administrative staff in what the company describes as a "slimming exercise". Salaried staff at the London offices of the firm will be affected, together with those at Elw Vale and the new Spencer Steel works in Monmouthshire, and the Scunthorpe Redbourn works. In London, Rolls Royce has announced that it is closing its washing machine works at Cricklewood - 400 workers will be affected.

We read in today's "Guardian", Saturday, heralding trends in this country perhaps? - that the leader of the American Teamsters Union has just been voted an increase of some £17,300, bringing his salary up to £40,600 per year. The Teamsters' president has not yet decided whether or not to accept. Meanwhile in this country, the Pay Pause has not yet affected the police force who have just been granted a $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ pay rise. This contrasts with the way in which the Government has attempted to discriminate over the question of teachers pay, increasing the differentials amongst staff.

1463 As a postscript to the item at the foot of Page five, it is now known that the "Anzoategui" seized by left-wing rebels has arrived in the Brazilian port of Santana (February 19th). The freighter which was seized by personnel of the Venezuelan National Liberation Army on Feb 12th for the purpose of exposing the despotism in Venezuela has been sought for, traced and menaced by a great number of U.S. naval planes and destroyers and the Venezuelan navy for several days. The Brazilian Naval Minister, Pedro Pablo has ordered Brazilian naval ships to escort the freighter to Belém, Capital of Para state. The fate of the revolutionaries is not known.

"REVOLUTION AFRICAINE" DOING WELL.

The first issue of the new French-language weekly "Revolution Africaine" was a huge success. The press run of 60,000 was completely sold out and the second number was increased to 80,000. In Algiers, 7,000 copies of the first issue were sold on newstands. Orders for the second increased to 15,000. In the United States, "Revolution Africaine" can be obtained at 224 East 46th Street, New York 17, NY. In Britain at 9, Frognal Mansions 97, Frognal, London N.W.3., and in Cuba, at the offices of Revolucion, Plaza Civica, Havana.

CONGO WORKERS STRIKE.

Based on Hsinhua reports.

Congolese dockers and railway workers are continuing their strike for an increase in minimum wages, according to reports from Leopoldville. The strike started last Monday in Leopoldville, Matadi, Thysville, and Boma. It was reported that Leopoldville shipyards were at a standstill as a result of the strike. The Adoula group backed by the United States rushed police against the strikers in Leopoldville after its failure to undermine it by its blacklegs. Several strikers were arrested.

AZAHARI TO LEAD ARMED STRUGGLE IN NORTH KALIMANTAN.

NORTH BORNEO- The Chief Representative of the North Kalimantan Unitary State in Indonesia, Achmed Fadillah, declared in Djakarta on Feb. 20th that Inche Azahari, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the North Kalimantan Unitary State was at present in North Kalimantan among his people to lead the armed struggle against the imperialists, according to Antara News Agency. Fadillah expressed thanks for the support of the Indonesian people and their sympathy with the struggle of the North Kalimantan people.

COLOMBIAN PEASANTS SEIZE LAND.

More encouraging events in Latin America have been received this week. About twenty thousand Colombian peasants belonging to five thousand households have recently seized farmland in the northern part of Valle del Cauca province and other places, according to a report published in the Colombian weekly Voz De La Democracia. They have absolutely resisted police suppression. The report says that the peasants have been in dire need of land not only for cultivation but also for building houses. At the end of January, land seizures were reported in the provinces of Tolima and Meta and in the city of Tuluá in Valle del Cauca province.

A complete overhaul of the "Alliance for Progress" was demanded Feb. 3 in a report placed before U.S. Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges by some of the key figures of America's sixty ruling families. The Alliance for Progress was initiated under Eisenhower as the U.S. answer to Fidel Castro. It was touted as offering all of Latin America a peaceful, easy way to get what the Cubans found they could win only through revolution. Kennedy baptized the plan, giving it its attractive name just a few weeks before the counterrevolutionary Cuban invasion force was landed at Playa Giron by the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, and John F. Kennedy personally.

The alliance for Progress has spoken of two billion dollars a year for twenty years for Latin America's development. Somehow the program has never seemed able to get off the ground. The overhaul now demanded would most surely start the dollars flowing. But not in the direction of the poor man's pocket in Latin America. Private enterprise and private investment must be made "the main thrust of the Alliance," says the report submitted to Secretary Hodges. And who are the mysterious figures hiding behind the label of "private enterprise and private investment"? We may guess this from the names signed at the bottom of the demand for an overhaul:

David Rockefeller, chairman - Chase Manhattan Bank of New York.
 Emilio G. Collado, vice president - Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey)
 Walter B. Wriston, executive vice president - First National City Bank of New York.

The report of the three was endorsed by J. Peter Grace, president of W.R. Grace & Co., and head of a committee to which all four belong, sponsored by the Department of Commerce. These men speak for the inner offices in the counting houses of lower Manhattan.

Grace declared in a letter to Rockefeller, which has made public that "The program in its present form cannot succeed, and we are in great danger of suffering a major defeat to our strategic interests in this hemisphere... I have never been so deeply disturbed about a major aspect of United States foreign policy." Can they overhaul the Alliance for Progress so that it will finally take off, provide more billions for Wall Street, and still serve as an effective counter to the example and appeal of the Cuban Revolution?

U.S. INTERVENTION IN VENEZUELAN AFFAIRS DENOUNCED - From HSIENHUA 16/2/63

On 14/2/63 the organization of Venezuelan students in Chile published a statement praising the heroic action of a group of Venezuelan Patriots in seizing the freighter "Anzoategui". The statement also protested against U.S. intervention in Venezuelan internal affairs. It was reported that the freighter was now being searched for by the Venezuelan Naval Authorities with the help of U.S. naval planes. The statement said that this patriotic action was aimed at drawing world attention to the miserable plight of the Venezuelan people under Fascist Dictatorship. The student organization, in its resolution adopted here today, appealed to the Chilean people to voice their support for the Venezuelan patriots.

CEYLON BUS WORKERS STRIKE

COLOMBO. Jan. 25 - A virtually total strike of bus workers is on. The government, determined to break the strike, has manned a skeleton service with foremen, military drivers and a few scabs. The strike is led by union leaders who belong to the Lanka Sama Samaja party, The Communist party and the MFP (United Popular Front). Workers belonging to the Sri Lanka Freedom party (the left-bourgeois party) joined the strike almost to a man although their union leaders are opposed to the strike.

U.S. HALTS AID TO CEYLON

David B. Bell, administrator of the U.S. "Agency of International Development" announced February 8 that the U.S. government had decided to suspend current aid to Ceylon. A grant of \$800,000 and a development loan of more than \$3,000,000 are involved for the fiscal year of 1963. The decision was made because the Ceylon government, according to Bell, did not take "appropriate steps" to insure "prompt payment" for 83 service stations belonging to Esso Standard and Caltex which it nationalized in 1962.

Just in case the Ceylon Government didn't get the import of Bell's message, Esso Standard issued a statement to the press in New York expressing the "hope" that the suspension of American aid "will encourage the government of Ceylon to quickly pay equitable indemnities for the expropriated properties." The Ceylonese government has stated its readiness to pay the oil outfits and has sought to negotiate a settlement. When the news came of Uncle Sam's high-pressure effort to collect the bill claimed by the oil kings, the cabinet went into emergency session.

The Ceylon government then issued a communique stating that it had learned that reliance on foreign aid could entail some surrendering of its own internal freedom of action. It called off negotiations with the two American companies and asked its citizens to rely on the country's own resources. The 83 service stations remain nationalized. The incident points up once again a basic contradiction which Washington faces. It woos the colonial bourgeoisie with hand-outs in the newly independent countries. But how do you do that and still keep companies like Esso Standard and Caltex in good humor?

L.S.S.P. CALLS FOR NATIONALISATION OF ALL IMPORTS.

"The Samajist", organ of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in an editorial accused the U.S.A. of bringing pressure on underdeveloped countries to prevent the nationalisation of concerns in the public interest. It said: "Everyone in the country except pro-imperialist capitalists will oppose the effort of U.S. Imperialists in trying to pressurise independent countries like Ceylon." It called upon the Ceylon government to take over all imports and the distribution of oil to protect the freedom of the country from imperialists. (From New China News Agency).

The Communist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the People's United Front have announced a united rally to be convened in protest against the United States interference.

1466

On September 21st 1962, the federal parliament of Yugoslavia adopted the preliminary draft of the new Constitution. In the subsequent public discussion on the draft, many indications have shown how much public opinion favours increased rights for the workers' councils. In the draft constitution, factory managers are to be appointed or re-appointed through "public competition" and have to be approved by the so-called "communes" (the lowest administrative bodies, which are controlled by the C.P.) A worker of Novi Sad wrote to Borba, central newspaper of the C.P., saying he could not understand why a worker's council could not decide for itself on the appointment or dismissal of a factory director under its jurisdiction, without approval from outside.

The minority view, strongly favouring proletarian democracy, was rejected in the preliminary draft of the federal constitution. It has, however, been incorporated in the preliminary draft of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one of the six constituents of the Yugoslav Federation. In this draft constitution, the commune has the right, together with the workers council to decide in the conditions and qualifications required before an application for the job of manager can be taken into consideration. The manager is appointed however, by the workers' council itself, without any outside interference.

NEW ZEALAND COMMUNIST PARTY MOVES NEARER TO PEKING LINE.

A statement by the National Secretariat of the Communist Party of New Zealand was published in the January 23rd issue of the weekly Peoples Voice organ of the party, under the headline, Fighting Monopoly in New Zealand and Throughout the World. The statement emphasised that in regard to ideological issues: "We stand firm on the fact that they cannot be solved by discussion and demonstrations at congresses of individual parties, as has happened recently. They will not be solved by an attitude of "We, and only we, are right all the time on everything".

It said: "Such an attitude, plus refusal to develop collective discussion internationally, makes appeals for unity useless and dismisses the honest opinions of other parties and their leaderships without consideration. It excluded collective discussion of all aspects in an objective manner. We stand firm on the approach agreed by all Marxist-Leninist Parties in the Statement of the 81 Parties after their conference in Moscow in 1960. There a method was agreed upon if disputes arose between the leadership of various parties. It was a totally different procedure from that being pursued by the C.P.S.U. and other Parties." (Our emphasis - Ed.).

The statement continued: "Today, we are more fully convinced than ever that our call of February, 1962, for the holding of an international discussion on problems and differences was a correct one. Also that we were correct to emphasise, in line with the 81 Parties' statement, the need for preliminary discussion between those with differences. This has not been done, but it should be started without delay." The article goes on: "Our partyconsiders correct the statement made with emphasis there that revisionism is today the main danger in our world Marxist-Leninist Movement. We are concerned that, while all possible dangers arising from dogmatism are receiving full attention, the main danger of revisionism is, except in a few sweet words, to a large degree being ignored. We cannot see any basis at present for ideological unity with the revisionist views of Tito communists and must strongly oppose any such development....."

LEFT OPPORTUNISM AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

When the question of opportunism is discussed, one usually has in mind careerism and reformism, however, there is another variety - left opportunism. The left opportunist is one who seeks to gain political influence by the use of 'left' slogans and suggesting adventuristic lines of action without regard for the interests of the working class. In contemporary British politics this means addressing sections of the working class (shop stewards, Young Socialists, strikers, etc.) and trying to get them to take action which separates them from the main stream of the working class. The aim of this strategy is to gain members in ones and twos, increase the sales of the 'left opportunists' journals, and to gain the reputation of being the most forthright opponents of capitalism. If the left opportunists gain influence it results in the sections concerned taking ultra left action and disrupts the unity of those in action. Several strikes in recent years have ended in disaster because of the activities of the left opportunists. Currently they are causing damage to the Young Socialist movement by pushing it along lines of action which lead to their separation from the bulk of the Labour Party. The right wing have made this easy for the left opportunists, but the latter are not men without experience and they will bear a heavy responsibility for any damage done to the movement.

Because the left opportunists' policies do not advance the working class and nearly always lead to defeat, they cannot carry out sustained activity in any one field. This leads them to jump from field to field as they exhaust their possibilities or get into a mess. For example they presented the 'fascist menace' as though the stage were set for a mass fascist movement even though the necessary preconditions did not exist. But when the sensational increase in unemployment occurred, despite the fact that there has been no decisive change in the objective conditions, the fascist issue was immediately forgotten.

A deep sectarianism flows from their policies, which in turn leads to a 'social fascist' attitude toward all other tendencies. The leadership, in general educate their membership, who are usually sincere and extremely active, in this spirit and use this as a justification of their methods of dealing with the 'enemies of the working-class.' The corollary is, of course, a clique-ridden and undemocratic internal set-up within the left opportunist organisations. But it is important to recognise that this has political roots and is not just a question of personalities. Coupled with the large turnover in membership of these organisations, there is the deplorable fact that many of the ex-members, scarred by their experiences, leave the movement altogether.

The only answer to left opportunism is political education, especially in the history of the movement. From their whole orientation they cannot stand up to an examination of their history. How is it possible for the left opportunists to explain the sudden shifts in their tactics? However, all this is not sufficient - the majority of the members join these organisations because they consider them the most active. In fact the left opportunists gain many recruits by default, because Marxists are not taking the initiative in coming forward with a fighting policy of action within the workers movement. There are many reasons for this, e.g., marxists who are working correctly in the Labour movement tend to be overburdened. The fight against left opportunism is important because they tend to disorientate and very often destroy potential cadres in the movement.