International Bulletin

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EASTER APPROACHES

The approach of Easter is not merely an ocassion for rejoicing among teachers, students, lecturers, etc. (not forgetting those who sell comics to children) but, this year especially, a great political season. There will be simultaneously two political events, this Easter, which could very well be at their turning points. One, the fifth Aldermaston Earch, may very well be the last of its kind. The other, the Young Socialist annual conference, has two distinct perspectives before it; either the Young Socialists will turn outwards begin to become, at least, a mass force and organisation, or, continue as an essentially discussion group organisation whichwill become increasingly frustrated and doomed to eventual disbandment of all, or the left, sections.

It is time to make an assessment of both these movements. to see what lessons can be learnt from their experiences. This will be attempted at the April 15th conference of marxists and is not properly the function of this Bulletin. However, certain remarks may have the value of provoking thought and discussion in preparation for the conference.

The anti-nuclear movement has clearly reached the conclusion of a stage of development and a mood of rethinking and reflection is prevalent in its ranks. The Committee of 100 after a meteoric rise in influence and prestige finds a decreasing response to its demonstrations and is very badly treated by the state by the savage sentences on its leaders on the one hand, and police kindness to Parliament Square demonstrators on the other. As a founder member of the Committee of 100 remarked to me, civil disobedience has largely reached the limits of what it can achieve under present conditions. In the C.N.D. itself, the impatience with the routine of marches and other forms of propaganda activity, out of which indeed the Committee of 100 grew, and for that matter the discussion about putting Up C.N.D. Parliamentary candidates, is growing.

That is not to say that we should join those cynics and sectarians who have always dismissed the anti nuclear weapons movement. What those people never grasped was the contradictory nature of such movements; on the one hand, there is no doubt that the confused nature of the leadership has led to spreading of many illusions, but on the other hand, the simple issue at stake has stirred thousands of people and got them into political action as nothing else would. The idea of fighting for unilateralism as a single issue on its own, of course, obscured completely the nature of the fight against war. But again, the issue of unilateralism is on a much higher level than a wage demand or a particular economic or social demand. The rub is that, whereas, a partial demand is obtainable in full or part, the demand for unilateralism because it involves disarming the capitalist class cannot be achieved without raising the question of power. In that sense, as well as others, it is a transitional demand. But a campaign on a single transitional demand with methods used to achieve partial or minimum demands (that is, demands entirely within the framework of capitalism) is doomed to failure. That basically is the contradiction of the anti nuclear weapons campaign.

But the demand for unilateralism as part of a broader transitional series of demands is a different thing. Whats more because among wide layers of people the feeling against nuclear weapons represents in the words of the Transitional Programme:

"....elements which reflect on the one hand a hatred of dontructive war and on the other a clinging to what they believe to be their own good - elements which we must know how to sieze upon in order to draw the requisite conclusions. Using these considerations as its point of departure, the F.I. supports every, even if insufficient, demand, if it can draw the masses to a certain extent into active politics, awaken their criticism and strengthen their control over the machinations of the bourgeoisie."

we are obliged to give the anti nuclear weapons campaign our critical but active support.

Regarding the Young Socialists, there are many problems which should scured by the large number of left wing resolutions appearing on the he conference. The very prependerance of the left wing resolutions estion more sharply. For how long will the L.P. bureaucrats tolerate affairs? The only guarantee against being behooded is to have deep is putting the matter negatively.

P.J. 3/4/62.

Ed. Note: The following report was written specially for the Bulletin by a delegate to the conference - the comrade also sold twolve copies of the Fourth International at the conference.

Attendance was in the region of 80-90 (a record). Fraternal addresses were delivered by Tony Greenwood, M.P., N.A.L.S.O. pres ident; Alan Mullarky, on behalf of the Young Socialists; J. Collins, on behalf of the Co-op movement; Fred Mulley, M.P., on behalf of the N.H.C. of the Labour Party; Wolfgang Mitsch, for the S.D.S.; and an Indian comrade of the I.U.Y.S.

Broadly, the right wing numbered only some half dozen but avowed marxists were in the minority among the rest.

A motion deploring the refusal of the Parliamentary Labour Party to condemn nuclear testing by the West, was carried nem. con. and one calling on the Labour Party to support popular action against them, with one against. Only one supporter of Polaris bases declared himself and a resolution from Liverpool affirming support for the 'Blackpool' defence policy was defeated (13-52).

A motion affirming complete support for the aims and methods of the Committee of 100 was defeated (13-39 with 8 abstentions). Keele's motion deploring proposed intervention by C.N.D. candidates was carried (50-15 with 10 abstentions) on the grounds that it would split the labour movement. Alan Williams of Transport House hinted that unless the motion was passed, Labour Party gold would be cut off:

A resolution urging cooperation with the neutralist nations was carried (45 - 12, 14 abstentions) in face of criticism of repressive regimes in many of them. The resolution on the Common Market, carried 53 - 10, with 10 abstentions, was as follows:

"N.A.L.S.O. urges the Labour Party to oppose Britain's entry into the Common Market on the following grounds:

The Treaty of Rome indicates that:

(a) The essential basis of the European Economic Community is competition which must necessarily prevent the establishment of a genuine socialist society, founded on the principles of co-operation, in member states.

(b) All member-states will...lose....financial control, which is neces-

sary prerequisite for building a socialist economy.

(c) It will become increasingly difficult for member states to follow an independent. foreign policy.

(d) (provisions) for internal security...might involve a future Labour

Government in the suppression of democratic movements in Europe.

Far from uniting Europe, the E.E.C. intensifies the present divisions imposed on the peoples of Europe by the cold war this....weakens the prospect of international socialism.....will (not)....solve the internal economic diffulties created by Conservative mismanagement....we consider that the E.E.C. is primarily the economic manifestation of the militaristic policies of N.A.T.O.. Furthermore it is a mechanism for the political, social and economic injustices of European capitalism... moved by Cambridge.

The discussion itself was not on a high level. Economic arguments of a nebulous kind prevailed, in national, rather than class, terms. Many comrades who did not get a chance to speak believed discussion should be conducted in the light of almost certain entry. An emergency resolution, framed by your correspondent, was put down, with strong support from the marxist wing. reading:-

"N.A.L.S.O. considers the E.E.C. is a reorganisation of capitalism to bolster it at the expense of the working classes. Therefore, in the event of the Tory Government taking Britain into the E.E.C. a corresponding reorganisation of

the labour movements will be urgently necessary.

To this end N.A.L.S.O. advocates:

(a) That education work be done, to demonstrate that the pay-pause is a proliminary manifestation of what we might face.

(b) That the T.U.C. consider calling an International conference to

form European trade unions to combat capitalist Europe.

(c) That in the event of entry it will be necessary to form a united left front working for a united socialist Europe."

moved by Nottingham, L.S.E. and Leeds)

On grounds of lack of time, and that the E.A.C. had already been discussed, conference (this was 10.45 p.m.) decided not to put the motion (28 - 24)...e Conference continued for a further hour to discuss Welsh T.V. and Sunday drinore continued over 69.

Debates on N.E.D.C. and 'Signposts' were of a high level. N.A.L.S.O. condemned T.U.C. for joining the N.E.D.C. (31 - 21, 14 abstentions) and affirmed support for industrial action to combat the pay pause (46 - 5, 16 abstentions). 'Signposts' was criticised for being value and lacking theoretical basis, and a motion urging support for it, and an end to "factional battles" was defeated (25 - 38, 2 abstentions).

Support for the S.D.S. in their struggle with the S.P.D. and the I.U.Y.S. was expressed unanimously. Wolfgang Mitsch, fraternal delegate, hoped S.D.S. and the official youth organisation, itself moving left, could yet get together. He did not fancy a new left party being formed on the grounds that it would be infiltrated with Communists as, he claims the D.F.U. (German peace union), is.

Conference voted for the expulsion of the Mollet youth organisation from I.U.Y.S., in favour of the P.S.U., nem. con. N.A.L.S.O. condemned the immigration Bill and called on the Labour Party to launch an extra-parliamentary educational campaign against it, unanimously.

The education debate was of a high standard showing awareness that prejudice in the education system could not be diverced from social pressures as a whole. The comprehensive school idea was supported while recongising that at present are 'deformed' by the results of competition with grammar and public schools.

Conference expressed unanimoulsy support for the Young Socialists in their struggle for autonomy and condemned interference by officials and Regional Youth officers (2 against). Alan Williams, retiring Youth officer said he favoured more automony and admitted certain Regional officers were not fitted for their posts. The Hull resolution advocating a morger of N.A.L.S.O. and the Young Socialists was defeated overwhelmingly with a number of abstentions.

A motion demanding the removal from N.A.L.S.O. constitution of the clause restricting delegates to individual members of the Labour Party was defeated, 3 for 12 abstentions. Alan Williams made the N.E.C.'s position clear - they did not insist on actual membership but delegates must not be 'ineligible' Undoubtedly, fear of being cut off from the Labour Party was a major factor in defeating the motion.

On Party democracy, conference deplored the refusal of the N.E.C. to endorse Ernie Robert's candidature (3 against). However the motion condemning the expulsion of Jack Shepperd was defeated by a two to one ratio. It was said that Sheppard is at present supporting the candidature of Lort-Phillips (Liberal) for the Pembroke constituency.

Conference sent messages of support to the Algerian people, the Committee for the Resteration of Democracy in Pakistan, and the student demonstrations to be held in the U.S.A. on the day atmospheric testing is resumed by the West. There were many other resolutions on the agenda, mostly of an irrelevant and trivial kind.

Organisationally, N.A.L.S.O. is in a bad way, though membership is up to 5,700, being in the red and thus not able to undertake much activity. Clarion, the magazine, is being wound up, now that many universities produce their own mags. It is hoped that News of Nalso will become a 4 page broadsheet of an organisational nature, appearing three times a term and selling at ld.

Mike Rustin was elected the new chairman. Overall impression was that while satisfactorily left noises were made, not much action can be expected from N.A.L.S.O. as an organisation, in the near future.

DO YOU KNOW FRENCH?

We are urgently in need of translators from French into English. Anyone who can help in this respect should inform us immediately. You can do a really worthwhile political job of work in this respect,

ABOUT THIS ISSUE OF THE BULLETIN

There is unfortuaately a proponderance of long articles in this issue. This has meant that many smaller items have been crowded out. However the big articles contain iformation which is readily available from any other source and we trust comrades will appreciate the reasons for publishing them. Part two of the 'Battle of Radcliffe' (the most interesting part) will appear in the next issge.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of India has won two seats in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and retained its single seat in the Assam Legislative Assembly. In Bombay the candidate put up for the Provincial Assembly lost by polling 16,000 votes as against 20,000 votes polled by the rival conditate of the Congress in a four cornered contest.

Comrade Khagen Barbarua, A Kisan leader of Assam has been elected on the R.C.P.I. ticket. In Bengal, Comrade Anadi Das, a member of the C.C. of the Party defeated the speaker of the Legislative Ascembly from Howsah Constituency. Comrade Kandi Pal is the third party legislator elected to the Bengal Assembly.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party which had an electoral alliance with the Compunist Party of India in Bengal and Kerala has won two seats (Comrades Tridib Chaudhuri in Bengal and Skrikantan Nair in Kerala) in the House of People (Parliament) and seven seats in the West Bengal Assembly.

The R.C.P.I. had put up 16 candidates and one for Parliament in Assam. In this State (province) the C.P.I. has failed to secure any representation in the legislature. There was no united front of the left in Assam. In Bengal the R.C.P.I. was part of the leftist Front with the C.P.I., R.S.P., Forward Bloc, etc. The R.C.P.I. has polled a good number of votes in Assam.

In states like Bengal, Andhra and Kerala where the C.P.I. (dominated by its left) had put a programme of limited class strugglo, the left has scored well. In Bengal and Andhra the C.P.I. has emerged as the main opposition party in the State Legislature.

But in Maharashtm where the C.P.I. and the other left groups fought on the platform of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti - a multi-class democratic front created for realising the demand of linguistic state of Maharashtra - there were big reverses. The Samiti front which secured 127 out of 264 seats in the State Legislature and 23 out of the 44 Parliamentary seats in the 1957 elections has secured only 32 seats for the legislature and none for Parliament, and the Praja Socialist Party, 9 for the legislature and one for Parliament this time. The C.P.I. has got only 6 seats as against 18 in the old Assembly. It had returned four members to Parliament from this state.

Another significant feature of the third general election in India is the emergence of communal and reactionary parties like the Jan Sangh in some of the big states where the left had been traditionally weak, particularly because of the class collaborationist line of the C.P.I.

In Uttar Pradesh (the province of Nehru) the Jan Sangh (a Hindu communalist party) has emerged as the main opposition with 48 seats in a house of 430 and the Swatantra Party with 15 seats. The P.S.P. which was the main opposition in the old Assembly has had its strength reduced from 42 to 38, the Lohiate Socialist Party from 25 to 24 and the C.P.I. from 9 to 6.

The Jan Sangh has become the main opposition party also in another feudal stronghold of Madhya Pradesh. It gained 41 seats out of 288 in the State Logislature. This is the only state where the Congress has failed to secure and absolute majority in the State Legislature.

In three other states, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Bihar, the newly formed Swatantra Party (formed as a bulwark of anti-communist front in India) with the support of the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie and semi-feudal elements and has emerged as the main opposition, replacing the P.S.P., particularly in Bihar and Gujarat.

In the two other States of Madras and Punjab, the regional separation forces have become the main opposition to the bourgeios Congress. The Dravida Munetta Kazhagam in Madras which stands for a sovereign state of Dravidastan comprising the southern states (Madras, Kerala, Andhra and Karnatak) and the Akali Dal in Punjab, which stands for a separate Punjabi speaking (Sikh) state.

The emergence of the extreme reactionary forces and rout of the left in some states has provoked a big discussion among the ranks of the C.P.I. and the right wing Dangeite (Khrushchovite) line of supporting "progressive bourgeoisie" as represented by Nehru is being openly questioned by the ranks of the party.

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The class collaborationist line of the C.P.I. leadership was typically illustrated in the line taken by the stalinists in the contest between Defence Minister Krishna Menon and Acharya Kripalani in Bombay City, opensored by the reactionary combination of the Jan Sangh, Sawatantra Party and the P.S.P. The C.P.I. leader, Dange, sabotaged the possibility of a left candidate being put u against both Kripalani and Menon as demanded by the P.W.P., R.G.P.I., etc. and forced his own party and the Samiti front into having to support Menon against Kripalani.

The entire big business press and all the reactionary politicians backed by the American lobby campaigned against Menon on the ground that he is a communist or a crypto-communist (agent of China, etc.) but the left failed to expose the bourgeois character of Menon's (Nehru's) socialism. Prime Minister Nehru made Menon's election an issue of his personal prestige.

The result was that Menon, thanks to his pseudo-leftism was elected to Parliament from Bombay City by scoring a margin of 145,000 votes over Kripalani and paradoxically enough all the C.P.I. and other leftist candidates, with the solitary and tion of one, were defeated in Bombay, the traditional stronghold of left. Even the C.P.I. leader Dange lost his seat in Parliament to a Congress non-entity by a margin of 40,000 votes. The poll results have seriously undermined the position of the moderate leadership of the C.P.I. and the Randadiveite left wing is taking advantage of the new situation and is making a big bid to capture the leadership of the party.

The left wing has identified itself with Peking in the present Sino-Soviet ideological conflict. In the immediate future there is going to be a tussle for leadership on the question of chosing a new General Secretary of the C.P.I. in place of Ajoy Ghosh, who died on the eve of the general elections. Apart from the leadership question, the C.P.I. leadership is sharply divided on other important issues raised in the Sino-Soviet controversy. A debate on the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. postponed on the eve of the general elections is scheduled to take place now.

AGAINST STALINIST SLANDERS

The following is the text of a letter sent by Sal Santen to the Editorial Board of the French Communist Party paper, L'Humanite, which he asked them to print. Needless to say, it has not been printed:

"Comrades,

In your issues of November 13th and 14th you published information on a press conference given by a certain Otto Freitag, who you described as "ex-leader of the Section Gernanyand a member of the Executive Committee of the Trttyist international organisation" and at the same time "agent of the spy system, and provocation services led by the nazi Gehlen on behalf of the Bonn militarists."

"Before commenting on the defamatory statement by Otto Freitag concerning my comrade and friend Michael Raptis, I wish to declare formally, on behalf of Michael Raptis and myself, that we do not know at all this man, who was never a member of the Fourth International, and still less of its Executive International Committee or of its leadership or of the German trotskyist movement erroneously called in your newspaper, section "Germany".

"In your report of November 14th, you wrote:

"Otto Freitag denounced, for instance, the agents Raptis, called
Pablo, and the Dutchmen Santen and Joop Zwart who, in printing shops bought at
high prices, in Amsterdam and Osnabruck, made false French money and papers."

"This information is defam tory throughout. During the trial against Michael Raptis and myself in Amsterdam, it was made clear, that, in our activities in support of the Algerian independence war we never did collaborate, either directly or indirectly in anything with this Joop Zwart, against whom there was conducted another trial, quite independent and separate from ours. Michael Raptis did not even know Joop Zwart, whereas during my long political activity I have always denounced the machinations of this man. That Zwart is "an agent of the spy system and provocation services" as you say, I think it possible that your informant Frietag who, according to your own article, is an "agent of the spy system and provocation services led by the nazi Gehlen on behalf of the Bonn militarists." could perhaps inform you there on in a more detailed way. Michael Raptis and myself do not, happily, have such information sources.

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In your article on 14th November you speak of "agents Raptis, called Pablo, and the Dutchmon, Santen, etc." which is meant to imply that Michael Raptis and I, are "agents of the spy system and provocation services led the nazi Gehlen on behalfof the Bonn militarists." You must now understand that you cannot continue with impunity to make such slanders against the trotskyist movement and its leaders. Michael Raptis and I have fought since our youth in the service of the markist revolutionary workers' movement, devoting ourselves completely to this cause. One of the reasons for which we thought that the best way to develop our activity was in and for the Fourth International was the fact that the Stalinist burcaueracy exterminated almost all the Bolshevik old guard of the period of the great October revolution, including its outstanding leader Leon Trotsky, making at the same time the most defamatory accusations against them (among them that of "collaboration with the German spy system")

The fact that we were right in fighting during this period for the honour of Leon Trotsky and of the Bolshevik old guard, and exposing the Stalinist slanders against them, was made clear during the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. where Khrushchov was obliged to divulge the crimes committed by Stalin and his collaborators.

It is obviously because you are afraid of the consequences of our concrete criticism among workers and intellectuals, because you afraid of the spontaneous solidarity demonstrated by the masses all over the world in favour of Midnel Raptis and me for our help to the Algerian independence war, that you think it necessary to utilise an obscure Otto Freitag to slander us in the old traditional way.

Happily the historical tide does not go along with you. Every honest worker or intellectual who has followed our trial can only read with disgust the infamous accusations made by Freitag and published by you. The leadership of the Algerian revolution knows too that we have served its cause and endangered our liberty and our lives, without self-pretens ion and in strict conformity with the needs of the Algerian liberation fight. Your slanders against Kichael Raptis and me can only arouse, in the F.L.N. too, the most profound scorn for your methods.

In publishing Otto Freitag's slander and agreeing with it, you attacked our honour and reputation as revolutionaries, obviously with a view to attacking also the Fourth International which was also slandered by the "revelations" of shameful Otto Freitag.

Michael Raptis and I have not only fought hand in hand to help the Algerian revolution but also against the attack made against our movement by the worst reaction. With your slanderous publication you are accomplices of the enemies of the Algerian revolution and of the workers! movement.

That is why, on behalf of Michael Raptis and myself, I ask you to publish this statement within a week in your paper.

MANUERS WARD LABOUR PARTY STARTS EDUCATION PROGRAMME

The following report was sent for the last issue of the Bulletin but was not used.

At the March meeting of the Manvers ward Labour Party a discussion took place on the growth of left wing ideas in the labour movement and, in particular, on nuclear disarmament. Arising from these discussions it was decided to ask the Constituency Party to invite a speaker from the C.N.D. to open a discussion.

Owing to the interest shown and the value gained from the discussion it was decided to ask the ward secretary to draw up a programme of socialist education. The problem of colonialism, and the difficulties confronting coloured immigrants figured largely too and it was decided to invite the secretary of the Afro-Asian West Indian Union to speak at a ward meeting on the subject.

NOTTINGHAM ARRANGEMENTS FOR ALDERMA STON

We have been asked to make known that there will be two sets of buses going from Nottingham to take part in the Aldermaston March. One will be on the Saturday, the 21st, and the other for the Monday the 23rd. Anyone wanting more details should contact: Peter Price, 54, Park Rd., Nottingham. T.N. 48369.