

THE  
BULLETIN

An Information Service  
for  
Socialists

Vol. 3. No. 3

July 30th, 1963.

PRICE FOURPENCE

12/6 for six months (24 issues)  
25/- for one year (48 issues)

Page	1	The Test Ban Treaty
Page	2	Harland & Wolff WPU Strike
		Sheffield Labour Party Resolution puts Socialist Solution to Housing Problem
		Four Labour Party Resolutions call for more Young Socialist Democracy
Page	3	John Strachey - the last Utilitarian
Page	4	Chinese Statement on Trade with South Africa
		Grippa Group Delegation in Albania
		U.S. Daily Worker Editor makes Vicious attack on Black Muslims
Page	5	An Interesting Extract from the Russian Open Letter
Page	6	Asturian Miners Strike and Boycott State-run Elections
		Australian Dockers refuse to Load Rifles
		Danish Dockers' Union Fined for Boycotting South African Goods
		Indian Oil Workers' Solidarity with Texas Strikers
Page	7	New Socialist Party established in Quebec
Page	8	Kennedy's Measures to Assist U.S. Balance of Payments

Letter to Readers

During the holiday period we miss an issue which eases the strain caused by the absence of correspondents and technical workers.

So many letters and documents have been issued in connection with the Sino/Soviet dispute that we could not cover even a small proportion of them. We have, therefore concentrated upon those aspects which have received little coverage in the national press and which are of special interest to left-wing socialists. However, for anyone wanting the actual texts, these can be obtained free of charge by writing to the Russian and Chinese Embassies. Their addresses are: Soviet News, 3, Rosary Gardens, London S.W. 7., and Press Department, Chinese Charge d'Affaires, 49, Portland Place, London W.1.. In addition for those who would like the Chinese documents in a handy pamphlet form, we have all those advertised by New Era Publishing Group.

Published by: International Bookshop,  
4, Dane Street,  
Alfred St. Central,  
Nottingham.

Produced  
by  
voluntary  
labour

Subscription Rates: 12/6 for six months (24 issues)  
25/- for one year (48 issues)

THE TEST BAN TREATY: Anything which halts the testing of nuclear weapons, even for a short period, must be considered a positive step. Every explosion adds to the danger to mankind's genetic capital and helps bring about little understood changes in the whole physical make-up of earth. The partial test ban, too, will have the effect of inhibiting the spread of the weapons and, furthermore, any country which resumes testing will face the consequences of mass revulsion from peoples of all lands. But is this the whole question? Can we now sigh with relief and be confident that the process of disarmament is under way? Can we celebrate a great victory for the forces against war?

On the contrary, we would be profoundly mistaken if we did not: (1) see the very negative aspects of the test ban agreement; and (2) combat illusions that the whole struggle against nuclear weapons can now be left to the politicians who have suddenly become 'reasonable'.

The negative features of the test ban agreement include (1) the failure to ban underground tests, which, whilst they do not directly poison the atmosphere, are part and parcel of the preparations for nuclear war; (2) that the terms of the agreement represent a partial retreat by the Soviet Union in the fight to completely ban nuclear weapons; and (3) that likewise it represents a partial retreat by the Soviet Union in the fight against nuclear bases. The overall picture is that of the 'legalisation' of the possession of nuclear weapons by the two great nuclear powers, combined with an attempt to prevent any other power acquiring these weapons.

The test ban agreement has been signed at a time when both the major nuclear powers have just about reached the limits of what they could learn by carrying out further tests, and when both sides have probably got enough H. Bombs stocked away to wipe each other out. The military problems have thus become those of delivery and, in particular, bases, and the perfection of tactical weapons (which can be tested underground). Thus having built up the means of absolute destruction and having no need for further tests it is no great military 'sacrifice' to stop further tests.

Furthermore, the experience of every disarmament agreement signed by the big powers in this century shows that if the military situation changes and there are advantages in further tests, the agreement will almost certainly be broken. As socialists we know that the danger of war comes not from 'misunderstandings' or 'suspicions' but because American imperialism is attempting to hold back the world-wide movement for national liberation and social change (and if possible reverse it). This is the driving force behind nuclear arms race - we also know, unfortunately, that the Soviet leaders are far more inclined to rely upon the brandishing of nuclear weapons than upon the anti imperialist struggle.

But the real danger in the present situation is that of complacency and relaxation by those in the forefront of the anti-nuclear weapons movement. The present policy of the pro-Khrushchovite Communists could do much to emasculate the fight against nuclear weapons. To sing songs of praise to Kennedy for his 'sincere desire for peace', to represent the test ban treaty as an unqualified victory can only disarm and confuse the anti-nuclear weapons movement. However, the British movement in particular has a tradition of direct action in their campaign and have always shown a healthy cynicism of Parliament and 'leaders.'

The anti-nuclear weapons movement should see the test ban treaty as giving a breathing space which can be used to intensify the struggle for the complete banning and destruction of all nuclear weapons. Specifically in Britain this means taking the unilateralist fight (which is in some ways redundant owing to Britain having no adequate means to deliver its 'independent deterrent') forward to a renewed struggle against all nuclear bases. To commit the coming Labour Government to the dismantling of the bases should be the strategic aim of the left wing of the Labour Party.

On Tuesday, 2nd July, ETU members employed by Harland and Wolff at No9 site King George V Dock, Silvertown, E. 16 took strike action for the reinstatement of their shop steward who had been dismissed.

This member was sacked for 'insubordination' following a dispute with the foreman regarding the operation of an overtime rota.

This dismissal took place six days after the management had been informed by the Area Office of a claim for 'parity of pay' with other ETU members doing similar work in the Royal Docks Group.

This action comes at a time when all over the country the employers have launched attack after attack upon stewards, rates of pay, conditions and union organisation. The ETU members have taken a stand against this trend and they have appealed to all other ETU members, and other trade unionists, Labour Parties and other workers' organisations to support this dispute morally and financially, for a speedy and successful outcome.

They have appealed especially to all ETU branches and shop committees for financial support, and are asking their Executive Council to make the dispute official.

Speakers are available on request. The strike committee's address to which all correspondence and monies should be sent is: Bro. W. Harvey, 61, Ellerman St., Poplar, London E. 14.

SHEFFIELD LABOUR PARTY RESOLUTION PUTS SOCIALIST SOLUTION TO HOUSING PROBLEM

Resolution number 18 in the resolutions submitted to this year's Labour Party conference from Sheffield, Hillsborough C.L.P. reads:

"This conference rejects the Conservative Government's housing policy and programme which totally fails to face up to the realities of the housing problem in Britain. Private enterprise, building houses for profit, will never provide homes adequate to meet the social needs of the people of Britain.

"Conference declares that a Labour Government must provide homes for the people as a social service, complementary with education and health services. This can only be done by entirely eliminating the profit motive in house building. A national Ministry of Housing must be established, responsible for a crash programme to build at least 425,000 houses per year, financed by the national Exchequer in the same way as a battleship or nuclear missile, and not through interest-bearing loans. The cost of house building must be controlled and reduced through central and bulk purchase of materials. Land for housing development must be made available at a price based on its present use and steps taken to prevent further inflation in land values for housing development. The present Rent Acts must be repealed and new controls enforced.

"Rent of publicly-owned houses should be based on a percentage of the tenant's income and not on the cost of the house. The house should be allocated on social need and the rent related to the tenant's financial resources. Rent allowances could be made by the Inland Revenue through income tax procedure without creating a new administrative machine."

FOUR LABOUR PARTY RESOLUTIONS CALL FOR MORE YOUNG SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Farnworth C.L.P. calls for the implementation of the resolution carried at the Y.S. Conference which asked for the immediate reinstatement of three ex-members of the Y.S. National Committee. Barton-on-Trent C.L.P. makes a similar demand. Southend West C.L.P. urges that the Young Socialists be given a greater voice in the Party, and be given more opportunity to participate in the making of policy. Torquay C.L.P. makes a general protest against the behaviour of Labour Party officials in attacking the Young Socialist movement.

Ed. Note: there will be a comprehensive survey of the resolutions next week.

JOHN STRACHEY THE LAST UTILITARIAN

by a special correspondent

John Strachey, who died last week, will undoubtedly be remembered by most of the people who ever cared for him as a renegade. The Guardian, in its obituary, spoke of him as 'a rather lonely figure in British politics.' The author of the "The Coming Struggle for Power" could not easily fit into the social life of a parliamentary group who could only interpret that slogan as a commentary upon their own rat-race: while those for whom it had once been summons to a crusade found it impossible to forget the sight of him as Minister of War, plastered across the front pages of all the newspapers in a picture of a charade purporting to be a guerilla-hunt of Malayan communists.

After his fall from office he busied himself with a series of tasks which came to make this symbol, if anything, inadequate. It was Strachey who rushed to Gaitskell's help during the unilateralist battles with the pamphlet "Scrap all the H-bombs", which, in the best tradition of newspeak argued the case for the scapping of none of the H-bombs.

His literary output since the war has had the conscious intention of providing a rationale for the right-wing of the Labour Party, aimed at appeasing the consciences of people whose political formation took place in the thirties. The End of Empire and Contemporary Capitalism, his two principal works of economic analysis, are directed essentially at the buttressing of Croslandite politics by a more systematic 'Marxist' prop. Both books are full of a smugness which at first sight seems to represent a sharp break with the fervour of the thirties, in the theoretical argument of which Strachey played such a key role.

When one re-reads the Strachey of the thirties one realises that these works are not at all out of keeping with the earlier ones. Strachey's preoccupation with the so-called 'Law of increasing misery' in his later work, his utopian moralism in the 'The End of Empire', his concern for differentials for administrators, all betray a manipulative paternalism which is shot through his thinking in Left Book Club days as well.

'If we come to the conclusion that catastrophic crises are accidental to capitalism, then we shall certainly work for their gradual elimination by appropriate reforms. For who would be so mad as to recommend the scrapping of the system itself if the catastrophes which it is bringing on us were remediable?' he said in "The Nature of Capitalist Crisis" page 19. Of course, in the thirties this was an intelligible response. But it is the response not of one who is outraged by the inhumanity of capitalist relationships as such, but of one whose basic criteria is administrative, and who is moved to protest more against inefficiency in the abstract than against the specific exploitative inhumanity of capitalism. It is scarcely surprising that such a man could enthusiastically endorse the verdicts of Moscow trials, and write pages of rosy reports on Stalin's Russia. For was it not efficient?

To cope with this question it is necessary to ask 'efficient for what?' In terms of awakening and developing human powers, Stalin's regime was monstrously wasteful. It is this waste which is the continual crime of capitalism, whatever forms its crises may take from age to age. On this is grounded the constantly renewed movement towards socialism. Neither Strachey the Marxist, nor Strachey the reformist, understood this at all.

With Strachey's death there goes the last remnant of the English utilitarian tradition.

1667 Herewith as promised the Chinese statement of July 15th on trade and economic relations with South Africa:

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people always deeply sympathise with and resolutely support the South African people's just struggle against apartheid and for independence and freedom. On the basis of this stand, the Chinese Government has, since July 1960, discontinued all its economic and trade ties with the South African colonial authorities. This stand of the Chinese Government was made clear by the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade in its letter of reply of March 28th, 1961 to the South African United Front.

Recently the Conference of the Heads of Independent African States had strongly condemned the ruthless policy of racial discrimination and called for diplomatic and economic boycott against the South African government, The Chinese Government fully supports the just stand of the Conference of the Heads of Independent African States, and solemnly declares that the Government of the People's Republic of China will in future continue to have no economic and trade ties, direct or indirect, with the South African colonial authorities. The stand of the Chinese Government to impose a diplomatic and economic boycott on the South African colonial authorities and to support the just struggle of the South African people is unswerving.

GRIPPA GROUP DELEGATION IN ALBANIA

based on Hsinhua reports.

Jacques Grippa, first secretary of the Brussels Communist Party, Raindorf and Debroyer, Members of the Brussels Committee, Henri Glineur, one of the founders of the Belgian Communist Party, and three other comrades of the Belgian Communist Party arrived in Tirana on July 20th.

They were welcomed by leaders of the Albanian Labour Party, and came at the invitation of the Central Committee of that party. On July 21st they attended a reception given by Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Albanian Labour Party, at the Tirana Guerilla Palace. Views were exchanged on questions of mutual interest, including questions concerning the international Communist and workers' movement. In the discussions it was evident that there was agreement on all questions discussed.

Ed. note: The Hsinhua reports ignores completely the question of the expulsion of all the Belgians mentioned from the Belgian Communist Party and mentions them as though they were still members.

U.S. DAILY WORKER EDITOR MAKES VICIOUS ATTACK ON BLACK MUSLIMS

The July 17th Daily Worker published an article by James E. Jackson, editor of the Worker, New York, about the struggle of the Negroes in the United States. The article is completely uncritical of Kennedy's attitude towards this struggle; it says:

"....President Kennedy has committed himself and his administration to securing new legislation and invoking administrative measures to bring about the equality of status and opportunity which American Negroes demand..... The main danger to victory of the movement for Negro freedom remains the unholy combination of 'Dixiecrat' politicians with their Northern Republican ultra-Right colleagues...

"....Ruling-class circles will do all in their power to promote diversionists, and patronise counter-movements, in the orbit of the genuine movement of the Negro people for freedom. It is from this standpoint that we must appraise the activities of Malcolm X and the "Black Muslim" organisations. These ultra reactionary forces, with the strategic assignment of sowing ideological confusion, to dissipate the organising energies of the Negro masses, to promote divisions within the Negro movement...."

Ed. Note: We shall publish material in the next issue on the Black Muslims.

AN INTERESTING EXTRACT FROM THE RUSSIAN OPEN LETTER.

We have extracted here the most important passage from the Russian "Open Letter" to the Chinese C.P. of July 14th dealing with the interference of the latter in the affairs of other C.P.'s.

"The leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) is organising and supporting various anti-party groups of renegades who are coming out against the Communist Parties in the U.S.A, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, Australia and India. In Belgium, for instance the CPC is rendering support to the group of Gripp, which was expelled from the Party at its last Congress. In the United States, support is being given to the subversive activities of the left opportunist "Hammer and Steel" Group, which has set itself up with the main task of fighting against the Communist Party of the USA. In Brazil, Chinese comrades support factional groups expelled from the CP (as for instance, the Amazonas-Grabois Group).

"In Australia, the CPC central committee has tried to organise splitting activities against the Communist Party and its leadership, with the help of a former member of the party, E. Hill. Having visited the Peoples Republic of China at one time, Hill came out publicly against the Communist Party of Australia and tried to organise a group of persons of like mind. After, the Communist Party of Australia had expelled him from the Central Committee, he demonstratively went off to Peking. In Italy, Chinese representatives are encouraging the activity of a group of former officials of the Padua Federation of the Communist Party, who have issued leaflets with a provocative call for a "revolutionary" uprising. Comrades of the CPC are making particular efforts to conduct subversive activities in the Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"Glorifying outcasts and renegades who have found themselves outside the ranks of the communist movement, the Chinese leaders reprint in their newspapers and magazines slanderous articles from the publications of these renegade groups directed against the policy of the CPSU and against the course of the entire world communist movement. In Ceylon, Chinese representatives, are maintaining close contact with the grouping of E. Samarakodi, which is a tool of the Trotskyist 'Fourth International'. The Trotskyists of the Fourth International are trying to use the position of the Chinese comrades for their own aims, and have even addressed an open letter to the CPC central committee in which they have openly declared: "The Fourth International, which from the very first day of its creation has been waging.....a struggle with ideas against which you are coming out today, is standing by your side.....The international secretariat of the Fourth International welcomes the discussion which you have started in the entire communist movement. It urges you to develop it."

Note: The Hammer and Steel is edited in Boston by Homer Chase who was expelled from the CPUSA two years ago for being a "Trotskyist renegade". Actually, the journal is violently anti-Trotskyist. The grouping of Edmond Samarakody, a well-known leader of the Lanka SamaSamaja Party, Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, presumably refers to the LSSP.

## ASTURIAN MINERS STRIKE AND BOYCOTT STATE RUN ELECTIONS

1669

A miners' strike which began on Saturday, July 20th, had by the Monday spread to five mines and there is a partial stoppage at a sixth. Reports from Madrid said that the number of miners involved had increased from 3,000 on the Saturday to 4,000 on the Monday. The miners' main demand is for a retroactive increase in the 10-day bonus given to them to mark July 18th, the 27th anniversary of the start of the Spanish Civil War.

Speaking on July 10th, Jose Solis Ruiz, minister and secretary-general of the fascist Falange party and head of the state-run trade unions, admitted that abstentions in the state-run trade union elections had reached considerable proportions in certain areas. The boycott was effective in the Asturias region. Solis admitted that in one coal mine, 80% of the workers abstained, while in an iron plant only 50% of the staff took part in the elections. According to another source, in the S.A. Mieres factory at Mieres in Oviedo province, only 2% of the 5,000 workers employed took part in the elections.

## AUSTRALIAN DOCKERS REFUSE TO LOAD RIFLES

from a London correspondent

Reuter reports from Sydney, July 17th, that Dockers refused today to load rifles which they believed were bound for South Africa on to the Dutch cargo ship Straat Cumberland, and a lorry carrying 106 cases of rifles weighing 14 tons was left standing on the wharf. The manifest of the Straat Cumberland showed the rifles as consigned to Tanganyika. An official of the Sydney branch of the Waterside Workers' Federation said on July 17th that the dockers had been misled in the past. "They will want unchallengeable proof that the rifles were not going to South Africa before they load them," he said.

## DANISH DOCKERS' UNION FINED FOR BOYCOTTING SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS

A London correspondent has drawn our attention to a report by Reuters that Two Danish Dockers' union branches were fined 8,000 and 3,000 kroner (about £415 and £155) respectively and 34 union members were fined 35 kroner (just over 35/-) each by a Danish Labour Court in Copenhagen on July 19th, for refusing to unload South African cargo from the Swedish freighter Lommaren.

The dockers' boycott was declared unlawful by the Danish Permanent Arbitration Court on July 2nd, a day before the Lommaren docked at Copenhagen, where dockers refused to unload her. She later sailed to Aarhus, a Danish provincial port, but dockers there also refused to unload the South African cargo. The cargo was finally unloaded in Gothenburg, Sweden, on July 18th, and was understood to have been brought to Denmark by truck the following day, although this has not been confirmed. Workers organisations have started collections to pay for the fines.

## INDIAN OIL WORKERS' SOLIDARITY WITH TEXAS STRIKERS

The Burmah-Shell plant employees in India have expressed their full support for the petroleum workers at the Pasadena oil and chemical plant in Texas, operated by Shell Oil Company, who have been on strike for eleven months. Congratulating the Pasadena workers for their "heroic struggles" against the high-handed and anti-labour policy of the Shell Company, the Indian oil workers have requested the Indian Petroleum Employees' trade union to expose the unfair practises of Shell. The 2,000 chemical and atomic workers at the Pasadena plant have been on strike since 19th August, 1962, in protest against conditions prevailing in their plant, which are inferior to those of Shell installations elsewhere in the world. The strike broke out over the company's demand for unilateral control over work rules, job descriptions and contracting out. Two international conferences of oil workers have been held to discuss ways of aiding the strikers.



An Orientation Conference of New Democratic forces in Quebec, attracting over 200 was recently held there. It may well prove to be the most significant event in the development of the NDP since the founding convention of the party in 1961. A new party was launched - The Socialist Party of Quebec. The overriding question at this conference was that of the relationship of the socialist movement in Quebec, to the Federal NDP. Some advocated an independent socialist party running candidates in both federal and provincial elections. Others, largely English speaking Canadians wished to maintain their present status under the party federal constitution. The eventual compromise solution was an independent party which would restrict itself to the provincial field, leaving the federal field free for the NDP.

The conference opened with the report of Fernand Daoust, president of the Quebec NDP. He recounted how the provisional council of the NDP had been unable to muster a majority for any one of the three formulae, and had decided once again to postpone the official founding of the Quebec party. He wished to give organisational form to the theory of two Canadian nations by forming an independent party. However, he thought a compromise necessary, and advocated the intermediate solution: independent party provincially, and NDP section federally. Others proved less inclined to compromise. The resolution submitted by Emile Boudreau, stated flatly that the Socialist Party of Quebec should be free of any dependence in either provincial or federal fields to any political party, but would maintain fraternal ties with the federal NDP. This resolution was debated heatedly for three hours in committee. Opposition came chiefly from Trade Union and English speaking delegates.

Reginald Boisvert insisted that he did not want the French-Canadian socialist movement to be subjugated to the same kind of English domination in the NDP. They had had, he said, sufficient of that in the old CCF. The French-Canadian worker is beginning to realize where the economy of Quebec is controlled. The socialist movement could only win the support of these nationalist-minded workers if it presented itself as an independent party. Boudreau's resolution was passed amidst uproar by two votes. provisional council for a new provincial socialist party was elected. But the struggle is far from over. Boudreau, amending his own resolution, explained that the compromise he was agreeing to involved for him only a question of timing: he wished to achieve a full independent party at a later date. It may be a surprise that the vast majority of NEPers are convinced that they must in some way dissociate themselves from the Federal Party. The NDP leadership has endorsed the two-nations principle in theory whilst violating it in practice.

In spite of the difficulties which it faces, the Socialist Party of Quebec shows the promise of becoming the first genuine Labour Party of French-Canadian Workers. The Orientation Conference certainly took important steps towards understanding their national and economic grievances.

based upon Workers Vanguard reports

1671

The deficit is one of the two major economic problems which the Administration inherited from its predecessor, but in its first year of office it chose to concentrate its efforts on stimulating business activity and reducing the level of unemployment. Even now, despite various economic measures in government expenditure abroad, the deficit is still large, and recently it has begun to increase again. In the week which ended on June 1st, the USA gold stock fell by 30m dollars. On June 27th, the gold stock fell by 65m dollars. Last week the stock fell by another 50m dollars bringing the USA gold reserve at 15,680m dollars to its lowest level for 39 years. Government expenditure accounts for a large part of USA foreign exchange needs. It had already been pruned and it is to be pruned still harder - 300m dollars off military expenditure, 500m dollars off aid, and so on. It would be possible to make bigger savings, but a large part of aid is already tied to purchases from the USA and there are practical limits to the amount by which it is wise to cut defence expenditure and aid, before other countries are willing to close the gap.

The outflow of private capital is of two sorts - short-term and long-term. The outflow of private capital from the USA was 3.8 billion dollars in 1960, 2.9 billion dollars in 1961 and 3.7 billion dollars in 1962; these sums in each year accounted for slightly more than the whole deficit. Of the main components in 1962, 1.3 billion dollars was direct investment by USA companies abroad; another 1.1 billion dollars was long-term investment, largely in foreign portfolios and loans; and no less than 1.6 billions was short-term lending, mainly to Canada, or through the Euro-dollar market. The short-term outflow can be reduced and perhaps converted into a net inflow, by moving up interest rates closer to European levels - provided only that European countries do not raise their rates in return. The problem of long-term capital is more serious. Direct controls are considered repugnant and raising domestic long-term rates would inhibit the growth of fixed investment in U.S. industry. Kennedy has therefore proposed a tax on new U.S. purchases of foreign securities. These various measures are expected to save some \$2,000 m. of foreign exchange over the next 18 months.

It would, however, be idle to suppose that these measures themselves will solve the USA balance of payments problems. Long-term capital will continue to flow out until long-term borrowing in Europe and Japan is made not only easier but cheaper; it is the breadth of the USA capital market that is one of its greatest attractions. Direct investment abroad may slow down - the US authorities are hoping for an important change here as US businessmen are becoming less optimistic about the prospect of the Common Market, though it will remain large. And the outflow of economic and military aid will continue. The rise in rates will at least alleviate the immediate problem without doing anything important to slow down the rate of economic growth - it is hoped.

Meanwhile, recent economic news included reports of a June decline in United States housing starts, a drop in durable goods orders and sluggish steel demand. Reactions are mixed overseas, but in Tokyo Kakuei Tanaka, Finance Minister said at a press conference that the "interest equalisation tax" proposed by Kennedy might considerably affect Japan's balance of payments position. In Canada, the president of the Montreal and Canadian Stock Exchanges predicted a slow down in economic activity.

Based on Financial Times reports