

TROTSKYISM AND THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU - SOME NOTES

A complete theoretical analysis of the 22nd Congress is very necessary and is, no doubt, being made by our international leadership. Such an analysis must be based upon full knowledge of the speeches made, including those at the closed session, and estimates of the importance of the various factors. For instance, it is of decisive importance to know whether the removal of Stalin's body was previously planned or whether it was as a result of the protests of the students and workers. If the latter is the case a very important change in the relationship of forces has taken place in the Soviet Union. Again, according to Deutscher, Kozlov referred to demands for the lifting of the ban on formation of groups and factions

As Deutscher says, that such a demand should have been raised is of far greater portent than the removal of Stalin's body. We will not have to wait long for the answers to problems because events themselves will reveal even the inner secrets. In the meantime to quote one of the Russian speakers at the celebration of anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the 22nd Congress will go down as 14 days that shook the world. However, they may shake the world in a very different way from what the speaker had in mind.

End of the monolith

Whatever else may have emerged from the Congress the ending of the international stalinist monolith is of far-reaching consequence. Never again will the international working class movement be confronted with the one monolithic party line. In the old days there used to be just Joe Stalin and all his opponents sooner or later turned out to be capitalist agents. Now there are three (four if include pro-Cuban tendencies) distinct ideological fountheads in stalinism - Russia, China and Jugo Slavia. It may be against the rules, but in practice there are at least three international groupings or factions. This fact alone will have tremendous import in the process building up of the international revolutionary movement.

Khrushchov attacks the cult of the personality with - the cult of the personality

Khrushchov quite correctly points out that the glorification of Stalin and so on is completely in contradiction to marxism, but how does he explain this phenomema which cost the lives of thousands of bolsheviks? By invoking Stalin's personal failings. Having undermined the cult of the infallible leader, Khrushchov can hardly complain when his infallibility is challenged. Sooner or later arising from all this big tendencies will arise, within the stalinist movements, which will demand an examination of the social and historical roots of 'what went wrong'.

Khrushchov and Albania

Surely hypocrisy has never been so blatant! Khrushchov, friend of Hungary's Kadar and formerly Stalin's executioner in the Ukraine, denounces Hoxha for his methods. This Summer the Russians attempted to overthrow Hoxha, one wonders what Hoxha's fate would have been if Khrushchov's man in Tirana had come on top. Clearly, in denouncing Hoxha and co. Khrushchov was really aimed at the Chinese but at the same he killing more than one bird with one stone. Now everyone knows that the Russians have cut off all aid to the Albanians, if under these circumstances the Albanians turned towards imperialist nations, he would then claim that they were traitors to the 'socialist camp.' Just as Stalin before him played a counter-revolutionary role towards Jugo Slavia and worked for capitalist restoration there, Khrushchov has done the same towards Albania. Under these circumstances, we can only support, no matter what we think of Hoxha, the aid which the Chinese are giving to Albania.

Why a new denunciation of Stalin?

This time the denunciation was completely public and what's more was far more fundamental. The promised investigation calls into question the entire period of the trials of the thirties. Only under terrific pressure would the Khrushchov faction agree to this. Many factors must enter into this, there is undoubtedly a completely new bureaucratic layer which wants a guarantee that never again will there be the purges. Again, once having set into motion 'destalinisation' it is a self-perpetuating process with a tremendous dynamic. There were delegates who had, according to Kozlov been tortured, into admitting they were capitalist agents. Again, the inter faction fights and the conflict with the Chinese all entered it. But behind everything there looms the Russian working class, a very different one from Stalin's days. Khrushchov like many bureaucrats before him seeks to head off a movement by placing himself in its van. But not even the 50 megaton bomb will stop the Russian worker now

ALGERIA - DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON ON ANNIVERSARY OF REVOLUTION

Some 350 people, mainly African and Arab students, marched through London from Montague Place to Marble Arch. They then held a meeting to protest against the continuation of the war in Algeria and passed a resolution to this effect which went to the French Embassy. The meeting also urged the French people to oppose the war and stand up for their own liberty, equality and fraternity. The march and meeting were sponsored by the Friends of Algeria, the Iraqi Students Society, the West African Students Union and the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

ALGERIA - WHAT IS THE O.A.S.?

The O.A.S. was founded after the abortive coup in Algeria in January 1960 and has since grown into a ramified fascist-type terrorist organisation. It has a Commissar-General, four Vice-Commissars, 80 provincial directors and 200 group leaders. There are branches in practically every French and Algerian city, and agencies in Federal Germany, Spain, Italy and Switzerland. O.A.S. membership is drawn from Algerian ultras, fascists from the "Young National" and Camelot du Roi organisations, Poujadists and old and new friends of Franco and Salazar.

Since April it has been reinforced by Foreign Legion paratroopers and now has a total membership of 20,000. The O.A.S. is well armed. In addition to arms captured from Algerian arsenals, it has helicopters and artillery. The supreme commander is Gen. Salan, former French Commander-in-Chief in Algeria, sentenced to death in absentia for his part in the April rising.

The O.A.S. terrorists are only pawns in a game directed by men who have not yet been identified. But they can be without much difficulty. On September 7th, the authorities arrested Maurice Gingembre, the O.A.S. 'Minister of Finance' as he was returning to Algeria from Paris. Gingembre is a director of the Societe du Djebel Omk, a huge Algerian Phosphate mining company with assets of approximately 15,000 million Francs.

His father, Paul Gingembre, is president of this and another mining concern, the Societe Togolaise des mines du Benin, vice-president of the big chemical combine Union Francaise d'Engrais et de Produits Chimiques, administrative head of still another chemical concern and director of a number of other firms. The Gingembres are classed among the '100 seigneurs,' the top crust of European settlers who have a stranglehold on the Algerian economy. And that stranglehold has given them fabulous profits. The personal income of Laurent Schiafino, head of the Algerian Navigation Co., adds up to more than 2,000 million francs a year. That of another "seigneur," Georges Blachette, amounts to 1,500 million francs.

They have always regarded Algeria their own private preserve, and they are the mainstay of French reaction. They are using their economic might, the paid press and their position in French politics to block anything resembling political reform, let alone change. They abhor the idea of negotiating with the F.L.N.; their policy is "war to a victorious finish."

They are vehemently opposed to de Gaulles policy, which is in the interests of French monopoly groups prepared to sacrifice the interests of the "100 seigneurs" and conclude a peace in Algeria, on terms, needless to say that would guarantee THEIR interests, primarily in the Sahara.

The above consists of extracts from an article in the October-November issue of Free Algeria. This issue also contains a four page letter from comrade Pablo to the F.L.N.. It costs 6d post paid.

THE BANK RATE AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS (1)

The reduction of the Bank rate to 6 per cent from 6½ per cent was made, not because of recovery by sterling, but because of the inflow of money from abroad to take advantage of high interest rates. Originally the move was made partially for this end (the inflow improves the currency reserves position by bringing in foreign currency) and partially to assist the credit squeeze by making it more expensive to borrow money. However so much money has come in (some estimates put the figure as high as £180 million) that it is exerting a downward pressure on money market rates, which in turn undermines the credit squeeze. Moreover a high proportion of the money is in short term loans which could be withdrawn at any time, thus causing instability and encouraging speculation in sterling, as its rate of exchange varies against other currencies. The Economist is of the opinion that this move will defeat its own purpose, by encouraging even more foreign money - 'to get in while the going is good'. All these manipulations really indicate is the decline of Britain as a world financial power and the complete inability of solving the problems thus brought about by capitalist measures.

YOUNG GUARD NATIONAL EDITORIAL BOARD MEETS IN LEEDS.

The National Editorial Board of Young Guard met in Leeds on Saturday and Sunday, the 4th and 5th of November, 1961. There were 11 delegates present and 15 visitors. These represented: London and Southern Region - 3; East Midlands - 2; Liverpool - 2; Manchester - 1; Leeds - 1; South Wales - 1, Glasgow - 1. Among the visitors were four from Hull who intend to local support and guarantors, this will mean that they will be delegates to the next NEB.

The reports and discussion on the general running of the paper showed that whilst the paper was quite well recieved there were many criticisms. Complete sales reports are not available but in addition to London (1,300), East Midlands (350), South Wales (50) good numbers are sold in Glasgow, Liverpool, Hull and Leeds. Copies are also sold in Surrey, Oxford, Ramsgate, Birmingham, Northampton, Yarmouth, Manchester, Leicester, etc.

The discussion about lay-out and the function of the Working Editorial Board became at times very acrimonious. With people from both the S.R. and Rally taking hypercritical positions. Eventually things were smoothed over by the intervention of the East Midlands' delegation and it was generally resolved that (a) the deficiencies in the layout were mainly due to the inadequacy of the printer and that in future more notice will be taken of the technical advice of BB; (b) that there had been a certain bias towards state cap ideas in the first issue, this was inadvertant and would not be repeated.

The main political discussion was around the old issue of the 'workers bomb' and arose from the Liverpool and South Wales objections to the slogan, 'No to all the bombs - No to all the tests'. The Southern Region delegate proposed that a position be taken condemning all bombs and all tests. Liverpool countered with a resolution, denouncing the tests and bombs of the West, and condemning the Soviet Union for testing but explaining why they do this from a socialist point of view. As these could both said much the same thing amendments were drafted hardening out the positions. At this stage the East Midlands delegates called for an adjournment which was carried. After discussions the Liverpool, South Wales and East Midlands delegates propoes the following amendment, which was carried unanimously:

That the Editorial Policy of Young Guard be based upon the socialist analysis that our enemy is our own capitalist class and that our task lies in fighting our own bourgeoisie and not in attacking their enemy, the Eastern bloc. That this policy seek to condemn bombs and tests, not from a state cap or workers' statist position, but basing itself upon revolutionary defeatism.

On Sunday a number of items were discussed including improving relations with NALSO. On the latter it was agreed to emulate the Nottingham decision of inviting a delegate from the local University Socialist Society to the Young Socialist Federation. Interesting items on NALSO activity would be included in YS reports. After considerable discussion it was decided through a composite resolution to tighten up the whole financial set up.

It was moved by the East Midlands delegate that organising for the Young Socialist National Conference should commence immediately and include plans for a pamphlet. The Liverpool people dropped a bombshell by announcing they were already in the process of printing their Youth Charter as a basis for this. However it was eventually resolved that the working EB should commission people to write separate parts and that the result should be submitted to the next National Editorial Board in February, next year.

The meeting ended upon a discussion around a proposition that the representation to NEB be reviewed. Eventually it was decided that in future this should be upon the basis of money collected and sales with a 30% discount off London sales, the latter being in reco tion of the advantage in London of all the mass meetings.

There will be a comment in the next issue of I.F. Bulletin.

THIS AFFLUENT SOCIETY (1)

Wages Councils recently proposed the following awards, at time of writing it is not known whether they have been approved by the Minister:

Managers and Club Stewards	Old rate: Men	£8.18.6d	Women	£7.12.6d
	New " "	£9.18.6d	"	£8. 7.6d
Aerated Waters workers	Old " "	£7.17.6d	"	£5.11.0d
	New " "	£8. 5.6d	"	£5.17.0d

There are increasing doubts in banking circles about the effectiveness of using the bank rate as an economic regulator. Writing in the current issue of Bankers Magazine, Mr. B.R. Conan estimates that with the bank rate at 6 per cent that cost of paying interest to overseas holders of sterling balances may be in the order of £175 million. In 1950, before the bank rate was rediscovered as an economic regulator this cost was only in the order of £33 millions per year.

This is by no means the only 'debit' effect of the use of the bank rate. The earnings of foreign firms operating in Britain are larger and growing faster. Naturally, investment is concentrated in the most highly profitable industries. The expansion of these firms is largely from retained profits, it does not, therefore assist the balance of payments so much, once the initial investment has been made. On the other hand, net dividends and transferred profits are a drain on the balance. If expansion slows down or if the Government of the country concerned insists upon a larger proportion of the profits being repatriated (as, indeed, the U.S. Government because of its balance of payments problems is very likely to do so) their will be a tremendous drain on the balances. The process can be likened to what takes place in semi-colonial countries with large foreign investments. Thus we see that short term palliatives adopted by the Tories are having the effect of piling up long term contradictions which will make more chronic the ills of the British capitalist system.

THE COLOUR BAR BILL IS PUBLISHED.

We now have the full proposals of the Government's colour bar bill on immigration. It is not necessary here to go into all the ramifications but certain things emerge quite clearly. Firstly, the bill has class, colour and political bias unmistakably written in. The rich man, no matter what his colour, will have no difficulty in getting in because they will be 'able to satisfy the immigration officer that they can support themselves and their dependents without working here.' All informed opinion has, after study, come to the conclusion, that because of the vast administrative organisation and other complications, that it will not in practice apply to Irishmen coming here. From that, in turn, is drawn the conclusion that the bill is essentially directed against coloured immigration. The political implications can be seen from the fact that Vouchers will be refused to anyone whose presence would be "contrary to the interests of national security".

The bill is expected to cost £500,000 to run and will mean a complex system involving immigration officers at the ports. Immigrants will be expected to have their Minister of Labour vouchers before sailing but even then, although he will not have to obtain leave to land, he can be turned away or be only admitted subject to conditions. The latter could include restriction on length of stay or on his occupation in the UK. This aspect alone will operate against immigrants from the West Indies and India.

Very significantly, although the main provisions of the bill are for a five year period only, it is proposed to make the powers of deportation a permanent feature. This, as noted before, is a most vicious weapon which the Government has brought in under a smokescreen of general discussion about immigration. Those who do not oppose this aspect of the bill are doing a grave disservice to the fight against the colour bar.

CEYLON STUDENTS BRING OUT JOURNAL AND ORGANISE MARXIST DISCUSSION GROUP

The Ceylon Socialist Students in the UK have now brought out their journal, Afro-Asian Socialist Review. Publication, previously announced in the bulletin, was held up over technical difficulties. The latter will be overcome as the comrades, for whom this is a new venture, become more experienced. The first issue, costing 1/- plus postage, contains articles on Algeria, Cuba, Pondoland, Ceylon and West Africa.

They have also started a series of lectures on marxism. The first meeting, although it clashed with the MCF rally against the colour bar bill, was well attended by labour party members, students from Malaya, Nigeria, Pondoland, West Indies and of course many Ceylonese.

LENIN'S PHILOSOPHICAL NOTEBOOK PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH.

The Russian foreign language publishing house have brought out Lenin's philosophical notebook, for the first time in English, as vol. 38 of the English language edition of Lenin's Collected Works. The bulk of the work is taken up with notes jotted down by Lenin whilst he was studying the works of Hegel during the first months of the first world war. Previously only extracts were available, notably those published by John Daniels in a duplicated form. The complete work is available and costs 7/6d plus 1/9 postage. The extracts can be obtained for 9d post paid.

S.D.A.W. PROTEST AGAINST COLOUR BAR BILL.

The Nottingham Central branch of USDAW passed a resolution protesting against the Government's Colour Bar Bill at a meeting November 1st. The resolution is to go to a meeting of all the USDAW branches of the Midlands to be held later this month. The meeting also protested against the action of the USDAW delegation to the TUC and Labour Party <sup>in</sup> voting for the expulsion of the EPU. Other action taken included a vote in favour of support for the world youth festival to be held next year in Helsinki, and a protest against the failure of the Government to include legislation for a Shops Act in the coming session.

FACTS AGAINST THE COLOUR BAR BILL (1)

As reported in the last issue of the I.F. Bulletin a speaker in the House of Lords spoke of the immigrants causing housing problems. In the Moss Side by-election the Tory candidate is vying with the fascist candidate to cash in on any racist prejudice. This man, Mr. Frank Taylor, can be remembered as the one who made such a fool of himself at the Tory conference by linking immigration with an increase of leprosy in Britain. He is also blaming the immigrants for the bad housing problem. There is no doubt that as the effects of the Tory policies become more apparent in housing this argument will be brought out time and time again.

FACT ONE: The effect of Tory housing policy this year will cut the number of new houses to be built next year by between 10 and 17 per cent. This will be brought about mainly by cuts in the number of houses built by Councils owing to the intolerable burden of loan charges.

FACT TWO: Tory policy is already bearing fruit. In September this year, the number of completed houses and flats fell to 24,824 compared with 26,242 completed September last year. It should be noted that the drop in the number of houses tends to lag behind in any change and therefore full effect of Government policy will not be felt just yet.

FACT THREE: The Building Societies Gazette reports that this 'will be a hard Winter for the home buyer'. Because of the shortage of building society funds and the drying up of other loan sources some branches are having four times as usual applications as a consequence of stiffer loan policies by the banks, etc. and yet a number are said to have the lowest advances quota for years. Some branches, even those belonging to the largest societies, are entertaining no new applications before January. The paper adds that figures will fall off even more in the next few months.

THE ECONOMIST SLATES COLOUR BAR BILL

No one so far has accused the Economist of being a left wing paper and this fact gives added weight criticisms this journal makes of the Colour Bar Bill. In an article entitled 'Attemptedly Innocuous' in referring to the factors which will influence the quota (see elsewhere in the Bulletin) it says:

'Presumably this quota will move up and down in accordance with such variable factors as the relative pressure or slack on the British labour market, and the relative importance or unimportance of Sir Cyril Osborne.'

Later, after stating that the cost of operating the necessary immigration controls will be about £500,000 a year, it says:

'In order to pretend that the bill is not motivated by racial prejudice the new controls are supposed to apply to Irish citizens too..'

The Economist ends its slashing attack by saying:

'Once the Government was set on the course of this bill, it was bound to make it either a thoroughly reactionary measure or a ramshackle monstrosity. It has rightly chosen the latter as the lesser of two evils.....'

SOME GOVERNMENT ECONOMIES

Whilst the Government is willing to spend £500,000 on the control of immigrants it has decided upon a number peculiarly mean and small minded measures to cut expenditure. It plans to save £750,000 by closing down two government centres for training unskilled school leavers and unemployed; by cutting the intakes at the country's 15 industrial rehabilitation units where disabled workers are trained to overcome their disabilities. The family allowance paid for apprentices of 15 years and earning over £2 per week is to be stopped. The Ministry of Works is planning to make economies by retiring some of its servants at the age of 60 instead of 65.

NOTTINGHAM CO-OPERATIVE PARTY CONDEMNNS COLOUR BAR BILL

At a meeting on Tuesday the 7th of November, the Nottingham Individual Members' Section of the Co-operative Party passed unanimously a resolution condemning the Government's colour bar bill on immigration, calling for its immediate withdrawal. The resolution now goes to the local Political Committee and, if passed by them, to the Annual Conference of the Co-operative Party next year. This is almost certain as there were 4 members of the Political Committee present at the I.M.S. meeting and they were all very much in favour of the resolution.

The meeting also forwarded resolutions on the question of the fight for peace, and for increasing Old Age Pensions. Because it was not possible for a direct resolution on Unilateralism to be discussed, supporters of unilateralism proposed a resolution which recognised that the greatest contribution towards the fight for peace would be for the working class to end the position where Britain was a military base in the cold war. Also calling upon the Executive to wage a campaign in support of this, in particular by linking the Co-operative Party with C.N.D.. This resolution was passed with one vote against.

THE ACTON STRIKE -- 200 A.E.U. BRANCHES CALL FOR CARRON'S RESIGNATION

Of the 230 branches which have so far written to the Executive Council of the A.E.U. only 30 have supported its line, the other 200 odd have called for Carron's resignation and full support for the strike. The EC have recently sent a circular to the branches attacking the strikers. As this is discussed by the branches it will invoke a new round of protests, particularly as the circular makes it clear that the company has said that it has a black list of over 150 workers which it will not re-employ.

THE ACTON STRIKE - STUDENTS PLEDGE SUPPORT.

At an emergency meeting of the Nottingham University Socialist Society a resolution of support was carried unanimously in support of the stand of the Acton strikers. A collection was taken for their strike fund which amounted to over £2.

THE ACTON STRIKE - A LETTER TO THE PRESS

The following letter has been sent to a number of local papers, it is too early to say whether it will be published yet:-

"Once again, by an overwhelming majority, the strikers at the Acton Rootes group factory, the British Light Steel Pressings concern, have decided to remain out on strike. They have been out for nine weeks in face of hostility from practically all sides. The employers, most union leaders (only the Sheet Metal Workers have declared the strike official) and the press are against them. They are supposed to be under the influence of Communists, Trotskyists and Anarchists.

It is no little thing to face privation and hostility for so long. Moreover, as their leaders have pointed out, the strikers include all shades of political opinion. They read the same papers as the rest of the population and can, therefore, 'read all about the plots'. I think it is only reasonable to assume that the strike has remained so solid because the strikers are absolutely convinced of the justice of their cause.

The whole point of their struggle is to prevent the going back to the good old days in the motor car industry when employment was largely seasonal. They believe that instead of sacking workers, that the work should be shared by reducing the working week. Their policy is, incidentally, the policy of all the unions concerned. The difference being that whilst some only pay lip service to the policy the Acton strikers are actually fighting for it.

Talking of plots, I believe that there may actually be one. Not one hatched in Milan, but one emanating from the motor car industry employers. During September the number of cars in stock increased by 14,000. This kind of thing could give the employers a good opportunity to settle accounts with the shop stewards committees which in the past have given them so much trouble. They, perhaps, think that they can use the period between now and when the demand for new models necessitates high capacity working, to weaken the shop stewards committees. Hence their tough policy which is aided and abetted by the Government, which sees this as an important battle in their attempt to impose a 'wages pause'.

I believe that the right to work, which the Acton strikers are defending, to be a fundamental one. To those who are worried about the disruption of industry I say direct your protests to the right quarters.'