

## CHINESE CEASEFIRE MOVE DEMOLISHES WESTERN PROPAGANDA ABOUT AGGRESSION

Those of the left who took the 'unpopular' stand of not siding with Nehru in the Sino/Indian border affair have been vindicated. All the press talk of 'the Chinese overrunning India' has exposed for what it is - pure propaganda speculation. No wonder the Indian authorities have expressed alarm over having suffered a far-reaching diplomatic defeat. One is tempted to think that perhaps the Indian bourgeoisie was taken in by its own propaganda and expected the Chinese to respond to their provocation. The ceasefire and the promised withdrawal of Chinese troops has not stopped the passage of Western arms to India. Now we find out that Britain is to supply India with arms for nothing - can anyone now doubt the real position of the Indian Government? This so-called neutralist, non-aligned country has, according to the Pakistanis, a secret military agreement with the American Government for eleven years!

One would have thought that after the ceasefire move that at least some of the 'left-wing' critics of China would have reappraised their attitude. But certainly in the case of Tribune, the reverse is true, this paper instead of disowning the disgusting chauvinistic series of articles by Dev (seven waves of Chinese) Murarka, stuck to its guns. And what did it bring out in its defence? the statement of the discredited right wing of the Indian Communist Party. Presenting this statement as though this was the unchallenged view of the whole of Indian Communist Party Tribune 'forgets' to mention the fact that barely a majority of that Party support the documents, and that those Indian Communists who opposed Nehru's attempts to whip up war hysteria are languishing in jail. We are certain, moreover, that it is the latter section of the Communist Party which represents the future (and even immediate future) majority opinion in that Party. The grovellers who offered their Parliamentary salaries to India's 'war effort' will dissolve away or find their real home inside the capitalist Congress Party.

Stalinism has received a deathblow in India but there is a theoretical reckoning to be made, Lenin, in analysing the collapse of the Second International and the way in which nearly every section of that International supported its own bourgeoisie in the first world war, demonstrated that this was no sudden development but was as the result of a long period of opportunist erosion. The degeneration of the Indian Communist Party majority, repeating almost exactly that of the parties of the Second International must similarly be explained. Communist Party members who, in private anyway, will admit this degeneration must be asked to look into this question. They must be asked whether or not they agree that the statement of the right wing of the Communist Party does not itself give a clue when it states, "The Communist Party of India in its sixth Congress at Vijaywada had already stated that the Government of India, under the leadership of Nehru, is pursuing a policy of peace and non-alignment.....The Communist Parties of the world have again and again acknowledged the contribution to peace of the non-aligned countries, and particularly India." The British C.P., which now enthusiastically supports the Chinese cease fire proposals and omits to publish the statement of the Indian right wing C.P., can be counted among the apologists for Nehru. It, furthermore, is just as patriotic as the C.P. of India (especially in relation to the Common Market). Can anyone doubt that faced with a similar 'difficult' situation the British C.P. would go the same way? The lesson of the degeneration of the Indian C.P. majority must be used to show the fatal consequences of following Khrushchov's peaceful coexistence policies and the accompanying social chauvinism it breeds.

We in this country have the immediate task of opposing the delivery of arms to India. This is not merely a short term task, it is clear that the border question will be used over a long period by the Indian bourgeoisie and their Western prompters. One has only to read the speeches of Nehru to see that he plans to use this question to divert the attention of the Indian masses away from their miserable conditions over and over again. Furthermore the situation in India will not remain static, the building up of the specific weight of the military, the growth of overtly reactionary forces and increasing western influence will inevitably mean the end of Parliamentary democracy in India (such as it is) and its replacement by a military-type regime. Such an evolution may not take place until the death of Nehru. Faced with such a situation the Indian C.P. together with other forces will probably undergo a 'Chinese' evolution and take up armed struggle - if it doesn't other formations will. Then the arms which are now supposed to be for the preservation of democracy in India will be used against the Indian people, and whether they like it or not the Tribune types will have aided and abetted this process.

The rise in unemployment is gaining momentum. Between mid-October and mid-November the <sup>number</sup> of registered unemployed in Britain rose by 43,073 to 544,451 - the highest November figure since 1940. The number of wholly unemployed (that is, excluding the school leavers and workers only temporarily stopped) increased between October 15 and November 12 at more than twice the normal seasonal rate. Ministry of Labour figures published November 22nd. showed a rise of 41,775 to 497,491 compared with the usual seasonal increase of 18,000.

This month's total of registered unemployed just caps the November, 1958 figure of 536,000, which was a foretaste of the 620,000 reached in January, 1959. This was the post-war unemployment peak. While unemployment bounds up, the number of unfilled vacancies notified to labour exchanges continues to fall more rapidly than usual. Between mid-October and mid-November the number of jobs on offer was reduced by about 14,000 to 161,685 compared with a normal seasonal drop of 12,000. This means that there are about seven people out of work for every two jobs available, a disastrous relationship so far as unemployed workers are concerned but one which suits the employers. This compares with the position of two jobs being vacant for every unemployed worker which was the case before the Tories brought in their economic measures last year.

This is little hope of immediate amelioration of the position. According to the Financial Times of 23rd. November, "Few in industry expect Mr. Maudling's recent measures—even short term ones—to have much effect on unemployment until January or February at the earliest. This view is shared, it is understood, by the Government. Ministers regard yesterday's figures as disturbing, and they expect the adverse trend to continue until February—with weather an important factor."

These figures for unemployment combined with the reported increase in industrial production reveal an intensified exploitation of labour. They show that more work is being done by less workers. The process is being achieved because, to quote the Guardian of 23/11/62, "..... output per man is not merely being raised through a large volume of operations and in addition, the growth of competition and pressure on margins has compelled many managements to get rid of personnel at all levels which was not essential. The hoarding of labour is being reduced or abandoned."

The figures also reveal that those areas which are already hard hit by a higher than average unemployment are, generally speaking, getting relatively worse. For instance unemployment in the Northern region has grown at three times the seasonal rate in the last three months. This region has the highest percentage unemployed with the exception of Northern Ireland, having overtaken Scotland (5.5% male workers unemployed as against 4.9% in Scotland). The small measures announced by the Government for stimulating the economy, with the exception of the road-building programme in the North East, will not help matters in these regions very much.

The political consequences of these figures can be far-reaching. Firstly, whilst the Government welcomes the 'stimulus given to business efficiency' it knows that there will be dire electoral and political consequences. It will therefore take some palliative measures, but its ability to do this is very limited; as the Financial Times of 24/11/62 says discussing this very point, "The sixties are going to be harder for business and labour than the fifties; in the last few years capacity has caught up with, and in some cases exceeded, demand in most of the industrial countries of the West. The larger margin of spare resources required to keep competitive in this situation has brought political discontent in places as far apart as Canada, Australia and the U.K. Second, in the U.K.'s case, the margin of safety for further general expansion is not very large. The balance of payments is in equilibrium; the pace of income advance has been slowed; and there is some unneeded slack in industrial plant. The Chancellor would therefore be justified if some further stimulus was applied in next April's budget. But with world trade growing more slowly, expansion based on political expediency would be clearly be wrong."

Secondly, the position creates the basis for a return to traditional working class attitudes in large sections of the movement where they have been eroded by years of prosperity. More and more, the question of a socialist solution is posed and large sections of hitherto 'apathetic' workers will turn to a political solution of their problems. This process will not, of course, be automatic - the reverse could happen, this situation could lead to the demoralisation of big sections of the working class. What is needed is a political alternative within the limits set by the present consciousness of the working class, one which will be prepared to accept but which will take the movement to a higher level, and will be a bridge to revolutionary consciousness. In other words a viable mass left wing within the Labour party.

#### STALIN'S HEIRS.

This month's edition of Sanity has reproduced completely this poem by <sup>the</sup> Moscow poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Sanity costs 6d (2½d post) and can be obtained from the Bookshop.

A report in the Financial Times of 23/11/62 reads

"A sample survey to determine the real level of unemployment in Sweden is now being carried out by the Labour Market Board and the results should be ready in two or three weeks time. A figure is already available for the number of unemployed who have registered at labour exchanges, and that shows an increase from 20,800 in November last year to 25,000 in the middle of this month, but that is certainly too small a figure. The official unemployment rate is given as 1.2% which is the same as a year earlier, but this relates only to those of the workless who belong to unemployment insurance funds."

"Total membership of such funds is only about 1.4 million at present, whereas the potential labour force is about 3.6m. so that for this reason also it is impossible to determine without a special survey what the real rate of unemployment is."

COMMENT: Thus, another facet of the Swedish 'wonder' is shown, on closer scrutiny to be not so miraculous.

"NEO-COLONIALIST" CHARACTER OF COMMON MARKET EXPOSED

from M. (London)

Speaking at the opening of a three-day forum on Latin America held in Brussels by the International Union of Christian Entrepreneurs on November 21st., Dr. Raul Prebisch, U.N. Under-Secretary in charge of the Economic Commission for Latin America, accused the Common Market of hampering Latin American trade. He pointed out that restrictive measures by importing countries had aggravated the downward trend in the prices of primary products. As a result, the purchasing power of Latin America's exports fell from \$58 per head in 1930 to \$39 in 1960. Even in the period 1955 to 1960. the terms of trade worsened so much that Latin America's income fell in real terms by some \$7,300 million. Pointing out that income per head in Latin America had risen barely 1 per cent a year recently, Dr. Prebisch said: "The problem is no longer how to avoid an economic and social revolution, but how to channel the revolutionary forces." Upon Britain joining the Common Market its neo-colonialist character would be greatly intensified. Already the world's biggest importer of raw materials, it would then have such a proportion of this trade that it could dictate almost whatever terms it wanted.

ELECTION DEADLINE FOR BRITAIN'S ENTRY INTO THE COMMON MARKET.

Dr. Joseph Luns, Dutch chairman of the Council of Ministers of the E.E.C., expressed confidence that Britain would ultimately be admitted to the Common Market, though only after some 'hard negotiating.' Dr. Luns, who is also his country's foreign minister, told a Press conference <sup>at U.N. on Nov. 21st.</sup> there would have to be 'give and take' on both sides. Though the British Government for reasons of its own has denied there was any deadline for Britain's admission, there was in fact 'an absolute deadline which lies in the British elections,' he added. This meant that the signing and ratification of the treaty between the Six and Britain must be finished early in 1964, he said. 'To my mind, signature in the summer of next year would already be somewhat on the late side.'

ERHARD DENOUNCES LONG-TERM PLANNING IN THE E.E.C.

Speaking at the annual symposium of the European Parliament on November 20th, Dr. Erhard, German Economics Minister, attacked the Common Market Commission's recently published action programme. He thought it would lead to centralised State planning and would tend to replace the variety of social and economic life in the Community with standardised practices. He was in favour of European integration, but said it should be of a federal type similar to the Federal Republic of Western Germany, in which the states remain separate and partly autonomous.

Replying, Professor Hallstein, president of the Commission, said the action programme looked forward to a liberalisation of economic life by the elimination of national restrictions, and that from its new spheres like agriculture the Common Market would be less interventionist than the separate States. He, too, looked forward to a federal type of Europe, but the action programme envisaged common policies and not centralised control, for which, in any case, the Commission had absolutely no legal powers.

Dr. Erhard had criticised the Common Market's agricultural policies. He said it would cause difficulties to third countries, which would accuse Europe of being protectionist. The Minister was in effect echoing the accusation on these lines made in Paris Nov 19th by Mr. Crville Freeman, U.S. Secretary for Agriculture. He did not, however, argue that the action programme should be rejected. As might have been expected, he praised the chapter on measures to ensure free competition saying that they might have been written by him.

COMMENT: Discussions such as these show that the E.E.C. has by no means overcome the differences between various capitalist classes.

## LEFT LABOUR MP'S LAUNCH ANTI-BASES CAMPAIGN.

A letter, which indicates the start of a campaign to inform the British people of the dangers that American nuclear bases in this country represent to them, appeared in the Times during the week. The letter signed by 40 MPs reads: "If Russian missiles in Cuba were a threat to American cities (as we believe they were) then United States missiles ringing the USSR are equally a threat to Soviet cities. This is the lesson that millions have learnt from the terrifying events of the Cuban crisis. "Now that Mr. Krushchev has withdrawn his missiles, Mr. Kennedy should respond similarly. Unless the West makes some counter-concession Mr. Khrushchev's present policies may be replaced by tougher ones. "We in Britain should press the United Kingdom Government to ask Mr. Kennedy to remove his Polaris and Thor missile bases from our country immediately. These bases heighten world tension. They also make it certain that the British people would be incinerated in the first hours of a world war."

The signatories are: Leo Abse, Frank Allaun, Stan Awbery, John Baird, William Baxter, Alan Beaney, Fenner Brockway, Joyce Butler, Harold Davies, S.O. Davies, Tome Driberg, Michael Foot, Anthony Greenwood, Will Griffiths, Judith Hart, Emrys Hughes, Arthur W.J. Lewis, Marcus Lipton, John Mackie, Archie Manuel, W. Monslow, A.E. Oram, Will Owen, George Pargiter, Ben Parkin, John Paton, L.A. Lavitt, Leslie Plummer, Arthur Probert, John Rankin, Julius Silverman, Harriet Slater, Leslie Spriggs, John Stonehouse, Tom Swain, Stephen Swingler, Bernard Taylor, William Warbey, Tudor E. Watkins, K. Zilliacus.

Labour party members should support the attempt being made by these MPs to implement conference decisions.

## SUPPORT GROWS FOR PROPOSED TU PAPER.

A meeting has been called at the Peacock Hotel, Nottingham, on Sunday November 25th. to discuss the proposed Trade Union and Socialist paper. Support for the meeting is expected from members of the Labour Party, Young Socialists, NALSO, the Tobacco Workers Union, the Metal Mechanics, ETU, USDAW, NUT, NUPE, FBU, TGWU, and UPW. A circular advertising the Nottingham meeting and the London conference was distributed at the Nottingham Trades Council's last meeting. A delegation from Nottingham will attend the London Conference on Sunday December 2nd. and transport has been arranged. Anyone interested in taking advantage of the travel arrangements should contact Nottingham 52909.- urgently whilst places are still available.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT OPPOSES WAR PREPARATIONS.

Bristol Trades Council, at its November meeting, demanded the removal of U.S. bases and Polaris missiles from Britain as the first step to closing all bases and general disarmament.

The Scottish miner's executive, meeting on Wednesday December 21st., condemned the Government for planning another nuclear test.

Mr. Emrys Hughes ( Ind. Lab., South Ayrshire ) will seek leave to introduce a Bill on December 12 " to terminate the agreement with the Government of the United States of America for the siting of a Polaris submarine base in Great Britain."

## DEMONSTRATION AT FRENCH ATOM PLANT.

Last month there was a massive demonstration at the isotope separation plant at Pierrelatte, it was reported in this weeks edition of Peace News. The factory, which is in the South of France, employs some 12,000 men and is the main centre of de Gaulle's plans for a French or European "deterrent." It is still under construction. The demonstration, in which an estimated 10,000 people participated, was called by Mouvement de la Paix, which is the French branch of the World Peace Council. Members of several other organisations also took part in the demonstration.

## FRANK ALLAUN QUESTIONS "CIVIL DEFENCE."

On November 15 Frank Allaun questioned the Home Secretary about Civil Defence in the Cuba crisis. In his reply, Henry Brooke said, " It is certainly the case that for the benefit of the proper working of the Civil Defence organisation there will be protected regional HQ's for key personnel." This is the first time the Government have made such an admission, this means Civil Defence is only for the select few.

## A NOVEL OF LABOUR CAMP LIFE.

For many years the Stalinists denied the existence of the slave labour camps in Siberia. When Trotskyists and the other left-wing critics referred to the camps, the Stalinists accused them of spreading slander and repeating capitalist anti-Soviet propaganda. Even after the 20th. Congress it was difficult to get a clear picture, sometimes the existence of camps was obliquely admitted at other times their existence was again denied. However in the latest intensification of the process of "destalinisation" there is no argument at all about their existence as the following report in the Daily Worker of 21/11/62 shows. Ed. note.

"The life of political prisoners in the Stalin period is the subject of an outstanding new novel published today in the journal Novy Mir. Its appearance is the current most talked of literary event. The author, hailed by Konstantin Simonov as a "powerful talent," is a 43-year-old mathematics teacher, A. Solzhenitsyn, who spent many years in a labour camp from 1945.

"Central character in the novel "A Day in the life of Ivan Denisonvich" is a Red Army soldier, Shukhov, arrested after escaping from encirclement back to the Soviet lines. At the labour camp in Siberia he joins a cross-section of Soviet people torn from their jobs, their families, from the anti-fascist struggle, by violations of Socialist law.

"The Human-and inhuman-relations at the camp, the battle of will and wits to survive, the spirituality of each prisoner which the most rigorous regime cannot kill, the monstrous fact of detention, make the drama of the novel. A foreword by Soviet poet Alexander Tvardovsky recalls Mr. Khrushchov's words at the 22nd Congress: "It is our duty to investigate thoroughly and in every way the cases connected with abuses of power. While we work we can and must clear up many things and tell the truth to the Party and the people. This must be done so that such things never recur."

## KHRUSHCHOVISM VERSUS MAOISM AT HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE.

The conference of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party (the Communist Party) has been the scene of the open confrontation of Russian and Chinese views in the last week. Kadar, who took over after the Russians suppressed the Hungarian Workers revolution in 1956 (although he had previously been a supporter of Nagy and a victim of Rakosi's repression), came down heavily on the side of the Russians in his opening speech. Humanity, he said, was indebted to the Soviet Union for having averted the imperialist provocation over Cuba. He expressed a wish for improved political relations with Yugoslavia, "despite differences on major problems of the international working-class movement." Going through the usual procedure, he criticised Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Albanian Communist Party (read Chinese Communist Party) for "dogmatic, sectarian trends." Interestingly enough, he claimed that 95 per cent of the people sentenced in Hungary for 'crimes' committed during the 1956 revolution had been released.

The second day of the conference saw Russian and Chinese fraternal delegates make diametrically opposed speeches. Kuusinen, one of the oldest members of the Soviet leadership, violently attacked left wing critics of Soviet action who "rattled their sabres before world imperialism, but in practice they are incapable of giving the slightest support in the struggle against imperialist aggression" - a clear reference to the Chinese. He attacked the Albanians as "traitors" for criticising Khrushchov's Cuban compromise. Wu Hsiu-chuan, the Chinese fraternal delegate, said that it was regrettable that "your congress has launched an open and unilateral attack against the Albanian Communist Party. This can only fill us with the most profound regret. We sincerely hope that we shall liquidate all the differences of view which separate us and that we shall reinforce our unity." He went on to say that "modern revisionists" represented by the ruling clique of Yugoslavia must be struggled against most resolutely, and that the long term interests of the development of the Communist movement demanded such a struggle.

Press reports say that Wu Hsiu-chuan's speech was greeted in silence, and that the delegates of China, North Korea, Burma and Vietnam refrained from applauding when Albania was attacked. At time of writing the Conference was still continuing.

## SCOTTISH MINERS BACK KHRUSHCHOV - CRITICISE CHINESE.

According to a report in the Daily Worker of 24/11/62, the Scottish miners executive, which is C.P. controlled passed a resolution which, "supported Mr. Khrushchov for his handling of the crisis arising from the U.S. threat to Cuba, and urged the Chinese Government to recognise that peaceful co-existence must involve mutual concessions."

## POLISH AID FOR NEHRU.

Early last week it was announced that Poland will give India credits of Rs.155m, (about £11.6m) for coalmining and other projects under an economic co-operation agreement.

How does Salazar keep himself in power in spite of growing opposition in Portugal plus the enmity of the Afro-Asian countries and the United Nations? How is he able to continue his campaign of extermination in the Portuguese colonies? One can put the question in another way: what are the interests, what are the hidden forces which keep him in power? There are, of course, the giant mining companies in the Rhodesias, in Katanga, in South Africa which give money to political groups (and governing Parties) with policies of White domination for central Africa. But there are also certain foreign monopolies which derive considerable benefits from their activities in Portugal itself. One gets an idea of the influence of these monopolies by looking at the net profits of the large electricity companies in Portugal: in 1960, Hidro-Electrica do Cavado made a profit of £1,175,637 on a capital investment of £8,875,000 and the Gas and Electricity Company a profit of £884,312 on an investment of £1,262,500.

Although the monopolies, among them the American company Standard Electric, with offices in Lisbon, are making these enormous profits, Portugal itself is going through a serious economic and political crisis. The government has had to raise taxation by £12,500,000 a year to pay for the colonial war in Angola and preparations for war in Mocambique. To help relieve the economic pressure on his regime, Salazar is trying to enter the European Common Market together with Portugal's colonies. He has declared that he is prepared to offer large concessions to foreign investors, provided they support his policies in Angola and the other colonies. Western participation in Portugal's efforts to maintain her territories overseas speak for themselves. A West German consortium has financed, at a cost of £15,000,000, the mining of iron ore in Angola. The French are to establish an aluminium industry there. Americans are on the point of building a rubber factory costing more than a million pounds. In order to keep its bases on Portuguese soil (in the Acores Islands), the American government has offered the Portuguese 55 million dollars, and a group of American banks a further 20 million.

The list can be added to indefinitely. But if the numerous foreign companies have an interest in the maintenance of the status quo in the Portuguese colonies, it goes without saying that the Salazar government receives strong support too from the large Portuguese companies which derive considerable advantage from the present position. Companies operating in Angola have paid large sums to the Portuguese government under a special tax to help finance the campaign against the freedom movement in the territory, and the Angola Diamond Company (Diamang), an affiliate of de Beers, the South African diamond empire, has lent the Portuguese government £1,500,000. There is little doubt that without the support he is receiving from large companies and corporations with interests in Portugal and Angola, Salazar would not today be Prime Minister of Portugal.

#### PORTUGUESE INCREASE PRODUCTION OF OIL IN ANGOLA

According to the Financial Times correspondent in Lisbon, next year enough crude oil will be produced in Angola to supply metropolitan Portugal with two-thirds of its requirements. When Petrangol, the joint Portuguese Government Petrofina oil concern announced this, it was said that production would go up to 1.2 million tons and that of this 850,000 would be available for export as opposed to only 130,000 available this year. Production at the Tobiati oilfield is expected to reach 6.1 million barrels compared with last year's total of 1.4 million. The capacity of the Luanda refinery is planned to reach 550,000 tons this year. This increase in production which could only be achieved with the help of international oil monopolies shows the economic stake that Portuguese imperialism has in Angola which is the basic reason for the war it is waging against the Angolan people.

#### I'D KICK HIM IN THE PANTS - TRANSKEI HIGH COMMISSIONER

from Contact

In an article in the Munich Sueddeutsche Zeitung, a German journalist, Mr. J.A. Elten, who visited the Transkei (also known as Pondoland, part of Cape Province, South Africa) recently, reports an interview with Mr. Hans Abraham, the Commissioner General. "What will happen next year," I asked Mr. Abraham, "if an African enters a bar in Transkei, claiming that his rights are guaranteed there, and orders a whisky?"

The Commissioner General smiled: "Naturally that is not possible. That is only possible in Rhodesia, where Whites and Blacks rub shoulders and bellies. "If I were in a bar and a Black man entered it, I would kick him in the pants."

AMERICAN INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA INCREASED 3½ TIMES: According to a document published by the American Committee on Africa, in which that organisation calls for economic sanctions against South Africa at once, American investments in South Africa have increased from R100,000,000 in 1950 to almost R350,000,000 (the Rand is equal to about 10shillings); and "American companies have not been slow to establish themselves in South Africa or to expand there in recent years" adds the report issued in October.