

- 1393 *** MYSTERY - WHERE DOES SCHWEITZER'S MONEY GO? - PAGE 7.
** MIDDLE EAST OIL COMPANY MAKES 114% PROFIT - PAGE 3.
* CHINESE PRAISE STALIN - PAGE 5.

THE BULLETIN

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for
Socialists

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4⁰

- Page 1. - - - Editorial - Whither the Western Working Classes in 1963 ?
- Page 2. - - - Nottingham protests against Young Socialist exulsions.
 "Appeal for Unity" to hold conference in Edinburgh.
 Ernie Roberts to stand for A.E.U. post.
 Slough A.E.U. condemns Carron for accepting knighthood.
 Hospital workers march against sackings.
- Page 3. - - - January unemployment to be highest since end of war?
 Fantastic profit levels made by Middle East oil investments.
 Orders 'on hand' down - sales forces increase.
 Debt Collectors have good year.
 More Redundancies.
- Page 4. - - - 'Structural Reform' theories apposed in British C.P.
 Giving "both sides" the Daily Worker way.
- Page 5. - - - Chinese praise Stalin, accuse modern revisionists of - -
 - - Trotskyism.
 New Zealand and Indonesian C.P. delegation in China.
 Is Palme Dutt pro-Chinese ?
 Venezeulan C.P. prepares "for all necessary forms of
 struggle."
- Page 6. - - - Tanganyika Trade Union Leaders deported.
 Algerians launch new revolutionary journal.
 N.A. S.O. launches campaign to aid Angola.
- Page 7. - - - Is Schweitzer's hospital a cesspool ?
 Reward for scabs ?
 Putting the Mogolians right.
- Page 8. - - - Giant monololy is run like "Constitutional Monarchy."

Letter to Readers.

Readers will, by now, have had the opportunity to ad
 the 'new style' bulletin. The editorial board hopes
 that the improvement have met with approval. However,
 we do not intend to stand still and further improvements
 are envisaged. The first task will be to improve the
 cover and we hope to do this shortly. This, as readers
 will know, costs money and we appeal for financial help
 to enable us to carry out this and other improvements.
 And, to enable us to increase circulation among Labour
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 voluntary labour.

As promised last week, we devote some remarks to the question of developments in the Western world which seem likely in 1963. It is, of course, not possible to do more than a "thumb nail" sketch in this one article.

The relationship of class forces is influenced, and, to an extent, determined by the general economic situation in the advanced capitalist countries far more than in any other field. Whilst not subscribing to the 'imminent slump' theory, it is necessary to take as a starting point the state of economic disarray which is affecting, with few exceptions, the Western countries. 1962 has seen in essence the end to such things as the "German miracle", and in nearly every capitalist country the problem of industry working below capacity is to the fore. The United States has again reached a plateau in production, all the Common Market countries (with the possible exception of France) recognise that 1963 will see a much decreased rate of economic growth, Britain's economic debilitation is more and more obvious, and even in Japan the problem of under-capacity working is growing. There is no automatic relationship between economic decline and a rise in militancy but a difficult economic situation leads the capitalist class to seek to solve their problems at the expense of the workers, gives them less room to manoeuvre, and leads to a crisis of policy within the capitalist class.

By and large the working classes of the Western world are used to a reasonable standard of living, full employment, and a "say", via their organisations, in the way the affairs of the state are run. In the difficult economic situation which faces the various capitalist classes they are bound to try to make some encroachments on these positions. A typical example is that of the Tory "wages pause", the upshot of this was to bring into play the biggest strike movement in Britain since the 1926 general strike. Moreover the policy was a failure as is shown by the fact that wages increases won in 1962 were greater than in any previous year. This took place primarily because a section of the trade union bureaucracy, for a variety of reasons, decided to fight (even if in a dilatory fashion). Such a pattern seems likely to be repeated in 1963 given that the workers' organisations are intact, the workers are conscious of their strength, and on the other hand the bourgeoisie is not desperate enough to force a head on collision.

n On this basis 1963 would seem to herald a succession of indeterminate attacks by the bourgeoisie on workers' conditions without decisive battles being fought out. In all countries this brings the possibility for Marxists to help to build within the traditional workers organisations, left leaderships, which in itself would represent a first step in building revolutionary workers' parties. On the other hand, in the absence of such alternative leaderships, erosion of workers' positions and organisations can take place, which means that future battles would be fought from a strategically weakened position. This in turn could mean that when the bourgeoisie attacks in a decisive manner, as it must eventually, big defeats could be inflicted upon the working class. In all events 1963 can be decisive in this respect.

NOTTINGHAM PROTESTS AGAINST YOUNG SOCIALIST EXPULSIONS.

1396 A number of organisations have reacted quickly to the news of the expulsion of three members of the Young Socialists national Committee from the Labour Party. First in the field was the South Nottinghamshire Federation of Young Socialists, on Monday, 7th, and next day both the North Nottingham Young Socialists and the West Nottingham C.L.P. protested too. In the Young Socialist organisations discussion took place on the wording of the protest, a few people wanting these worded in such a way that the resolutions gave political support to the policies of the expelled members, however, this view was rejected by big majorities. West Nottingham C.L.P. took its decision unanimously after hearing a member of the National Committee of the Y.S., who had himself been 'investigated'. It is believed that other organisations have made similar protests, but reports are not in yet.

APPEAL FOR UNITY TO HOLD CONFERENCE IN EDINBURGH.

by our Chesterfield correspondent

The Appeal for Unity has announced a national meeting in Edinburgh on February 3rd. The meeting will be open to all Scottish supporters, plus regional delegates from England and Wales. In the morning there will be a general session, in the afternoon the meeting will divide into groups to discuss the application of the morning's decisions and to set up the machinery for a Scottish Regional Conference. Finally, the groups will report back to a general meeting.

Applications for credentials should be sent to the Appeal for Unity, 21, Drayton Gdns., LONDON. SW10.

ERNIE ROBERTS TO STAND FOR A.E.U. POST. by an industrial correspondent.

At the end of 1965 the post of General Secretary of the A.E.U. becomes vacant. The senior assistant General Secretary is Ernie Roberts, who is widely respected in the Union for his efficiency and progressive views. Because of his firm socialist convictions, a powerful faction of right-wingers will be ranged against his election. All the resources of IRIS and other right-wing witch-hunting organs will be thrown into the balance against him.

Consequently it is necessary for the left to organise with all its power to prevent his defeat. He can be assisted by being invited to speak at meetings to which A.E.U. members have been invited, and by extending the circulation of 'Union Voice! SLOUGH A.E.U. CONDEMNS CARRON FOR ACCEPTING KNIGHTHOOD.

At its last meeting the Slough No.1 branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union passed a resolution deploring Carron's acceptance of a knighthood. The resolution, which was sent to the executive of the A.E.U., asks how Carron reconciles this action with his position as a representative of the working class.

HOSPITAL WORKERS MARCH AGAINST SACKINGS.

50 hospital staff and manual workers marched on Edgware General Hospital on January 11th in protest against the sacking of 16 non-medical staff from Colindale Hospital.

JANUARY UNEMPLOYMENT TO BE HIGHEST SINCE END OF WAR ?

1397

The Financial Times lead article of January 9th. reported, "Government " officials believe that the prolonged spell of bad weather has lifted unemployment among building workers by at least 20,000 above the level normally expected at this time of year. This would put the number of people wholly unemployed or temporarily stopped in the construction industry at well over 100,000 men, or between 8 and 10 per cent. of the labour force. If the tentative estimates are accurate—and it was emphasised last night that no firm figures are yet available—total unemployment in Britain may already have passed the post-war January peak of 620,800.

FANTASTIC PROFIT LEVELS MADE BY MIDDLE EAST OIL INVESTMENTS.

The New York firm of Arthur D. Little was commissioned by OPEC (the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) to make a report on the economics of Middle Eastern oil. The results of the survey covering the years 1956 to 1960 were staggering, they show an annual average net profit of 66 per cent. on capital invested. Among the companies reported on are Iraq Petroleum (62%) Qatar Petroleum (114%) (yest thats right its not a printing error), Aramco (61%) and the Persian consortium (71%). No wonder Western imperialism is willing to spend vast sums propping up stooge governments to keep 'their' investments safe. And yet side by side with this immense profit-making we have people living in absolute poverty.

ORDERS ON HAND DOWN - SALES FORCES INCREASE.

The latest survey carried out by the Institute of Marketing and Sales Management shows a significant drop in orders on hand in the last six months. On the other hand industrialists are increasing their sales staff and expenditure on advertising. Only five concerns had more than 6 months or more work on hand as compared with 18 in the last survey, whereas 41 companies had increased their sales staff by 5% or more. 42 companies had increased their advertising by at least 5%. Over 150 large companies made returns.

DEBT COLLECTORS HAVE GOOD YEAR. (From the Financial Times.)

Described as an indication of the "depressed state of business throughout last year" the total number of commercial and industrial debt collections undertaken by the Trade Indemnity Company reached a record level in 1962. Underwriters of credit insurance, Trade Indemnity' service for collecting overdue accounts for policy-holders, dealt with 8,113 cases involving nearly £1.2 million last year. This compared with the previous peak of 6,282 debts involving £838,374 in 1961.

MORE REDUNDANCIES.

The week has brought another batch of redundancies, closures and short time working. Most prominent was the announcement by Rolls Royce that 16,000 of its hourly paid workers in Scotland, Derby, Ilkeston, Mountsorrel, Hucknall and Barnoldswick would be going on a four day week.

1398 An argument has developed in the columns of Marxism Today which appears to reflect the world divisions in the Stalinist movement. The issue is a document which was approved by the CP leadership last year, and which outlined an anti-monopoly campaign.

Briefly, this document calls for an enlarged and more powerful Monopolies Commission; the setting up of a House of Commons Select Committee "to review all aspects of the question of monopolies", and also, the setting up of a national Consumers' Council and a national Housing Committee to investigate complaints in these fields. These measures it is claimed "will strengthen the hand of the people and temporarily weaken to some extent the power of the monopolies". In the December issue Michael McCreeny criticised this programme in an article from which the following extracts are taken: "Whatever may be the prospects for winning concessions from the capitalists in the 1960's we should not equate such concessions with the weakening of monopolies and their political power...." and "...if we focus attention upon the 'monopolies' then inevitably we tend to see the struggle in economic terms - restriction of the economic power of the monopolists as the main immediate task. And from this position we can all too easily slide into regarding the removal of the monopolies from the economic scene via nationalisation, as the way in which the working class will transfer Political Power into its own hands....." it continues "...but parliamentary and economic measures in themselves will never break the power of monopoly capital. To achieve this the capitalist state, with the armed forces at its centre, must be taken up, smashed". Developing this argument he continues "...where direct action against monopoly capital is proposed in this document, the general line is clear. It is for the maintenance and restoration of competition. This backward looking programme represents the wishful thinking of the petty bourgeoisie and the competitive capitalists, not the interests of the working-classes." It concludes: "... it becomes clearer each year that what stands in the way of realising even these democratic aims is the political power of monopoly-capital - their share in the machinery of the State - and that until this political power is smashed, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat established, NO democratic aim is secure."

In the current (Jan) issue of Marxism Today J.R. Campbell defends the official policy:- "the aim of the campaign is to promote struggle, to challenge the might of capitalist firms to push people around, to deny their right to make changes which would affect the mass of the people and in the course of agitation and struggle to raise the question of nationalisation of monopolies". The concept of the continuous development of the workers' anti-monopoly fight is involved:- "It is this conception which separates us from the liberals on the one hand and the sectarians on the other."

"GIVING BOTH SIDES THE DAILY WORKER WAY.

The Daily Worker of Jan 8th carried reports of the polemic between Russia and China. To show its impartiality, apparently, it placed extracts from the Pravda article "Let us strengthen the unity of the Communist movement for the triumph of Peace and Socialism" side by side with extracts from the Red Flag article Leninism and Modern Revisionism. However there was a difference; whereas the Pravda article was given 36 column inches, the Red Flag piece had less than 11 column inches.

The Chinese Communist Party leadership have followed their blast at Togliatti with two more salvos in their ideological war against the "modern revisionists" i.e., the Krushchev leadership. The first 1963 issue of Red Flag, the fortnightly journal published by the Central Committee of the Chinese CP., containing "Leninism and Modern Revisionism" and "Revolutionary Dialectics and how to appraise imperialism". The latter is mainly a defence of Mao's "paper tiger" theses, but the former is an all-round attack on "Modern Revisionism" and contains an answer to the Krushchev charge of certain people "sliding into Trotskyist positions". Two quotations will suffice to illustrate this: "We are in favour of compromises which are in the interests of the people's cause and against those that are in the nature of treachery. It is perfectly clear that only those who are guilty now of adventurism, now of capitulationism, are the ones whose ideology is Trotskyism or Trotskyism in a new guise." Later the article goes on "In fact, shortly after Lenin's death a serious struggle between Marxist-Leninists and anti-Marxist-Leninists arose in the international communist movement. That was the struggle between on the one hand, the Leninists, headed by Stalin, and on the other hand, Trotsky, Bukharin, and other 'Left' adventurists and right opportunists."

NEW ZEALAND AND JAPANESE COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATIONS IN CHINA.

At present there are delegations from the New Zealand and Japanese CPs in China. The NZ delegation is headed by M. Williams, a member of the political bureau and Secretariat of that party. The Japanese group of six is headed by Sotomi Hakamadam, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the party, and others include members of the Secretariat, Central Committee and other bodies. The NZ CP has already officially announced that it will not take sides in the "big dispute" and the Japanese CP has shown a leaning to Peking.

IS PALME DUTT PRO-CHINESE ?

Speculation that Palme Dutt, old time Stalinist and main theoretician of the British CP who holds the nominal position of vice-chairman of the party, leans towards Peking has been strengthened by an article written by him in the January issue of "Challenge". The latter is the organ of the YCL and the article in question, concerning the Sino-Indian border dispute, is not so much remarkable for what it says as for its timing. It adopts a completely pro-Chinese position and refers to the lack of "..... basic social and economic class changes" (in India) "... as in China. Hence the national reconstruction programme has been financially dependent on heavy foreign aid, mainly American." If there is any basis for the speculation the British CP may very well suffer from a fierce faction fight. The Chinese have given wide publicity to the article.

VENEZUELAN COMMUNIST PARTY PREPARES "FOR ALL NECESSARY FORMS OF STRUGGLE".

In a communique issued by the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Venezuelan CP reporting discussions held early in December the party reaffirmed that "whether or not the Venezuelan revolution will take the peaceful road depends not on the desire of the people but on the attitude of imperialism. In view of this fact, the people and the party should master and use all necessary forms of struggle to fight for our liberation and for national sovereignty". It seems that yet another Communist Party is in the process of breaking with Krushchev's version of peaceful co-existence.

1400 On the 7th of January, President Nyerere deported Victor Mkello, general secretary of the Tanganyika Plantation Workers Union, and another official to the Sumbawange settlement, which is on the border with Northern Rhodesia. This comes after a wave of strikes by sisal plantation workers in protest against new wage contracts, which aimed at speeding up production, and reducing wages in the process. Strikes are illegal in Tanganyika and Mkello supported anti-strike legislation when it was put through parliament. But this has not saved him from being banished when the plantation workers struck to defend their conditions.

Tanganyika is to all intents and purposes a one party regime and it is clear that Nyerere does not intend even subservient T.U. leaders to become focal points for expressing discontent. However, with the precarious state of the economy it remains to be seen whether the government can afford an all out clash with the sisal workers, whose product forms one of the foundations of Tanganyikan exports.

ALGERIANS LAUNCH NEW REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL

by a special correspondent

Next February 1st there will appear the first issue of a new weekly journal, "Revolution Africaine", which will be published in Algiers. The journal of the F.L.N., El Moujahid, reports that the purpose of the new paper will be to offer the African revolutionary movement a tribune and organiser, which will attempt to define the ways towards a "specifically African future". The paper will discuss the experience and lessons of the Algerian Revolution, problems of armed struggle, and the difficulties of reconstruction in such a manner as to help in the development of all those African peoples whose attention is now naturally centred on Algiers. It will concern itself with the problems of the third world and its liberation.

Revolution Africaine will work in close collaboration with Revolucion, the world-famous Cuban journal. It will maintain offices in the European capitals, and will be written in such a manner as to interest Europeans as well as Africans. The journal will appeal directly not only to the Arab and African worlds, but also to the Afro-Americans of North America. In the first months the journal will appear in French; but later on an English edition will be produced.

N.A.L.S.O. LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN TO AID ANGOLA

by our 'Student Affairs' reporter

In the forthcoming issue of "News of NALSO" there will be an appeal for financial assistance to the Angolan peoples in their struggle. Money is urgently needed for medical aid for Angolan refugees in the Congo. The M.P.L.A., the most revolutionary of the Angolan liberation movements, has established a medical centre, called C.V.A.A.R. (Corps of Volunteers for the Aid of Angolan Refugees) which is based in Leopoldville, and is the only organisation attempting to deal with the widespread disease and distress among Angolan refugees.

C.V.A.A.R. is composed of 8 or 10 Angolan doctors, and some 30 nurses. It has opened a hospital, and organises health treatment and sanitation in the refugee camps, food supplies, the training of medical auxiliaries, and literary classes. All socialists should support the campaign for financial and medical supplies to C.V.A.A.R. NALSO should be backed by many other working class organisations.

1401

The December 29th. issue of Pulse carries a leading article based upon the translation of an article from Jeune-Africque concerning Dr. Albert Schweitzer. The latter is one of the few heroes' of the bourgeoisie in its decline and comrades will remember the hullaboo there was a few years back when he got his Nobel prize. It should be also noted that he has recently come out as a Tshombe supporter. The most important passages of the article read: "Gaboon is one of the few African countries very rich in sanitary services. Its 445,000 inhabitants have 4 hospitals, 30 medical centres, 22 radiology clinics, 9 mobile hygiene and prophylactic teams and two maternity welfare centres. Systematic vaccination has practically eliminated yellow fever and smallpox. Leprosy, trypanosomiasis and paludism are retreating rapidly.

"But, right in the middle of this effort at modernisation, there is a scab, a cesspool: the place known as the 'hospital of Lambarene'. This hospital is conceived along typically racialistic lines. The patients wear labels: 'native' for the Africans and 'Europeans' for the half-caste.

"Even visitors who are very sympathetic to Dr. Schweitzer admit that his hospital is the most backward in the world. The drainage system is not yet installed (despite gifts and the hospital's 49 years' existence). Small open gutters are all that exist. Large dressings covered with coagulated blood float along them slowly. "Dr. Schweitzer's principle is that 'it is right and proper that the natives suffer, be cured or die in their natural habitat'. thus, they will come to hospital with their families and their animals- so much the worse for promiscuity and contagion-and they will do their own cooking. 'I give them their food,' says the great white doctor, 'they cook it themselves and, as such, they can't complain that it is bad'."

"1) Mystification: the whole world imagines that Lambarene is the only place where it is possible to be cared for in Africa, whereas, in fact Dr. Schweitzer's hospital gives the worst treatment anywhere in Africa.

"2) Anomaly: at a time when Gaboon is trying to modernise its medical services- and is succeeding-the persistence of this sanitary mode becomes more and more scandalous.

"3) Mystery: to what purpose are all the gifts put that are sent to Lambarene?"

REWARD FOR SCABS ? (From the Financial Times 9/1/63)

A fact-finding Board of three judges into the New York newspaper strike was set up on Monday, but the striking printers have not yet decided whether to co-operate with it. Meanwhile, editorial employees on the New York Times, which is still producing its West Coast and Paris editions, are to have their salaries cut by about 20 per cent starting next week. The New York Herald Tribune also revealed yesterday that the remaining 200 on its payroll will have to take a 20 per cent. wage cut.

PUTTING THE MONGOLIANS RIGHT?- Ilyichov, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet CP, is leading a delegation to Mongolia, to discuss "ideological problems" with the Mongolian revolutionary party central committee.

1402

The following extracts from an article in the Times Review of Industry (January 1963) gives some idea of the immense strength of modern monopolies and are an added argument for unity in action by workers' organisations on a bigger and bigger scale.

At the end of 1961 the Siemens group was the second largest industrial employer in Western Europe; by now it should be the largest... The postwar growth of Siemens is a most interesting one. It had at the war's end lost heavily, both from air-raids and the Russian action of stripping down the main factories in Berlin at Siemensstadt. It had also lost its foreign subsidiaries, sales organisations and most of its patents. Yet it is now once again the largest employer in Germany, it is nearly twice as big as the next in size, its competitor, AEG. If one includes the employees in overseas companies in which Siemens has a controlling interest its employment figures are a handful short of a quarter of a million.

Currently the home-based Siemens group is responsible for about 18% of the output of W. Germany's electrical industry. According to the firm's chief economist Dr. Platzer, Siemens is calculating on a rate of growth of 6 - 7% over the next five years. This would take the turn-over to between D.M. 7,100 million and D.M. 7,600 million by Sept 1967. (£630m to £680m approximately). The number of Siemens employees will not increase in the same ratio for Siemens is planning in terms of an increase in productivity of 3% a year. Currently the employees separate into nearly 160,000 workers and 80,000 administrative staff or officials. (These officials include qualified engineers. In Siemens and Halske alone there are 31,000 officials of whom 10,000 have some engineering qualification.) The increase in employees in the late 1950's was roughly in the ratio of four workers to every three officials.

Moreover it is quite likely that within five years much of Siemens' income will be from new sources though the backbone of the organisation will still be the production of generators and dynamos. Much of this new equipment is still in research development, and pilot installation stage, electro-technical equipment for domestic consumers, tele-communications, semiconductors, computers, teleprocessing, and input-output equipment.....

As can be seen therefore, Siemens' production is immensely diversified. Siemens is not just one company but a collection of companies with a large number of plants. When asked how a concern of this type and size was controllable, Dr. Tacke, a member of the board said: "To talk of control is misleading, the only way a firm like this can operate is under the leadership of one man: we are a constitutional monarchy. The present head of the firm is Dr. Erns von Siemens. This gives a common impulse and makes identification easier for you know that one man is in command. The test is that it works." The board lays down strict general principles, keeps foreign policy, social policy and control of finance under its wing, allots annual budgets then allows the division to get on with it.

WEST GERMAN INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION SLOWS DOWN: In its 1962 report, the Bonn economic ministry said that due to "further slackening in the rate of growth of the entire production", actual increase of production last year was estimated at 4%. The rate of growth in 1961 was 5.5% and that in 1960 was 8.5%.