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CASTRO'S SPEECH ON BUREAUCRACY

We produce herewith extracts from Fidel Castro's speech attacking bureaucratic developments in Cuba together with some of the commentary made by our Australian comrades in their journal International (May 15th).

On March 26th, Castro launched an attack on bureaucratic developments in the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations, a fusion of the July 26th Movement, the Popular Socialist Party (C.P.), and the Revolutionary Directorate. This speech has especial significance in sounding an urgent warning against one of the greatest dangers which can overtake a revolutionary leadership after the conquest of power. Castro refers to "a saying of Lenin, that the attitude, that is the seriousness of purpose, of a revolutionary party is measured basically by the attitude it takes towards its own errors."

In his speech, Castro shows how easily a revolutionary leadership can fall into the fatal error of sectarianism, of condemning and displacing all who cannot claim 'a long record of Marxist militancy.' He shows how the people were converted into a vast revolutionary concourse of soldiers, members of the militia, fighting men and women, and how these revolutionary masses then sought methods of consolidating their initial victory over the reactionary forces of Cuban capitalism. But the methods applied were those applicable to entirely different conditions and "we turned certain methods into a system and fell into a frightful sectarianism." "But were we really forming a true Marxist party?" he asked. "Were we really constructing a true vanguard of the working class? Were we really integrating the revolutionary forces? We were not integrating the revolutionary forces. We were not organising a party. We were organising a straitjacket, a yoke, companeros. We were not furthering a free association of revolutionists, rather we were forming an army of tamed and submissive revolutionists."

"We believe that Anibal Escalante's actions in these matters were not the product of oversight nor that they were unconscious, but rather that they were deliberate and conscious.....He was creating conditions and giving instructions which tended to convert that apparatus, not into the apparatus of the workers' vanguard, but rather into a nest of privilege, into one which tolerated favouritism, into a system of immunities and favours." After attacking the cult of the individual Castro continued, "We waged a war, we led it, we won it, and there are no general's stars on our shoulders and no medals hang from our chests. And the first law which we proposed when we assumed governmental power prohibited the erection of statues - these problems related to the cult of the personality were not discussed as much as they are now - but out of deep conviction we proposed prohibiting the erection of statues of living persons, the naming of streets after living persons and, what is more, that the placing of our portraits in the Government offices be prohibited by law..."

Castro then showed how the general secretary of the P.S.P. (C.P.) in every province, in every municipality, in every nucleus was made the general secretary of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisation for each area, a procedure for which C.P. leader Anibal Escalante was held responsible. This was the sectarianism which Castro attacked, particularly because it isolated the leadership from the masses. "To isolate oneself from the masses when one is in power - that is madness. It is another matter to be isolated by the ruling classes, by the exploiters, when the latifundistas (great landowners) and the imperialists are in power; but to be divorced from the masses when the workers, the campesinos, ^{whom} the working class is in power, is a crime. Then sectarianism becomes counter-revolutionary because it weakens and harms the revolution.

".....A Marxist-Leninist party, which is the vanguard of the working class, is an association of free revolutionists, wherein all the revolutionists follow a policy based on methods and principles. a policy which offers equal guarantees to all, to whoever works, to whoever fulfills his responsibilities, A policy which offers guarantees to all against injustice, against abuse of power, against discrimination, against mistreatment, so that all LABY feel they are equally guaranteed, the new as well as the old. If we do the same on all levels it will strengthen us, it will make our revolution more powerful. It will make the people's faith in the revolutionary leadership firmer. It will make the faith of all revolutionists of the world in us greater. It will make the faith of all revolutionary organisations of Latin America in the Cuban revolution greater. Why? Because the fact that we know how to make corrections will give the Cuban revolution prestige."

The continuing silence of the A.L.P. Federal Caucus on the Menzies Government's announcement that, under circumstances judged suitable by themselves they will open Australian territory for the establishment of American nuclear bases is permitting the capitalists to commit Australia to possible nuclear destruction. In the last issue of Labor Forward we pointed out the growing dissatisfaction of the Japanese at the presence of bases in their country. We noticed that other countries justifiably objected to being made inevitable targets in the case of war. We pointed out that faced with growing hostility, the U.S. would look around for safer bases, where they had political stooges and the masses were less aroused to the danger of the bases. We thought that Australia would measure favourably in the U.S. war preparations. Less than a week later Sir Garfield Barwick confirmed the truth of what we said.

The deciding factor for the United States will be whether or not the Australian people can be considered reliable, that is, if we will acquiesce without protest to being shoved in the front lines, ready to commit nuclear suicide. That three sections of a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have been recently set up (Melbourne, Sydney, and University of Sydney) would indicate that some public support has already been mobilised to keep nuclear bases out of Australia.

The argument that Disarmament movements in Japan and England have achieved their success because of already existing nuclear bases, and that the bases will have to be established in Australia before ^{the} public is provoked, underestimates significant developments in both Australian and world public opinion. The possibility of senseless annihilation, the danger of continued nuclear testing is realised by more and more people. Disarmament movements have recently begun to grow in many countries (including the U.S. itself).

The chances for immediate success in Australia, are greater at present than most countries: we don't have to get rid of nuclear weapons, just keep them out. The Sydney C.N.D. has adopted three aims. These are limited only to Australia, and are limited enough to appeal to people regardless of political conviction. C.N.D. defines its purpose as to press the Federal Government to adopt the following aims:

- (1) Australia will refuse to possess, manufacture or use nuclear weapons;
- (2) Australia will refuse its territory for the use by other nations as nuclear bases;
- (3) Australia will refuse, also, the use of Australian-administered territory for nuclear tests or nuclear bases, and withhold assistance or approval of any nuclear tests anywhere.

That the Liberal Government will never accept this policy is accepted by the C.N.D. who believe that if a large enough group of Australian people accept this policy, Australia would not be considered reliable in American eyes, and nuclear weapons would not be brought into the country.

Labor should place itself at the head of this movement, and take up the fight for Australia's freedom from that kind of 'protection' that the reactionary U.S. extends to all its nuclear bases: internal interference and complete domination of external policy, committing us without qualification to full participation in the capitalist cold war, and to share the fate of the U.S. in the event of war. Should this be permitted to happen the fate of the Australian Labor movement is clear. The A.L.P. must protect the people from the possibility of nuclear destruction and must protect Australia from complete American domination.

Any refusal by the A.L.P. to place itself at the head of the struggle may well mean that the development will take place outside it. In other countries where political leaders have sought to placate capitalist fears in advance by ignoring disarmament movements among the masses, they have not prevented these disarmament movements growing, and have not even kept them out of their own parties.

N.B. Labor Forward is a left wing Australian Labor Party journal.

AFRO ASIAN SOCIALIST REVIEW NUMBER TWO REPRINT

Because of the success of this journal and the virtual selling out of the first printing, a second printing of several hundred has been necessary. The journal created an impact (Jagan obliquely referred to it at a large public meeting, the Cuban Embassy ordered 15 copies to send to Cuba, etc.) in wide circles.

An Italian edition of Trotsky's writings 1926-36 has recently been published. Its publication gave rise to well attended public debates in Rome and Milan. At the Rome debate (covered by Italian Radio and Television - RAI-TV) the proceedings were opened by Livio Maitin, secretary of the Fourth International.

The next speaker, Raniero Panzieri, a leading member of the Italian (Nenni) Socialist Party, vigorously criticised bureaucratic leadership. It is thanks to Trotsky, he said, that there has been no discontinuity in Marxist thought between the death of Lenin and our time. He insisted that Trotsky's writings be re-integrated in the common heritage of the workers' movement, and that serious study be made of them.

This demand was then supported by Lucio Colletti, a lecturer at the central school of the Italian Communist Party, who declared that reading these works of Trotsky had been a revelation for him. He found there, he said, the most penetrating analysis ever made of fascism and of the tactics needed to defeat it, by the big workers' organisations and by the German Communist Party in particular. He also paid tribute to Trotsky's analysis of the development of the colonial revolution today. The lively discussion which followed included a contribution by one of the editors of the C.P. daily "Unita". The speeches of Maitin and Panzieri were later broadcast by RAI.

During March in Milan, a club of left-wing intellectuals organised a discussion, under the title "Trotsky as a theoretician and politician." Maitin again spoke, as did Lucio Magri, member of the Lombardy Region executive of the Communist Party.

The debate was on a high theoretical and political level; there was no attempt to distort the political position of Trotsky or of the Fourth International. For the first time in many years, the real ideas of Trotsky and the Fourth International were discussed in Communist Party circles.

The most debated themes were those of the positions of Lenin and Trotsky in 1905, the theory of Permanent Revolution, and the theory of Socialism in One Country. On these points decided differences emerged, with Lucio Magri denying the validity of Trotskyist positions as far as the more advanced countries are concerned, whereas Livio Maitin affirmed their validity in the advanced countries.

Press reviews of the book included the following from "Paesa Sera", evening daily of the Communist Party (April 1st):

".....They are works of combat, we might say, which were written in the heat of the struggle, so to speak, for journals and reviews, in order to give a lead to the workers' movement.

"This is the first time that these writings have appeared in the Italian language, and it was stated last night that they complete and make more precise the thought of Trotsky as already known through his main works. In particular, having been written at special moments in the history of the political struggle, they give the lie to the traditional conception of a Trotsky who, as man and theoretician, was attached to certain fixed themes, certain ideal aspirations, but was incapable of giving concrete answers on the political level. Trotsky would not be, then, simply the man of great historical intuitions, but also a tactician, with a profound knowledge of economic questions. With his ideas connected with the theory of the permanent revolution, he would have comprehended in a clear-sighted manner the enormous possibilities which opened up for the European proletariat and for certain countries in particular (France, Germany, Spain) once seen in connection with the perspectives of economic development existing in the Soviet Union...."

The reviewer in "La Gazzetta del Popolo" (March 30) wrote:

".....Trotsky never deceived himself on the peril from fascism: the followers of Stalin, on the contrary, underestimated the German crisis, and instead of making common cause against the imminent dictatorship, they ferociously attacked the Social-Democrats...."

"Trotsky's figure henceforth belongs to history. Over 20 years have passed since his tragic death, and the ripening of events has turned out to give yet again a clear confirmation of the correctness of his predictions. The historical stature of Leon Trotsky will henceforth be recognised by all; but few indeed are those who have taken up again the thoughts or studied the work of his bitter years, his years (after 1930) of exile...."

In "Il Giorno" (March 28th): ".....Neither in the USSR today, nor officially on the part of the Western Communist Parties, is there any intention of proceeding to an objective revaluation of Trotsky. At bottom, the reason for this attitude is the one Livio Maitin combats energetically in his presentation to the public of his translation of a collection of Trotsky's work. Trotsky, it is said, at certain times was indeed right as a critic and oppositionist. But, in substance, events have justified Stalinism...Maitin (who is the most coherent and active propagandist for Trotskyism in Italy) vigorously attacks this manner of reasoning...."

It is worth noting that the Communist Party review, "Rinascita", includes the book in its list of new publications, and that it is on sale on the Italian Communist Party bookshops.

MOVES TO LAUNCH NEW TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

We reproduce here for the comrades' information circulars announcing moves to start a new trade union and socialist newspaper:

TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Will you please read the enclosed draft of a letter which is to be printed and circulated to all Trade Union branches and Labour Party constituencies.

With your personal support I am certain we can establish a genuine Socialist and Trade Union paper.

Considerable ground work has already been done. It is intended to hold a conference in London at an early date to consider the whole venture. The main weakness in our Party is the lack of unity of the progressive forces; this paper can help remedy that. It will be made clear that all persons who sign as sponsors do so in their personal capacity.

The Editorial Board will be composed of Labour Party members and they will be responsible for the paper.

There will be a conference of supporters at least once a year, to consider the paper in all its aspects.

I trust you will lend your support to this effort by signing your name on the attached statement.

Yours sincerely,
ERNIE ROBERTS

Statement:

Many grave questions are facing trade unionists and socialists in Britain:

(1) The Nuclear Bomb. N.A.T.O. or Unilateralism? The Western Alliance or neutralism? What do we think about Polaris and German bases in Britain? What action should we take against Nuclear Testing by any nation? What is the Cold War all about?

(2) How do we defeat the Pay Pause? What will the Common Market mean for Britain? Is colonialism dead and anyway does it affect our lives? Do we object to coloured immigrants?

(3) What must we do to ensure a Labour victory at the next General Election? How can the majority of the Labour Party compel the leadership to carry out Annual Conference decisions? What is the correct democratic relationship between the Annual Conference, the National Executive Committee and the Parliamentary Labour Party?

THESE ARE JUST A FEW OF THE ISSUES WHICH CRY OUT FOR AN ANSWER

In order to get clarity of opinion and unity in action it is necessary for the progressive people in the Trade Unions and Labour Party to exchange their views. The best vehicle for this is a Trade Union and Socialist newspaper. We intend to start with monthly publication.

There are, it is true, other progressive newspapers; why do we feel a new one is necessary? It is because none of the existing publications cater especially for trade unionists and this gap must be filled.

We who, in our personal capacities, sponsor the appeal, urge all workers in factories, docks, mines, depots, shops, offices, farms, hospitals and colleges, to support this trade Union and Socialist newspaper.

To provide a genuine democratic basis, we intend to convene a conference in London soon, to consider this venture.

(the statement ends with an appeal to send in one's name and address to state what support one would give)

The preliminary list of sponsors consists of :

Frank Alluan, M.P. (N.U.J.); B.W. Briginshaw (Gen. Sec. N.A.T.S.O.P.A.); Percy Belcher (Gen. Sec. Tobacco Workers Union); Harold Davies, M.P.; Bob Edwards, M.P. (Gen. Sec. Chemical Workers Union); Hugh Jenkins (Equity); Russell Kerr (A.S.S.E.T.); Walter Kendall (U.S.D.A.W.); R. Kelly, M.P. (N.U.M.); Ian Mikardo (A.S.S.E.T.); Don Pullen (A.S.L.E.F.); W. Monslow (A.S.L.E.F.); Ernie Roberts, (A.E.U.); A.C. Torode (Signwriters union); R. Trench (N.U.R.)

STATEMENT BY YOUNG GUARD EDITORIAL BOARD TO NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF LABOUR PARTY RE PROPOSED INQUIRY

(1) Young Guard is a monthly paper produced exclusively by Young Socialists for Young Socialists and for youth at present outside the Party. Our circulation has risen steadily since the first issue of September 1961 and is now 3,000 per month.

(2) As is clear from the contents of the paper and from its programme it reflects editorially on major policy questions the decisions of the Young Socialists' own annual conference.

(3) It advocates these policies for adoption and implementation by the Party as a whole.

(4) On a whole range of questions not covered by the policies of the Young Socialists those who support and write in Young Guard take differing and contrasted points of view.

(5) Young Guard is not in any way a 'pressure group' within the Young Socialists. We receive support from comrades with widely varying political emphasis such as Unilateralists, Christian Socialists, Marxists, and members of V.F.S. and N.L.R.. There has also been wide support for the paper inside NALSO.

(6) The only organisational existence concerned with the production of the paper. Open and democratic readers' meetings are advertised and held to discuss the paper's contents and to elect a National Editorial Board quarterly. This group in turn elects a Working Editorial Board which is concerned with the month to month publication of the paper. All involved work on a voluntary basis.

(7) The finance of the running of Young Guard is collected only from readers of the paper as sales money or contributions. This can be verified by accounts and balance sheets available for inspection. We emphasize that we receive no financial assistance whatsoever from any outside source.

(8) It has never been alleged that Young Guard has any connections with any proscribed bodies.

(9) The aim of the paper is to build the Young Socialists as a powerful force for socialism and to convince the Party of the vital need to adopt the sort of socialist programme we have campaigned for, but above all to work for the return of a Labour Government.

As members of the Young Socialists and as members of their constituency parties, Young Guard supporters work for the Party on the basis of its present policies. They do, of course, within the Party campaign for the adoption of the sort of Socialist policies which are supported by the Young Socialists.

We know of no organisational or constitutional reason for possible proscription. Nor has any at any time been intimated to us. We therefore can only assume that the motives behind the proposed proscription are completely political.

We believe that any clamp down on the rights of Young Socialists to produce and read their own papers, whatever ideas they propagate, would be disastrous to the morale and healthy development of the movement. We believe that such development is essential in the interests of the Party if it is to attract the support of the youth, as voters and Party workers. Because of its advocacy of militant Young Socialist policies, Young Guard has been receiving growing and enthusiastic support from all sections of the Young Socialists in every part of the country.

Until the official Young Socialist paper New Advance is run by Young Socialists and expresses the policies of the Young Socialists we feel that there is a vital need for a paper like Young Guard.

If our Party is to remain democratic and is to encourage and stimulate discussion on policy and the horizons of tomorrow, there is also a need for the Party to permit the existence of papers like Young Guard.

JUNE ISSUE 'YOUNG GUARD' AVAILABLE

The latest issue of Young Guard gives, of course, a good deal of space to the question of democracy in the Young Socialist movement. Indeed the main lead is on the question of the proscription of Keep Left, standing unconditionally in defence of the paper against the right wing attack. Other articles cover the Young Socialist Annual Conference, the nurses wage claim, fascism, apprentices, Aldermaston, etc. Regional reports from Scotland, North Region and South Region give some interesting information. There is a page of letters, including one from a comrade in Scotland who was recently sentenced to 30 days for taking part in a sit down. This comrade was given his notice from Rolls Royce (Hillington) but this resulted in a series of lightning strikes and it looks as though he will be re-engaged. The comrade who wrote the article in fascism, reported that he had been 'sentenced to death' by one of the most extreme fascist groups - the British National Party. No doubt with the recent publicity that Young Guard has received there will be a ready market, indeed, reports so far indicate that the paper is selling more readily than ever before.

FIVE AND A HALF PER CENT INCREASE IN COST OF LIVING INDEX IN ONE YEAR

In the last twelve months, that is from April 1961 to April 1962, the cost of living index has risen as much as it did in the previous $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. At a time when the Government is trying to impose a 'guiding light' of a $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ increase in wages per year, and what is more actually imposing this upon those weakly organised sections of the workers who have the misfortune to be Government employees, this amounts to an attempt to impose a sharp decrease in the standard of living. Details are to hand of the increase in the figures for April. They show that the increase was almost entirely in food and housing which means that the actual increase for a working class household would be greater because those two items account for more expenditure in the working class budget than other sections.

Food, which in March stood at 101, (all figures January 1962 equals 100) went up to 104.1. The main factor was the increase in the average prices of potatoes, tomatoes, and other fresh vegetables, and smaller increases in the average prices of mutton, lamb and fish. In addition, flour, bread, cereals, biscuits and cakes went up 2 points as compared with January. In the case of housing which went up from 100 to 103.3, the principal reason was the increase in rates. In addition there were also rises in the average levels of rents of privately owned and local authority dwellings let unfurnished. Some idea of how the index very often masks real increases in the cost of living is shown by the fact that the index for transport and vehicles remained at 100 despite increases in fares. This was because there was a decrease in the average cost of second-hand cars.

It will be noted that none of the factors making for the increases during April were directly due to wage increases - the increase in food prices being due to 'scarcity' and the rate increases being largely as the result of the cost of borrowing. Nor can the blame be put on import costs as the following figures show:

Index figure	Food, Beverages and Tobacco	Basic Materials	Fuels	Manufactures	All items
April, 1961	96	95	97	108	98
April, 1962	96	92	96	105	96

all figures 1954 equals 100.

PRODUCTION SLUMPS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

One of the characteristics of capitalism in decline is that along with all its other contradictions even in the most advanced capitalist countries there are 'backward' regions. In these areas capitalism is incapable of solving the basic economic problems; unemployment is high, productivity relatively low, and ^{usually} social and political development retarded. Even the mighty United States has its 'deep South', Italy has its South, and Britain has Scotland, Wales and Ireland. In constructing a transitional programme, marxists have to pay attention to these specific economic problems. We shall reproduce from time to time information on these problems. Herewith some data on the present situation in Northern Ireland.

The provisional index of industrial production for Northern Ireland for March 1962, prepared by the Ministry of Commerce, is 114. (1954 equals 100). This is two points lower than the index for February 1962, and four points lower than that for March 1961 (even though this included Good Friday). The index numbers for the main industrial groups in March 1962 with the increase or decrease on March 1961 shown in brackets are: Textiles 113 (-5); Clothing 115 (-14); Engineering and metals 101 (-8); Food, drink and tobacco 123 (-7); Timber and furniture 108 (-9); Other manufacturing industries 136 (-1); Construction 104 (plus 5); Gas, electricity and water 145 (plus 14).

BANKRUPTCIES UP TWENTY FIVE PER CENT IN 1961

The Annual Report of the Board of Trade for 1961 on Bankruptcies, etc. shows that in 1961 the number of receiving orders and administration orders in England and Wales was 3,521 an increase of 720 over 1960. The principal groups of trades and occupations affected were builders, retailers of hardware and electrical goods, road haulage contractors, retail grocers, farmers, retailers of motor vehicles and cycles, and directors and promoters of companies; these seven groups accounted for 1,457 failures. Discharges were down (from 568 to 522) and prosecutions up (from 134 to 163). The worsening of these figures is a general reflection of the Government's economic policies (e.g. the credit squeeze) and a tightening up generally of economic conditions.