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\* UNEMPLOYMENT -- A GENERAL ELECTION?

\*\* YOUNG GUARD SUPPORTS N.C. MEMBERS

\*\*\* CALL FOR PUNISHMENT FOR LUMUMBA'S MURDERERS

# THE BULLETIN

An Information Service  
for  
Socialists

VOLUME TWO. NEW SERIES NO. 4.

26th January 1963

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Letter to Readers.

"Those guilty of the murder of Patrice Lumumba and similar crimes should be brought to justice despite the amnesty in the Congo." Thus spoke Fenner Brockway at the MCF London conference last week. On this second anniversary of the murder of Lumumba we cannot but concur with these sentiments and the slogans of the demonstrators in Leopoldville - "Down with the imperialists and their stooges." "March along Lumumba's road" - We do not forget that Lumumba's successor, Antoine Gizenga, is detained by the Adoula regime whilst Lumumba's murderer still goes free. Neither can we forget that the UN was implicated in the murder of Lumumba and is still implicated in the imprisonment of Gizenga. We urge readers to support the campaign to free Gizenga and to bring to justice Lumumba's murderer. To aid readers in this task our next issue will carry detailed information of the situation in the Congo.

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

Produced  
by  
voluntary labour.



**1416** Even a highly skilled adept with a crystal ball would hesitate to predict the effect upon the date of the General Election of the events of the last few weeks. On the one hand the death of Gaitskell is undoubtedly to the Tories' advantage (in the short term anyway), while on the other, the sensational increase in the number of unemployed is definitely not. Again Macmillan's speech in Liverpool could have been the first shot in an election campaign (as some observers, including the Guardian, speculated) and the increase in rates of pensions and unemployment pay, too, would tend to support the 'spring election' view.

On closer examination, however, the increase in benefits is shown to be more of a gesture than a real move to court popularity. The effect upon the economy will not be that of giving a big stimulus. Whilst £227 millions is put in people's pockets, all but £28 millions is taken out again by the increase in contributions. Moreover, it is highly likely that the bulk of the £28 millions will be recouped by savings on National Assistance. All those who are in receipt of National Assistance will have that cut by exactly the same amount as the increase they receive in benefits.

On another front, so far as the Common Market is concerned the British ruling class have shown that they do not trust the Labour Party to get Britain in. For them the best solution would be for the whole matter to be settled before the General Election, but, of course, there is now a big question mark over Britain's entry. The Government seems to be 'waiting for something to turn up' and is very reluctant to give up hope of Britain's early entry. Again it is very difficult to say how long it will take France's partners in the Six to get that country's leaders to change their attitude towards Britain's entry. It is all the more difficult to assess because it involves that unpredictable old man, deGaulle. Although he is a headache to all and sundry (not least to sections of the French capitalist class which would benefit from Britain's entry) in the contemporary French political scene he is indispensable to the French ruling class because no one else could play his bonapartist role.

If the Government decides that entry is not possible at this stage they will have to come forward with some far-reaching alternative. The Economist, when discussing an alternative policy, put forward, among other things, the ending of all import duties (to subject British industry to sharp competition), devaluation of the pound, and/or export subsidies. A policy of this kind would both alienate the Six, and need a 'firm' Government to push it through.

Clearly the bulk of the evidence suggests that an early election is not on the cards. One possibility exists however, that of the Tories deliberately calling an election that they know they would lose, and which would confront the newly elected Labour Government with, in the framework of right-wing policies, insuperable problems, calculating to get in again after a short period.

Either way, General Election or no General Election, entry or no entry, the British ruling class faces a severe crisis of policy, and in this situation they will seek to solve their problems by an attack on the working class (the press campaign against the power shop stewards could very well be a straw in the wind). The whole establishment paid fulsome to Gaitskell. This was not merely for 'services rendered', it was mainly directed at the left wing of the Labour Party. Its aim being to create an atmosphere where any left challenge to Gaitskell's successors would seem some kind of blasphemy. Our enemies fear us because they realise we are potentially their main danger. We should live up to their fears by organising the left here and now.

AN EDITORIAL NOTE ON LAST WEEK'S ARTICLE "YOUNG SOCIALISTS MOVEMENT IN DANGER". A Birmingham reader has pointed out that a formulation in that article could be misinterpreted. When the writer spoke of the fragmented and faction-ridden marxist movement, he did not mean to imply that the political differences between the groups were unimportant or without lessons.



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The annual general meeting of the London and Home Counties Movement for Colonial Freedom was held on the 20th January 1963 at Unity House, H.Q. of the N.U.R., with record attendance, despite the grisly weather. A summary of the more important resolutions carried follows. One of these called for a national campaign to abate racist hatred (South Paddington CLP) and another called for the introduction of legislation to make illegal incitement to racial hatred. An important resolution came from the Ceylon Socialist Students' Association calling on the MCF to organise a campaign to recruit doctors, teachers and technicians for Algeria in light of the deficiency of these educated and technical people due to the French withdrawal of these personnel. The conference approved a resolution calling on MCF Executive to consult with the Algerian Government on practical steps to be taken. On ANGOLA, a resolution was passed giving MCF support to the M.P.L.A. in their guerilla struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. On the India/China border dispute, the conference called upon the Indian government to accept the Chinese peace offers and condemned the Indian acceptance of Western arms.

Moving on to Malta, the conference discussed the interference in elections of the Catholic Church (who declare a vote for Labour to be a vote for the Devil) and called on the Church authorities to stop meddling in politics. Discussing SOUTH AFRICA, a resolution condemned the sale to South Africa of some £30 millions of aircraft for repressive purposes. It expressed sympathy for the victims of the "General Law Amendment" Act, and other repressive legislation. Continuation of the Boycott of South African goods was urged. Central London ASSET Branch called for a constitution for Southern Rhodesia and the removal of the Field government from office.

Resolutions also passed called for unilateral nuclear disarmament and South Paddington YS moved a resolution condemning the American attempt to destroy the Cuban Revolution. A further resolution condemning American imperialism called for the restoration of FORMOSA to China. An amendment from Finsbury and Shoreditch YS calling for rights of self-determination for this territory was narrowly defeated. An emergency resolution on ADEN condemned the imprisonment of the leader of the Peoples' Socialist Party, and General Secretary of the Aden TUC (previously reported in the Bulletin), by the British colonial authorities, and declared opposition to the inclusion of Aden colony in the South Arabia Federation, called for self-determination for Aden, and repeal of anti-strike legislation, and condemned the flogging of political prisoners by the authorities.

Another emergency resolution submitted, opposed the use by the USA of the United Nations forces as a means of securing their own economic and strategic aims in the Congo, whilst welcoming the elimination of Tshombe. It asked for the release of 900 detainees and immediate restoration of civil and political rights, and called for a UN special Commission of Inquiry into the murder of Patrice Lumumba, and the bringing to trial of his murderers. An executive resolution condemned the Federation of Malaysia on the grounds that this was an attempt by the British to maintain the strategic bases in the area, and rubber, tin and oil interests. It described this situation as a classic example of neo-colonialism. A campaign was called for, through the Labour Movement and Trades Unions, calling for recognition of the implications of the Federation. There were some 406 affiliated organisations in 1962. This included 76 CLP.s, 133 T.U. Branches and 32 YS Groups, Co-op Parties, etc.



1418 We have to hand, more details of the "Appeal for Unity" Conference to be held on Sunday, February 10th 1963, in Nottingham, at the "Fox Hound", Union Road, at 2.30 p.m. This is reached by going through the covered path at the side of the Victoria Station on Mansfield Road, which leads directly to Union Road, the "Fox Hound" being situated near the bottom, on the left hand side. The discussion will be opened by BERT WYNN, of the Derbyshire Miners. He is Secretary of the "Appeal for Unity" in the Derbyshire and the South Yorkshire areas. The organisers point out that the discussion will be advisory, and the outcome will not be mandatory on participants. They would also like to receive the addresses of people who might be interested, and these should be sent to "Unity", 54, Park Road, Lenton, Nottingham.

UNION VOICE CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN BIRMINGHAM.

Four well-known left-wing Labour members have convened a meeting in Birmingham, on Sunday, 10th February 1963 at 7.30 p.m. in the Crown Hotel, Hill Street, to give a report of the preliminary conference, launching the paper "Union Voice." The first issue of the paper will be on sale at the meeting. The meeting will also aim to organise practical help for the paper.

MANCHESTER SHOP STEWARDS DEMAND WORK SHARING. by an industrial correspondent.

A meeting of 300 shop stewards held in Manchester on the week-end of 19th - 20th January, adopted two resolutions dealing with redundancy and overtime working, these were:

1. All overtime should be restricted to 30 hours in any four weeks and individual unions should advise their membership accordingly.
2. If redundancy arises, no overtime should be worked by the class of labour declared redundant, and work-sharing must be adopted until such time as the workers concerned have found alternative employment. If employers refuse to share work we request the workers in the establishment to impose the guaranteed week agreement.

It is obvious that in Manchester there is considerable feeling on this question of overtime working whilst many thousands of men are on the dole. It is another pointer to the fact that the organised workers are determined not to give up any of the advances they have made over the last fifteen years.

NORTH NOTTINGHAM YOUNG SOCIALISTS REVOKE "ULTRA-LEFT" RESOLUTION.

At its last meeting on January 22nd, the North Nottingham Young Socialists rescinded a resolution at its previous, poorly attended, meeting calling upon the National Committee member for the East Midlands to resign. They took this decision after being addressed by the National Committee member in question.

YOUNG GUARD EDITORIAL MEETING SUPPORTS "NO PARTICIPATION" DECISIONS.

At its National Editorial Board meeting held in Nottingham the weekend of 19/20 January, Young Guard supporters approved the stand taken by members of the National Committee who withdrew from N.C. activities and declared this to be in line with the resolution on the matter passed at the previous Young Guard National Editorial Board. Young Socialists attended from all over the country.



**1419** The first National Congress of the General Union of Algerian Workers opened in Algeria on the 17th of January. About 400 representatives of Algerian workers in the country, and of those in France, Belgium, and other countries attended the Congress. Premier Ben Bella was present and spoke at the opening ceremony. He pointed out that all Algerian national organisations, especially the Trade Unions, should carry out their activities in the spirit of the F.L.N. program as accepted at Tripoli. Within the framework of the Trade Union movement, the workers enjoyed complete autonomy in administration. The Algerian Premier expressed the hope that the Trade Union Movement in the country would play its role in agriculture and Agrarian reform. He said: "The Trade Union Movement will be better armed when agricultural Trade Unions and their peasant members take their place in construction." He said that some 1,000,000 hectares of abandoned land were under the care of administration commissions. It had been decided to call the first National Peasants' Congress to study concretely ways and means to carry out agrarian reform," he added. Ben Bella also called on the Algerian Trade Union Movement to take part in the administration of vacant industrial properties and in the struggle to reduce the cost of living and abolish speculation.

At the end of the conference a resolution was passed: "As a revolutionary centre U.G.T.A. (Agricultural Workers' Union) has henceforth the task of strengthening its organisation and carrying out the Tripoli programme, always supporting the F.L.N. political bureau, and taking an effective and active part in the building of Socialism." It said that the first National Congress of U.G.T.A. called on all agricultural workers, functionaries, cadres, to mobilise their energies, devotion and technical knowledge in the service of the nation, to carry into effect, swiftly and effectively the call of the F.L.N. and the Tripoli program, in order to pool their resources to develop a dynamism leading to a higher consciousness and to rid the country of all vestiges of colonialism. It also called on them to back the government policy of austeritiy. The congress demanded the mobilisation of the masses in nation-wide campaigns to wipe out ignorance, for the protection of health, and for reconstruction, for developing agricultural production by means of a real and effective agrarian program of revolution, for the development of education and professional training, and for development of light industry and the creation of heavy industry. The resolution urged workers to take part in the administration of abandoned properties and in the development of co-operatives after receiving technical training. Congress reaffirmed its firm support for the solidarity of workers in the whole world in conformity with the traditions of international solidarity. The following suggestions were endorsed:

(1) Peoples Farms and Co-operatives should be formed on abandoned agricultural land, among the best land of the country, to be administered by workers who would share the profits.

(2) Agrarian land exceeding a certain level should be subject to reform.

(3) Gradual pooling of land distributed to individuals through various forms of co-operatives and by means of govt. aid. The example and the role of the public sector of the agricultural economy would be decisive.

(4) Increase cultivated acreage by reclaiming waste and other land. (About 15,000,000 hectares). Create possibilities for the most poverty-stricken agricultural workers to lead agrarian reform.



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1422 On 14th. January Julius Nyerere spoke to delegates of the conference of the Tanganyika African National Union asking them to endorse a resolution calling for the statutory recognition of a one party state. Since TANU has an overwhelming majority in parliament this means that the actual passing of the bill will now only be a formality. This is one more step along the road to the personal dictatorship of Nyerere and as such can only have a retarding effect upon the fight against Imperialism. Having made strikes illegal, and deported T.U. leaders this new step will round out the neo-colonialist regime.

There is a trend emerging among the leaders of the anti-colonial struggle to adopt the anti-democratic device of suppressing minority parties and groups. No hard and fast rule can be laid down about this, because at certain times it will obviously be necessary to suppress reactionary and counter-revolutionary groups, but any revolutionary or national movement that embraces the one-party state is sowing the seeds of its own degeneration. The need to counter reaction should not be used as an excuse to suppress all dissident voices. In Algeria also the same trend is evident with the banning of the Algerian Communist Party, not for any specific reason, but on the grounds of the need for only one party of the revolution. Marxists must resolutely oppose this idea. Whilst on the surface it appears as a simple and attractive idea of unity, it bears with it the seeds of the destruction of revolutionary élan and ultimate degeneration.

No doubt in the conditions of struggle in the colonial world it is not unreasonable to try to achieve the maximum unity, and Marxists should be to the forefront in this endeavour. At the same time we should struggle for democratic rights for all who support the revolutionary anti-imperialist fight. I am sure we shall soon see the emergence of a real opposition to Nyerere, this can only be welcomed. However we can only deplore that any opposition would have to be illegal in Algeria. In this matter Benbella is wrong and Marxists have not only the right to criticise, but also the duty to help in every way possible the new Algerian Republic. This is our primary task at the moment.

BRUNEI LIBERATION MOVEMENT WILL GO ON SAYS PARTY CHAIRMAN - From Hsinhua report.

A.M. Azahari, chairman of the Bruni People's Party (Partai Raayat) said at a press conference on January 18th. that "No amount of force could suppress the revolution in Northern Borneo. This liberation movement of a long oppressed people will go on until victory becomes ours." The Manila Chronicle reported that Azahari showed confidence in the 'inevitable success of the Brunei Uprising. He stressed that only victory "could stop the liberation movement in Brunei, North Borneo and Sarawak." He said that though superior British and mercenary forces gained control of the urban areas, "the revolutionary forces still hold the rural areas and obtain support from their compatriots."

EXPLOSION IN U.S. VENEZUELA COMPANY. ( From Hsinhua )

An explosion took place in the U.S. Shell Oil Company in Catalina, north-east of Maracaibo, the oil-producing centre in the west of Venezuela, during the week, according to a Caracas report. The explosion caused operations at fifteen oil wells to come to a standstill when dynamite was thrown into the company's installations. Late last October, after the U.S. had announced the Cuba blockade, and explosion took place in the plant of the Creole Petroleum Company, affiliated to the U.S. Standard Oil Company. The explosion paralysed one-sixth of Venezuela's oil production. This occurred after the National Directorate of the Venezuelan Liberation Army had issued an order for armed action against U.S. installations, personnel, and properties in Venezuela.



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In a speech addressed to the delegates of the Womens' Congress of the Americas, Premier Castro declared himself firmly in favour of vigorous action by the revolutionary movements of Latin America, against imperialism. He said: "The number of those who died in a year in Latin America, died of starvation, or lack of medical care, was greater than those who died for their own liberation." In the Cuban revolution: "...the fight cost the lives of 20,000 people, but they have saved the lives of many times 20,000." "Figures" he said, "should not just be confined to graphs and pamphlets, but they should be used in changing the situation. This is the duty of leaders and revolutionary organisations to set the masses in motion and lead them into fight. This is what has been done in Algeria; this is what is being done by the patriots in South Vietnam. They have led the masses into the fight with the correct methods and the correct tactics. State power was not seized by four or five or six or seven men, but by the movement of the masses, who fought against tyranny."

There was a sharp admonition too, for those "...decrepit theorists who claim that in Cuba there is a peaceful transition from capitalism to Socialism. This assertion is tantamount to denying the fact that thousands of fighters have laid down their lives." He went on, "We do not want certain far-away theorists to tell us what has happened here, when they have never been here." Turning to the need for revolutionary activity throughout the world he continued to criticise the advocates of the "peaceful road". "We are not denying the possibility of peaceful transition, although we have yet to see the first instance of it. We are not denying it because we are not dogmatic. What we want to say is that there has been no peaceful transition here and what we want to oppose is efforts to misrepresent the case of Cuba in order to befuddle revolutionaries of those countries where objective conditions do exist for making a revolution and where what has been done in Cuba can be realised. This is what we said in the Havana declarations which in certain fraternal countries have been locked in drawers, by some revolutionary organisations, instead of being circulated." He called for a Marxist-Leninist attitude to Latin America, supporting a programme of revolutionary intensification in the hemisphere. Even Chinese advocates of the revolutionary path to Socialism seem to pale somewhat before such healthy determination and vigour, in a speech which can only be interpreted as a repudiation of Moscow soft-pedal strategy of co-existence with capitalism.

KOREAN DELEGATE SIDES WITH CHINESE AT S.E.D. CONFERENCE.

Speaking at the East German Communist Party Congress (S.E.D.), Li Hyo Soon, delegate from the Korean Workers' Party, generally put the Chinese "paper tiger" view. In addition, he openly sided with Chinese delegates and criticised those who had attacked the C.P. He said: "the question on the differences of views between the fraternal parties has been raised again at this congress which is not an international meeting of fraternal parties. Much is being said about discontinuing open disputes about the differences of views and strengthening unity, but unilateral criticism has been made against Chinese CP policy, and a certain attitude, which, in our opinion, cannot be regarded as friendly, or comradely, has been manifested. This we think cannot help towards the unity and solidarity which we call for in unison. In such a situation, the open criticism of the stand of the Chinese CP is just what our enemies want and hail".



FINANCIAL TIMES SAYS "HARD-CORE" UNEMPLOYMENT LIKELY TO GET WORSE.

In its editorial of January 25th., the Financial Times commenting upon the figure of 814,000 unemployed had this to say about the outlook for 1963.

"Unless the rate of growth accelerates this year, there will indeed be strong forces tending to push up the rate of unemployment. There is the natural growth of about 3 per cent in productivity and about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in the size of the labour force to be absorbed; an industrial growth rate of under  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent would therefore tend to lead to an increase in the numbers out of work. Second, the process of dis- hoarding labour, which has almost certainly contributed to the increase in unemployment in recent months, has probably got quite a long way to go still. The extent to which modern industry tends to under-use labour at a time of stagnation, and the ease with which firms can expand output if need be without taking on more workers has been strikingly demonstrated in the U.S. in the last two years, and there is no reason for thinking that the same forces are not at work in the U.K."

COMMON MARKET UNCERTAINTY CAUSES GLOOM.

The Guardian of January 26th., in its City Comment column discussed the effects of the virtual breakdown of the Brussels talks on Britain's economy. It said "No doubt if certainty means" (the talks have failed) "gloom among industrial and City people will deepen further. In the year or two great hopes have been built up on the assumption that this country would become a member of the Community. A negative decision will not only cause widespread disappointment, but will leave a great many people bewildered as to the kind of world trading system in which they are going to work in future."

GREEK ECONOMY IN CRISIS.

The Greek economy is on the verge of bankruptcy, said the monthly Nea Economía, in its January issue. Commenting on the economic situation in Greece in 1962, the monthly said that the national debt amounted to 21,461 million drachmas ( nearly £256 million ). "Together with the decrease in industrial and agricultural production, the increase of military expenses (which account for more than fifty per cent of the state budget ), this enormous debt, bigger than the revenue of the state budget, will have tragic consequences for the economy of Greece," It pointed out that the prices of consumer goods went up by 15-20 per cent in 1962; sugar by fifteen per cent ; beans - the basic food for the broad masses - by 25-54 per cent. Simultaneous with the drastic increases of commodity prices, unemployment was very serious. At the end of 1962 300,000 were unemployed and 100,000 people had to leave their native home to earn their living abroad.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE OTHER £21 MILLION ? ( From New Society )

An article, dealing with drugs and their uses, in the January 17th. issue gave some very interesting information which threw some light on the rate of exploitation in this modern world. After giving some information about how many young children had been saved from death by drugs since the 1930's the article went on to say " 58,000 are now working and their total earnings are about £19 million per annum. Secondly, their total output is likely to amount to over £40 million each year." Which leads us to the question who gets the other £21 million - for need we ask!



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The review "Polish Perspectives" reports a new publishing venture in Poland. "For many years", it says, "Poland's Marxist researchers found little if any support in serious works on Marx and his thought. This was of course, not a co-incidence, but was closely bound up with the development of the Stalinist period." To fill the gap, a new Library of Marxist Studies has been founded, under the direction of a centre of Marxology led by Professor Adam Schaff. This centre is to publish a number of important works on the Young Marx, on the Marxist Concept of Money, and on Karl Marx's "Idea of the Communist Economy".

The State Scientific publishers are also issuing a series of popular reprints, including works by Mehring, Labriola, Bayard and Infantin, Dietzgen, Luxembourg, Lafargue, Kautsky, Moses Hess, Lunacharsky, Bernstein, Jaures, Plekhanov, and Gramsci. The selections from Gramsci have become so popular that for a time they reached the best-seller lists: an important indication of the political temperature of Young Polish Socialists. Significantly, the Collected Works of Rosa Luxembourg are to be issued in ten volumes by the same publishing house. This will mean that whole areas of debate on basic Marxist principles will be opened; in particular it will be impossible to disseminate some of Luxembourg's writings on Economics without challenging some of the most important assumptions of the recent programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Luxembourg's views on the withering away of political economy are diametrically opposed to the distorted and flatfooted notions of Communist Society that are embodied in that programme, and discussions of her views will necessarily result in the political rearmament of the young Polish workers and students who read them.

#### CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY PAPER SUPPORTS "CASTRO VIEW".

In an editorial on Castro's speech to the Conference of American Women, "HOY" for 17th Jan, the Cuban CP paper, says: "Cuba's transition to Socialism from capitalism" is no peaceful transition, but a fighting transition. Without that fight, there can be no transition in our country'. It is a truth that cannot be denied. All the economic and social and political transformations which have taken place in Cuba from Jan 1959 to date, have been made possible by the defeat of the bloody Batista tyranny and the establishment of the revolutionary power of the people through armed struggle and all kinds of mass action led by Fidel".

#### ILYA EHRENBURG SAYS STALIN DELAYED COUNTER-ATTACK.

The Daily Worker of 24th Jan. 1963. reported Ilya Ehrenburg, himself under fire for supporting "artistic freedom" views, as saying: "Stalin kept putting off a counter-attack against the Nazi army at the gates of Moscow in 1942 until warned that the city would be levelled by heavy artillery." Writing in the monthly journal of the Soviet Writers' Union, he says that he was told of Stalin's indecision by Marshal Zhukov, one of the Soviet Union's outstanding World War Two leaders. Zhukov himself was disgraced shortly after he sided with Krushchev in the latter's fight against the so-called anti-party group.

(The text of the Krushchev speech at the S.E.D. Congress arrived too late for inclusion in this edition. Editorial Note.)