

International Bulletin

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MARXISTS TAKE IMPORTANT DECISIONS AT NOTTINGHAM CONFERENCE

One of the by-products of the conference of marxists over the 14/15 of April, 1962, in Nottingham is the very late appearance of this journal. For this we offer our apologies, particularly to those who have paid!,, but we can immediately counter any cynicism by saying that another by-product of the above conference will be a much better Bulletin in the future. Seriously though the amount of technical work involved in preparation for and arising from the conference is a very clear indication of its seriousness and importance.

Comrades came from Birmingham, Derby, Glasgow, Liverpool, London, Long Eaton, Manchester and Sheffield to join a good number of Nottingham marxists in the weekend's deliberations. In addition comrades from London, Wolverhampton, Leicester, Stafford and Nottingham sent in apologies for non attendance, while expressing support for the conference. The delegates included comrades active in a very wide field of activities. Especially well represented were Young Socialists and comrades active in the anti-colonial struggle. Virtually all the comrades are active Labour Party workers and many of them hold positions in the trade union field.

The discussions ranged over many problems, notably the problems of building the left inside the Labour Party and the attitude towards C.N.D., M.C.F., and other such like organisations. In particular the way in which marxists should coordinate their activities and strengthen their endeavours was gone into in a most detailed way. Most important of all was the acceptance of a statement of aims of the International Group, dedicated as it is to the building of a Fourth International section in Britain. The discussion was lively, vigorous and thought provoking, and will be continued in a written form until the next conference. No doubt the discussion then will continue on other topics.

The conference recognised that while the Bulletin has played a good role in coordinating activities, stimulating action, making known activities of the International, combatting the distortions of other tendencies, etc., it has many weaknesses. In particular, it was felt that it had only very limited appeal outside our immediate periphery. To remedy this two approaches were decided upon

- (1) technical improvements - having a cover, going over to quarto size, etc.
- (2) improvement in content - producing more small factual items, getting wider coverage of different fields.

In both respects, dear reader, we ask your assistance. Item (1) is largely a question of finance (as is, in part, item (2)) donations will be very welcome and if everyone paid many improvements could be made straight away. So far as item (2) is concerned, everyone can help. Preferably articles should be sent in but even simple reports, press cuttings, extracts from journals, etc. will help immensely. The building up of a subscriber/correspondent network is aimed at too. Nearly every reader of this journal will know someone who could possibly fill this role. Translators can be very useful too, there are many items in the press of other countries which would prove of great interest.

Most readers will be approached directly in some form or another as to how they can help the work of the International Group. As much help as possible is required because of the magnitude of the task - nothing less than to start the process of building the movement which aims to bring about the overthrow of British capitalism. We are sure you will all help.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL MEETING TO BE HELD IN LONDON.

Pierre Frank will speak at a meeting to be held at Dennison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., London S.W.1. on Monday, 30th April at 7.30. Pierre, who is secretary of the French section of the Fourth International and a member of the International Secretariat, will speak on the situation in France after the end of the Algerian war. The meeting will be a public one and will offer an opportunity to counter distortions being spread around about the nature of the Algerian settlement.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS' CONFERENCE - SOME IMPORTANT AMENDMENTS

In addition to the resolutions which have already been analysed in this Bulletin, the intermediate agenda of the 2nd Annual Conference of Young Socialists shows that the Young Socialist branches have seriously considered the original resolutions.

Two more points come up concerning democracy inside the Young Socialist movement: one from Hallam and Heeley (Sheffield) calls for the right of Young Socialists to criticise, in a constructive way, the Labour Party machine; the other from Horsham demands that all resolutions submitted by branches at regional or national conferences should be placed upon the agenda. It is almost certain that the Horsham resolution has been influenced by the stopping of several resolutions about the N.E.C. vetoing Ernie Roberts candidacy for Horsham.

A series of amendments to a right wing resolution on unity come from Eltham, Swansea and Paignton. They all make it clear that unity depends upon the adoption of socialist policies. Paignton saying that the present policies of the Labour Party are making it nothing more than a protege of the Tory Party.

Gaitskell comes in for some harsh criticism from a number of branches. Glasgow Springburn calls upon him to withdraw completely his remarks in favour of the resumption of tests by the U.S.A., another from Barnes regrets the failure of Parliamentary Labour Party to oppose the decision to use Xmas Island for nuclear tests. Harlow is angry about Gaitskell's attitude on this question and calls for his resignation. Again on the struggle against nuclear weapons Yarmouth asks conference to send a message of solidarity to the six members of the Committee in prison.

An amendment from South Paddington seeks to improve a resolution which criticises the United Nations. Resolutions on the Common Market range from one from Greenock which is very much in favour of entry to one from Wood Green which is violently oppsed. However, one from Nottingham Central calls upon the Labour Party to take the initiative on convening a European general congress of labour to which should be invited all the important workers' organisations including the Communist controlled French and Italian trade union centres and the Christian trade unions. The purpose of this congress would be to work out methods of joint action against the capitalist offensive against workers conditions and positions.

Ilford in its amendment wants it clear that call to support industrial action includes unofficial as well as official strikes. Leeds North East says that nationalisation with workers control should form the basis for Labour's economic policies.

APRIL ISSUE OF 'YOUNG GUARD' OUT

This issue is a special Young Socialist ^{conference} Aldermaston issue and has been delayed a week or so to make it as timely as possible for these two events. 3,000 copies have been printed this time in anticipation of large sales.

The technical improvement noted previously has continued and the articles cover a very wide range. There are eight pages instead of the usual six. We haven't had time to study the articles as yet so it is not possible to comment on their content adequately - however we wish the journal success.

AFRO-ASIAN SOCIALIST REVIEW No. 2 RECEIVED

You will not get a better shilling's worth anywhere than by buying this journal which is published by the Ceylon Socialist Students' Association. 50 odd pages of well-produced material includes articles on Cuba, Algeria, Goa, Ceylon, Pakistan and British Guiana - as well an editorial which very clearly relates the struggle against war and for colonial liberation. In addition there is a full length article analysing Portugese imperialism which is quite unique - no such analysis has appeared, ^{before} at least for a long time.

This journal represents a distinct step forward in the struggle to unite the various anti-colonialist forces in Britain. It can provide a powerful forum where theoretical problems of the colonial revolution are argued out. Currently the material in this particular issue are extremely useful in countering the distortions of many so called marxists who are doing their best to confuse the left in Britain over Cuba, Algeria, etc. All comrades should regard this as essential reading and in addition use the journal, particularly among any contacts from the colonial or semi-colonial countries.

FIGHTING THE RIGHT WING IN U.S.D.A.W.

Readers of Tribune who have been following the correspondence which followed the exposure by that paper of the activities of the very misnamed 'Labour Progressive Group' will not need to be told of the existence of a strong right wing machine in U.S.D.A.W.. Since the death of Alan Birch, the general secretary, the press and various right wing organisations have been using all kinds of methods to ensure the election of a right winger to take Birch's place.

The Guardian, in a most overt article, spoke of the disastrous consequences if Seabrook, the left wing candidate for the post, were to win, arguing that this would help to undermine the whole right wing position in the trade union because of U.S.D.A.W. being one of the 'big six' unions. Moreover U.S.D.A.W. has a reputation for setting the tone of the round of annual union conferences.

Nottingham comrades had an experience in this fight which brought out some interesting lessons. At a poorly attended meeting the question of who the branch in question should nominate came up. Caught unawares the left were not able to prevent the decision to nominate the leading right wing contestant. But at the next meeting which was much better attended the question arose of how the branch vote should be cast. After a vigorous debate, it was decided by one vote to support Seabrook. When this decision was taken the secretary said that he refused to sign the branch's voting paper which meant the vote could not be cast. The secretary explained that he considered that it was against union principles to nominate one man and vote for another. He also said that he had written to the right wing candidate to tell him that the branch was supporting him (whether this has anything to do with the openly admitted ambition of the secretary to get a full-time union job is a matter of opinion). A deadlock was reached because the union branch was unwilling to remove the secretary because of the difficulty of replacing him. This was broken when a supporter of the secretary pointed out that strictly speaking the meeting had not been called according to rule. It was therefore decided to postpone the matter until the next meeting which would be properly constituted.

The period between the two meetings was one of great activity by both sides - to give one example - a new member who supported Seabrook was, without consultation, declared not to be a member. He had been appointed to one or posts as delegate, the organisations concerned were written to and told he was not eligible as a delegate. He discovered this by accident. The place of the meeting was changed and strangely enough the man who moved the motion to support Seabrook did not get a notice of the meeting and would have gone to the wrong place had not other members told him of the change. Steps were taken by the left to counter all these moves, the member referred to above was reinstated and every effort was made to get a good attendance.

When it came to the vote from a position of a majority of one for Seabrook it moved to a two to one majority for Seabrook. It was not just a case of the left getting more people, some changed or abstained (in one case by not attending the meeting) because they were disgusted by the tactics of the right. The discussion was to the point and one of the leading right wingers got so excited he had a heart attack and had to be taken home. The left argued on class lines - if the press, owned and controlled by the class which the unions have been created to fight, back one man against another, there must be something wrong with the man they back.

This small victory, which will not materially effect the result of the election, was won as a result of the united front by various sectors of the left - Communist Party members, left labour and Fourth Internationalists, of particular importance is the fact that the Communist Party members have the closest working relations with the Fourth Internationalists, despite the warnings they have received.

NOTTINGHAM CITY LABOUR PARTY CONDEMNS TESTS

The resolution already referred to in the Bulletin which condemned nuclear tests but which was directed against the resumption of tests by the West was passed unanimously at the last meeting of the Nottingham City Labour Party. The resolution also calls upon the Parliamentary Labour Party to 'initiate a vigorous campaign against all tests in the spirit of the Blackpool Conference on these matters.'

The meeting which was fairly well attended, being the Annual General Meeting, heard the mover, but when it came anyone speaking against, despite some wry right wing faces, there was no response.

(Ed. Note: This article has been written especially for the Bulletin by an expert on the struggle in Angola. Comrades should raise the matter in a careful way in all their organisations. No doubt some kind of national campaign will be soon underway in relation to the struggle in Angola and that will give an opportunity to counter the misleading information being disseminated.)

Recent press reports have given a dangerously misleading account of developments in the Angolan liberation struggle. The Observer on March 18 headlined a report by Colin Legum - 'Angola rebels turn guns on one another'. It went on to say that the chief of staff of the Angolan Liberation Army, 'a wing of the M.P.L.A.', had denounced the leader of U.P.A. and made grave charges against him. The picture was given of mounting internecine struggle between rival nationalist organisations.

In fact the Angolan Liberation Army is not part of the M.P.L.A. (Peoples' Movement for the Liberation of Angola) but part of the U.P.A., the Union of Peoples of Angola, led by Roberto Holden. This denunciation from within his own ranks of the man chiefly responsible for Angolan disunity, accompanied by an appeal for a United Liberation Front, is in fact one of the greatest contributions towards Angolan unity since the outbreak of armed rebellion.

However, Legum's misleading report must have gratified the Bow Group authors of The New Africa which proposes that the Portugese colonies be placed under United Nations trusteeship in order to safeguard British interests in Central Africa and 'avoid another Congo'. The Observer report helped all those interested in promoting African disunity and presenting a picture of Africa unable to govern itself that still requires the guiding hand of imperialism.

The facts, however, do not favour imperialist plans.

Of the three main Angolan nationalist parties, the M.P.L.A., led by Mario de Andrade and Viriato Cruz, is the only one that has a real political program — both for the conduct of the liberation struggle, and for the political and economic independence of Angola after the defeat of the Portugese. It is, furthermore, the only political party with support among the urban as well as peasants masses. The M.P.L.A., whose leadership is perhaps at the most advanced level in the whole of Black Africa, has since 1960 — long before the actual armed uprising — insistently urged all nationalist organisations to come together in a National Liberation Front. It was M.P.L.A. militants in Luanda, the colony's ^{capital}, who were the first to rise against the Portugese on February 4, 1961, although the imperialist press has consistently represented the Union of Peoples of Angola (U.P.A.) as the initiators of the revolt.

The U.P.A. is a tribal organisation based on emigrant Angolans from the north of the colony who go across the border to seek work in the Congo. It was founded in Leopoldville by Roberto Holden and has no program beyond political independence. Its leaders refuse to recognise the existence of any other political party, deny the need for a United Liberation Front, are black nationalist — except in regard to Americans — are violently anti-communist and pro-U.S.A. Holden's main known support has come from Bourgiba's Tunisia, and he is a close associate of Kasavubu.

The Luanda revolt sparked off a mass uprising in northern Angola among tribes where U.P.A. had influence, and as the terrain was suited to guerilla warfare it was here that most fighting occurred and the most violent Portugese reprisals took place. Despite the support given to U.P.A. in the United States and the West generally, and hostility to the M.P.L.A., it must not be therefore assumed that U.P.A. represents an Angolan 'national bourgeoisie'. There is not in Angola any class of Africans that can be defined as a 'national bourgeoisie'. Portugese colonialism has kept its territories too undeveloped and its African subjects too backward and oppressed economically and politically for this phenomenon to have developed. The role of a 'national bourgeoisie' has so far been played in Portugese Africa by Portugese white settlers, many of whom would like to see freedom from Salazar in order to pursue a Welensky-like policy in Angola and Mozambique.

Both the M.P.L.A. and the U.P.A. are parties supported by working masses — in U.P.A.'s case, the inarticulate and politically backward peasant masses of the north, and especially the Mukongo people; in M.P.L.A.'s case the working class of the towns and large masses of peasants from tribes all over Angola.

at, unlike U.P.A., the M.P.L.A. is uncompromisingly non-tribalist and national in breadth, admitting to its ranks and to its guerilla units European supporters, and it has a cadre of politically mature leaders.

There is a third large party, the A.L.I.A.Z.O., also a tribal grouping based on the ZOMBO people. This too is a peasant party, but unlike U.P.A. has an honest leadership who are willing to enter a National Liberation Front with all parties.

Till now the chief obstacle to the formation of the National Liberation Front has been the attitude of the U.P.A. leaders who have consistently refused to consider it. And in autumn 1961, though still unwilling to attack the U.P.A. leaders because of their conviction that reform should come from within the U.P.A. itself, M.P.L.A. was forced to announce that U.P.A. supporters had captured and hanged an M.P.L.A. guerilla of 21 men led by a European, Captain Tomas Ferreira. This charge was denied by Holden, but the news was seized on, especially in the United States, to show that open warfare had broken out between U.P.A. and M.P.L.A.

The truth behind the Observer misreport is not that M.P.L.A. has now publicly denounced U.P.A. On the contrary a serious split has occurred within U.P.A. itself, completely exposing and isolating the Holden clique that had seized control of the party. According to the statement by U.P.A. chief of staff Marcos Kassanga on March 3rd, the U.P.A. army has withdrawn all support from the Holden leadership, charging it with a number of terrible crimes. These include: the massacre of the M.P.L.A. guerilla; inciting inter-tribal warfare involving the deaths of 8,000 Angolans instead of fighting against the Portugese; the murder of U.P.A. head of military operations in the interior, Commander Jao Baptista; misappropriation of funds belonging to the revolution. The statement concludes with a call for all sincere nationalist parties to unite in a National Liberation Front and for African and other friendly countries and organisations to cease supporting Holden and to give aid instead to genuine nationalist organisations.

The denunciation of Holden by his own party's armed force was at once followed by a similar policy statement from the L.G.T.A., the U.P.A.-sponsored trade union.

The Holden clique, without its army and without its trade union, cannot hope for long to go on nindering Angolan unity.

Moreover it can no longer put over on the rest of the world its confidence trick of being the sole representative of the Angolan revolution. The M.P.L.A. is today receiving the aid of a number of African countries, and in the first place that of the F.L.N.

It is up to us in Britain to see that misreporting of the Angolan struggle is not used by Tories and their hidden supporters to put over intervention under U.N. or any other disguise.

NEW GUINEA - TRADE UNIONS SHACKLED

As comrades will know, the Australian right wing - Tories and right ing Labour - have denounced the claim by the Indonesians to sovereignty over West Irian (so-called Dutch New Guinea). Sokaerno has been compared to Hitler and very angry noises were made when the Indonesians said they would invade West Irian. The following report, shortened from International, Australian journal of the Fourth International, throws an interesting light on their attitude;

New legislation passed in Port Moresby has granted New Guinea natives the right to form trade unions - but before celebrating this event it is worth noting two features in particular of these unions:

- (1) They are under the control of the Government's Labour Department.
- (2) All industrial claims are to be prepared by the Government's Public Solicitor.

These features suggest, not independent workers' organisations, but the Government-controlled Labour Front of Hitler Germany. They reflect the Commonwealth Government's absolute hostility to any self-development of the New Guinea people, to any initiative, any tendency to take steps which are not rigidly controlled by the Administration at every stage. This hostility has shown itself as the most consistent element in Administration policy, despite all the pious words of Hasluck and Menzies about the need to work towards self-determination, "better sooner than later", etc. It was primarily for his encouragement of native initiative in a co-operative that Brian Cooper was "framed"...on a phoney 'sedition' charge..., it was the independent stand of the of the ..native-formed welfare body that brought the savage retribution handed out to the Buka Islanders...(a total of 135 years gaol)

LATEST NEWS FROM THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES.

The Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies, to which the MPLA, the most important Angolan liberation movement, is affiliated has issued a statement in Rabat, Morocco, denouncing the formation by Roberto Holden, president of the UPA, of a 'Angolan Provisional Government'. The CONCP describes this move as a 'new bluff to the advantage of Portuguese colonialism' and appeals to world opinion 'not to take seriously this irresponsible gesture by this self-styled nationalist leader.'

The CONCP statement also announces that the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria through its vice-president Ben Bella, has committed itself to render unconditional assistance to the MPLA.

Meanwhile in Leopoldville the MPLA has issued a statement renewing its appeal for the formation of a National Liberation Front, echoing the denunciation of UPA's political leadership made recently by the UPA commander-in-chief, and accusing Roberto Holden of the crime of receiving money from Portuguese planters in exchange for safeguarding their plantations.

Portuguese Guinea: The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde PAIGC, which is affiliated to the CONCP, has issued a communique warning world opinion that the mounting violence against the nationalist movement in Portuguese Guinea threatens a new colonial war. On March 13 the Portuguese colonial Gestapo, the PIDE, raided a house in the suburbs of the colony's capital, Bissao, and arrested three of the occupants, including the president of the party Rafael Barbosa and a member of the central committee Mamadou Toure. They are at present held by the PIDE and their lives are in grave danger.

These arrests follow a series of repressive measures including the burning of villages, massacres of farmers, systematic torture of imprisoned nationalists, refusal to provide medical treatment to suspected nationalists. The PAIGC accuses the Portuguese colonialists of 'murder, by means of injection of poisonous products, of nationalists in the hospitals of Bissao and Bissora. This criminal practice has resulted in the deaths of more than a dozen victims, of whom four were pregnant women.' Another practice is 'the addition of doses of poison to medicines sold in the pharmacies of Bissao destined for customers reputed to be enemies of the colonial regime.'

The communique concludes: 'In drawing the attention of world public opinion to these crimes, which clearly confirm the retrograde and genocidal character of Salazarist colonialism, the PAIGC, faithful to its program and to the just aspirations of our people to liberty, peace and progress, and obliged to reply with violence to the criminal violence of the Portuguese colonialists, restates its firm determination to accomplish its duty, to develop our national liberation struggle, and by all necessary means urgently to liberate our African homeland from the foreign yoke and win back the dignity of our people'.

The struggle for liberation in the Portuguese colonies is now reaching a new point of intensity. This struggle has become the focal point of revolution on the African continent, and calls for active solidarity from revolutionary socialists everywhere. Comrades are asked to raise the question in their organizations. Protests should have a threefold character: 1) Directly against the Salazar government; 2) Against British support for Salazar, the supply of arms, etc. 3) Against any attempts to confuse the struggle by introducing the idea of United Nations intervention in the Portuguese colonies. Most urgent of all are protests to: The Governor General of Portuguese Guinea and the Portuguese Embassy in London, to save the lives of the imprisoned Guinea nationalists including Rafael Barbosa, president of the PAIGC.

NEW ZEALAND COMMUNIST PARTY REFUSES TO TOE 'KHRUSHCHOV' LINE

In its February 28th issue, "People's Voice", weekly paper of the New Zealand Communist Party reported on discussions in the Political Committee of the Party. The latter had decided that it could not possibly take sides, at the present time, in the dispute between the Soviet Union and the Albanian Party of Labour. In a resolution it endorsed the action of its delegate to the 22nd Congress in not referring to the dispute in his contribution.

The Political Committee sent identical letters to the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union calling upon them to meet and settle their theoretical differences. In the resolution the way the matter was introduced at the Congress was criticised. The resolution called for a proper discussion of the views of the Albanians:

"Because an objective discussion of the many points of criticism made of, and by, Comrade Hoxha and the Albanian Party of Labour has not as yet taken place, we cannot, as many Parties have done, condemn Comrade Hoxha and the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour as non-Marxian"

Reporting this, our Australian comrades comment:

"The same issue of People's Voice contains an interesting resolution by the Political Committee on 'de-stalinisation'. It does not, in our opinion, embody a correct Marxist analysis of the phenomenon of 'Stalinism' - which is essentially the political ideology of a group usurping power in a workers' state, going far beyond the actions and quirks of one individual. However, the two resolutions together give an impression that the N.Z. Political Committee is striving towards an independent position, instead of simply picking "which horse to back" in an unprincipled way.

MERSEYSIDE C.N.D.--INDUSTRIAL ACTION by an active C.N.D.er

The relative failure of the C.N.D. movement to impress itself upon the industrial workers is a basic problem before the movement - that is if the movement is to retain any significance, apart from purely marching and counter marching. With the arrival in Liverpool of Miss Pat Arrowsmith as a full time official of the Merseyside C.N.D., a serious attempt to involve the Merseyside workers in the C.N.D. movement via a joint C.N.D.-Trade Union committee is being made.

A meeting held on the sixth April was not as well attended as had been hoped, but this was felt largely to have been the choice of an unfortunate evening. There was clearly a real desire on the part of many workers present for greater industrial participation in the C.N.D. movement. Plans are being made for a stoppage on certain building sites at a date to be arranged by a committee elected at the meeting. It is hoped that other industries will be involved.

Long ago the Fourth International welcomed the Anti-Bomb movement in Great Britain and made it a prime obligation of marxists to participate in the movement and influence it in the direction of anti-capitalist demands. The difficulties in this task are considerable - no more so actually than raising the level of a reformist working class to revolutionary perspectives - and they have not been helped by those marxists who disregard the extra Parliamentary character of the C.N.D. movement and lovingly submerge themselves in Labour Party work.

Those who in the C.N.D. demand industrial action are going directly to the workers paralysed at the moment by the vicious and indescribably corrupt bureaucracy in the Labour Party. If this becomes a major factor in the evolution of the C.N.D., there could be considerable scope for a marxist influence.

At the moment Merseyside seems to be the only area taking a definite interest in industrial action, but this is a form of action with possibilities for the political education of the workers, free from the chicanery of right wing officials.

It should also be remembered by those who scoff at the initiatives of C.N.D., that the greater the economic problems of western capitalism in the next few years, the closer the war danger and the more vital the question of disarming the capitalist class.

DE INTERNATIONALE OUT AGAIN

Our Dutch comrades have brought out another issue of De Internationale containing articles on the 22nd Congress, Natalia, Algeria, Cuba, etc.

The 12th February issue of Bohemia, the island's main magazine, printed a photograph of Natalia on her deathbed. Under the photograph it commented, "A historic figure, the widow of Leon Trotsky, in Paris where she died last week. The Soviet red flag is draped over her and on the wall are hanging portraits of Marx and Trotsky along with Lenin, with other souvenirs of a long militant life."

ALGERIA - THE MARCH TOWARDS SOCIALISM

The following is extracted from a statement by the French section of the Fourth International on the achievement of independence by Algeria:

".....The Algerian revolution is going to have to tackle some extremely arduous problems. It has to develop economically a country which imperialism has maintained in poverty and which is beset by the misery and devastation of more than seven years of war. Aid to the Algerian people must not be a source of profit for the French capitalists; it is aid without strings which must be given to new Algeria. It is necessary to struggle all the more resolutely in this sense that the Algerian revolution, under the stimulus of its militants, cannot build a capitalist state but must engage, just as the Cubans have, in the construction of a socialist society.

"As Rahmoun Dekkan, one of the secretaries of the General Workers' Union of Algeria said:

'If the peasants and workers have taken up arms, it is not to merely for the sake of a flag or a national anthem....it is for agrarian reform. Our struggle is a class struggle, their participation in the armed struggle of today guarantees the workers their right to the control of the country of tomorrow.'

"It is not a bourgeois democracy that the Algerian revolution is in the process of bringing forth, it is a country which belongs to those who work there and which will serve as a symbol and guide to the Arab peoples of the Maghreb, the Middle East, and to all African peoples. It is a revolution which has also inflicted some powerful blows on our exploiters and which has also helped in the struggle for a socialist society in France, an objective which the large working class organisations hardly dream of obtaining.

"Agrarian reform, nationalisation or control of industry, democratic assemblies of workers and peasants, the arming of the Algerian masses are the measures which assure the progress of the Algerian revolution.

"Let us assure the Algerian workers, who have always participated in the class struggle alongside the French workers, of complete solidarity with the work which they are going to take up on their return to Algeria. But aid to the Algerian revolution assumes that in France that the workers far from withdrawing, lead a victorious struggle against their exploiters."

ITALY - COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP DEBATES 22nd CONGRESS

We are indebted to the latest issue of the New Left Review for making available in English the text of speeches made in the Central Committee debate on the 22nd Congress.

The 31 speeches reported represented many points of view but in almost all cases called for the systematic critique of Communist political practice in the U.S.S.R. and the rest of the world. This represents an entirely new state of affairs: gone are the days when 'political discussion' boiled down to merely praising the latest declarations of the C.P.S.U.

Some dominant themes emerged: so-called 'polycentrism', that is greater freedom the Communist Parties to decide their own policies instead of following the 'leading party', democracy inside the Communist Party, freedom under socialism and the assessment of Stalinism.

It would be true to day that 'revisionist' ideas predominated but there were many things which we would find ourselves in agreement with. The attack on 'monolithism; the call for the right of 'majorities and minorities'; the attacks against 'justificationism', that is, the tendency to explain all the faults of Stalinism as being due to special conditions, etc., etc. One speaker, spoke of a 'typical feature of Stalinism, the formation of a bureaucratic crust, not as a simple set of habits, but as a massive social and political phenomena.' The days of the Stalinist international monolith are well and truly over - An event of tremendous significance for the development of an international revolutionary alternative.

No real improvement in exports

The following table extracted from the Economist and based upon Board of Trade figures shows quite clearly that there has been no real improvement in the export position of Britain since the Tories launched their measures:

UNITED KINGDOM TRADE

| Seasonally adjusted values | £ million per month | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|
| | Exports fob | Re-exports fob | Imports cif | Crude gap |
| 1961 1st qtr | 309 | 12 | 385 | 64 |
| 2nd " | 305 | 13 | 363 | 45 |
| 3rd " | 309 | 15 | 357 | 33 |
| 4th " | 304 | 13 | 362 | 35 |
| 1962 1st " | 306 | 12 | 367 | 49 |
| 1961 Oct. | 311 | 12 | 378 | 55 |
| Nov. | 305 | 14 | 359 | 40 |
| Dec. | 297 | 14 | 350 | 39 |
| 1962 Jan. | 300 | 12 | 380 | 68 |
| Feb. | 307 | 11 | 362 | 44 |
| Mar. | 312 | 11 | 359 | 36 |

Thus we see that exports averaged over the 1st quarter were down on the same period last year and that any improvement in the 'Crude Gap' figure is entirely due to the decline in imports. This in turn is mainly due to the running down of stocks, etc., arising out of the deflationary measures of the Government. As such it is only a temporary feature or to put it another way if industrial activity picks up this figure will again rise.

Britain compared with other European countries fares badly

Figures for industrial production and the cost of living show Britain in unfavourable light as compared with other industrialised countries in Europe:

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (1953 equals 100)

| | Austria | Belgium | France | Germany FR | Italy | Nether lands | Norway | Sweden | U.K. |
|-----------|---------|---------|--------|------------|-------|--------------|--------|--------|------|
| 1956 | 139 | 123 | 133 | 138 | 128 | 124 | 122 | 114 | 112 |
| 1960 | 175 | 129 | 174 | 179 | 182 | 157 | 147 | 134 | 126 |
| 1961 | | | 184 | 190 | 200 | 159 | 157 | | 128 |
| 1961 Aug. | 175 | 131 | 184 | 177 | 163 | 153 | 159 | 134 | 108 |
| " Sep. | 186 | 138 | 185 | 189 | 212 | 154 | 170 | 141 | 130 |
| " Oct. | 190 | 142 | 188 | 200 | 219 | 161 | 171 | 148 | 132 |
| " Nov. | | 145 | 190 | 210 | 215 | 160 | 179 | 153 | 134 |
| " Dec. | | | 192 | 193 | 208 | 162 | 158 | | 125 |
| 1962 Jan. | | | 194 | 184 | | 162 | 160 | | 125 |

COST OF LIVING (1953 equals 100)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1956 | 108 | 104 | 103 | 104 | 109 | 108 | 109 | 109 | 112 |
| 1960 | 115 | 110 | 134 | 111 | 115 | 121 | 121 | 124 | 121 |
| 1961 | 118 | 111 | 138 | 114 | 118 | 123 | 124 | 127 | 125 |
| " Sep. | 119 | 111 | 138 | 115 | 118 | 124 | 125 | 127 | 126 |
| " Oct. | 119 | 111 | 139 | 115 | 118 | 124 | 126 | 127 | 126 |
| " Nov. | 120 | 111 | 141 | 115 | 119 | 124 | 126 | 128 | 127 |
| " Dec. | 120 | 111 | 141 | 116 | 120 | 124 | 127 | 128 | 128 |
| 1962 Jan. | 121 | 112 | 142 | 117 | 120 | 125 | 128 | 130 | 128 |
| " Feb. | | | | | | | 128 | | 129 |

Thus we see that whereas in industrial production Britain is bottom of the league, even lagging behind Belgium now, when it comes to the cost of living, apart from its fellow EFTA Scandinavian countries, only France because of the Algerian war has a higher rate of increase

SINCE THE PAY PAUSE

The following table is extracted from the Economist and gives a quite clear picture of the effects of the pay pause policy:

| Item | Period covered | | change per cent | Remarks |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---|
| Weekly wage rates | July, 1961 | February, 1962 | up $1\frac{3}{4}$ | Estimates of the total amount paid in wages are only available annually |
| Company profits | 2nd Quarter, 1961 | 3rd Quarter, 1961 | - $3\frac{1}{2}$ | Seasonally adjusted |
| Purchasing power of £ sterling | July 18, 1961 | February 13, 1962 | - $2\frac{1}{2}$ | Based on the retail price index |
| Value of imports | May-July 1961 | Dec. 1961 | no change | Based upon averages of the seasonally adjusted figures for the months shown. |
| Value of exports | May-July 1961 | Feb. 1962 | - 1 | |
| Employment | July 1961 | Jan, 1962 | - $\frac{1}{2}$ | |
| Unemployment (wholly unemployed, excluding school leavers) | July 10 1961 | Mar 12, 1962 | up 67 | The normal seasonal change accounts for more than half of this increase |
| Unfilled vacancies | July 5 1961 | Mar. 7 1962 | - 45 | The normal seasonal change accounts for less than half of this decrease. |
| Central Government expenditure | 2nd Quarter 1961 | 3rd Quarter 1961 | up $2\frac{1}{2}$ | Total current expenditure, including National Insurance benefits and other transfer payments. |
| Industrial Production | July, 1961 | Jan. 1962 | - $4\frac{1}{2}$ | Seasonally adjusted. |

Some indication of changes in dividends can be deduced from the accounts of public companies. Those companies which published their accounts in the period January to July, 1961, showed increases of about $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in ordinary dividends, compared with the previous year, but for dividends declared between August and December, 1961, the increase was less than 5 per cent. (our emphasis)

Anyone who doubts the class nature of the measures introduced by the Tories last year should study these figures. Unemployment up 67% (or over 30% taking into account seasonal factors), vacancies down 45%, industrial production down by $4\frac{1}{2}$ %, the effect on dividends? merely to lower the rate of increase over the previous year from $12\frac{1}{2}$ % to 5% (compare this with the $1\frac{3}{4}$ % increase in wage rates).

YOUNG SOCIALISTS TO HOLD DAY SCHOOL ON CUBA

There will be a school soon after the Municipal elections in Nottingham to which Young Socialists from all over the East Midlands will be invited. The Cuban Embassy have been asked to provide a speaker and it is understood that they will be willing.

As the date depends upon when the Embassy speaker can lecture, full details will have to be given later.

EAST MIDLANDS TO DEBATE INDEC.

There will be a joint meeting of the New Left and C.N.D. to hear a number of speakers from I.N.D.E.C. (the organisation which seeks to sponsor C.N.D. elementary candidates) in Nottingham, May 13th, 3.00 p.m. at the Co-op Education Centre. Anyone having strong views on this subject and we are sure all readers of the Bulletin should come along. More details will be given later. We hope to have an article criticising the arguments of I.N.D.E.C. in the next issue of the Bulletin.

FRONCHONNESE STUDENTS' SCHOOL

There is still time to register for this - dates are 28/29 April and 5/6, May, see previous issues of Bulletin for more details of subjects. Pierre Frank and Ernest Germain will be the main speakers.