

The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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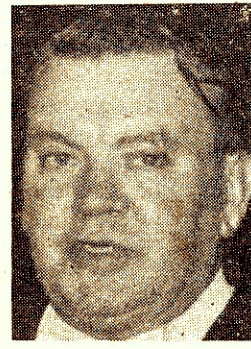
7.30 p.m., Sunday, October 31
The Vestry Hall,
Cemetery Road (Moor End)
Speakers:
Cliff Slaughter, Editor, 'Fourth International'
Dave Ashby, National Secretary, Young Socialists
Jack Gale, Central Committee Member, SLL

PAGE TWO—Dutt versus History Again PAGE FOUR—Another stab at miners
PAGE THREE—Castro turns to the right Picketers jailed

A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE 'DAILY MIRROR'

HANDS OFF THE TRADE UNIONS!

'FINE CAR STRIKERS' SUGGESTION



Made to
Gunter
by car
chiefs

BEHIND the flag-waving and sales ballyhoo of the Motor Show, the attack of the employers on British car workers moves into gear.

According to last week's 'Sunday Times', the employers, led by Rootes' management, put a proposal to Ray Gunter, Minister of Labour, in recent discussions, which was never revealed.

This was a plan for unofficial strikers to be fined automatically, the fines being lifted out of their wage packets.

With the sharpening of competition on the world market, there will be enormous pressure from the U.S. giants to squeeze the remaining British firms out of the market.

This implies a big onslaught on shop organisation and conditions throughout the industry.

In this situation, it is interesting to see the reaction of the 'Daily Worker' and its supporters. The issue of October 20 shows two aspects of this.

'BRITISH CONTROL'

An editorial 'Whose car industry?' is concerned almost exclusively with the fact that Ford, General Motors and Chryslers, the U.S. motor monopolies, dominate the British firms.

'They use British skills, they exploit British workers, they sell in the British market' complains this patriotic editor.

'The U.S. takeover is also bad for the country. It removes a key part of British industry from British control.'

And so, while nationalization, the only answer to the problems of the industry, is put off to the dim and distant future ('One day

it will be owned by the people') the 'Daily Worker' worries about the fact that honest British bosses are denied the right to exploit our car workers!

On page two of the same issue, one Ken Graves pursues the question in greater detail. He includes a statement from Dick Etheridge, convener of Austin, Longbridge, which reveals the big dangers facing motor car workers saddled with leaders like this.

Talking of the complexity of the industry, Etheridge says: 'Quick decisions are needed to avoid trouble and these can only be taken by shop stewards, based on the voluntary discipline vested in us by the shop floor.'

PLEA FOR STEWARDS

'Destroy the standing of the shop stewards and you destroy the link between the workers and management. The trouble is there is not sufficient authority given to the shop stewards, either by management or by the union. We are the unpaid servants of the trade unions with no powers outside our gate.'

Is Mr. Etheridge pleading to be allowed to look after the smooth running of the process of exploitation? The defence of union organisation cannot be separated from the campaign to nationalize the motor monopolies whether British or American-owned, and the building of political leadership to unify these struggles.

by The Editor

IF ever there was a case for a real fighting workers' daily paper, it is shown by this week's serialised attack on British workers and their trade union rights by Cecil King's 'Daily Mirror'.

For years the 'Mirror' has tried to kid its readers that it is a 'Labour' paper of some sort. This reputation, which began to wane after labelling dockers as 'bloody-minded and selfish', is now used to try and 'soften up' the working class for the employers' biggest offensive and for the Labour government to pass laws to restrict trade union action.

After the first article on Monday, the 'Mirror' proudly boasted on its front page 'Mr. Heath salutes the "Mirror's" courage'.

All workers, and especially members of the Transport and General Workers' Union should remember that the 'Daily Mirror', now so lavishly praised by the leading representative of big business, had as its industrial adviser none other than Mr. George Brown, Labour's Minister for Economic Affairs.

In his talks to the TUC leaders in September, Brown made it very clear that laws would be passed to prevent workers and unions pressing wage claims outside of government regulations. Woodcock told the TUC this could mean jail for workers and union officials who acted against the new law.

The 'Mirror' has now taken on the role of the main battering ram of this big step towards capitalist state control of the unions.

Reject measures

Its 'popular' appeal and presentation, its claims to 'frank-speaking'—the 'Daily Mirror' dares—is typical of the pseudo-radical, widespread propaganda which prepared such reactionary measures in Germany and Italy before the war.

The organised workers and their unions must reject out of hand any such measures and the government which enacts them. If Wilson and his colleagues pass these laws, they are giving disciplinary powers over the unions to the capitalist ruling class and not only to the present Cabinet.



Heath: 'salutes the "Mirror's" courage'

The 'Mirror's' sensationalist articles add up to the following:

1. Shorter hours are being abused. 'When shorter hours are negotiated they should actually be worked and not used simply as a springboard for overtime at time-and-a-half from that precise hour onwards. And ever upwards.'

Does the 'Mirror' hope that its readers will assume that some other workers somewhere in their millions are getting time-and-a-half for all overtime? Of course, there are hardly any workers paid at this rate. It is just a cheap method of creating the impression that 'somebody is taking too much out of the kitty', and 'something must be done'.

The 'Mirror' joins in the growing tendency to oppose shorter hours demands and at the same time to insist on two, three and even four-shift working, and so they pick on scapegoats. 'How many firemen are also part-time decorators?' asks the 'Mirror'.

The fact is firemen work some of the longest hours in Britain. Why are they singled out as men who abuse shorter hours? Because they have a wage claim which Brown will want to push back?

2. 'Swinging the lead, dodging the column and overstaffing are now crimes against society. You understand—against society—not against the employer. The bosses' fight to make the maximum profit is exercised on behalf of society. In fact, it is this search for profit which brings chaos, unemployment and war into the life of every worker.'

3. And so it follows, says the 'Mirror', that 'society, through government, must interfere and lay down new laws. . . . We are running out of time.'

The plain truth is that interference is urgently wanted, is long overdue and absolutely essential in the national interest.'

Cont. page 4, col. 7

MPs MUST—

Vote against Wilson on Rhodesia

By John Crawford



Rhodesian police, many of them recruited in Britain, manhandle demonstrators opposing the restrictions on nationalist leaders. The racist attitude of the white minority was highlighted by Garfield Todd's daughter who told an Edinburgh teach-in of Africans going to her father with their eardrums kicked in by police.

WILSON's visit to Salisbury shows the lengths to which this man will go in the service of imperialism. Equipped with a bevy of secretaries, an army of security men, and a letter from the Queen, he was sent out to Rhodesia by big business to try to appease the white settlers and prevent a break between them and London.

SLL PUBLIC MEETING—LEICESTER

Legislation a threat to Midlands jobs

Newsletter Correspondent

'AN attack on the trade unions is an attack on the life of every person here,' Cliff Slaughter, editor of 'Fourth International', told a meeting in Leicester last week-end.

'The working class,' he added, 'must fight on its own behalf to make it impossible for legislation against the unions to go on to the statute books.'

In the large meeting were car workers and other trade unionists, students, and many Young Socialists.

Slaughter described the next six months as 'the most vital in the history of the working class in this country'.

The Wilson government, full of Parliamentary and trade union careerists, was preparing a disaster for the working class on the orders of international capitalists and bankers.

If legislation was allowed to go through Parliament, it would finish everything the Labour Party was founded for.

Strongly organised

The industrial Midlands had a higher level of employment and wages than other parts of the country. This was because the employing class had required a certain kind of labour which they had found in this area, and because the workers had been so strongly organised that they were able to get the level of wages they enjoyed.

But the employers and banks had decided not to tolerate this situation any longer.

too easy. We need a dose of unemployment.'

Every employer knew, said Slaughter, that it was much more difficult for workers in the factory to press for higher wages if there were unemployed outside the factory gates. The Wilson government was preparing laws against the unions so that the employers could carry through this unemployment.

'The chief topic of conversation at the Motor Show was not the new Mini or the Rolls Royce,' declared Slaughter. 'It was how

Cont. page 4, col. 1

PUBLIC MEETINGS

NO LEGISLATION AGAINST THE TRADE UNIONS!
CLEAR OUT THE WILSON-MACDONALD TRAITORS!
FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST POLICIES!

GLASGOW

7.30 p.m., Sunday, November 7
Partick Burgh Hall, Lesser Hall

Speakers:

Cliff Slaughter, Editor, 'Fourth International'
John Robertson, Young Socialist and engineering convenor

LIVERPOOL

8 p.m., Sunday, November 21
Lecture Room, Walker Art Gallery, William Brown Street

Speakers:

G. Healy, National Secretary, SLL
Cliff Slaughter, Editor, 'Fourth International'
Peter Kerrigan, Liverpool docker

BIRMINGHAM

7.30 p.m., Sunday, November 21
Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth

Speakers:

Aileen Jennings, Editor, 'Keep Left'
Mike Banda, Editor, Newsletter
Jack Gale, Central Committee Member, SLL

NEWCASTLE

7.30 p.m., Sunday, November 28
Bridge Hotel, Castle Square

Speakers:

Cliff Slaughter, Editor, 'Fourth International'
Jack Gale, Central Committee Member, SLL
Chairman: J. Williamson, Young Socialists National Committee

BELFAST

7.30 p.m., Sunday, Nov. 14
International Hotel, Donegall Square South

Speaker:

G. Healy, National Secretary, SLL

Vietcong Fights On

AS U.S. battle casualties in Vietnam began to mount, hopes of a negotiated settlement began to fall in the State Department. The state-side demonstrations also added to the woes of the military who are still trying to fathom Vietcong motives and strategies, so far in vain.

The U.S., with close on 150,000 troops, and hoping to have 200,000 by January 1966, is trying desperately to entice the Vietcong into positional warfare so that it can use its ballistic and aerial superiority to devastating effect.

But the Vietcong refuse to play ball.

The biggest disappointment for the Americans so far was when 8,000 U.S. and 5,000 Vietnamese troops made a massive and futile sweep of the Binh Dinh province in order to trap a Vietcong battalion—which escaped in good time leaving the Americans with a handful of prisoners and little else.

Incessant hunt

At the same time the U.S. hopes to keep up an incessant hunt of the Vietcong and with constant aerial observation and bombardment to disperse the Vietcong into smaller and smaller units.

These measures have put a severe strain on the liberation army and have led to an increase in desertions because of shortages of food and medical attention, but there is no indication that the Communist maquis is in any mood to surrender.

On the contrary, as the recent bitter fighting around Plei Me in the Central Highlands has shown, the Vietcong are determined to combine initiative with mobility and flexibility in the guerrilla war.

Despite heavy losses, they continue to attack and are sustained by reinforcements from the North.

This has led one Pentagon

official to declare that 'Not one square mile of South Vietnam is truly pacified. . . . We have a long, long way to go.'

Unable to win this war on the land, the U.S. authorities are trying desperately to wage a war of rumours to create confusion in the ranks of the Vietnamese Communists. (In this they are being willingly assisted by the Moscow and Prague leaders.)

Latest in this campaign is the story that Peking and Hanoi are at loggerheads. The source of this current tale is a statement supposedly made by the Vietcong representative in Moscow that withdrawal of U.S. forces was not a condition for peace talks. This was given wide publicity on Prague radio until the Vietcong representative denied the allegation. No doubt the Kremlin leaders would like to foment a split in the Vietcong and secure another Geneva-type deal with U.S. imperialism.

MORE ATTACKS ON INDONESIAN CP

THE wholesale attack on the Indonesian Communist Party continues with even greater force.

The government banned Sobsi, the Party's trade union wing last Sunday, and ordered the sacking of its members who were absent from work.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives has also announced that all Communist Party MPs have been 'suspended temporarily'.

Despite an appeal from the so-called 'President' Sukarno, anti-Communist demonstrations continue.

Turned increasingly into anti-Chinese attacks, they have involved the wrecking and burning of buildings, especially in central Java.

Meanwhile, Indonesia's economic crisis becomes still more serious.

A galloping inflation is in process, with thousands of millions of rupiahs being put into circulation each month.

Eighteen tons of banknotes are being flown out from France to maintain the supply of currency.

Foreign reserves are almost depleted.

AFTER nearly 40 years of slander and distortion of the history of the Russian Revolution, the leadership of the British Communist Party is being forced, partly under pressure from its own members to discuss the real role of Trotsky in that revolution and the validity of international Stalinism's judgment on Trotskyism as an 'agency of fascism'.

It was R. Palme Dutt, along with Dobb, Rothstein and others, who first helped to sell Stalin and Bukharin's anti-Marxist programme of 'Socialism in one country' to the British section of the Communist International. They led the campaign during and after the Moscow Trials to spread the Stalinist lies concerning the revolutionary record and integrity of Trotsky and his co-thinkers in the Soviet Union.

It was at this time (January 1937) that Dutt wrote in the Communist Party pamphlet 'The Truth About Trotskyism' that it was 'essential to destroy the Trotskyist propaganda and influence which is seeking to win a foothold within the labour movement, since these attempts represent in fact the channel of fascist perpetration into the labour movement'.

Dutt claims in his reply to critics of his review of Trotsky's 'History of the Russian Revolution' that it is impossible to give judgments on the validity of charges made against Trotsky because 'the full facts can only be made available from the Soviet Union when the work of legal investigation and historical research is made complete'.

Must we not assume then, that all Dutt's earlier estimations of Trotsky were based on incomplete information, and that the sentences passed at the Moscow Trials of 1936-38 were similarly ill-founded?

Trapped

The whole tone of Dutt's reply in the 'Daily Worker' of October 15 is of a tired old hack trapped in a corner. Having been taken up by a reader on October 4 for using the review of the book as an excuse to indulge in the old-style mud-slinging against Trotsky, Dutt justifies his decision to re-review the book 'as a polemical expression corresponding to the political outlook of Trotsky'.

But the difference between Dutt and Trotsky is that the latter uses ample materials, giving all his sources, to back up his polemical positions, while Dutt can marshal nothing in reply.

In his reply to 'Daily Worker' readers, he now undertakes not general, but specific criticism of the book, purporting to prove 'specific examples of the inadequacies of this history as an objective, trustworthy history'.

This pedantic tone of Dutt's comes well from a leading member of a party which, after 40 and more years of existence, has yet to write its own history—objective, trustworthy or otherwise.

And before we take issue with the points Dutt challenges, we would like to inquire what store he now sets by the ill-famed 'short course', basic reading for all members of the international Stalinist movement from 1938 until 1956, when Khrushchev roundly condemned it as 'permeated with



The distortions of Soviet history contained in R. Palme Dutt's review of Trotsky's 'History of the Russian Revolution' are destroyed by
ROBERT BLACK

the cult of the individual, which 'speaks principally about Stalin, about his speeches, about his reports. Everything without the smallest exception is tied to his name'.

This history was then pulped and replaced by another equally anti-Trotskyist version, but with the role of Stalin played down and that of Khrushchev grossly overated.

This, too, has been withdrawn and yet another is now in preparation—no doubt soon to meet the same fate as its predecessors.

Write history

So, in examining the claims of Dutt as a fighter for historical truth, we should bear in mind that his own movement has yet to write its history even to its own satisfaction.

Dutt's first point is that Trotsky 'fails to demonstrate the key organising role of the party in the factories, which raised its membership from 12,000 in March to 240,000 in September (No mention of this)'.

This is easily disposed of. In chapter 3 of book three, 'Struggle for the Soviet Congress', Trotsky analyses in some detail the ways in which the Bolsheviks strengthened their influence in the various workers' organisations just prior to the seizure of power. On page 935, he says the following:

'On the same day, the 19th, an all-Russian conference of Factory and Shop Committees, the most direct and indubitable representation of the proletariat in the whole country, came out for an immediate transfer of power to the soviets.'

Earlier, on page 432, he deals with this struggle for dominance in the factories by the Bolsheviks, with reference to the key Putilov works, which employed 40,000 workers. Trotsky thought this aspect of the party work important enough to quote from a worker at that plant, who related the change brought about by the arrival of a leading Bolshevik worker, Volodarsky, in the area.

'From the moment of his arrival in the Narva district, the ground began to slip under the feet of the Socialist Revolutionary gentlemen, and in the course of something like two months the Putilov works had gone over to the Bolsheviks.'

Disagree

So we would not agree with Dutt that Trotsky 'fails to demonstrate the key organising role of the party in the factories'—on the contrary, pages 786-787 deal with this very point:

'The party, which on the eve of the October revolution

had only 240,000 members, was more and more confidently leading these millions (those millions of workers represented in the soviets) through the medium of the trade unions, the factory and shop committees and the soviets.' (our emphasis)

And Dutt says quite explicitly that there is 'no mention of this'!

Dutt's second point, for the sake of clarity, must be reproduced in full.

'He (Trotsky) gives the picture that he and his tiny group were in agreement with Lenin by 1917 (they



Trotsky: President of the Revolutionary Soviet Committee

joined in July) and hides the fact that at their conference in May, Trotsky persuaded his group to reject Lenin's invitation to join on condition of a clean break with the Mensheviks' "Patriotic Wing" (which he also rejected throughout the war).'

First, to clarify the position of Trotsky in the war. He never at any time adopted a defencist or patriotic position. Trotsky's political weakness during this period, and in fact from 1905, was that he tried to bring together opposed factions in the Russian Social Democratic Party, not on the basis of principles, but on the question of organisational unity.

On his return from America in May 1917, he made clear his adherence to the Theses of Lenin on the need for the overthrow of the bourgeois provisional government, support that Lenin lacked even within his own central committee.

From then on, Trotsky fought within 'his tiny group' for unity with the Bolsheviks on the basis of Lenin's April Theses.

'Internationalist'

Opposition to unity came not from Trotsky, but from Yurenev and the later Stalin henchman, Manuilsky.

In the first Russian edition of Lenin's 'Works', is the following note on page 488 of Vol. XIV:

'On the war question the Mezhrayontsi (Trotsky's group) held an internationalist position and their tactics were close to the Bolsheviks.'

Even the 'Old Guard' Stalinist writer Louis Aragon, in his

book 'A History of the U.S.S.R.' lets Dutt down:

'On August the 8th, with Sverdlov as president, there opened the sixth congress of the Russian Social Democratic Worker's Party (Bolsheviks), the party's most considerable meeting since before the war: it brought together delegates representing 240,000 members, whereas the party had no more than 80,000 at the time of the April conference. The Mezhrayonka had sent delegates to it, and among the elected chairmen Yurenev sat with Sverdlov, Oblinsky and Stalin. Apart from Lenin, the honorary presidents were Zinoviev, Kollantay, Kamenev, Trotsky and Lunarcharsky, the last two being Mezhrayontsi. Sverdlov recalled that the April conference had decided to open the party to all social democrats who had broken with the Menshevik defencists. In fact, ever since May, the work had been carried out by the Petrograd Bolshevik Committee and the Mezhrayontsi committee, acting together.' (page 41, Aragon, 'A History of the U.S.S.R.')

The defencists

On the question of relations with the defencists after the bourgeois revolution of February, it is revealing to contrast the position of Lenin and Trotsky with that of Stalin. Once again, Aragon is helpful.

He reproduces Lenin's telegram of March 19 to the Party:

'Our tactics: total distrust, no support government, distrust Kerensky above all, arming proletariat sole guarantee, immediate election Petrograd Duma, no reconciliation between parties. Wire this Petrograd. Ulyanov.'

He also reproduces Stalin's own mealy-mouthed admission of his own errors of that period.

'It was a deeply mistaken attitude, for it begot pacifist illusions, gave support to those who made a creed of defence, and made the revolutionary education of the masses harder. . . . At that time I, together with other members of the party, shared this mistaken attitude.'

No compromise

What Stalin does not admit is that as editor of 'Pravda' at this time, he allowed Kamenev to write openly defencist articles that were indistinguishable from those appearing in the Menshevik press. On Trotsky's relations with the Mensheviks, Lenin had this to say:

'As for a compromise—I cannot even speak about that seriously. Trotsky said a long time ago that unification is impossible. Trotsky understood this, and from that time on there has been no better Bolshevik.' (Minutes of the Petrograd Committee, November 14, 1917)

Dutt finally takes up Trotsky's military record in the preparation for and execution of the October seizure of power. Dutt makes three claims: one, that Trotsky was not president of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet; two, that the Military Revolutionary 'centre of five' (which Dutt correctly points out had Stalin

DUTT VERSUS HISTORY AGAIN



Trotsky (left) with Lenin (centre) and Kamenev (right)

as a member but not Trotsky) functioned contrary to Trotsky's claims that it did not; and three, that Stalin played an important part on the Military Revolutionary Committee (the body that set up the 'centre of five').

Stalin himself corrects Dutt on the first point:

'All the practical work in connection with the organising of the uprising was done under the immediate direction of Comrade Trotsky, the President of the Soviet. It can be stated with certainty that the party is indebted primarily and principally to Comrade Trotsky for the rapid going over of the garrison to the side of the soviet and the efficient manner in which the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee was organised.' (from Stalin's 'The October Revolution', page 18, Lawrence and Wishart, 1936)

Explain please!

'It can be stated with certainty—we would like Dutt's comments! This was written by Stalin in 'Pravda' on November 6, 1918. If it was not true, why did Stalin write it? This passage was omitted from the later 'Works' of Stalin (Vol. 4, page 157). Perhaps Dutt will explain both the original statement and the cut.

Secondly, Dutt, in making great play of the fact that Trotsky was not a member of the 'centre of five', fails to point out that neither also was Lenin.



John Reed: author of 'Ten Days That Shook the World'

The answer to this problem lies in the Minutes of the Bolshevik central committee of October 29, 1917:

'The central committee created a military revolutionary centre with the following members: Sverdlov, Stalin, Bubnov, Uritsky and Dzerzhinsky. This centre is to be a constituent part of the Revolutionary Soviet Committee.' (our emphasis)

But this last-named body was none other than the military

truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.'

All these questions, which we think have been adequately dealt with, were first raised in the attempts by Stalin and his factions to re-write communist history under the pressure of passing, unprincipled political blocs first, with Zinoviev and Kamenev, then with Bukharin and Rykov, and finally, having purged the entire Bolshevik 'Old Guard', with their careerist successors.

Twists & turns

The twists and turns of 'official' communist history are but the record of the degeneration of Stalinism from a centrist, empirically acting tendency within the Bolshevik party into an openly counter-revolutionary force, which throughout the world has led workers to defeat after defeat in the interests of preserving for the Soviet bureaucracy a friendly relationship with world imperialism.

The Trotskyist movement, because it has always based itself on firm Leninist principles, and not on the wretched and discredited 'theory' of peaceful co-existence with imperialism, is able to write its own history. Trotsky's work will stand for ever as a testimony to the science of Marxism, as a penetration into the motive forces of the class struggle and the processes by which they are transformed into their highest point: insurrection.

Debate again

In contrast to Dutt, and also to Deutscher and other would-be Trotsky canonisers, this, for us, is the core of Trotsky's 'History'. Its great literary merit is a secondary question, which is blown up out of all proportion by those, including Dutt, who want to hide and bury the revolutionary meaning of Trotsky's message.

The debate has been recommenced, but this time with the working class on the advance, not as in the 1920s, in retreat.

Questions of history will now be resolved in the construction of a revolutionary party under the banner of Trotskyism, that will sweep Dutt and his fellow falsifiers into oblivion.

Two references

As for Stalin's work during the actual days of the uprising, we can turn to several sources. John Reed's book 'Ten Days That Shook The World', which is a minute-by-minute account of the struggle by the Bolsheviks to take the power, has two references to Stalin in the whole of its 322 pages. Neither reference deals with his alleged military activities.

As for Trotsky, there are 53 references to his work. There are no fewer than 80 references to the activities of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee. There are none concerning the whereabouts of the body of which Stalin was a member.

About John Reed's book, Lenin said the following:

'Unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world . . . it gives a

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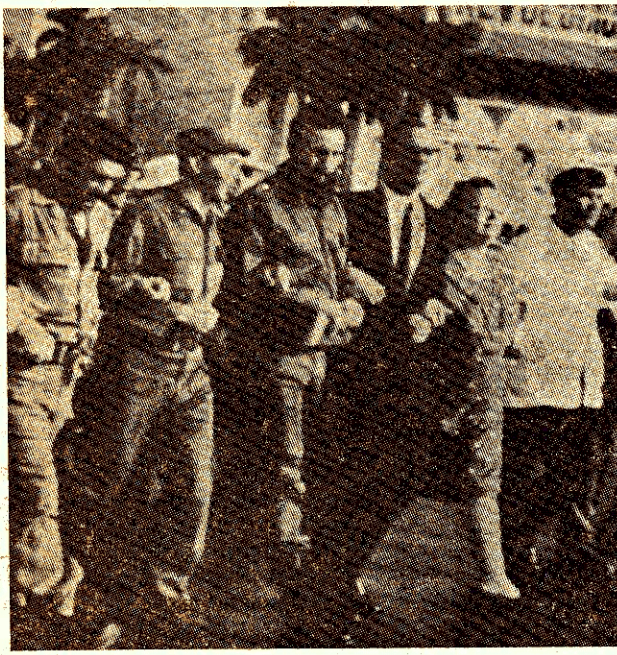
Appendix: A discussion with Trotsky—Stenographic report dated 12-15 June, 1940

Price: Three shillings each. Obtainable from:
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS LTD.,
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Lenin (left) with Bukharin (centre) and Zinoviev (right)

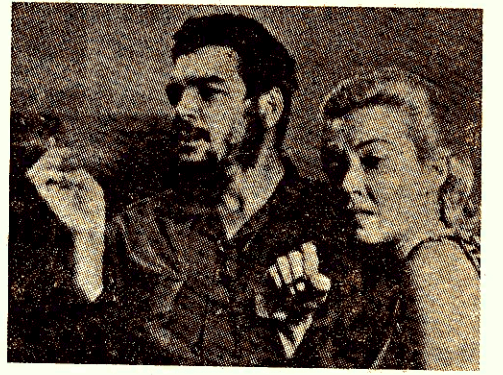
Cuban revolution devours its own children



In earlier days, Che Guevara (left) with Raul and Fidel Castro and Cuba's president Dorticos

Castro turns to the right

In late 1964 Ernesto (Che) Guevara, Castro's right-hand man, attacked Soviet trade policy on U.S. television (see right). Earlier this year he disappeared from the political scene. MICHAEL BANDA describes the events leading up to this in terms of the rightward turn of the Castro regime



FOR seven years, the Castro regime has survived the attempts of U.S. imperialism to overthrow it. The trade embargo, the Bay of Pigs invasion, the missiles crisis, the landing of exile bands: these and many other provocations have so far failed to topple the Cuban government.

What enabled the Castro regime to outlive the most optimistic predictions of its enemies, however, was not any superior strategy on Castro's part—but the enthusiastic and total support of the workers and peasants of Cuba, as well as the reluctance of the Pentagon and the State Department to intervene militarily in a situation which could be settled by diplomatic and economic means.

Although the Cuban workers and peasants were—and are—deprived of all political power by the regime which has ruled Cuba without a constitution or even the pretence of any organic law for seven years, nevertheless, they continue to support the Castro regime because of the substantial economic benefits which the overthrow of the Batista regime brought them.

The revisionists in the 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International' and particularly the Socialist Workers' Party of America hailed these changes as the emergence of a new workers' state—and even a socialist state.

The Socialist Labour League and The Newsletter warned that without a Marxist working-class party and the institutions of workers' power, such as soviets, there could be no socialism, nor any effective planning in Cuba, and that the

Castro leadership, it could not formulate a viable plan for industrialisation and socialist management of the nationalized enterprises, which were enterprises of a state-capitalist type not unlike the British coal mines.

Anarchic spending

Soviet aid (700 million dollars in four years) under these conditions, could not be rationally used, but instead was utilised in an anarchic and wasteful manner.

When Castro did elaborate a programme, it was so ambitious and fantastic that it virtually crippled agriculture (the sugar crop fell from 6,800,000 tons in 1961 to 3,800,000 in 1963).

By the time the sugar industry revived—after Castro scrubbed the industrialisation plan—the world price of sugar had fallen steeply and so had the foreign exchange earnings

of the Cuban economy.

The initial stimulus to the economy given by the agrarian reform has petered out and the economy now suffers from serious shortages and grave dislocations caused partly by the U.S. trade embargo, but largely by the mismanagement of the economy and the failure of the state leadership to work out an integrated plan for the economy.

Cuba has all the vices of a bureaucratic workers' state—without any of its virtues!

Increased repression

Every setback to the economy, every new shortage is met by increased repression and a greater centralisation of power at the top.

From being a Bonapartist regime—Castro is now evolving towards a super-Bonapartist.

In the early period he attempted to harness the Stalinist Party to the government.

By doing this, he achieved two objectives at once: he utilised the talents of the Stalinist intellectuals and functionaries to discipline the labour and trade union movement (as when they attacked the Posadas group in Havana and smashed the press for Trotsky's book 'Permanent Revolution'), and at the same time he was able to use them as willing scapegoats for any failures of the regime.

First victim

The first victim was Escalante. He was dismissed and accused of bureaucracy and flown off to Prague.

There was no discussion, nor a whimper of protest from the Stalinists.



Castro's plans for the Cuban economy were so ambitious they crippled agriculture

Between May and December, 1964, another four pro-Moscow ministers were fired summarily—also presumably for bureaucracy.

Again there was no discussion, and hardly an explanation.

Bureaucratic blindness

The Missiles Crisis of 1962 brought a sharp clash with Moscow and Castro began to lean heavily on Peking.

No amount of scapegoats from the Stalinist stable could compensate for the alarming disproportions in the economy and for the bureaucratic blindness of the state-party leadership.

In February 1965, Castro fired Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, the oldest Stalinist hack who first served Batista and then became director of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform under Castro.

The firing of Rodriguez was concerned with the extent of the agrarian reform and signified that Castro was preparing to retreat and make conces-

via his trade relations with the USSR.

But the terms of Soviet trade were anything but equitable to Cuba.

Ernesto (Che) Guevara, as principal economic director, was keenly aware of the nature of Soviet-Cuban trade relations and, in particular, of the prices charged by the USSR, which were no different from those charged by the imperialists.

There were not only unequal, but exploitative.

U.S. policy

Some people imagine that there is an inexplicable contradiction between Castro's concessions to the right wing at home and his increasing reliance on Soviet aid abroad.

In fact there is none and the imperialists have lost no time in exploiting it. As 'The Times' in its leader (22/10/65) commented:

'The United States has settled down with the policy of keeping Cuba as dependent as possible on Russia, and as discredited as possible in the rest of Latin America. . . . The policy has



Why did Castro wait for seven months before producing a 'letter' from Guevara?

sions to the private sector in agriculture.

While Castro struck at the Stalinists at home, he was careful to maintain a correct, if not cordial, relationship with Moscow. For, so long as the U.S. trade embargo continued, Castro was forced to define Cuba's economic relations with the world economy indirectly

certainly paid some dividends . . . Cuba's physical capacity to promote revolution has also been reduced, though that may be due as much to Russian restraint as to American pressure.'

Resented Soviet methods

Guevara, who was inspired by the utopian idea of building an industrial-capitalist Cuba—with a large state sector—at a time when capitalism was in decline, resented these practices bitterly.

The crunch came at the end of 1964 when Guevara made a bitter attack in a television interview in America on Soviet trade policy and accused the Russians and East Europeans of being 'accomplices of imperialist exploitation'.

Castro, hoping to sign a new trade agreement with the USSR, and already trimming his economic sails to suit the pressure of strong bourgeois-reactionary forces in Cuba, decided to use the power conferred on him by previous purges to crush Guevara.

But, because Guevara was no ordinary Stalinist or Fidelista, Castro had to use different methods than those employed on Escalante and Rodriguez.

Guevara's popularity, however, counted for little in the struggle. Like his admirers in the Socialist Workers' Party, he had acquiesced in the arbitrary purges of opponents and centralisation of power in Castro's hands. The apparatus was Castro's—the reforms were Guevara's.



While Castro struck out at Stalinists at home he maintained cordial, and very convenient, relations with the Soviet bureaucracy. Here he is seen with friends in Moscow

Massive penetration of U.S. capital into Europe

IN the background to the talks on the reform of the world's monetary system and the meeting of the International Monetary Fund (see The Newsletter for the past two weeks) has been a dramatic increase in the volume of American investment into Europe.

The size of this investment and its nature—often in the most up-to-date plants and industries of Europe—has brought increasing opposition from the capitalist states in Europe, especially France.

'PAY IN GOLD'

The proposals of France for the reform of the world monetary system involve the demand that, in future, America pay for all these investments in gold and not in dollars, which, as a 'reserve currency' (i.e., a currency in which many states are willing to hold their reserves), enjoys a privileged position.

France has also threatened to transfer her present dollar balances into gold, which would further deplete the American holdings of gold.

What lies behind these developments?

In the first place, the great increase in the export of capital from America has been in response to her own difficulties at home. With the rapid accumulation of capital which occurred in America during and after the war, pressure upon the rate of profit in America was offset by the increasing export of capital abroad, especially into Europe, where wages and working conditions were more favourable to profitable investment.

BEHIND TARIFF WALL

Secondly, the creation of the Common Market, with a large potential, especially in Germany, Italy and France, meant that American giant firms had to establish plants behind the tariff wall if they were not to be forced out.

Thirdly, American capital and aid has come into Europe, especially in the immediate post-war years, as a means of ensuring a degree of social stability against the 'threat of Communism'.

But the really spectacular increase has occurred in the recent past. American monopoly-capitalism now has a dominant stake in the European engineering, rubber, food, pharmaceuticals, petro-chemicals and motors.

Over the last five years investment from America into Western Germany has risen by 165 per cent, and now stands at two billion dollars; in France it

By PETER JEFFRIES

has risen by 130 per cent and now stands at 1.5 billion dollars; in Italy it has risen by 150 per cent and currently stands at 800 million dollars; in the Netherlands it has risen by 115 per cent and currently stands at 525 million dollars; in Belgium and Luxembourg it has increased by 100 per cent and now stands at 434 million dollars.

Investment into France has perhaps been most significant.

Here, from the American point of view, conditions were ideal—cheap labour, a relatively large peasant population which offered a potential labour market, and the chance to sell into the mass European market.

CONTROL INDUSTRY

U.S. companies are now responsible for 65 per cent of French manufacture of farm machinery. They also make a majority of the refrigerators, the sewing machines, typewriters and control nearly all the entire computer industry, which is, of course, vital for the modern technological developments now taking place under capitalism.

Machines Bull, France's number one computer firm, is unable to compete with American rivals, General Electric or IBM.

The turnover of the French electronics industry is 5.56 million

francs, compared to General Electric of 27.6 million francs and I.B.M. of 14.6 million francs.

The buying out of Simca by Chryslers, Remington Rand's decision to close down one of its massive plants in Lyons, and the buying out of the French canning industry by Libbys, which now controls much of the Provence region, has caused considerable concern on the part of De Gaulle and the French bourgeoisie.

MASSIVE PLANTS

U.S. capital has similarly penetrated most of the other European countries, establishing massive plants and using the available supplies.

In most industries, it is a case of several hundred small European firms competing against a couple of U.S. giants. This is true in the case of chemicals, motors, petro-chemicals, Volkswagen, the biggest of the European car makers, is dwarfed by General Motors, which makes four times as many cars.

The turnover of General Motors is 10 per cent higher than the Dutch national income. Yet the two biggest firms in Europe—Royal Dutch Shell and Unilever—are Dutch owned.

As a result, a writer in the U.S. paper of business 'Fortune' recently commented:

'The gap which exists between Europe and the States is comparable to the gap which existed between Great Britain and India in the nineteenth century.'

This continuing penetration of capital into Europe in the search for higher profits must mean the elimination of many European firms which are operating with hopelessly out-of-date technological methods. Many of the firms in motors, oil, steel, chemicals, etc., must go in the next few years.

On the other hand, this massive out-pouring of capital from the States has brought its problems for President Johnson—it has weakened the payments balance, placed a question mark against the dollar, and brought political conflicts between France and America.

Johnson has suggested that action will have to be taken to curb the export of capital abroad—in the military as well as the civilian fields.

SHARPER BATTLES

But to do that could mean too much capital searching for profit in the economy at home—with a depression of profit rates.

This growing battle between the giants of America and Europe means that the working class in both areas will be drawn into sharper battles with their employers.

No tampering with the present monetary systems, no 'incomes policies', or 'national plans' can avoid this. These economic developments must pave the way for a period of decisive class struggle in Europe and America.

