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A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

STRIKE BACK AGAINST CAPITALISM

THE capitalists hit at the interests of working people week in and week out, year in and year out. We must wage stubborn and continuous struggle against their attacks in every field. On the job they seek to increase their exploitation of the people by speed-up of work and by lengthening the hours of overtime, while the basic wage is deliberately kept down. In this they are aided and abetted by the official trade union leaderships. Only by fighting to increase the basic wage can workers successfully develop the fight to ban overtime. **WE MUST FIGHT FOR AN IMMEDIATE INCREASE OF £2 PER WEEK ON EVERY BASIC WAGE, FOR THE 40-HOUR WEEK AND THREE WEEKS HOLIDAY WITH PAY FOR EVERY WORKER.**

In the field of housing the capitalists maintain a shortage of homes for working people in order to force up rents and mortgage payments. Through their control of the state they have abolished nearly all rent controls over private landlords, with the 1957 Rent Act and others; and compelled local councils, and those who seek mortgages to buy their own homes, to borrow at high rates of interest from the financiers. The rents which working people are forced to pay have more than doubled in the last ten years, and mortgage payments have become a burden for millions of workers. **WE MUST FIGHT FOR AN IMMEDIATE CUT BY ONE HALF IN ALL RENTS AND ALL MORTGAGE PAYMENTS, MUNICIPALISED HOUSING AND INTEREST-FREE LOANS TO THE COUNCILS AND ALL HOME-OWNERS COULD MAKE THIS POSSIBLE TOMORROW.**

In the field of social services the capitalist state has reduced the real value of benefits, and made a mockery of the workers' fight for a free health service, and genuine security for the sick, the aged and the unemployed. **WE MUST FIGHT FOR AN IMMEDIATE INCREASE OF £2 PER WEEK IN ALL BENEFITS AND PENSIONS, AND FOR A FREE AND FULL HEALTH SERVICE FOR ALL.**

Democratic liberties, which our people have fought for for centuries, are under constant attack from the ruling class, whose state laws in recent years have progressively restricted the rights of working people. **WE MUST FIGHT IMMEDIATELY TO END ALL RESTRICTIONS ON THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND FOR FULL RECOGNITION AND FACILITIES TO ORGANISE ON THE JOB. WE MUST FIGHT TO GUARANTEE ALL FAMILIES AGAINST EVICTION FROM THEIR HOMES. WE MUST FIGHT TO END ALL DISCRIMINATION ON GROUNDS OF COLOUR, RACE, CREED OR SEX.**

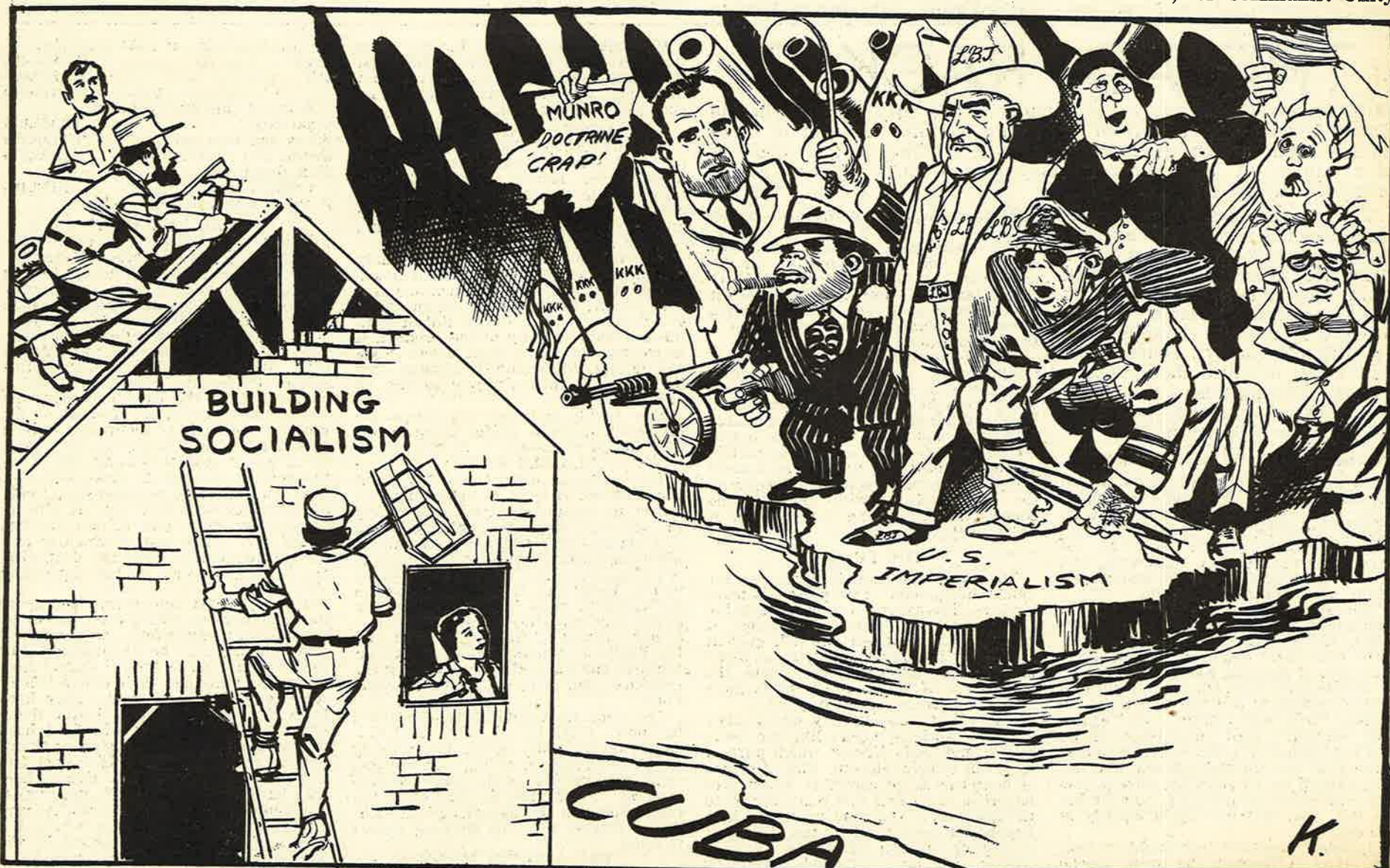
The capitalists who rule Britain step up their taxation of the people year after year in order to pay for their military expenditure, imperialist bases, and wars throughout the world. They join with the United States imperialists, and others, in pacts of aggression under which United States troops occupy our country, and British troops occupy other lands. **WE MUST FIGHT FOR THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL UNITED STATES BASES, TROOPS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM BRITAIN, AND ALL BRITISH BASES, TROOPS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM OTHER LANDS; FOR THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL BY BRITAIN FROM ALL UNITED STATES DOMINATED PACTS OF AGGRESSION, SUCH AS N.A.T.O. AND S.E.A.T.O., AND FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS.**

The military expenditure of imperialism is aimed at maintaining the exploitation and oppression of nations throughout the world. **WE MUST FIGHT FOR THE IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF ALL THE PEOPLES STILL UNDER DIRECT BRITISH COLONIAL RULE AND AGAINST ALL THE TECHNIQUES OF NEO-COLONIALISM. WE MUST FIGHT FOR A UNITED AND INDEPENDENT IRELAND, AND FOR THE RIGHT OF THE SCOTTISH AND WELSH NATIONS TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE.**

These demands must be fought for now. Let every organisation which claims to represent the interests of working people be asked to raise these demands, and to mobilise the people in order to fight for them. We will unite on these issues with all who are willing to join in the struggle. But those who reject these demands, or who pay them lip-service alone, must be exposed. For it is the capitalists, and those who serve them, who stand in the way of achieving these demands. So long as they retain state power there can be no guarantee of liberty, no security from unemployment, hardship and war.

The working class must unite the people to strike back against the attacks of the capitalists. In so doing they will learn to distinguish true friends from false. **THEY WILL COME TO RECOGNISE THE NEED TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM, AND ESTABLISH A SOCIALIST BRITAIN, WHICH WILL, IN FRIENDSHIP WITH THE PEOPLES OF ALL LANDS, UTILISE THE GREAT RESOURCES OF THIS COUNTRY FOR THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE ALONE.**

The Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity.



"LOOK! A COMMIE THREAT TO OUR WAY OF LIFE."

PALME DUTT AND TRICKERY

THE real test of Marxist leadership is in mastering the technique of applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the practice in their own particular country. Neither R.P.D. nor the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain, have ever fully mastered this technique. The history of the C.P.G.B. is not a history of successfully applied Marxist theory. Far from it. R.P.D. and the C.P. leadership adapted themselves to policies formulated elsewhere. Such a leadership cannot possibly gain the respect and support of the working class; on the contrary, it will earn only their contempt and this is exactly what is happening. R.P.D. and the C.P. leadership are despised by militant workers and ignored by the masses.

But R.P.D., the pseudo-Marxist theorist, persists. He is going to hold on to his little petty bourgeois niche in capitalist society come what may. He is a slippery customer but not slippery enough. He could somehow get away with it under Stalin. But his present master, Khrushchev, is making his job awfully difficult, almost impossible. Now R.P.D. is caught in a net from which to expose for all to see the revisionist face behind the mask of Marxism-Leninism. Now any elementary student can tear R.P.D.'s arguments in shreds and tatters.

According to the *Daily Worker* of 16/4/64, R.P.D.'s articles on the international Communist movement is the first of a series. This is great news. The revisionists will expose their bankruptcy even more now. R.P.D. admits that his heart is not in it:

"British Communists had reluctantly engaged in the public discussion, feeling that questions of difference should be settled by comradely, collective discussion along the lines indicated in the 1960 Statement."

This is not the reason for their reticence. Actually, the C.P. leaders are frightened men, and above all, they are afraid of having to expose their nakedness to their own rank and file. They have trampled all over Marxist-Leninist theory and now they have to use all the dirty tricks of the bourgeois politicians, reformists and petty bourgeois charlatans. Lies, slanders and distortions have become part of their stock-in-trade. Let us demonstrate:

"The Peking People's Daily article of March 31 openly repudiated the 1960 Statement of 81 Communist Parties."

The opposite is the case. Unlike Khrushchev, the Chinese comrades have always supported both in deeds and words the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. As is well known, these documents posed the possibility of both peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism, though they said nothing about doing this through capturing Parliament. But the revisionists are unscrupulously using this to claim that these documents are an endorsement of their revisionist policy as outlined in "The British Road

to Socialism." The Editorial Departments of "Renmin Ribao" and Hongqi" gave a lengthy and detailed explanation as to how the formulation of the documents on the question of peaceful transition were arrived at and as to how the delegation of the C.P. of China made a concession on this question out of consideration for the needs of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. To quote from "Comment on the Open Letter of the C.C. of the CPSU (8):"

OPEN LETTER

"It must be solemnly declared that the Chinese C.P. has all along maintained its differing views on the formulation of the question of transition from capitalism to socialism in the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. We have never concealed our views. We hold that in the interest of the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and in order to prevent the revisionists from misusing these programmatic documents of the fraternal Parties, it is necessary to amend the formulation of the question in the Declaration and the Statement through joint consultation of Communist and Workers' Parties as to conform to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism."

R.P.D. says that this is an open repudiation of the 1960 Statement. What rubbish. And what a dishonest trick it is to boldly make this charge while at the same time with-holding all the facts and background—a typical trick of the petty bourgeois charlatan which has nothing in common with comprehensive all-round Marxist analysis.

Mr. Dutt goes on to say: "They allege that the conception of the possibility of the peaceful transition to Socialism in certain countries as a result of the change in the balance of forces in the modern world situation, is an invention first put forward by the report of Comrade Khrushchev at the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956. This is incorrect."

This is a plain lie. To quote the Chinese comrades' own words:

"Since the days of World War II, we have witnessed the emergence of Browderite revisionism, Titoite revisionism and the theory of structural reform. These varieties of revisionism are local phenomena in the international communist movement."

(Incidentally, "The British Road to

Socialism" can be included amongst this local phenomena). To continue:

"But Khrushchev's revisionism, which has emerged and gained ascendancy in the leadership of the CPSU, constitutes a major question of overall significance for the international communist movement with a vital bearing on the success or failure of the entire revolutionary cause of the international proletariat."

R.P.D. is losing his grip, but it is an indication of revisionist bankruptcy when their celebrated spokesman has to resort to out-and-out falsehood.

Now let us take a look at the next typical gem, characteristic of R.P.D.'s peculiarly crafty brand of presentation of an argument:

"The British Road to Socialism," adopted in 1951 was reprinted in *Pravda* and in Communist organs all over the world, and was recognised as winning the approval of leading international Communists including the leadership of the C.P.S.U., with Stalin at their head. "Thus the abuse directed by the Chinese comrades against Khrushchev in this respect is in reality directed against Stalin."

DUTT AND TRICKERY

You see how R.P.D. looks at Stalin in his totality with no attempt to differentiate between his positive and negative features, his good and bad points, his greatness and his defects. It is a hoary old trick, as old as Methuselah, to lump it altogether, so that a criticism of a small defect becomes an attack on everything. It is Khrushchev in reverse. As is well known, Khrushchev completely negated everything Stalin did and stood for. Though he has been dead this last 11 years, Khrushchev still blames Stalin for his own terrible blunders. R.P.D. underwrote and supported all Khrushchev's attacks upon Stalin, yet now he has the effrontery to pose as a defender of Stalin. What cheek. By a torturous, devious route, R.P.D. manufactures a fictional attack on Stalin by the Chinese comrades, yet all the vilification and abuse heaped upon Stalin by Khrushchev is supported by R.P.D. Not a peep have we heard from him in defence of the memory of Comrade Stalin against Khrushchev's lying calumnies.

R.P.D. has quite a lot to say against factionalism—he calls the Chinese comrades "splitters." But who are the splitters? None other than Khrushchev and R.P.D. himself, because they have split away from Marxism-Leninism, they have become revisionists. When Lenin split away from the old revisionists they called Lenin a splitter, they accused Lenin of factionalism. In the same way that Comrade Lenin conducted a bitter, to-the-death ideological battle against the old revisionists, so it is necessary now for all Marxist-Leninists to conduct a similar fight against the modern revisionists like Khrushchev and his erudite disciple. R.P.D. keeps on repeat-

ing his boring conjuror's trick of lumping things together. As with Stalin, so it is with the all-embracing headings of "unity in the international Communist movement" and "opposition to factionalism." The point is what sort of unity and what sort of factionalism is R.P.D. talking about? There is unity and unity; and there is factionalism and factionalism. To quote Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed. Moscow, Vol. 20 p.211:

"Unity—a great cause and a great slogan! But the workers' cause requires the unity of the Marxists and not the unity of the Marxists with the opponents and distorters of Marxism."

Yes, Lenin did oppose factionalism all his life, but it was the factionalism of disrupters and opponents of Marxism, it was the factionalism of the "distorters of Marxism." But when it was necessary to break away from the anti-Marxists, the old revisionists, Kautsky and Bernstein, he never hesitated. Now under the guise of this false unity, R.P.D. and the C.P. leadership are trying to drown the authentic voice of Marxism-Leninism. But they will fail, just like all their predecessors failed.

"No Party," Mr. Dutt, "has the right to issue instructions to another Party." The C.P. of China never has done, does not and never will "issue instructions to another party." It has never claimed such a "right" and never will. But what strange, selective logic. You see, it is quite all right when Khrushchev does it. When the Soviet leader called upon the Albanian comrades to overthrow their leadership, where was R.P.D.? When Khrushchev was peregrinating all over Europe crudely interfering in the affairs of various C.P.s. and getting leaders removed under the pretext of de-Stalinisation, where was Mr. Dutt? It cannot even be said to his credit that he was silent, because the record shows that he actively supported Khrushchev's disruptive activities. Then we get the following gem:

"All fraternal relations between C.P.s. would be destroyed if this principle of independence and non-intervention in internal affairs as between C.P.s. were not recognised."

Did R.P.D. ever attack Khrushchev for his blatant intervention in the internal affairs of individual C.P.s? Not he. He attacks the Chinese comrades for upholding Marxism-Leninism.

Poor old Dutt, his time is running out. His master Khrushchev, with his big mouth and impulsive nature, is giving him no peace, no room for manoeuvre, and the Chinese comrades too are forcing his hand, compelling him to expose himself against his will and better judgment. R.P.D. is a cool and cautious cookie, much more subtle than Khrushchev, the clown and buffoon. He is a cagey bird but he is cornered. There is nowhere he can fly to. He will go the way of all revisionists. Soon, he may not even be able to flap his own wings.

JACK ANGEL

THE AD. RACKET

THERE are approximately seven hundred and fifty agencies in the United Kingdom ranging from those with a billing upwards of three million pounds to the smaller agency with a billing of three-quarters of a million. A large agency employs two to three hundred people engaged on a wide variety of work.

The large monopolies and companies such as Unilever, Beechams, Nestles, Proctor & Gamble, Colgate Palmolive, Reckitt & Coleman, and Mars, have their own advertising and research departments through which they conduct consumer and motivational surveys, compile statistics and organise the intensive advertising campaigns.

The advertising agency is a completely non-productive organisation.

THE POWER OF ADVERTISING

To understand the full power of advertising we must dig beyond the apparently glossy future it offers us all, completely ignoring the serious "young doctor" complete with phial of yet another marvellous new ingredient, and the tortured pleadings of the limpid-eyed child, not to forget his sweets.

The same firms compete wildly with one another in the markets, so they persuade and encourage the public to compete with their neighbour in the accumulation of material goods.

On the other hand you have a confused public unable to tell the difference between "best and butter" or "whiter and whitest." Most advertising, as we shall examine a little later, is aimed mostly at the working classes who are encouraged on all sides not only to produce the goods as quickly as possible but to buy, use, and buy again equally as quickly.

Constant pressure is brought to bear on all of us through the press, special shop displays and of course TV, a media

hitherto unsurpassed in the field of advertising.

The underlying message of most adverts is one of, "be one up on the next man," easily to be discerned in such slogans as, "whitest clothes, fastest car, prettiest girl," and so on; pushing, entreating, shaming the public into a fruitless spending spree.

The effectiveness of this persuasion is sadly evident. I have seen just recently a family with only ten pounds a week being brought home by the husband. They had a high rent, food and clothing, electricity, and more, all to come out of the ten pounds. Yet there in the middle of one of their two rooms was a great shiny stereophonic radiogram, bought on the hire-purchase with certainly no chance of ever buying a record for it unless they go hungry.

THE PRESS

The power the capitalist has over our much championed "free press" is more obvious. The expenditure on advertising accounts for two thirds of the cost of producing a newspaper and it is evident from the headlines, editorial columns and content generally just where the sympathies of 99.9% of the press must lie if they are to remain in print.

The ruling class is very clever, they give the workers papers like the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Herald*, which purport to advance their interests. This of course is nonsense as no capitalist would ever advertise in a paper that really advanced the interests of the working class. These papers are recognised by the capitalists as outlets through which the steam of dissent can be channelled harmlessly away.

How often do we hear the cry from the older folk that "things don't last like they used to." This is true, but then they are not designed to last, indeed they must not last.

DESIGN AND STYLE

Take for example the washing machine, there are some extremely shoddy machines on the market which will give trouble from the start and wear out in a couple of years, but the average machine, given an annual overhaul, should last for ten or fifteen years.

The thought of a contented family sitting back and waiting for their machine to wear out fills the manufacturer with horror, this is where design comes in. Design is very rarely linked with the functional quality of the product, it is clearly connected with sales. Style and design are bound to change over the years but not every year as they do now.

New trends in colour and shape are promoted to shame us for being out of date and to encourage us to buy again.

CLASSES EXIST!

The capitalists often talk glibly about our classless society. However, when it comes to conducting their advertising we see that they are perfectly aware that classes exist and are most careful when conducting consumer surveys to get a representative sample of the population. Ridiculous though it may seem the accepted class break-down used in advertising departments and agencies is almost Marxist: A/B—Professional and Big Business Owners; C.1—White Collar Workers and Small Business Owners; C.2—Skilled; and D/E—Unskilled Working Class.

The usual representative sample would be 60% C.2/D.E. to 40% A.B./C.1. Approximately 85% of the interviewing would be conducted among wage earners (with the exception of the small business owners). From this we can draw the conclusion that the majority of advertising is created with the working classes in mind.

THE AMOUNT SPENT

Total expenditure of advertising for

the third quarter of 1963 (inc. tax):

Press	£30,903,000
T.V.	£23,575,000
Total	£54,478,000

Much of this was spent on:

Cigarettes	£2,365,975
Soaps and Detergents	£2,529,199
Sweets and Chocolates	£1,259,878
Mail Order and Credit Clubs	£1,150,498

A total of £217,912,000 a year!

HIRE PURCHASE

Under this constant pressure to buy the vast majority of workers, being unable to save sufficient money to buy luxury goods outright, will often borrow money from a finance company whose interest rates of 10% and 12% per year, and even more, is nothing short of extortion. At the end of 1963 the national H.P. debt was £954 million. This system of buying luxury products is encouraged by the capitalist class who wave their easy terms in front of the workers' eyes. They know that once a man has got used to paying 5/- a week he is easily sold something else when the debt is nearing its conclusion, perhaps something more expensive, "only 5/- more per week than you are already paying, Mr. Jones," and so now the debt is 10/-. Very few people who buy products through H.P. clear the debt without being persuaded to buy something else.

The capitalists hold themselves up as the goal towards which everyone of us should work. Therefore, many workers although they may be discontented with their lot, are made to feel that if they are not wealthy like their bosses it is in some way their own fault. They have failed to "get on" and "better themselves." The capitalists will fight hard to maintain the present system of things but we of the working class must and will destroy them and the stranglehold they have over our lives. We must unite, not compete with our fellow worker, and establish a socialist system where the means of production are owned by the working classes and can be planned and geared to its needs. RUTH MOFFATT

HOSPITALS—ON THE CHEAP!

By Dr. Henry Ward

ONE can see how far short of a true Socialist service the National Health Service (NHS) falls simply by examining the "employee structure" of the service. One finds our class society perfectly mirrored in the NHS.

At the apex of the pyramid are the consultant doctors and the top administrators, salary range from £2,000-£4,500 a year, the differential based on snobbery (status of hospitals), seniority and beddage. They have five weeks paid holidays a year, and paid leave to attend conferences and summer schools.

The consultant doctors get from about £3,000 to £4,500 per annum, when working full time for the NHS. On top of this there is a "Merit Award." The "Award" is allocated *secretly* by a select committee of *top medical men*. 34% of consultants receive such awards. In 1962, 375 gained £3,000 each, bringing their pay to an average of £6,750 per annum! 757 gained £1,750, bringing their pay to £5,500. 1,146 obtained £750, bringing their total to £4,500.

MORE GRAVY

However, there is private work which is even more lucrative. In his private work a consultant can earn a substantial amount. One way of attracting private patients and avoiding full income tax—and surtax—is to charge half price if the patient pays in cash.

THE NEXT STRATUM

The next stratum in the NHS consists of top nursing staff—matrons and their deputies—junior grades of doctors, supervisory and middle echelons of administrative workers. Their salaries range from about £700 to £2,000 a year, depending on seniority, and/or size of hospital, etc. The junior doctors are either doing the necessary years registration period, or else starting on the competitive haul to the top.

THE FOUNDATIONS

The base of the pyramid of the NHS is made up of clerical workers, midwives, nurses and the maintenance groups such as laundry, catering, cleaners and transport workers.

There were 192,251 nurses and midwives employed full time in the NHS in Britain in 1962. There were 176,359 full time ancillary workers. Together they made up 64% of all full-time workers. There were also 124,584 part-time workers in these categories. Without them the doctors could not practice any—let alone good—medicine. Yet these are the very workers who have scandalous conditions and rates of pay.

WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

The junior clerks receive from £353 a year (18 years) to £840, depending on seniority and qualifications. Typists and machine operators—usually female—have the range £278 (16 years) to £653 a year (23 years). All have a 38-hour week and from two to three weeks annual leave. Although poorly off, these white collar workers have better condi-

tions than the next groups to be discussed.

ANCILLARY WORKERS

This group is divided into ten grades for the purposes of fixing rates of pay! Grade one gets the basic rate of £9 12s. 8d. per week in London (8s. less in provinces). This is the pay of the general labourers, kitchen and general porters and domestic stove attendants, etc. Group two gets 5s. per week more, and so on, passing through laundrymen, stokers, orderlies, bakers and various grades, until the top grade is finally reached. This top grade merits an additional 36s. a week and includes theatre attendants (operating room), cook-in-charge and surgical shoemakers. There are also minor differentials within each grade!

It can be seen that even allowing for overtime and the extras the average hospital worker in this group gets about £4 a week less than the national average outside the NHS. The national average at present approximates £16 per week. However, all the above figures relate to adult male workers. Women workers have a basic London rate of £8 8s. 0d. per week, with the same differentials as the men. A girl of 17 gets only £6 6s. 0d.

Skilled workers such as electricians, plumbers, joiners, etc., get the same basic rates as have been negotiated generally by the unions, but as there are no incentive schemes the actual earnings of skilled workers in the NHS is far lower than outside.

The standard working week is one of 42 hours, to be worked in six days, sometimes as an 84-hour fortnight, which is a method of getting workers to work weekends without paying overtime!

The labour turnover among both the skilled and unskilled is very great, especially among the poorest, such as porters, cleaners, kitchen hands and labourers. So bad are conditions that British labour is being replaced by immigrants, West Indians, Cypriots, Indians, Spaniards, etc. The workers are ostensibly organised into unions, but effective unionism is made more difficult by the large number of unions involved.

The Whitley Council determines the rates of pay and conditions of work of ancillary workers, but the management

EARNING A LIVING

has 22 members on the Council, the unions only 18!

NURSES AND MIDWIVES

Usually, young girls enter the service at 18, with basic GCE qualifications. They enter two or three years training period and work the same 88-hour fortnight as the staff nurses, ward sisters and midwives. *None of them gets extra pay for night duty, weekends, or public holidays.* It often works out that working hours are considerably extended in practice as coffee breaks, meal and free time are encroached upon. Nurses, by the very nature of their job, are rarely clock watchers.

Pay runs from £325 the first year for trainee nurses, to £750 for qualified staff nurses. Out of this is deducted resident cost amounting to £200 out of the £750, the rest in proportion. Many nurses leave the profession upon qualifying, often to take less demanding work with more pay attached to it. One of the most potent reasons why nurses leave the profession is the treatment they receive in hostels, etc., before and even after qualifying. Victorian attitudes perpetuate themselves and even penetrate work relationships on the ward. A nurse who can be left responsible for a ward of sick people during the night is considered unfit to behave in an adult fashion when off duty. As a result nurses find themselves fenced in with irritating rules and regulations.

Why is it that nurses do not protest more vigorously against their conditions of work? They do protest *among themselves* bitterly. But there is little political or class consciousness. This is partly due to the petty bourgeois ideas fostered during training, also there are many girls from professional and lower middle class families who set the "tone." Nevertheless, increasing numbers of working girls are entering the profession. In the north and the midlands, and in the "unfashionable" London hospitals, many are of West Indian and Irish origin.

WHAT DO DOCTORS THINK?

What do those Hippocratic paragons, the doctors, think of the pay and conditions of the nurses and ancillary staffs? Perhaps a few might mumble but, on the whole, the great majority are indifferent, their horizon limited by their own ambition and economic aspirations. This was eloquently demonstrated recently over the question of nurses pay. After years of talk and endless negotiations, and after outside organised workers in other

sectors of the community talked sympathetic strike action—and even went on strike!—for these workers recognised that the nurses occupation precludes action, the nurses finally got a 7½% increase. *But 40% came out of the hospitals improvement fund!* Some hospitals, forced to economise, met their difficulties by sacking newly qualified nurses and taking in an increased quota of students!

Hardly had the nurses struggle disappeared from the headlines than it was calmly announced that the doctors had been awarded a 14% increase. No struggle against it by the Ministry.

As for the Whitley Councils. Appearing as a fair, co-operative method of looking after the workers' interests, these joint bodies of T.U. officials and management representatives have no real power in practice. *They are an illusion of democracy to give the impression that the workers can serve their own interests legalistically.*

BEVAN AND THE NHS

The National Health Service is always attributed to Nye Bevan and assumed to be an expression of Socialism. The fact that the basic planning came from the Liberal, Lord Beveridge, is conveniently forgotten. Recently, even the arch Tory, Lord Moran, admitted that whichever party had been returned in 1945, a NHS of some sort would have been brought into being. The fuss and bother which attended the birth of the NHS was about the details. Pressure was brought to bear to make sure that private medicine was still allowed for NHS doctors and that other concessions, such as self-government for teaching hospitals, were made safe. Is it not a fact that *real earnings of doctors have risen considerably since the introduction of the NHS?*

True, the general health standards have improved and we must be glad of that, but that is a far cry from proclaiming the ushering of the Socialist Commonwealth. And a great deal of improvement comes from what is all too likely to be temporary, full family employment. Indeed, it is absurd to think that any piecemeal reform of the present social system is eroding the essential nature of that system. In reality, the so-called reform is geared to the system itself and expresses the characteristics of the British capitalist system. Reforms are only quantitative changes; Socialism can only come through a *Qualitative* change. It will never be accomplished within the confines of legality.

A CRUCIAL PROBLEM

NOEL JENKINSON, himself engaged in an industry where chronic staff shortage and the working of massive overtime has become an accepted way of life, made an honest attempt, in the May *Vanguard* to analyse this problem. Unfortunately, in my view, the complexity of the problem and his own deep personal involvement, has led him into making a number of incorrect formulations, which leave him open to the charge of being a defender of the principles of systematic overtime working.

It will be relatively easy for the "purist" to destroy his line of argument, but, do not imagine that by knocking down Jenkinson we have disposed of the very real problem his article attempted to grapple with.

The "holier-than-thou" attitude that simply advises the man working overtime to cease doing so, does not solve the problem but merely ignores it. The cold facts of our present industrial wages set-up means that the elimination of overtime pay from present weekly pay-packets would reduce the standard of living of many millions of workers by as much as 40%.

To see this problem in true perspective we must appreciate the quite unique situation of capitalism's labour force in the post-war years. Continuously, for almost two decades, throughout a wide range of industries and services, the whole economy has functioned in a situation of over-full employment and chronic staff shortage. Apart from the actual war years (1914-18 and 1939-45) this is something quite new since the

earliest days of the industrial revolution.

Theoretically, according to the law of "supply and demand" this should have put the commodity human labour power on a "seller's market" and real wages should have risen steeply. It was precisely to prevent this natural law of capitalism from operating that industrialists and politicians of all varieties—Tory and Social Democrats—aided and abetted by top trade union officialdom—right, left and centre, have screamed for twenty years for "wage restraint" in the "national interest."

And, let no one underestimate the degree to which capitalism, aided by social democracy, has succeeded in this aim. In the depression years between the wars, capitalism placed the burden of the economic "slump" upon the backs of the working class. In the post-war years they have been equally successful in robbing the working class of a share in the fruits of the economic "boom."

The never-had-it-so-good "affluent" society that is alleged to exist in our post-war life simply crumbles to dust in the face of an actual analysis in terms of real wages paid into the family purse for each hour of labour performed by that family.

The first and most striking fact of our post-war life, as compared with pre-war experience is that, over a wide range of family units, the standard of living is based upon there being *two* wage earners (husband and wife) instead of the single breadwinner common to our pre-war experience.

The second fact, stemming from acute staff shortage, is the almost universal practice of systematic overtime practiced by at least one—and sometimes both of the wage earners—now upholding the family unit.

So vast and all-embracing has the practice of overtime working become that the actual average hours of work per week of the British working man is now higher than at any time during the past fifty years.

So, the "affluent society" we now enjoy is based upon there being two wage earners per family instead of one, and upon both workers toiling for longer hours than have operated for half a century. In cold terms of the per-hour real wage of the single breadwinner working 44 hours a week before the war, as compared with the twin breadwinners now working from 50 to 60 hours per week, literally millions of British

families today are *worse* off than in the depression years of the "30s."

That is the great swindle that has been put over the British working class. This is the fruit of the policies of class collaboration between trade union leaders, social democratic politicians—and capitalism. This is what they all mean when they speak of the need for "restraint"—for an "incomes policy" for support for "Neddy" and "Nicky"—all, of course, in the sacred "national interest."

According to Marx, labour power, itself a commodity, will exchange at its value—which, in turn, will be determined by the cost of its reproduction. In a society based on the small family unit, this has meant that the wage labourer must receive wages adequate for the maintenance of himself and for the raising of the family necessary to maintain the continuous supply of labour power.

This operates today—as it did in the past. But—the characteristic of our modern "affluent society" is that *two* wage earners per family must toil instead of one—and that regular, systematic, never-ending overtime must be worked in addition.

This is the background against which we must examine the modern phenomenon of systematic overtime and begin to grapple with it. Every trade union agreement in existence today lays down two main conditions of employment for the members involved: (a) the basic wage rate to be paid, (b) the number of hours to be worked each week for that basic wage.

Take any one of those agreements and
continued on page 4

Korea Condemns Revisionism

REVOLUTIONARY Struggle Is The Only Road To National Liberation (From "Hold High the Revolutionary Banner of National Liberation - Workers' Party of Korea," 27th January, 1964).

WHEN the people themselves rise up in the struggle, the Communists must correctly organise the people's struggle, impart consciousness to it and lead it to victory. And when the situation demands, they must organise and unfold an armed struggle.

The Party is needed for the working class and revolution, as the vanguard detachment and headquarters of revolution to tackle this task. If the Party, contrary to this, tails after the masses, and does not fight for revolution, it cannot play its role fully.

Today the revisionists are scheming in every way to prevent the Party of the working class from playing a guiding role in the national-liberation struggle. Influenced by them, some Parties have abandoned revolution and are staying away from the revolutionary struggle.

Even when a favourable situation has been created for the seizure of power, they hold that the revolutionary forces should refrain from coming out in the struggle for power, menacingly stating that this may entail the intervention of the imperialists.

The infection of 'peace' malady has caused confusion within the armed ranks which had been waging a revolutionary struggle with arms in their hands, and no small number of people have fallen back from the road of struggle. In some countries, the revolution had been left defenceless and met with a fiasco in face of sanguinary suppression by counter-revolution and the revolutionary forces sustained heavy losses.

The revisionists rendered it impossible for the oppressed peoples to win victory which could have been won, and led

them to make sacrifices which could have been avoided, in their liberation struggle against imperialism.

If the Party of the working classes does not come out in the struggle and lead the revolution, another class will replace it. In that case, the Communists will lose the revolutionary masses and will certainly be deserted by the masses.

The Party of the working class must be prepared for the struggle in all forms including armed struggle.

The colonial rule of the imperialists is based on violence without exception. In disregard of this, how can one force the oppressed people who oppose imperialism to wage the liberation struggle by peaceful means alone?

When the class struggle becomes fierce, it will go over to an armed struggle in many cases. To wage a war or not depends by no means on the revolutionary masses but on the exploiting classes suppressing the masses. The revolutionary masses resist by force, because the ruling class suppresses them by force. (Kim Il Sung)

Without a revolutionary army opposed to the armed counter-revolution, the revolutionary forces cannot be preserved from the suppression by the imperialists and the reactionary forces, and the struggle is doomed to failure.

Some people, however, are actively opposing the armed struggle of the oppressed nations under various pretexts.

Holding that the armed struggle of the oppressed peoples for liberation may become a 'spark' which will touch off a 'world thermonuclear war,' they slander it as a 'suicidal act,' 'reckless act of exterminating mankind,' and the like.

The revisionists claim that today the very nature of war has completely changed with the emergence of nuclear weapons. They declare that there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars in the age of nuclear weapons. They clamour that all wars, therefore, are crimes of manslaughter and unjust wars.

This is a crude falsification of Marxism-Leninism.

In order to camouflage their true colours, the modern revisionists sometimes voice their support, though merely in words, for the armed struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples. But who will be fooled by this? The people are fully aware who support the revolution and who are opposed to it.

The further socialist construction is promoted and the more the people's living standard is improved, the more it is necessary to intensify class and communist education of the masses. Where communist education is weakened, bourgeois ideas raise their head and the class consciousness of the masses is paralysed.

INFILTRATION

Although the landlords and capitalists have been liquidated as a class, their remnants are yet to be fully erased and the old ideological hang-overs and old customs of life are still manifested conspicuously. The imperialists infiltrate into the socialist countries all kinds of spies, wreckers and saboteurs, spread all hues of noxious bourgeois ideas and decadent ways of life, relying on the remnant forces of the already liquidated exploiting classes, old ideological survivals and old manners and customs in these countries, and try to transmute the socialist countries and undermine them from within.

All this shows that class struggle should not be weakened in the socialist countries.

The Parties in the socialist countries should strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class, and further enhance its role.

At present, some people, while speaking about "freedom," "democracy," "legality" and "humanism," try to paralyse the class consciousness of the working people and create ideological chaos, and want to give up class struggle. They allege that the dictatorship of the proletariat has completed its mission under the pretext that "hostile

classes have been liquidated," that "there are no political offenders" and "objects of repression no longer exist." This is an attitude fraught with the danger of weakening the positions of socialism.

It is true that a fundamental change has taken place in the social and class structure of each socialist country. But this does not mean that class struggle has disappeared or that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary.

Experience shows that when the people are not educated properly and the proletarian dictatorship is weakened in the socialist countries, bourgeois ideas tend to spread and people indulge in an idle and relaxed life and become degenerated and dissipated, social order is disturbed, the enemy at home and abroad is given the chance to commit subversive activities, and, furthermore, a grave danger can be created in the socialist system itself.

Only when vigilance is always sharpened against the subversive manoeuvres of the imperialists and the proletarian dictatorship constantly strengthened in each socialist country, will the socialist positions be consolidated and the construction of socialism and communism carried out successfully.

The Parties in the socialist countries should steadily and persistently endeavour to heighten the class consciousness of the working people and to arm them firmly with the consciousness of the historical mission of the working class and the idea of carrying out the revolution to the end.

When all countries in the socialist camp are firmly fortified politically, economically, culturally and militarily, and their forces are united, the socialist camp will come to display an immeasurably great strength and fulfil its role as the bulwark of the struggle of the working class and the people of the whole world against imperialism and all the reactionary forces.

Published October 28th, 1963, in the *Rodong Shinmoon*, an organ of the Workers Party of Korea.

The Silken Glove

COMMUNISTS have always insisted that capitalism is the rule of the few over the many, the means of enforcing this rule varying with time and place. Apologists for capitalism have always indignantly denied this assertion, yet how true it is, is once again brought out by a glance at the Daily Telegraph editorial "Greece in Emotion," December 3rd. The editorial ends on this note: "Greece would meanwhile do well not to insist that her Western friends should see the dispute through Byzantine spectacles." What could be put plainer? Democracy in abstracto flies out of the window when the powers of Imperialist Britain and the U.S. are threatened. The imperialists recognise one power and one power only, force. And, fortunately for the people, they are also recognising it. Imperialism is doomed.

CRUCIAL PROBLEM

continued from page 3

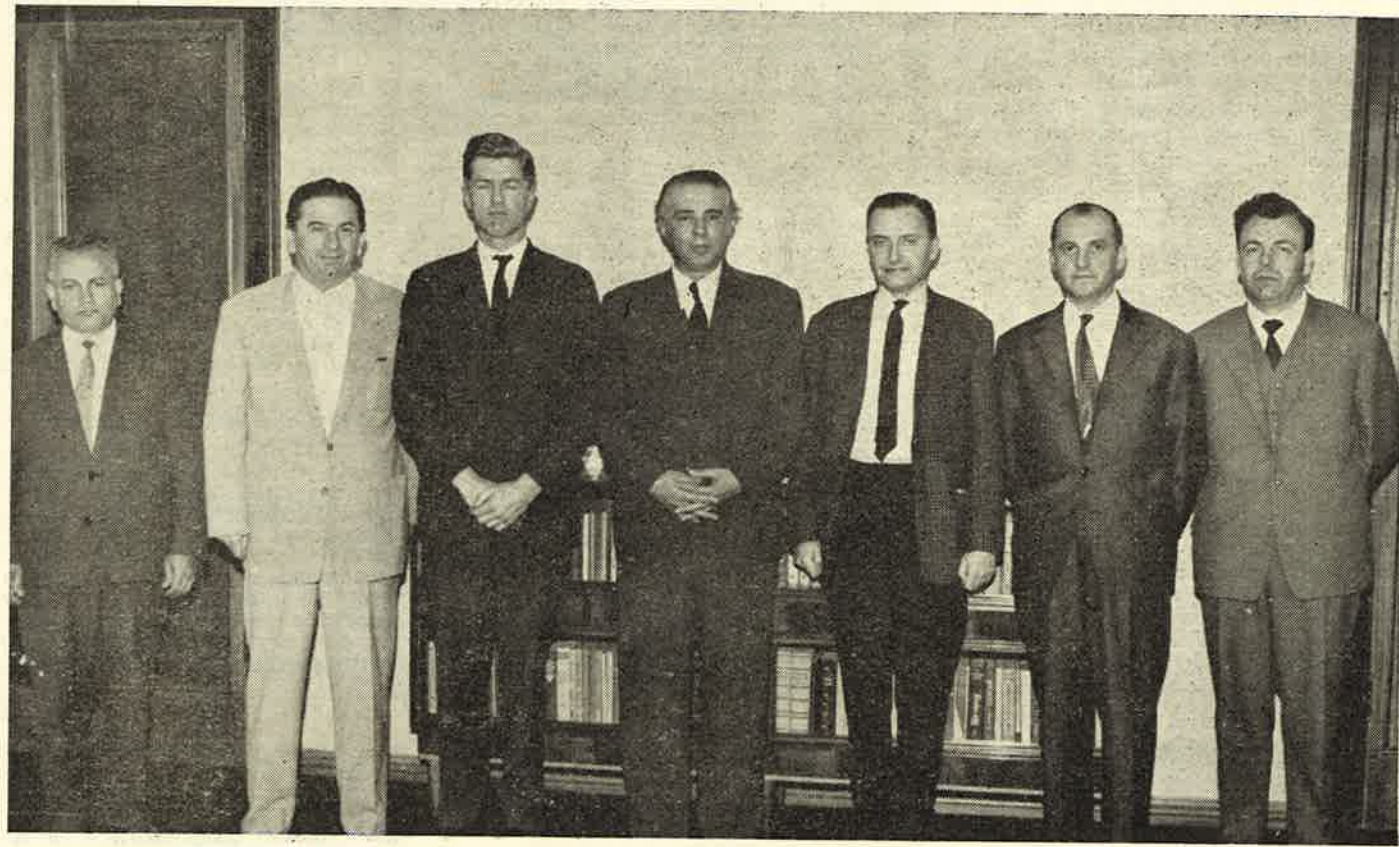
compare it with the actual living experience of the members and you will find that the agreement does not in any way correspond to the facts of life and, in fact, is not worth the paper it is printed upon. The pay-package does not correspond to the agreement—nor do the hours of labour.

Indeed, if the mass of trade unionists today worked only the hours laid down in their trade union agreements—and drew the basic wages to correspond with those hours, then the great majority of workers would receive take-home pay that was demonstrably lower than that received in the "30s."

This would face the top union leaders with the biggest strike situation since 1926. Small wonder that such trade union leaders cling to overtime as a drowning man would cling to a life-belt.

True, as Noel Jenkinson points out, the top trade union officials and social democrats generally will, under pressure, sometimes appear in the role of "fighters" against overtime and advise that it be banned. Almost invariably this course is adopted by them as the lesser of two evils. When the workers are ripe for action and a strike appears likely—then, of course, the union leaders (as the recent case of the post office workers) will go along with the ban-overtime line as a necessary "safety-valve."

On the other hand, as in the case of the London busmen, when the workers have imposed a solid overtime ban which is damaging the employers, the union leaders will appeal for the ban to be



lifted and for "normal working" to be resumed. By their very description of systematic overtime as "normal working" the union leaders demonstrate just how far overtime has been accepted as an integral part of trade union practice and employment.

Should we fight against systematic overtime? Of course we should and must. More important—we must recognise that the very prevalence of overtime is used to obscure and conceal the fact that basic wage rates are far too low. Accordingly, the use of the strike weapon to enforce a substantial increase in the basic wage will always be a more decisive working class weapon than the mere banning of overtime.

But, as we carry this fight into the factories, as when we attend and make our arguments in our trade union branches, as we appoint and support the most devoted of our comrades as shop stewards, as we strike, ban overtime and take all possible steps to improve our conditions, let us never let up in our tireless explanation that these things against which we fight are but the effects and not the cause of our troubles.

The best sons of the working class, in the factories and trade unions must be won—not merely for higher wages—but for the end of the wages system. The job of the Marxist is to spread Marxism. The trade union fight must be directed—not merely to win concessions from capitalism—but to end it.

GEORGE SHAW

Arthur Major and Michael McCreery represented the Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity at the May Day celebration in Tirana, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour. They are seen here with Comrade Enver Hodja, 1st Secretary; Comrades Hysni Kapo and Ramiz Alia, members of the Political Committee, and Comrade Piro Bita, director of the international department of the Central Committee (extreme right). Comrade Algi Kristo (extreme left) acted as interpreter.

Parlez-vous Francais? Oui.

Abonnez-vous a

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BCFA ACCUSES CHINA

National Liberation

SESSION 4 of the C.P.G.B. syllabus is entitled—"Problems of National Liberation." It commences with an analysis of the main classes to be found in colonial, and former colonial countries. (It is significant that the Communist Party of Great Britain finds space to analyse society in lands overseas, but attempts no analysis in this syllabus of our own society in Britain.) There are several weaknesses in presentation. In particular the fact that the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the fight against imperialism to final victory, because they need imperialist support in order to maintain their often precarious hold over their own people, whom they exploit, is not stressed. It must never be forgotten that, sooner or later, the working class, in alliance with the poorer peasants, and led by its own Marxist-Leninist Party, will have to take the lead in these countries in order to achieve complete victory over imperialism.

Again the role of the state in relation to the struggle for national liberation is completely ignored. Until the working class and poor peasants break up the old apparatus of state bequeathed by the imperialists to the compradores or the national bourgeoisie, and establish their own state power, the basis of which must be the people in arms, they cannot achieve final victory in the struggle to end neo-colonialist control over their countries.

Thus, on page 52, we read that "the task facing the governments of the newly independent nations can only be solved by 'nationalisation of the foreign monopolies,' 'state ownership and control of the major industrial developments,' and 'economic planning' of the nations' resources and foreign trade. And that 'not all national bourgeois governments tackle these measures with equal vigour.' But the question is, in whose interests is that state ownership and economic planning? Nationalisation for whom? Planning for whom? The nationalisation

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of the Suez Canal in Egypt, and the American sugar plantations and refineries in Cuba, are given as examples of the nationalisation of foreign monopolies, but the decisive distinction between the two is not made. The first was the act of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie, the second was the act of the Cuban workers and poorer peasants.

A refusal to make a class analysis, the argument that state action in the abstract is necessarily a good thing, is only an attempt to provide a smoke-screen behind which the national bourgeoisie can use the state not only against imperialism but also against the working peoples of their own countries. The task of the government of a country is determined by the class character of that government. Failure to make a class analysis, as in this syllabus, plays directly into the hands of the imperialists.

This is not, of course, to argue for attempts immediately to overthrow every national-bourgeois government. For many years yet some of these governments may continue to play a positive, anti-imperialist role, and, so long as they do so, to call for their overthrow would be utterly wrong. But it is to argue against attempts to fool the working class and poorer peasants about the true state of affairs in their country. Whether these attempts are made by the capitalists themselves, or by the social-democrats or modern revisionists, they must be exposed.

The conclusion to this fourth session reveals the real aim of the revisionists. It reads:

"The interests of the newly independent countries coincides with those of the people of Britain in economic relations also. Neo-colonialism in retarding the development of these countries restricts economic growth in Britain too. Rapid development, on the other hand, would open up avenues of trade in markets that are (after the socialist countries) capable of the most vigorous expansion.

"It is in the interests of the British people to assist in this expansion by providing credits and entering into long-term trading agreements. This cannot be done without changing British policy drastically. Reduction in arms expenditure and the withdrawal from overseas war bases are needed both to provide the means of financing credits and to inspire confidence in our peaceful intentions."

Superficially this might appear to be a reasonable conclusion to the syllabus. But look at it more carefully. A distinction is drawn, in the first paragraph, between these "newly dependent countries" and "the socialist countries." It is recognised, therefore, that they remain within the world capitalist system. And then, in the second paragraph it is proposed that "The British people . . . assist (in the expansion of the economies of these countries) by providing credits and entering into long-term trading agreements," and this requires a "drastic" change in British policy. But this is also to be done before the working class win power in Britain. It is advanced as an aim to be fought for, within the capitalist system. For if this "change in policy" were to follow a political revolution in Britain the syllabus would certainly say so. What the C.P.G.B. is arguing, therefore, in this conclusion, is that we bring pressure to bear upon the imperialist government in Britain to step up "aid" to the under-developed countries within the capitalist world, and pay for it by cutting back on arms expenditure.

But imperialist "aid" only rivets the fetters of neo-colonialism more firmly upon the newly independent countries. Only those who seek to serve British imperialism can make such a call. Exports of capital from imperialist Britain, whether private capital, or in the form of state "aid," can never be supported by Communists. Our task is to unite with all those struggling against imperialism, and for its final overthrow, and to expose those modern revisionists who seek to perpetuate this evil system.

MICHAEL McCREERY

THE recent meeting of the British-China Friendship Society was the stormiest on record. A violent clash of opinions occurred. Attended by 325 members the centre of debate was aroused by a motion presented in the name of the Cambridge branch of the association severely criticising the National Committee for passivity in face of unbridled attack by international revisionism, including the British Communist Party upon People's China. The motion charges by inference that the National Committee of the Association was controlled by King Street. The motion reads: "This meeting regrets the negative action of the National Committee in passing a Policy Statement designed to prevent the Association becoming involved in the discussion of the issues in the Sino-Russian dispute. Unfortunately this has imposed a silence upon the Association regarding the following important issues: "Is the foreign policy of the Chinese People's Republic essentially bellicose?" Does the C.P.C. see the achievement of World Socialism through nuclear war?" "How did ideological differences between parties lead to the deterioration of inter-state relations?" Did the C.P.C. unilaterally reduce her trade with Socialist countries?" "Is the Afro-Asian policy of the C.P.C. motivated by racialism?"

"On all these very important issues the Chinese maintain that they are being constantly misrepresented. As friends of China we have two duties: Firstly, to try and understand the debate; secondly, to make known the Chinese point of view. Both duties pre-suppose discussion, and the provision of accurate information. This meeting therefore resolves that the B.C.F.A. shall abandon the policy outlined in the statement issued last November and shall actively encourage the membership and the public to study the material published by both sides in the debate; and shall, furthermore, arrange for the publication as soon as possible of a clear, concise, and objective account of the controversy.

Before the voting took place Mr. R. Palme Dutt, delegate of the Communist Party, made a spurious plea for unity in the interests of friendship of the British and Chinese people. After prolonged and heated debate the motion was defeated by a vote of 197 to 95. When it is remembered that Mr. Jack Dribbon, Secretary of the B.C.F.A., used the apparatus of the Communist Party, of which he is a well-known adherent of the Moscow revisionist line, to bolster attendance at the meeting the majority vote is seen in its true significance. One delegate at the meeting audibly referred to "hall-packing" and caustically reminded his listeners of the Electrical Trade Union scandal, when officials of that union, carrying out King Street directives, faked an election result.

The same delegate, Mr. Dave Volpe,

demanding an apology from Mr. Dribbon on the grounds that Mr. Dribbon "had made repeated accusations that opponents of the Policy Statement were being anti-Soviet." Mr. Volpe claimed that this charge of anti-Sovietism "was a gross slander and a lie!" The Chairman refused to entertain Mr. Volpe's request for an apology.

In order to facilitate proceedings and concentrate fire against the National Committee Mr. Volpe agreed to withdraw the motion he was going to put on behalf of some ten signatories. This motion reads: "That this A.G.M. instructs the new National Committee to fully conform to the adopted aims of the B.C.F.A. Slanders of various descriptions are being constantly directed against the People's Republic of China by the spokesmen of a number of States. These slanders, which are widely disseminated in the press, have, up to now, not been fully refuted by the National Committee on a principled basis, for reasons which we consider to be inadequate and indefensible.

"In order to promote understanding and friendship with China it is absolutely imperative to expose all falsehoods and reveal the truth of the main positions of the Government of People's China. This A.G.M. instructs the new National Committee to do so."

A London-Irish worker, Mr. Andy O'Neill spoke for the fifth motion, asking for an unanimous vote. The motion reads: "The British-China Friendship Association repudiates the allegations that China is following a policy of racialism or trying to unite the coloured against the white people, and the allegation that she is not concerned to work for world peace. It reaffirms its determination to do everything possible to increase friendship and understanding between China and the British people."

After a great deal of hubbub from the floor a spokesman for the Communist Party, Mr. Jack Woddie took the mike. Losing control over himself he denounced the motion with great bitterness. He was then followed by Mr. McGahey, Vice-President of the Scottish Area National Union of Mineworkers, who, in order to prevent a vote on the motion, moved next business. This aroused a storm in the hall as "next business" is never accompanied by a supporting speech. However, it was clear that the Chairman bent over backward to be "fair" to the anti-China lobby.

Among those casting votes for "next business," which meant in effect a vote cast as labelling People's China to be a rabid, anti-white racist country, were Mr. Palme Dutt, Mr. Peter Kerrigan, Mr. John Mahon, Miss Kay Beauchamp, and Mr. Ivor Montague. This reporter was greatly surprised to see Mr. Montague vote against China, as he has gone to great pains to appear to be a true friend of China. But, "By their deeds shall ye know them."

A. H. EVANS

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MESSAGE FROM NIGERIA

MANY congratulations on your setting up a Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity. Today, all comrades are duty bound to combat revisionism, to defend the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, and to carry the peoples revolution to the end.

In consolidating the unity and solidarity of the Socialist Camp, and the International Communist Movement, the important thing is to be loyal to the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow Meetings and strictly abide by the principles guiding mutual relations among fraternal parties and countries.

Vanguard, your fight is a just fight against revisionism. Now, revisionists are more clearly revealing their true colours. The task of defeating revisionism is not confined only to communists but it concerns all progressive forces and patriots opposing imperialism, old and new colonialism, and neo-colonialism. The revisionists are volunteers for the imperialist, politically and ideologically. Khrushchev and his group are degenerating into direct agents of U.S. imperialism, both politically and ideologically. On the question of smashing revisionism we, the real Marxist-Leninists, must not forget that U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous and number one enemy of the people. We must clearly understand that imperialism has changed to new colonialism in Nigeria. Therefore, the revolutionary struggle in Nigeria means opposition to the British, U.S. imperialists, the Western German monopolies, and our own National bourgeoisie now in open alliance with the monopolists!

In there a "peaceful road" for the oppressed in Nigeria? The answer is no. The two main questions now confronting us are (1), the contradiction between Socialist States and the capitalists; (2), between the oppressed in Nigeria and their oppressors. Can a bridge be peacefully built overcoming "peacefully" these contradictions—as Khrushchev says? The answer is to be found in Ghana where men "talking socialism," the national bourgeoisie, former so-called opposition leaders, like the former Minister of Finance, encouraged attacks on Dr. Nkrumah's very life! Is this an example of Khrushchev's "peaceful co-existence"?

Brazil is another recent example, for President Goulard, struggling against imperialism, had been ousted by a military coup d'etat of the extreme right backed by U.S. imperialism. Is this a "peaceful road to Socialism," too? Did the Algerians win their fight for freedom against France "peacefully"? And

War threat to Cuba

ONCE again the U.S. is openly threatening Cuba. According to the U.S. Government "a highly dangerous situation is being created by Cuba's threat to shoot down our routine aerial inspection of this red territory." However, the U.S. should be warned, Castro has nothing of the coward in his makeup, he now resembles Khrushchev. The U.S. is breaking international law openly, without any pretence whatsoever. She acknowledges that her spy-planes, the U-2s and other models, are over Cuban territory day in and day out. Within Cuban territorial waters patrol boats are likewise on duty night and day. The majority of nations, in the so-called "United Nations," blandly ignore this state of affairs, turning a blind eye to this act of piracy.

At Washington's "repeated urging" the Russians are expected to "pull out" their "remaining troops," and leave Cuba "largely defenceless." The Yankees, these pirates of the North, who regard Latin America with hatred, blinded by great race chauvinism, think that Cuba will fall easy prey once the Russians have left the island. Without a shadow of doubt, Yankee imperialism is toying with the idea of open invasion, of re-establishing once again her rule over the island. The Yankee bird of prey, the screaming eagle, cannot get over the fact that Cuban tobacco, Cuban sugar, Cuban products, are now used for the well-being of the Cuban people instead of flowing as loot into the pocket books of potbellied U.S. millionaires.

It is a shame and disgrace that this bully of the north is allowed to trample into the dust international law. This nation which screams in hysteria that Cuba is a menace to her yet has its own bases scattered over the four corners of the earth. Is it not high time that the emergent nations join in with the Socialist states, openly declare that they will no longer tolerate the breaking of international law. Surely it is the emergent countries, above all others, who have felt most cruelly the last of the Wall Street money-changers. Yet it must be said that the governments of many of these nations are reluctant when it comes to taking positive measures against the Northern Gangster. Are they unaware of the terror exercised against the U.S. Negroes, against a minority of some 20 millions? The emergent countries know these things, they are fully aware

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

we ask Khrushchev, will Portugal give up her colonies "peacefully." No, real freedom cannot be won peacefully, it must be fought for.

THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN FREEDOM

Since the end of World War II the African peoples National Liberation Movement have made great headway, out of a total of 59 countries 34 have achieved some measure of independence, including some which have achieved real political independence. The following African states are today struggling for real freedom in every respect, Ghana, Mali and Algeria. The political independence of these countries was not granted to them "peacefully." All the rest of so-called African "independent" states are in actual fact neo-colonial territories. One of the best example is our country, Nigeria, where the government works hand in hand with western imperialism. Our entire economy is dominated by the Unilever group of companies.

About one-fifth of the goods imported and exported from our country are handled by one of Unilever's subsidiaries, the United African Company Ltd. American monopolists have also established an empire for themselves in our beloved country, Nigeria. The bank of America and Chase Manhattan opened offices two years ago, while American and British oil monopolies have full exploration right, and have succeeded in taking over all distribution of their

products. Nigerian resources has become a flourishing garden for foreign monopoly. Mining is also monopolised by foreign firms, which also control all sea and road transport, insurance, airways, timber and plywood factories—in fact, everything of real value in our country! Khrushchev! Will you explain to the world communist movement, and to the people of Nigeria, how we can obtain Socialism? For if we do, following your advice, this will prove that you are right, and be a good example for all the rest to follow.

TRUE FACTS

The facts cannot be hidden, Khrushchev, and those who follow his revisionist line, such as Czechoslovakia, are entering into long alliances with imperialism for business and trade expansion. It is completely commercial, dealing directly with individuals such as Okotobo, Nigerian Federal Minister of Finance, who has heavy interests in private industry, such as the Niger Hose factory and glass factory. The Soviet and Czechoslovakian governments are entering into direct deals with private persons, even by-passing the capitalist Government of Nigeria. Can these deals be regarded as alliance with the Nigerian people, or with the peoples' enemies?

The modern revisionists are financing

A BLACK ETONIAN

NIGERIA will soon have the honour of placing within the hallowed walls of Eton the first African with a black skin. As with Sandhurst, so now with Eton. No colour bar in the "homeland" of imperialism for man or boy who can be trained to be members of the new African black ruling class.

It is common knowledge that the black bourgeoisie of Africa, in the older developed states such as Nigeria, where class divisions go back deep into history, find no difficulty in entering the pick of their young men into Sandhurst or West Point. Even the "humbler" states, those emerging out of more direct tribal societies, are encouraged by British and U.S. imperialism to follow the "splendid example" of states such as Nigeria. Already, Kenya can "boast" of a number who will soon be graduated. The same will quickly follow for all other African states, unless the African people put their foot down, shake the very earth with a giant stamp, even as the Zulus in full charge, armed only with spears, broke the British line of Lee-Enfields and cannon.

So must the African people break the lines of imperialism, and finish off imperialism's running dogs in black skins. The "line" now is no longer strong, it is as helpless before men of courage as an old lion without teeth. The handwriting is on the wall: Africa is marching, rising a forest of assagais, and no toothless lions of imperialism will stop the mounting charge. For Africa is fighting the last fight, the fight for the true brotherhood of all men. Socialism is the goal of Africa!

The "honour" of placing the first black skin inside hallowed Eton falls on the shoulders of a little boy of 13. Tokunbo Akanni Akintola is the son of Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, Premier of Western Nigeria.

What will be of great interest to African peoples is the cost of educating Tokunbo Akanni Akintola, for one must remember that the African people, outside of a handful, are very poor; they live on the strength of their hands, they are all too often subjected to unjust taxes, to persecution by white and black masters, that is why the question of how much money it takes to educate one little boy at Eton is, as we stated, of enormous interest to them.

THE FACTS

The facts must always be placed before the people, so that they may talk it over, patiently consider all points relative to the case, and come to a just

private capitalism, that class who are allied to the feudal classes who have for so long oppressed the suffering peoples of Nigeria.

Lenin, on the lessons of the Moscow uprising, said: "Nothing could be more short sighted than Plekhanov's view, seized upon by the opportunists: that to strike was untimely and should not have started, and that they should not have taken to arms." Collected works, NY Vol II, p358. Lenin taught us the need to spread the idea of armed uprising to the broad masses, and he described armed uprising as a great mass struggle. *ibid.* p.176.

TO END OUR PLEA

Not a single example can be found of the peaceful transition to Socialism, but even if the possibility looms for this or that country in the near future we advise the people of that country to examine it most carefully.

The Soviet Union was the first State in the world to prove this theory of peaceful transition to Socialism wrong, while most recently the Latin American State, Cuba, also proved the impossibility of a peaceful road when confronted by our exploiters. In Africa the people of Algeria proved Lenin and Stalin right. Our five Marxist-Leninist teachers proved to be Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Comrade Mao. Khrushchev! Stand back with your groups for you are wrong!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!
Long live International Communism!
Down with modern revisionism!
Long live peoples struggle the world over.

N. K.

decision. These are the true facts. The fee to be paid to the businessmen who run Eton comes to exactly £554 a year. But it must be remembered that such said fees are subject to change, and the change is never downward, only upward. But if it was only a question of £554 the average Nigerian might think: "Ah, well, it is a great deal of money, but he might be a very bright boy, he might turn out to be a great artist or scientist, he might bring great honour to our country!" We must tell the Nigerian people not only the truth, but the exact truth. For sometimes one only says part of the truth to avoid hurting someone's feelings. This time we must tell the exact truth, even if it hurts the feelings of Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, Premier of Western Nigeria.

The exact truth is that expensive presents of all kinds will be given to wealthy English families whose sons will bring little Tokunbo Akanni home with them for holidays. These wealthy English families will make a great fuss over the little black boy, and for that the father of little Tokunbo Akanni will swell up in family pride, and lavish gifts on these already wealthy English people. For, all must remember, the wealthy never do anything for nothing, out of the goodness of their hearts, as ordinary poor people do. They never cast a piece of bread upon water without demanding a big loaf in return. When considering this case the Nigerian people should bear this point in mind. We don't want to be unfair, nor are we seeking to prejudice their minds. We ask the people of Nigeria to calmly consider the question, not to be overwhelmed by emotion: do the rich treat you kindly? Are you treated fairly by your white masters, by the big companies you work for? And your black masters? Do they differ from the white masters? Do they treat you worse? Or do they treat you better? Or do they treat you the same as your white masters? In other words, is there any real difference, in your opinion, between the white masters and the black masters? Between white rich man and black rich man?

That is the exact case. The Nigerian people should consider it with great calm, and come to a wise and just decision. We have little doubt but that history will place a mark heavily in favour of the justice handed down by the Nigerian people over the case of little Tokunbo Akanni, son and heir of the wisdom and of the great wealth of Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, Premier of Western Nigeria.

A. E.

K: Soviet Industry's Wrecker!

THE truth will always out, have no doubt about it. Khrushchev's crazy scheme to build giant fertiliser plants can only be brought into being at the expense of heavy industry. Khrushchev has denied this, he has led many people to believe that the capitalists are so eager to trade with the Soviet Union that loans can and are being arranged, entire plants contracted for, as to make the establishment of a highly developed chemical complex in the Soviet Union a matter which the Soviet Union can easily take in her stride, without the necessity of serious internal readjustment of industry.

Leaving aside the "eagerness" of capitalists for trade with socialist countries—they hate it, it is only greed that drives them, the thought of super-profit, and fear of competition—it is evident upon a little thought that the funds necessary for a giant chemical consumer industry must and can only come from internal resources. As a matter of plain fact, the capitalists consider a loan of even £50 million to the Soviet Union a risky affair when considered politically, for they are not at all as sure as they appear to be over the length of Khrushchev's tenure of office. Actually they appear to be amazed that he has lasted so long. The mere rumour of his death in the U.S. threw the leadership of that country into a blind panic!

But even loans of £50 or £100 millions are but a drop in the bucket insofar as plans for Soviet chemicals are concerned. £16 billions are required as a kick-off! And this within an extremely short period of time, four to six years according to the 'plans' of the magician, Nikita Khrushchev. Such mammoth investment can come from only one quarter, from within the Soviet Union itself. And by what means can this sum be accumulated. It should not be forgotten this 'sum' not only deals with direct finance, but with materials such as steel, aluminium, asbestos and a thousand other material requirements.

MEN WILL BE NEEDED

And as with materials, so with manpower. Men will be needed by the scores of thousands and their ranks can be drawn, in the main, only from within the ranks of the Soviet working class itself. There are few reserves left in the countryside, where the position of agriculture has deteriorated so sharply—again due to criminal mistakes on the part of Khrushchev and his right opportunist supporters.

A fairly recent dispatch from the New York Times News Service, Moscow, April 20th, is all-revealing. It states: "The Soviet Union disclosed today that its

economic planners have authorised the continuation of a hydro-electric project at Bratsk, in Siberia, on which construction had been suspended last year. The stoppage of the project before the planned capacity was reached evoked protests from workers on the building site." The workers forced Komsomolskaya Pravda to put their point of view: "It would be intolerable to dispense the collective that built the world's largest hydro-electric power station at Bratsk. We must know where we shall be working tomorrow. We want to live and work in Siberia because we have become rooted in Siberian soil, because it is our native soil and its future is inseparable from our fate." After over 40 years of Socialism Soviet workers are forced to write like this. Death would be too merciful for the swindlers who have brought Soviet workers to this point.

There can be no doubt about it, Khrushchev, if the powers were in his hands, would uproot peoples as ruthlessly as the Tartars uprooted and pillaged the Russians. He would send these Siberian workers to European Russia, where most of the chemical industry is located. Love of one's home, of the corner of the world where you happen to be raised, means nothing to this modern Judas, he is indeed a 'true' cosmopolite. Khrushchev would tear the Siberians from their land as casually as he sent scores of thousands of hapless youth to the Virgin Lands. And where are those people now? Scattered over the length and breadth of Soviet Soil, many of them turned by Khrushchev's brand of 'socialism' into haters of the Soviet system. Could it be otherwise? Khrushchev has told the people of the Soviet Union, "get rich, then you will have Socialism!" The steppes of Russia are paved with the bodies of workers, peasants, red sailors, who died with socialism on their lips, with the Internationale surging with their last heart-beat, yet this man, Khrushchev, tells their descendants "Get rich, then you will have Socialism!" Is it to be wondered at that a section of Soviet youth

have degenerated, have no feeling whatsoever for socialism?

THE NECESSARY FUNDS

In order to collect the funds and manpower necessary to plunge the Soviet Union into full-scale chemical construction Khrushchev and his bands of criminal collaborators, backed and supported by that strata of extremely well-off people who are today earning incomes easily comparable to what they could under capitalism, a category into which falls factory managers, artists and writers, professors in the universities, scientists in the institutes, party functionaries, state officials, have without a shadow of doubt closed down or partly shut-down plants and enterprises which consumes materials and manpower which the chemical industry must have if it is to be established on the scale drawn up by Khrushchev's 'planners.'

We stated that the support for Khrushchev comes from a strata of extremely well-paid people. How do we know this to be a fact? Because it is common knowledge inside the Soviet Union. Because of the style of living enjoyed by these people. Because such people as Soviet writers have openly boasted that they earn a great deal more than their 'capitalist brothers.' Because exact earnings of scientists in the Soviet Union have been favourably compared to those of the West.

Why is there State secrecy about earnings among this top strata of the Soviet population? Why do we have to rely on personal contacts with Soviet citizens for information? Or by the chance boastings of visiting Soviet writers and so-called poets? Or by minute comparison of rather envious bourgeois scientists who have recently come back from the Soviet Union and have published salaried comparisons in the press of the West? Why doesn't the Soviet Government reveal the salary of a full Professor, or other specialist in their given field? How much is paid to the manager of a factory employing 10,000? Or the head of a large State farm? Or members of the Central Committee of the Party? One well-known woman member was reputed to have admitted under a barrage of questions from Moscow workers that her "salary" amounted to 17,000 roubles a month!

It is from among this strata of the population that support for Khrushchev's policies comes. It is these people who find nothing to criticise in Khrushchev taking most of his family with him when he travels abroad. No one would object

to his wife, but why the children? What rights have they over and above other Soviet children? None whatsoever, yet living-life tells us they have, that they are specially privileged. So with other close relatives, they too have their pictures taken shopping in Paris, or smiling archly at the Pope in the Vatican, noticing "the peasant strength of his hands," although everybody knows that no Pope has done a tap's worth of physical work since he was a boy.

THE STRENGTH OF KHRUSHCHEV

The strength of Khrushchev is bound up with the strength of certain elements from among the top intellectual and managerial strata of the Soviet population. But this does not mean that all professors, managers, writers, scientists and such, support Khrushchev's policies—or even approve of their own high salaries.

Many, probably the overwhelming majority of this type, find themselves in a trap. Should they voice open opposition they will have state power on their necks, as with such comrades as Molotov, as with those agronomists and scientists who opposed his opening up of the virgin lands and remained in silent opposition to his insane policy of planting maize where it fell prey to the lightest touch of frost and where it had no chance whatsoever, because of the short growing season, of ripening.

Let us not forget that many of these intellectuals, probably the majority, are true sons of the Soviet people, they spring from the life-blood of the working class and the toiling peasantry. These intellectuals, above all others, must know that Khrushchev's 'plan' for the chemical industry is bound to bring disaster to Soviet heavy industry, the base for further all-round industrial development.

These comrades must fully realise that there is no possibility whatsoever of 'reforming' men such as Khrushchev. No hope of bringing him and those who surround him, such as Suslov and Mikoyan, back to the fold of Marxism-Leninism. If it were possible for this to be done then Comrade Lenin should be criticised for denouncing Karl Kautsky as a renegade. But Lenin made no mistake, it is a fact that men can degenerate, become imperialism's running dogs. Our Soviet comrades must rid their minds of any illusions, for Time is pressing in. Khrushchev and those who support him must be removed, one way or another, from the posts they now hold.

A. H. EVANS

Moving Into Battle In South America

ON the centre pages of this periodical are a few pictures of the face of South America, the face of poverty and the face of repression. Only one face, the most important of all, is missing: the faces of men in action against poverty, against repression, with weapons in their hands. Already, the armed revolt against the forces of oppression is under way. In Venezuela, in Brazil, in Bolivia, men are gathering in small bands, striking swiftly, melting away, to repeat the same identical tactics time and time again, gathering fresh strength with each quick thrust at the enemy. Even nature is kind to them, for South America is largely undeveloped and has exceedingly poor lines of communication. It is so vast that one country, Brazil, is larger than continental U.S., another the Argentine, could comfortably contain twelve Britains! Her forests are endless, her pampas stretch into an unseen horizon.

South America's main mountain range, the Andes, could contain a dozen Alps and rise to a height of 22,000 ft. The Amazon, largest river in the world, carries more water to the sea than a dozen Mississippi. South America is, with Africa, mankind's greatest storehouse of largely untapped wealth. Venezuela for oil, Brazil for coffee, Argentina for beef, most of us accept this, not knowing that oil is to be found almost anywhere in South America, that Brazil is a storehouse of incredible natural wealth, one mountain of iron ore alone, at Itabiri, in the province of Minas Geraes, contains the largest deposit of high grade, 64-66 per cent, iron ore in the world. In general, the Andes are very rich in mineral deposits, S. America's streams, plunging downward, furnish inexhaustible cheap hydro power, while her soils, particularly in Argentina, rival the world's best. Off the coast of Chile and Peru are fishing grounds that are already beginning to lure the eyes of the world's fishing fleets. Only distance has held them up so far. Yet what South America is mostly noted for in Britain is the frequency of uprisings and rebellions, or the replacing of this military junta by that. Political turmoil where armed force is taken for granted must have a cause, and it is not difficult to finger-point it: the majority of the people of South America are poor, dreadfully poor. They have little to lose, millions of them literally nothing at all; they are chattels, in one form or another, of a small and hated master class. They rise and get beaten, they rise again, and get beaten; that has been the history of

South America since the days of the Spanish Conquistadors. Few parts of the world can boast of as heroic a tradition of revolt against slavery as that of the people of South America.

A PEASANT LAND

South America is still largely a peasant land, and it was not until the penetration of banking capital from Europe, later from the U.S. that industry got a firm toe-hold. Capitalism, by bringing into being a working class, inevitably digs its own grave, for a peasantry by themselves, no matter how brave, have no theory to guide them, they fight blindly, and don't even know what to do with victory, hence every victory is turned into bitter defeat. But with the coming of the working class things began to change, the revolts became more frequent, the resistance more bitter.

Nevertheless, not until our own day, not until the ideas of Marxism-Leninism penetrated into South America, not until these ideas had largely undermined the anarcho-syndicalist influence, could the possibility of successful armed revolt against the industrialists, become the order of the day.

No longer can it be hidden, in certain South American countries the people under the leadership of the working class headed by trained Marxist-Leninists, are confronting the enemy with arms in their hands. In Venezuela revolutionaries have attacked the hated U.S. property even in Caracas, while in the country districts guerilla bands have long since made their appearance and are becoming increasingly active. The same is true for Brazil where, under the leadership of a true Marxist-Leninist party, the growing strength of the people

forced upon the bourgeoisie a rightist coup which the Brazilian bourgeoisie as a whole are not too happy about. But it should never be forgotten, as difficulties for capitalism increase, as crisis approaches, it is the most extreme wing among the reactionaries which impatiently take over the helm of state power. It should also be borne in mind that this extreme wing still has control of its most irrational element and not until faced with total defeat does this completely irrational element come into its own and disregard the restraining hands of the more stable elements. Such was the case with Hitler, driven into a frenzied madness. Such are the John Birches, the Mosley types in Britain.

TIME RUNNING SHORT

The extreme right in Brazil were already seeing long shadows where few existed. They feared the rather mild, reformist attitude of the now ex-President, Goulart. Why did they fear reform? Because they were afraid it couldn't be contained, because they feared that the workers and peasants, now increasing under the leadership of a real Marxist-Leninist party, would press demands which the bourgeoisie could not meet without serious danger to their position as a whole.

But the sands of time are running out as far as the exploiters of Venezuela and Brazil are concerned. The initiative has passed out of the hands of the world's bourgeoisie headed by U.S. im-

perialism. Signs of panic are already beginning to appear, for example, the screaming eagle of the north, the monstrous vulture, is already clearly frightened of a showdown in South Vietnam. A total defeat there for Yankee imperialism will flame across frontiers, nor is there any force the imperialists possess which can stop it. The most they can hope for is to check it for a moment at this point or that, fooling nobody but themselves. That coming great victory in South Vietnam will end by sweeping both United States and Britain out of those waters, will embolden the people everywhere, not least in South America!

But people do not wait on events, they help bring them about by persistent and courageous action. This is true for Brazil today, that is why the coup became a necessity. That is why the blind hatred of Brazilian reaction is looked upon with dismay in British bourgeois circles, and the U.S. reporters are not at all happy at reporting that 7,000 Brazilian workers, peasants and intellectuals, have been thrown into prisons by the new regime. Nor are they a bit happier by the arrests and beatings given to Chinese journalists, knowing that this act of barbarism would go round the world.

The peoples of South America, from British Guiana to the Horn, are moving into battle positions and engaging their enemies and no junta reactionaries can stop the flow of the Amazon. R. G.

A BAD EGG

Mr. Angus Ogilvy, husband of Princess Alexandra, admits without a vestige of shame that he worked as a strike-breaker during the famous Savoy Hotel dispute in 1946. He stated: "My career of promise came to a sticky end when I deposited an enormous omelette at the feet of an important customer."

That was the strike during which the present Queen, then a princess, walked through the Savoy picket lines to attend a ball. Long, indeed, is the memory of man.

When is a bribe not a bribe?

When it is given to majority leaders in the U.S. Senate. According to a typical headline in the capitalist press, "President Johnson is Embarrassed by Baker Enquiry in U.S." What was it about? The matter of a very nice—and expensive—stereo record player given to President Johnson by a Mr. Don Reynolds, an Insurance agent. President Johnson owns a television station, and it would appear that Mr. Don Reynolds also bought advertising time "because it was expected of him." One wonders, what did Mr. Don Reynolds get in return?

S. AMERICA-A CONT'



YANKEE METHODS IN ACTION



ARGENTINA: THE

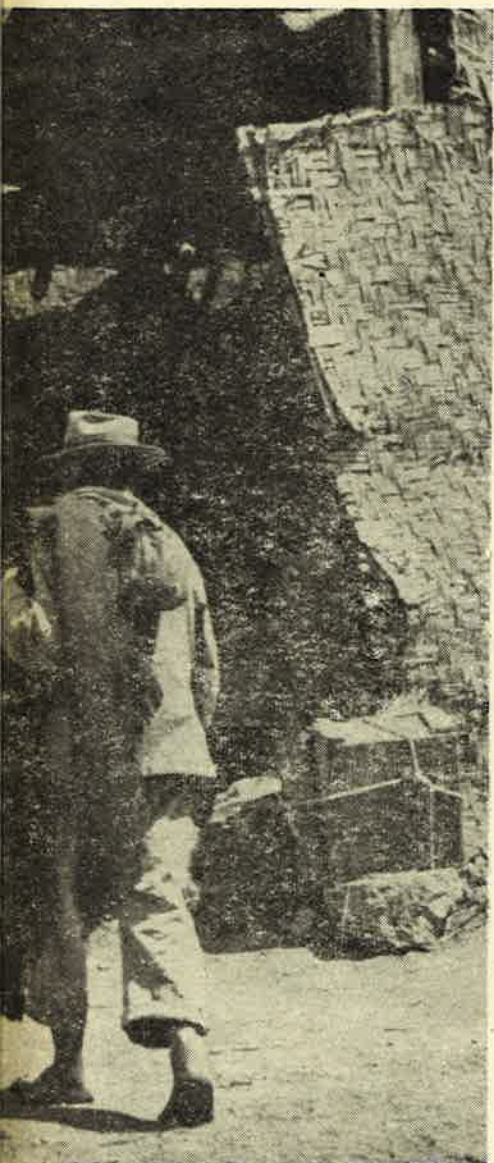


PEOPLES HOVELS: EQUADOR

TINENT IN FERMENT



JUNTA MOVES IN



Brazil: Woman cane cutter - millions for the wealthy, hideous poverty for the people.

Statement – Thames Valley

WE initiate the inauguration of the Thames Valley Communist Association (affiliated to the Committee for Communist Unity) with this appeal, which we think is appropriate because we are former members of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Some of us have left the Party, while others have been forced to resign. Although the CPGB still claims to be a Marxist party, we found it impossible to stay in the Party yet remain true to our principles. We hold that by far the most effective way to advance the proletarian cause is to strengthen the Committee for Communist Unity because it is the embryo of a real revolutionary party, it is carrying on in the Leninist tradition, whereas the King Street clique of petty bourgeois careerists have betrayed all Marxist-Leninist principles. *The British Road to Socialism* is a disgusting betrayal of all Marxist ideals; even the revisionists don't really believe in it, but their apologists justify its adoption by saying that from a tactical point of view it is necessary to put it forward. Comrades, this is pure deception of the working class, unashamed and unadulterated opportunism, a disgrace to any party which claims to be Communist.

Rotten social democratic ideas and practices have long been a characteristic feature of the theory and practice of the CP leadership. But since Khrushchev, the arch-revisionist, the great friend of U.S. imperialism and the biggest traitor to Communism of all time, made his lying and slanderous attack on Comrade Stalin in 1956, negating everything Stalin did, the flood gates have opened and now revisionism has become a cancerous growth inside the ranks of the international Communist movement, which must, and eventually will, be destroyed by all the real Marxist-Leninists. We have no doubt about this, because we have the one great weapon which the revisionists can never have, and that is truth, Marxist-Leninist truth. Let the revisionists deceive and distort, twist and wriggle, it will all be to no avail. The truth will find you out.

And this is happening, comrades. In all fields of party work, the stultifying, corrupting hand of revisionism is taking its toll. The CPGB is degenerating as never before. The leaders have complete and utter contempt for the working class. They no longer appeal to their class consciousness. It is really nauseating to see them crawling round the BBC and ITA for TV time, to see them pathetically trying to establish their bona-fides with the establishment, to hear them proclaim how "respectable," how "responsible" they are and what a "serious" political party the CPGB has become. They have reached an all-time low in obsequiousness; they are even teaching the right-wing Labour leaders how to grovel. The CP leaders have lost touch with the aspirations and interests of the working class, they have submitted to bourgeois pressure and influence and have thus degenerated into petty bourgeois careerists. In fact, their whole appeal now is to petty bourgeois elements, and they have tailored their policy to suit the fears and prejudices of this vacillating class. Above all, they identify themselves as much as they can with the petty bourgeois Lefts of the Labour Party and the so-called Left TU leaders. They must be appeased at all costs; they must never be criticised. Yet these people are even bigger charlatans than the right-wing Labour and TU leaders. They use the rank-and-file opposition to the right wing only to ad-

vance their own careers. It is the job of Marxists, while supporting anything positive that they may do, to simultaneously expose their petty bourgeois nature and to conduct a principled struggle against them. But how can the revisionists do this, when they are themselves petty bourgeois leaders, and are doing precisely the same thing as all the other petty bourgeois lefts?

FUTURE WORK

So let us now tell you about ourselves and how we intend to work in the area in the future. The revisionists say there is democratic centralism in the CPGB. This is a lie. If democratic centralism did operate, it would mean that on basic issues such as the differences in the international Communist movement, both sides would be treated as equals and would have equal opportunity to present their case. What happens in practice, as all comrades know, is that a nominee from King St. or the District Committee comes to a branch to put forward the revisionist case. He speaks for half hour or so. An opposition speaker may be allowed 5 minutes, he is treated at best as a nuisance and at worst as an enemy. After he is finished he is crushed by the revisionists and then the voting machine goes into action. Comrades, this is bureaucratic centralism; it has nothing in common with democratic centralism. Within our organisation we allow free and uninhibited discussion, we do not bump anybody on the head and we treat all our members as comrades even if we disagree with them on certain issues.

The revisionist leaders, having torn the revolutionary heart out of the CPGB, now take their inspiration from Signor Togliatti. Vote grabbing has become the be-all and end-all of their existence.

They, too, would like to carve out for themselves a little petty bourgeois niche in capitalist society just the same as Togliatti has done. We reject this blatant opportunism. We do participate in elections but we only do it to expose the fraudulent nature of the bourgeois democratic state. We wholeheartedly agree with Lenin, who wrote in his article on "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, p.36:

"The party of the revolutionary proletariat must take part in bourgeois parliamentarism in order to enlighten the masses, which can be done during elections and in the struggle between parties in parliament. But to limit the class struggle to the parliamentary struggle, or to regard the latter as the highest and decisive form, to which all the other forms of struggle are subordinate, means actually deserting to the side of the bourgeoisie and going against the proletariat."

MASS STRUGGLE

We consider that our main task as Marxists is to appeal to the class consciousness of the masses, to lead, initiate and support their struggles. Resulting from this, our prestige will grow, we will gain their respect and they will elect us to positions of trust in TUs and other organisations. We will not make it our primary objective to capture key positions in these organisations, to win majorities on committees; if this does occur it will be a natural consequence of the winning of mass support. It will not be because we can get our people along to TU Branch meetings or because we can out-manoeuvre the right wing. We will endeavour to use our offices to strengthen the militant fighting power of the rank-and-file on the shop floor. We will never, from considerations of false loyalty to the CP leaders, do anything against the fundamental interests of the working class, as dozens of CP members have done in the past. The right-wing TU leaders deliberately send CP officials to break strikes, to do their dirty work for them. We will not allow ourselves to be placed in such a humiliating position; rather than do this, we will risk losing our office. Office holding will always take second place to the development of mass struggle at the place of work.

Ours will be an association of cadres; all our members will be active, and will participate in formulating policy and carrying it out. We will not be a party of card holders with the activists collecting dues from, selling literature to and generally wet-nursing the card holders. We are proud that even in a predominantly middle class area like the Thames Valley, our membership and support is 100 per cent working class. As yet, we have no

petty bourgeois intellectuals, so prominent and well-represented among the revisionists in the area. We welcome them, we would like them to come into our Association in order to strengthen our revolutionary principles, not to water them down.

NEED FOR STUDY

Finally, we absolutely insist that all our comrades buckle to and make a determined effort to master Marxist-Leninist theory, so as to be able to apply that theory to their own particular circumstances. We want no baton followers, no revisionist party hacks. The apologists for revisionism are getting increasingly irritated at our quotations from Lenin. Never mind. This is all to the good. Let them fume, rage, tear their hair out if they like. We will continue to throw Lenin in their faces. The study of Marxism in the CPGB over the years has progressively, been given less and less priority until now it is even discouraged. This is not so surprising since a comrade with a knowledge of Marxism is an embarrassment to the revisionists.

We call upon you to study Marxism, to read Lenin's great works. His polemics against the old revisionists, Kautsky and Bernstein, are great weapons in the struggle against the modern revisionists, Dutt and Gollan. Comrades, we ask you to join us. We are holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the same banner that the revisionists have tossed into the mire. However, if you feel that you are not ready to take this step, we appeal to you to conduct an active struggle inside the CPGB, against revisionism. Do not let the revisionists have it all their own way. If necessary, force them to expel you from the party. It is no stigma, for true Marxist-Leninists to be expelled from the CPGB; on the contrary it is an honour, and they will always be welcome in the ranks of the Committee for Communist Unity.

Allow us to conclude with these inspiring words written long ago in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries, unite."
Ernie Hunt, Secretary pro tem.

(Comrade Hunt was a member of the C.P.G.B. from 1949 to 1964. Until recently he was Secretary of Twickenham Central Branch, and municipal candidate, and on the West Middlesex District Committee.—Editor.)



WOLFE TONE

COMMEMORATION

GRAND

SOCIAL

Pindar of Wakefield

Grays Inn Road

nr. Kings Cross

Saturday, 27th June

7.30 — 11 p.m.

M.C.: A. O'Neill Admission 2/6

VANGUARD Sellers, May Day, London

WHY THE CHANGE?

"Learning from history that dominant classes never yield to the revolutionary enslaved class without struggle, the Communists must be prepared to meet and crush all the efforts of capital reactionaries to regain their lost privileges pending a system of thorough-going Communism. In other words, the COMMUNIST PARTY MUST STAND FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT."

—From Manifesto of the inaugural Congress of the C.P.G.B. — London 1920.

"The Communist Party repudiates the reformist view that a social revolution can be achieved by the ordinary methods of parliamentary democracy, but regards parliamentary and electoral action generally as a means of propaganda and agitation towards the revolution."

—Resolution on Parliamentary Action adopted by the above Congress.

"It is nothing less than a crime to delude the workers with the false hope that the capitalists will quietly lay down their powers and privileges if only sufficient Labour members of Parliament are elected. . . ."

"What the parliamentary system really is, as any worker may learn from his own experience, is a form of political organisation which the capitalist class of Britain has worked out to serve its own needs. While Parliament registers formal decisions, it is the whole elaborate machinery of Government, from the Cabinet at the top to the Public Assistance Committee at the bottom, and including the Civil Service, the Military, Naval and Air High Commands, the Judges, the Magistrates, and the Police, by which the capitalist class manages its affairs and maintains its rule over the working class. . . ."

"It is quite impossible for the workers to take over this machine and use it for their own entirely different purposes. The workers will have an altogether different job in hand, and they will have to fashion different tools for the doing of it . . . these will be Workers' Councils. These Workers' Councils are the bodies which will be created by the working class as it takes power into its own hands; and these Workers' Councils will BREAK UP THE CAPITALIST MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT AND TAKE THE PLACE OF IT."

—Programme "For Soviet Britain" adopted by 13th Congress, C.P.G.B. — Manchester 1935.

"Working class advance to political power involves the winning of a majority in Parliament by the working class and its allies, and the use of that majority backed by the mass struggle of the people to bring about fundamental social and economic change, and the TRANSFORMATION OF DEMOCRACY AND THE STATE FORMS INTO SOCIALIST FORMS."

—The British Road to Socialism

VIETNAM AND REVISIONISM

THE February number of *Hoc Tap* (Study) organ of the Vietnam Workers' Party carried a report of a speech by Comrade LeDuan, First Secretary of the Central Committee. The following are extracts:

" . . . to grasp the essence of Marxism-Leninism it is necessary to have both knowledge of revolution and a firm resolve to change the world, that is, it is necessary to have a thorough-going revolutionary spirit. There are certain members and cadres of our Party or of other fraternal Parties whose militancy, for one reason or another, has waned and whose revolutionary spirit has weakened. Consequently, no matter how many Marxist-Leninist classics they may read, they cannot correctly understand or clearly see the boundless prospects for revolution opening before the world. . . ."

The nuclear arms which our camp possesses are a means of defending peace. As far as we are concerned, nuclear arms are not for offensive use but for self-defense. The strength to attack and destroy imperialism lies not in nuclear weapons, but in the revolutionary actions taken by the masses under the guidance of a correct political line, a revolutionary line to smash all fetters of slavery. The Chinese revolution and the Vietnamese revolution triumphed at a time when U.S. imperialism was enjoying an exclusive monopoly of nuclear arms. This is because these revolutions were guided by a correct political line, a revolutionary line. . . ."

The national liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American countries is pounding away at the colonial system. This movement has

waged by the working class in the socialist camp and in the imperialist become or is becoming the most powerful ally of the revolutionary struggle countries. It has contributed directly to the rapid changes in the balance of forces in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Such an appraisal does not mean that we underrate the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camp - the most fundamental contradiction in the contemporary world.

Asia, Africa and Latin America are areas where main contradictions of the world are concentrated. They form the weakest link in the imperialist-capitalist chain, where the imperialist-capitalist front is most easily breached. . . ."

Some comrades wrongly analyse the international situation, because they wrongly analyse and assess our own strength and wrongly assess the strength of imperialism, and, using tactics as strategy, they lay stress on expedient measures, not on a long-range, fundamental revolutionary line. . . ."

Although it is necessary for the communists to exploit as much as they can all possibilities of peaceful development of the revolution, yet, at a time when monopoly capitalism is tending more and more towards the use of violence and when nearly all the imperialist and capitalist bureaucratic military machines have been strengthened to gigantic proportions unknown before, it is more necessary for them to be fully prepared for the possibility of non-peaceful development of the revolution in order not to let slip any opportunity. . . ."

It is not necessarily correct to hold that armed struggles can or should never be waged in highly developed industrial countries. . . ."

In addition to the objective factors

HISTORY AND THE LABOUR PARTY

ONE cannot talk about the Labour Party with certitude without glancing back at history, without a necessary re-appraisal of those social forces which brought into being the working class movement in this country, on the base of which arose the Labour Party.

Industrial capitalism, developing out of merchant capitalism, brought into being a new type of worker, the industrial proletariat. This new class, from the earliest dawn, began to feel their way, through illegal "combinations" to the modern form of trade unionism. It was the utopian socialists, such as Robert Owen, who introduced socialism, its idea, into the ranks of the working class. From the time when socialism became the ideology of the most advanced section of the working class all political parties calling themselves socialists have rested themselves upon the needs of the industrial working class. But, since the working class itself is not an homogenous mass, since there are divisions within it, it should be obvious that political parties resting on this industrial base must of necessity reflect, to a more or less degree, the divisions within the structure of the working class as a whole. And these basic divisions? Allowing for a certain amount of over-lapping, they are the skilled, the semi-skilled and the so-called unskilled.

HISTORICAL

Furthermore, it is well to remember that the trade union and labour movement cannot be understood unless the historical development of capitalism is subjected to a particularised examination. In the period of primary industrial accumulation of capital, the accumulation was dictated by the existing level of technique, which was in its infancy and necessitated the crudest form of exploitation of the workers. The twelve to fourteen-hour day, and even longer, was regarded as normal, attempts to lower it were fought tooth and nail, the employers finding "intellectuals" who "proved" that all the profit came out of the last hour of work! Later on, Robert Owen, trying to introduce the ten-hour day, was regarded as a wild and dangerous dreamer.

During this period of primary accumulation the intensity of exploitation could be said to be impartial, the whip fell on the skilled and un-skilled alike. But, as industry got under way, specialisation branched out, and it became possible for certain sections of the working class to obtain benefits for themselves. Inevitably, the gap between the skilled and the other sections of the working class widened. The early industrial disputes, with very few exceptions, were those involving tradesmen. It was from this section of the working class that support arose for socialist ideas, from which arose various political leanings and patterns, which the genius of Marx attempted to fuse into the 1st International. Not until almost the turn of the century were the unskilled drawn into active industrial and political struggle.

Careerism, opportunism, sectarianism, and all the other evils which have corrupted and plagued the working class movement, rests on the fact that the degree of exploitation of different sections of the working class varies, and the employers have consistently taken advantage of this fact down to the present day. As far as Britain is concerned, part of the loot flowing in from colonial possessions, of "being there first", was used as a bribe, and is still so being used.

It is for this reason, primarily, that economically undeveloped countries such

which are independent of the will of the leading party, the early or late outbreak of the revolution and its success or failure also hinge on subjective factors related to the leadership of the revolutionary party. If the political party leading the revolution has a correct line, it can mobilise the masses more actively to create a revolutionary situation. In the absence of a correct line by the leading party, a revolutionary situation may fail to produce a revolutionary movement and even a revolutionary movement combined with a revolutionary moment may fail to lead the revolution to victory. . . ."

Modern revisionism is a grave evil in the revolutionary movement because once it infiltrates into our party, it will corrode the revolutionary spirit of our party and people, it will serve as an efficient agent of the hostile classes and become in fact an ally of imperialism. We must hate it as we hate imperialism."

as Russia and China broke the chains of capitalism, while the highly industrialised countries still remained enchained: it was far more difficult to bribe sections of the working class and other exploited groups. Sometimes the employers support the production men against the craftsmen. But whatever the variation as between industries the basic principle remains: to split the ranks of the working class.

THE LOOT

As far as Britain is concerned the playing-off of one section of the workers from another was made easier for the capitalists through their possession of colonies and the fact that they were foremost for a century in industrial development. Super-profit from overseas made it possible for them to avoid major clashes with the working class. For example, there are no instances within the last hundred years where troops have shot down workers. Yet this was common practice in such countries as Russia and China.

Such countries, economically undeveloped, were forced to use methods of primary accumulation, they found it far more difficult to bribe-off sections of the working class. That is the primary reason why, under acute strain, unprecedented in memory, the people headed by the working class, were able to snap links in the capitalist chain. The working class in these countries were united, schisms of any significance could not appear for hardship pressed equally on the shoulders of all.

THE BASE

The base of the Labour Party rests upon the roughly ten million organised workers, the hard core of which are strongly inclined to socialism. However, it is well to remember Marx's observation: "The ideology of the ruling class is the prevailing ideology." The capitalist class uses every means at its disposal to brain-wash the entire population, and to ignore or minimise its effect on the working class is to run away from reality.

One of capitalism's chief props in maintaining control over people is that changes in the social structure can be accomplished through "democratic Parliamentary procedure". As far as the working class itself is concerned the primary vehicle for spreading this illusion is the Labour Party. But what must be fully understood is the fact that a close and unbreakable relationship exists between the right opportunist leadership in the trade union, the bribed-off section of the working class, and the Labour Party. Fundamental changes in this alliance will emerge as objective conditions narrow the capitalist base, as undeveloped countries throw off the yoke of imperialism, as the people of these countries struggle towards socialism.

At present raw materials flow into Britain at such a cheap rate that imperialism is enabled to manufacture and export goods at comparative prices in places where the wage-level is far below ours in Britain. For example, the price of oil is determined by production costs in the U.S., which means that fabulous profits are made from near and far-East oil. And what is true for oil is true for all other raw materials. That is why imperialism is frantically attempting, by one form or another, to stem the movement for political freedom in the former dependencies or semi-dependencies.

Where direct force cannot be successfully used the ideology of the Labour Party is encouraged to infiltrate into these countries; Ruskin is opened to such as Tom M'Boya. The works of such as Basil Davidson, and the pacifist illusions of the Fenner Brockways, are on sale in these countries, while the schools and universities are staffed largely by people with a "progressive outlook", i.e. Labour Party. Only through close and minute examination can the Labour Party be exposed for what it is, a capitalist party. One of the prime tasks of *Vanguard* is to successfully accomplish this task. A. H. EVANS

STEEL CO. OF WALES

In 1961, the Steel Company of Wales made £30,279,492 gross profit — equal to £23 per week for each worker employed. Is it to be wondered at that the capitalists are fighting to lay their hands directly on steel production once again? It is only when an industry is run down, when huge amounts of capital are necessary to set it on its feet, that capitalism "nationalises" an industry.

Letters to the Editor

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

There are many honest people both in the labour movement and in the CND and other peace organisations who put their trust in and expect great things from men like Harold Wilson and Noel Baker. It will indeed be a rude awakening when these good people discover what the Wilsons and Noel Bakers really represent. Wilson keeps on going backwards and forwards across the Atlantic. Wilson's policy is tailor-made to suit the policy of U.S. imperialism. He wholeheartedly supports Johnson and his war-alliances (NATO, SEATO and CENTO), he endorses the astronomical sums spent on arms and says he will increase British strength in Germany.

As for Noel Baker, he has always been an opponent of unilateral disarmament and trots out a great deal of verbiage designed to cloud the issue and pose as a man of peace. His statement that only the women can save peace is a puerile piece of flattery meant to lull gullible people into a sense of security, to stop them from taking the path of mass struggle and instead to get them to rely on his like to save peace.

Peace will be achieved not by a few statesmen being "responsible" round a conference table but by an implacable struggle against the forces of war (primarily, U.S. imperialism, which is their spearhead) by all peoples all over the world. The value of the CND was its participation in this struggle against the forces of war in this country who take their orders from Washington and act as U.S. stooges. But there is now the danger that the CND is becoming a tame arm of the establishment directing its supporters into harmless channels such as collecting for "Freedom from Hunger" and buying Cow and Gate milk, instead of opposing the war policy of the U.S. government and its Tory and Labour stooges.

The fact is that the struggle for peace and against U.S. imperialism is one and the same. This was most plain in October 1962 at the time of the Cuba crisis when the U.S. brought the world to the brink of war. Now with tensions somewhat relaxed, old habits are returning and illusions are being fostered again. When the Desmond Donnellys and Hugh Gaitskells called them all kinds of names, peace supporters recognised them as opponents of unilateralism and the CND. But Harold Wilson and Noel Baker are more dangerous because they are more subtle. They pose as friends of peace while pursuing the same policy of support for war pacts. They attempt to deceive the people with soft and insincere words which are cheap and meaningless. Actions count. Struggle for peace counts and will be needed more than ever under a Labour government.

To effectively advance the cause of peace, we must always base ourselves on the mass struggle, and never rely on the soft words of the windbags, frauds and charlatans who try to deflect us from the only real road to peace.

Charles Morris,

The only people who ever threatened to plunge the world into nuclear war are the imperialists. Was it not the present Prime Minister, ex-Lord Home himself, who said that in the "interests of the free world," the British People were prepared to burn to a cinder? It is not China who organised intervention in the U.S.A. 10,000 miles away. Quite the reverse. Why, therefore, the spate of accusations that China wants war? It cannot be suggested that China threatened to launch a nuclear war, because apart from her initiating the 5 principles of Peaceful Co-existence at the 1955 Bandung Conference, she has no nuclear weapons.

No, but certain people are suggesting that China's policy of resistance to nuclear threats and nuclear blackmail is liable to "provoke" the U.S. into launching a nuclear war. If such a policy is dangerous, what would these people suggest as a "peaceful" policy for China, i.e. a policy which would be acceptable to the U.S.? Perhaps these people want the Chinese government to resign and allow Chiang Kai Shek to come back. This may seem far-fetched, but if Communism is not negotiable in Latin America, how do we know it is negotiable in Asia? Should China, perhaps, after 50 years of struggle for national liberation against numerous invaders, suddenly relinquish her sovereignty?

And how would such a "peace" policy apply to countries fighting for national liberation? Must the gallant people of South Vietnam, herded into "strategic villages," scorched by napalm bombs, their crops destroyed by toxic chemicals

in a dirty colonial war of annihilation, now give up the ghost because Uncle Sam threatens to use his nuclear weapons? Should the heroic armed Cuban people have done the same last year when Kennedy threatened to blow the world to smithereens? Should the oppressed peoples stop struggling for freedom because of the damage the imperialists can inflict?

The big question is how to ensure peace. The struggle for peace and against imperialism are indivisible—one helps the other. The anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed peoples is a mighty force for peace, and the prospects for peace are more favourable now, precisely because of the success of this struggle. With the continuing success of the oppressed peoples, the prospects for peace will become even brighter. If the Chinese people allowed themselves to be cowed by the strength of the imperialists, they would only whet their appetites and make them even more arrogant. Resistance to imperialism is the only real road to peace.

Jock Walton.

KHRUSHCHEV AND STALIN

It is reported that among the "off the cuff invective" made recently by Khrushchev, was this typical piece—"We carried Stalin out feet first and whoever loves the smell of corpses can have him."

This might go down better with Khrushchev's "orchestra" if it wasn't for the stark contrast to his remarks vis-a-vis Stalin, during the period when Khrushchev's revisionism had to remain his own secret.

"All our victories are the results of the wise guidance of the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and that of our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. The Party carried on extensive work among the masses to attain the goods chartered by Stalin's genius. Comrade Stalin teaches us that self-criticism is the very foundation of our Party. Long live the wise leader of our people, the inspirer and organiser of all our victories, Comrade Stalin." (N. S. Khrushchev, Report of Rules to the Party, 19th Congress, C.P.S.U. 1952.) Again—

"The road to Communism is illuminated by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—J. V. Stalin, great continuer of Lenin's cause." (N. S. Khrushchev at Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. April 1954)—Thirteen months after Stalin's death "God grant that we have the strength to know and struggle against the imperialists, like Stalin did." "We cried like babies, when Stalin died" (N. S. Khrushchev's approx. period 1959-61, reported in the world press.)

Of course, President Johnson, whose troops use napalm and poison chemicals against the workers of S. Vietnam and whose war-planes fly day and night over Socialist Cuba, is a man of wisdom and sober realism, just like his predecessor Kennedy whose last speeches boasted of the two-fold increase in nuclear weapons in the U.S. under his Presidency.

Perhaps Khrushchev, when he is finished waving his arms about and roaring at the top of his voice, will prevail upon "wise, sober President Johnson" to withdraw the nuclear protection of the gangster, Chiang-Kai-Shek and take his H-rockets out of the Indian Ocean. Or maybe Khrushchev would consider the proposal "unwise" and "unrealistic"?

Dave Volpe

BERTOL BRECHT

In the last 3 issues of *Vanguard* there were various references to Bertol Brecht, on some occasions he is completely dismissed as a bourgeois writer, on another occasion he is lumped with Shaw, a Fabian, Sartre, an existentialist, and Bertrand Russell, a pacifist. This manner of generalisation is the very mode of armchair criticism. The basis of criticism of art is discussed in the Chinese pamphlet: "Let a hundred hundred flowers bloom and a hundred thoughts contend." As Marxists we must take a position to discuss the negative as well as the positive contribution of Brecht, if not great injustice will be done to this great German writer.

First and foremost, not all the works of Brecht have been translated into English and even the few that have cannot be categorised and dismissed as anti-Marxist plays. A recent production of a little play of Brecht, "The Rule and the Law" is typical of Brecht's awareness of the class struggle. In this play the exploiter and exploited come to grips and Brecht makes quite clear which side he is on. And also the same points re-occur in his "Mother Courage," "St. John of the Stockyards," and his radio piece, "Lucullus."

Secondly, the time that Brecht was living was the era of the advent of Nazism. Brecht, with Ernest Toller—another brilliant dramatist the bourgeois dare not touch—was putting out plays against Hitler (let us also remember Brecht was a Jew and as such it took more courage than his critics would credit him). No other writer has brought the fascist terror of life on the stage as Brecht has done in the play "Arturo Ui." Thirdly, Brecht and Toller were the first to invent a technique whereby they brought home to the working class the full realities of the class struggle.

It is no accident that in the heart of of working class Stratford thrives the Theatre Royal under the guidance of Joan Littlewood where plays written by working class playwrights such as Shelagh Delaney, Stephen Lewis, Frank Norman, last but not least, the late Brandon Behan, are put on. All wrote in the Brechtian style and their plays were produced with Brechtian technique, and all of them have reached a wide audience. Even the bourgeois satirists successfully use his technique in order to convey their point of view.

Finally, an artist is the product of his time and he reflects his age and this is very much true of Brecht and Ernest Toller, for they reflected the time of the Nazis as much as the great Maxim Gorki reflected the advent of the Soviet revolution. The charges that are brought against Brecht that he compromised does not hold good in the light of the evidence before the McCarthy Committee.

His uncompromising attitude was very self evident. He practically outwitted the Committee and won the day. The tape recording is available. Some say that he should have stayed in Nazi Germany and fought the regime. The only way a writer of Brecht's calibre could have fought in Nazi Germany was to have provided himself as fuel for the gas oven. Brecht, ultimately sick of the affluent American society, returned to East Germany. To see a play interpreted by the Berlin ensemble is an unique experience for Brecht emerges in his true light. Finally, I make a plea that all supporters of this movement should analyse every work of art in the spirit of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom, A Hundred Thoughts Contend." We must never use the same yardstick to value the contribution by Socialists as by others, e.g., the existentialists and pacifists.

Stephen D.

ALL ART IS CLASS ART

Your mention of the work of such artists as Joyce, Eliot, Picasso (Lit. & Art page) in recent issues of *Vanguard*, prompt me to make a few comments.

Henry Miller—that "enfant terrible" of bourgeois art—stated that it was his belief that such were the future political trends of capitalism and socialism, that there was no room for creative art, that it was doomed to extinction. From his point of view he was quite right; art as he understands it is bourgeois art, and the smashing of the capitalist state and its replacement by a socialist one, the substitution of communists ethics and economics for bourgeois corruption, then bourgeois art which reflects—if in a special way—and is itself a product of, bourgeois ideology, will certainly be doomed to extinction.

Whilst some of the intellectuals and artists of the bourgeois world have been quite ready to attach individual excesses and injustices of capitalism, like our Churchmen, philosophers, social dogooders, and similar well-meaning boobies, they are always ready to apply salve and all manners of quaint ointments to the running, festering sores of the social body and yet refuse to recognize or admit that the root cause is left untouched. When it comes to solving the problems they pose, although they know and acknowledge the part that science and the application of its principles have played in other spheres of life, they refuse recognition of the fact that it has discovered the causal laws underlying those social relations whose tensions provide the source of life and that aspect of it we call art.

It is from this refusal that the retreat into subjective idealism abstractionism, purely personal fantasy and the creation of individual 'mystiques'—stems. The resultant obscurity and increasing meaninglessness of their work reflects the betrayal of their instinct and search for, the truth.

The "art for art's sake" school still flourishes as it did in the past; witness W. B. Yeats—one of their more eloquently loquacious spokesmen . . . " . . . art delights in the exception, for it delights in the soul expressing itself according to its own laws" . . . "The arts are at their greatest when they seek for a life growing always more scornful of everything that is not itself" . . .

And Arthur Miller " . . . a writer of any worth creates out of his total perception, the vaster part of which is subjective" . . .

These weighty pronouncements are many and varied of the bourgeois artists and critics in their attempt to condemn all art that doesn't satisfy their own narrow and contradictory canons. Here is another from one of the mandarins of art criticism . . . "Rules are only a by-product of creation, which is the sole business of art." This particular critic conveniently forgets that life has its own latent inherent laws. Just as when a man (in a mental or psychological sense) steps, or is forced, beyond the pattern of related life and thought that contains these laws, so we class him as insane, so some of our bourgeois artists lay claim to be able to do this in their work, and still be considered 'creative.'

Creation, or art, is class art because its nature is social despite the special pleading of these men. The madman's inner world, doubtless has perfect logical cohesion and meaning for him alone, nonetheless he is discounted as a social

being precisely because he no longer communicates with his fellows in the accepted sense of the term.

When an artist's work ceases to relate to the social laws underlying his own being, when it no longer communicates to his fellows—perhaps only to a small coterie of fellow-artists who have a like vested interest in mystification, then we write him off as an artist deserving serious consideration.

The pundits' hysterical howls that art that is propagandist in intent, or that has 'social content,' or is what they call didactic, is not art at all, means one of two things as Bernard Shaw (and he was certainly no Marxist!) was quick to tell them. Either it means that the world's masterpieces are not works of art or else it means exactly nothing at all.

Bourgeois art, if it persists in denying the principle of materialist dialectic in social relations, must and will be discarded as a once-useful, but now cracked and tarnished mirror that should, but does not, reflect—and itself be a product of—man's social condition.

As Henry Miller rightly foresaw, bourgeois art is doomed to extinction, as a flower withers and dies in exhausted soil.

J. Marshall

FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Thank you for *Vanguard*. We were interested in a letter from a South African and agree with him in many of his statements. Time lost never comes back and revisionism certainly caused us to lose glorious opportunities in 1960 and in the years before. We know now that we lacked real Marxist-Leninist leaders and trained and tested activists. We were led to court respectability and political favours. Consequently we are now much weaker than we should be. Betrayal has reduced us to small but trusted numbers. But the masses are our people and are responding to the call of the new leadership. The National Liberation Movement will grow and be victorious.

But we do not agree about New Age and Fighting Talk, that these publications served a negative role . . . in supplying the enemy with vital information about our people and activities. Such papers had to be published as long as possible, otherwise thousands would have been deprived of their only source of news of the struggle. The Capitalist press refused to publish anything favourable to us and we had the benefit of some inspiring printed material . . . the stuff of which revolution is made.

Vanguard is a true voice of our struggle. It is new and has youthful vigour and a genuine ring. The old and worn-out must give way to the new. We wish *Vanguard* and the Anti-Revisionists every success as brothers and comrades in the making of history. South African

A RELIGIOUS STORY

How many thousands of people are without homes in London "alone," how many thousands more are living in furnished rooms, attics, between floors, and basement flats, under obligation to unscrupulous landlords who demand anything from 50/- to £6 per week for furnished rooms in semi-slum and slum houses; with the right of a month's notice, theirs by law; and how many thousands are dwelling in tied houses, living in dread of infringing some stupid bye-law or regulation that would give the company owners the right to evict: this last group calls for this article, for there has been brought to my notice a very sad and serious state of affairs.

A friend of mine, a milkman by trade, while making a call to one of his customers, an old lady of 71 years of age, noticed that she had left a note for him in one of the milk bottles, it was a notice to the effect that as well as her milk she would like him to leave her two large eggs. On completing the order, he was about to dispose of the note when he noticed something of interest on the reverse side, it was a typed letter from the Church Army, 55 Bryanston Street, Marble Arch, Parochial Evangelists Dept., dated 8th April, 1963, it was addressed to this 71-year-old lady and it read, and I quote (without names of course for obvious reasons).

"Dear Sister,
The Brotherhood Committee have had you very much in their thoughts and prayers during the recent severe weather, and Sister ——— had kept us informed of your well being. But now we are all thankful we can look forward into the spring—and warm weather.

You will doubtless be also looking forward to the pension increase in June of 10/- per week towards the cost of living. The brotherhood have in this respect wondered just how much of this 10/- should be added to your rent. After careful consideration of the matter the committee was led to think it would be desirable to add ¼, 2/6 to your rent and leave ¾, 7/6 for your personal expenses.

We hope you will accept this arrangement as a fair one for all—the society as well as for yourself.

With the prayerful goodwishes of the brotherhood."

What blatant hypocrisy this letter is with pretext of enquiring after this old lady's health and welfare, they are really forming tactics with which to filch a half crown of her 10/- pension increase, an

continued on page 13

Unity through struggle

UNITY is a precious word for a revolutionary movement. Without unity of revolutionary ideas and action by the major sections of working people, Capitalism must remain in power in Britain.

This may seem so self-evident as hardly to justify repetition, but words as well as British politics have degenerated, and the terms "Unity," "Unity of the Left," "Unity of the Labour Movement" have been applied in political statements and treaties with such generous liberality (is liberalism more accurate?) that re-definition of the term "unity" has become profoundly necessary.

Clearly unity must be a principled unity; and the guiding principle must be—within the context of a capitalist state—the enhancement of the overall interests of the working class. Not a one-sided advantage to a privileged section or group at the expense of less fortunate but more numerous strata. Not a compromise arrangement (though many compromises will have to be made right up to the last moments of capitalism) that is calculated to damage the militant upsurge of working people engaged in class battle.

Not a spurious unity of the organised working class harnessed to a party and a leadership whose reason for existence, whose history from its inception as a Labour Representation Committee, whose continuous activity and expressed ideas, echo with one voice its main aim—the weaning away of the working-class from its historical role—the overthrow of capitalism.

Let us speak more specifically. The leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain has maintained for many years now that changed world conditions—in general the reduced area and scope of capitalism against the ever-increasing

might of the countries of Socialism and in particular the increased political awareness, strength and organisation of the British working class, has created new opportunities for the people of Britain. With a mechanical and lopsided transference of ideas, it has attempted to transplant the strength of world revolutionary conditions to the soil of Britain. No one would dispute the capacity of ideas, sparked by revolutionary events to travel across frontiers, but this is no sound premise for the opportunist conclusion that Socialism will be ushered into Britain in the wake of a Labour and Communist majority in Parliament.

British capitalism will not fall into a coma when confronted with the superior economy of Socialist countries. Its long rule, its super-profits, the dissemination of its ideas amongst vast numbers of working people, has given it a confidence and flexibility that will not easily force the reins of power out of its hands.

A bitter, complex, long drawn-out struggle will have to be fought; a thousand different forms of unity will have to be forged, local and national, those of limited aims and those of broad scope, economic and political. Each and every one of these struggles fought boldly honestly and skilfully must be subordinated to the common purposes of raising the militancy of the working class, combating capitalist and reformist ideas with revolutionary ideas, exposing the reactionaries and the revisionists whoever they are, and in so doing actively preparing the maximum number of revolutionary elements for the struggle for power.

Furthermore, during this process, the political party of the revolutionary working class will learn to equip itself with practical experience, with clarity of ideas, and with strength of purpose; without these pre-requisites, it will never be possible to topple from power

capitalist rule in any advanced economy such as in Britain.

DANGEROUS ILLUSION

One of the most dangerous illusions that have been fostered over the last couple of decades has been what I hope I may be permitted to describe as the "ideological harmony of the harmless." It is perfectly clear that a slogan may be drawn so broadly, so vaguely, so innocuously that very few people will be found to oppose it. Conversely, it must be very rare indeed that an expression so all embracing, so non-exclusive is capable of mobilising into action even the tiniest number. To proclaim that we are "For World Peace and Disarmament" is a commendable and humane thought, but its universality renders it impotent immediately; its culpable omission of defining the instigators of war in fact can only help to perpetuate the illusion of all sides bearing an equal guilt in the conduct of international relationships. And yet many resolutions with similar innocuous terms of reference have been passed in trades unions and other organisations.

It is of interest to note in this connection the conclusions reached at two national conferences on peace held in Japan in early March of this year. The very broad composition of the delegates numbering nearly 10,000 did not prevent the passing of a whole number of specific resolutions aimed at American imperialism, including the withdrawal of all U.S. bases and troops from Japan, the annulment of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and the return of Okinawa. The broad actions undertaken by the Japanese in recent times are in earnest that these are not paper resolutions.

Of course, it is true that in the pro-

cess of criticism and supporting actions, some people hitherto supporters will become alienated; perhaps they will feel their own interests adversely affected; perhaps they will fear the reaction of the authorities. Such losses are inevitable to any serious, worthwhile mass movement whether in Japan, Britain or any other country.

TO EXPOSE AND ATTACK

The important thing is to be guided by the intrinsic, long-term interests of the struggle to win power from the capitalists, constantly to expose and attack their ideas and expression in the working-class movement, constantly to attempt to raise the political consciousness and militancy of the workers and to implant the seed of the revolutionary goal of socialism into their minds.

At all stages, the manner in which this struggle takes place has to be governed by the objective conditions prevailing at the time; to avoid being or sounding ultra-revolutionary; to be as one with the workers in the advancement of their economic interests and conditions, and yet at the same time actively to carry the principled aims of revolutionary socialism to every facet of the struggle.

Such aims must be coupled even to the fight for Peace and Democracy and not separate from them, or Peace and Democracy themselves will both be lost.

The forging of a united movement of workers and progressiveness to encompass our aims will be a great and difficult task, but it is only such a principled unity which is worth fighting for. It is only such a unity which will sooner or later bring about the downfall of capitalism and win Socialism for us in Britain.

JACK SEIFERT

R.P.M. A FIDDLE?

THE current flap about R.P.M. is not, unfortunately, about Revolutions Per Minute. In fact it refers to Resale Price Maintenance.

Manufacturers and some larger retailers have for many years exercised a degree of control over the prices we pay, even where we buy to such an extent that it never fails to amaze the average consumer when he is appraised of the facts. The following example will illustrate how R.P.M. operates in the retail television field. A manufacturer of radio and television receivers distributes his merchandise to certain selected retailers or "Dealers" on an Agency basis. This usually means that a manufacturer has one, sometimes two or occasionally a number of dealers carrying his merchandise in each district depending upon how "exclusive" the manufacturer regards his wares. Should a newcomer appear on the scene who wishes to include this manufacturer's goods in his range he will probably find that he is deprived of this facility due to established retailers in the same district putting the "block" on. They are able to do this by threatening the manufacturer in question with reduced turnover. And if one of the competing retailers is a multiple... need I say more?

It will be obvious that a retailer already dealing in branded goods who decides to offer his goods at cut prices will soon find himself in trouble with his suppliers due to pressure from other retailers. Moreover, a manufacturer at present has the backing of the law to enforce retailers to maintain list prices though this is rarely invoked at the present time. On the face of it, therefore, retail prices would appear to be endowed with a certain sanctity and this is especially apparent in the radio, electrical and motor trades. However, for

the initiated there are certain loopholes.

TRADING IN

Although goods may not normally be offered at cut prices they are in fact often sold below list on account of the trade-in allowance on an old unit. Very often, especially when business is bad, quite an inflated allowance can be obtained for the proverbial "old boot." The moral is simple. If you wish to buy but can afford to wait, wait until business is bad!

The Tory R.P.M. Bill, which is causing a certain amount of Inner Party struggle inside the Tory Party will not, if the American example is anything to go by, result in lower prices for the consumer in the long run. Already, in anticipation of the Bill's effects, certain manufacturers are putting up their prices. The effects of price cutting on the smaller retailer will be severe, just how severe can be judged from the present furore in retailers' trade journals. A writer in one of these journals recently demanded—in all seriousness—"Has the Tory Party gone Bolshevist?" At any rate there is an uncomfortable feeling in these circles that a sharp increase can be expected in the number of bankruptcies and liquidations. A further interesting feature will be the effect of R.P.M. on manufacturers guarantees which are at present conditional on the full list price being paid.

No one can foresee exactly just what results this Bill will produce when the dust has settled. Some see it as a major step towards the American jungle-type economy. Of one thing we can be certain. The R.P.M. Bill was not conceived with the interests of the British people in mind.

ARTHUR MAJOR

LETTERS

continued from page 12

increase which public opinion forced the Tories reluctantly to apply to all old age pensions. Then after applying this stealthy and slimy strategy upon this 71-year-old lady this noble band of brothers from the Church Army add terrible insult to her injury by dressing it up in Christian prayers and good wishes.

How long is such filth and disease to be an abomination in the noble sight of mankind; when are we to cut such cancerous growths as these organs of capitalism from the healthy body of humanity, soon I hope, less we all be contaminated by such ts these.

John Sharpe

FOLK SONGS—FOR WHOM?

Your contributor, David Wilson, in his article "Folk songs—for whom?" in your May issue, has allowed himself to be led into some incorrect formulations.

For example, he describes the Negro non-violent resistance movement in the U.S.A. as having an Uncle Tom philosophy. The precise reverse is the case: the new generation of Negroes in the Southern states, and now also in the north, has rejected Uncle Tomism (which means submitting to, even actively cooperating in, white domination) and is going all out for integration, now. Their non-violence, which may mean suffering extreme violence in the short run, is the tactic by which the Negroes intend to bring about their victory.

If, like the Black Muslims, you want to reject the goal of integration altogether, that is a different matter; but David Wilson should make it clear what he means.

Mr. Wilson falls into another error when he refers to the peace movement as "a movement composed of people who do not want their comfortable lives upset by nuclear war." This estimate of the effects of nuclear war is about as complacent as that of the Civil Defence authorities. It would not just "upset" the lives of "comfortable" people: it would end the lives, in a peculiarly unpleasant way, of a great many people, comfortable and uncomfortable alike—not to mention its effect on those not yet even born. The verse of "The Sun is Burning" quoted by David Wilson is a fairly accurate description of the effects of a nuclear explosion. Why should we not honestly admit that this prospect frightens us?

The people in the peace movement are not content simply to be afraid. They have tried to find ways to resist the policies of the nuclear powers. With the collapse of the traditional labour and communist movements in Britain since the last war, the peace movement has, particularly in the last few years, formed the only opposition to the Government. Far from being selfishly concerned for their comforts, many people have given

them up repeatedly in exchange for periods of imprisonment. And although their answers might well be different from that of *Vanguard's* supporters, they have more understanding of the causes of war than David Wilson gives them credit for.

Rod Prince,
London, E.C.2.

OVERTIME

I feel I must comment on the article entitled "Overtime Ban, a Trap?" (*Vanguard*, May issue). It infuriated me and lowered my opinion of your paper. It should have been called "Overtime Workers of the World, Unite!" These so-called militants to whom Noel Jenkinson refers are so busy toiling every hour they can grab, they haven't got the time, energy or inclination to read his theories. Surely many workers feel it is bad enough having their labour exploited 5 days a week, without putting in 7. According to Noel Jenkinson, people who are not prepared to slog away all the hours in creation for their capitalist masters are of no account. What nonsense!

A large number of industrial workers only realise the inadequacy of their wage when faced with a limited working week. When such a situation occurs, they start rebelling and often force an increase at factory level. I know this from my own experience.

Still Militant

SHOP STEWARDS

The comments of the *Economist* on the implications of the recent House of Lords judgement in the *Rookes v. Barnard* case, reveals the attitude of many capitalists towards the Shop Steward.

"This is a ridiculous weapon to hold over the humble men who do most of the voluntary work in the trade union movement. If these actions for damages spread—and the signs are that they may indeed be about to do so—shop stewardship could become an office sought only by fanatics, happy to risk personal bankruptcy."

Many Shop Stewards are of great value to their employers. The "*Economist*" grasps this fact, and that is why they are so perturbed, not because they care about the intimidation of Shop Stewards. The smooth flow of production and profit is their only concern. In firms all over the country, "humble men" fulfil the function of unpaid personnel managers. Quite a few bosses would have to pay the wages of additional personnel staff if the Shop steward didn't solve some of their problems for nothing.

This situation can be combatted if it is hammered into the minds of these people that taking on the management troubles is inconsistent with the independent interests of the working class.

The Shop Steward's job is to defend wages and conditions against capitalist attack, not to be sidetracked into wasting his time on behalf of our class enemies.

Surrey Engineering Worker

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Flat 3

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LONDON N7

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MARXISM AND POETRY

CONCLUDED FROM MAY ISSUE

Professor Thomson's treatment of modern poetry is no more satisfactory than his cursory examination of the origin of language, it too is wrapped in an aura of mysticism. His definition, "Hence the conflict between society and nature—the basis of magic—is overlaid by a conflict between the individual and society—the basis of poetry." p.24, is not the least satisfactory and cannot be entertained. For the basis of magic is not to be found in the conflict between society and nature—that expresses only part of it, its outward form—the true basis of magic rests on the ignorance of man.

Similarly with his idea that poetry expresses a basic conflict between the poet and society, it is nothing of the sort. The poet, like the rest of us, finds himself at times in conflict with a great many things—but never society as a whole. For is it not perfectly obvious that if that were so he could express nothing, he would represent absolute nihilism?

Poetry is an expression of life; a reflection and a commentary; an evaluation and a judgment. Great poets are the soundest of men, through whom life pours in endless libation. But, because they are first and foremost men, secondly the most sensitive of men, their personal trials and tribulations enter into the very depths of their being and inevitably their work reflects moments of agony, of rejection and despair. But this is far from signifying that such moments—and how few they really are, how, even out of the blackest moments of despair, flows the love of life in all its fulness!—possess a totality that is the outcrop of an irreconcilable antagonism, a basic conflict without hope of settlement because it passes from the logical, the knowable, into a land of absolute fantasy.

Neither poets or savages crave the impossible, nor can this writer believe that savages, "... plunge into the subconscious, the inner world of fantasy, the world as they long for it to be." p.13, my emphasis. Since their emotions have in the first instance been derived from a real world with its wants and longings—better crops, victory over the enemy—a dance or bacchanalia is set in motion for the simple purpose of bringing about these desired and splendid purposes. For inevitably the powers that be will hear all the noise, all the dancing and singing, all their supplications, for if it has a powerful effect on them—mere men!—it must surely have some effect even on the gods! (I do not intend here to go into the question of magic, or Professor Thomson's assumption that it rests on mimeticism.) What happens? The excitement of the dance puts an end to rational thought, the mind becomes a jumble heap of incredible confusion, loses its essential function, rationality, and sinks, exhausted, to the ground; the fact that the savage is relieved of fear and gains a better heart out of the dance is beside the point: the world as they would like to have it is matter-of-fact—plenty of good crops, plenty of beaten enemies! A truly satisfactory world, not alto-

gether inconsistent with our own! As we see, nothing mysterious or unknowable about it, no need to dwell on formless longings.

CRAVING THE IMPOSSIBLE

But what about the poets, products of a higher society, of literate man? Do they crave the impossible? Is that "the essential function of poetry, which is derived from magic," p.13. No, this writer by no means agrees that poetry expresses such sheer stupidity. Poets, along with most of mankind, have searched the skies at night, and have thought: "How lovely and beautiful they are, how steadily they shine—how nice it would be to be like a star!" Is this not so, and how many of us have heard a growing lad wish he was as strong as an elephant! Girls are more sensible as a matter of fact—I think they are nicer—but they too wish for the "impossible." Are such thoughts morbid, neurotic cravings for the unattainable? Of course they are not, but here again we must remember that a poet is a poet.

Bright star, would I were as steadfast as thou art! Our somewhat mundane speech is transformed into rapturous outburst, the poet is not content with a half-formed fancy, his imagination takes fire and a wish—common to us all—glows with the magic of artistic witchery, captures image upon image—reflections of things we too have seen many times—fleeing with a swiftness that slows the lightning, stamped with the personality of individual experience and consciousness, to be passed to us as a miniature of a moment of reality in the life of Keats. How much more beautiful and true is this, this ability to impart reality on such a plane, faithful to the flow of its motion, than to believe that this earth with its sweetness and wonder, its constant freshness, must be deserted to create poetry.

Poetry—like all else—must be communicated through the medium of that which is particular, through individualised expression which seeks to impress on others some feature or other of an objective world common to all, whether it be a flower, a fleeting cloud, or an involved thought process. But not only must an impression be created, it must be created emotionally, under the spell of the poet's magic, his gift for unfolding through condensation, of being able to transform his own rapturous insight into an objectivity capable of enveloping and submerging all else save that which the poet has identified.

Should it fail to do this, perform the function of instantaneously capturing the attention and carrying along the reader, it has failed in its objective and can only be classified as anti-social and nihilistic. Judgment is conditioned by knowledge, by an enquiring mind, through comparison; and this should be our attitude to poetry.

REJECT MYSTIFICATION

There is no need for mystification, for disregarding logic, or for deserting reality. The sub-conscious exists, but not as a thing apart, an unknowable thing-in-itself. Nothing is unknowable or beyond the reason of the mind of

man; man is finite but men are not. Men gain in wisdom, in understanding, through struggle; through an unwillingness to accept as gospel the precepts of yesterday; not because they are stubborn and pig-headed, simply because their practice started where their fathers' left off. Our age has paid a great deal of attention to psychoanalysis, to the problems dealing with the mind, and that is good; but what is not good is to split the mind into bits and pieces, to examine sensation apart, set them on a pedestal, to kneel down and worship them; to forget man's brain. Professor Thomson is guilty of this; there is no need to follow artists into a world of phantasy, a world which doesn't exist; artists never desert reality, nor do men. The reality of being is not an illusion, the illusion is but a partial reflection of being.

OUR TASK

There is one task which Professor Thomson touches on which is full of satisfaction: the analysis of specific poetry. Most modern critics do everything but that, it is the poet and his formal approach in which they are interested; what he actually says is of secondary, minor importance. But then, little true poetry—none great—is being written, and second-rate creative thinkers seem to produce as an inevitable correlative aesthetes with pale complexions.

What did Shakespeare mean by putting in to the mouth of noble Othello the words: "Will you, I pray, demand that demi-devil, why hath he ensnared my mind and body?" He is speaking of Iago, who—seemingly for no purpose whatsoever—has undertaken the complete and terrible ruin of Othello and his household—people who had, in fact, befriended him. Coleridge put it down to "motiveless malignity," and while Professor Thomson finds this explanation unsatisfactory from the viewpoint of psychology, he is forced to agree with it; that Iago was essentially a figment of Shakespeare's imagination, a mere symbol of destructiveness. There is ample room for Professor Thomson's disturbance, it is curious to find the greatest of all writers turning away from reality, using as a pivot around which the plot turns a creature without a human counterpart. It is not in keeping with great art to desert reality. Shakespeare didn't.

Iago was not a demi-devil, he was as human as his creator. Man, once a beast, developed in that long and bitter, merciless upward struggle, a mentality of intensities, of likes and dislikes; of hatreds and wanton cruelties; of vanities and conceits; of self-pity and oblation; of timidity and cowardice; cunning and trickiness; many things that are bad and downright evil—and man is the sole judge—stamped themselves on man's general consciousness, and are seen—recognised clearly—through the particular.

Man has been known to kill for the love of killing; torture for the love of torture; intrigue for the love of intrigue. Men have been known to lie, steal, to debase themselves when these things were not necessary. Are not these human traits? Then why be surprised at an Iago? Men have plotted cold-bloodedly to wipe great cities out of existence,

destroy a culture of a thousand years over a cup of tea, a glass of chilled beer. Is the U.S. "third-degree" a child's toy? Or the woman of Buchanwald a phantasy? Then why not an Iago? Man is secretive, a miser gloats over the hidden hoard; men are sullen and morose—one never knows what they think of. A maddened man can beat a horse to trembling fits, can rape a child, or cut his mother's throat. Has it not happened? Yet you would deny an Iago? Are there not people who believe in nothing, nothing at all; bitter-souls with the spirits of vampires. And are there not mockers, their mouths filled with filth and corruption? Will not wounded intellectual pride and conceit lead men on to the most dreadful of crimes, ultimately to their own destruction? And venomous spite, a heart devoid of charity, is it not to be found in every village? Yet you would still deny an Iago?

Man is capable of all these things, he develops qualities in keeping with his general surroundings, and a law of average runs through, but within the range there is room for widespread variation. That is why we produce saints and martyrs as well as beast-men. If you have failed to discover such a humanity your eyesight is poor and untrained. You have not travelled far. Iago was a man.

Similarly with the speech of Ulysses, in "Troilus & Cressida," "Take but degree away, untune that string, and hark what discord follows. Each thing meets in mere oppugnancy... and appetite, a universal wolf, so double seconded with will and power, must perforce become a universal prey, and, last, eat up himself!"

According to the view of Professor Thomson, a poetical writer of the first magnitude can end in the realm of "pure" phantasy, that is, depart through an uncontrolled flight of the imagination into a realm that has no relation whatsoever with reality, yet still be able to communicate a sense of beauty to the reader. It is very hard to believe that that which has no existence in the realm of being, which doesn't reflect—even through a dozen mirrors—some shade of reality, can be brought into being—it fails to make sense.

The passage is quite clear and Professor Thomson himself gives a correct, if somewhat narrow, interpretation of it. Appetite, coupled to will and power, unbridled by rational restraint, mad with its own conceit, can, under certain circumstances, make itself "an universal prey." For rational thought can cease being rational, not correspond to true reality, but—and this is the point—even then it reflects things which are real, but it distorts them and makes of them absolutes. Some Jews are wealthy, Hitler made them all wealthy, and thereby converted the hate of the German people against rapacious wealth into channels to save the very thing that millions of Germans believed he was destroying. Shakespeare, we must remember, had a knowledge of history at his finger-tips, understood humanity as few have understood it; he knew what lust for power could do, he had seen it eat up man and nations, and in so doing eat up itself. A. H. EVANS

Monkey, a Chinese Classic

Translated by Arthur Waley. Penguin ARTHUR WALEY has translated this Chinese classic and for doing that he has our great thanks. Living somewhere between 1505 A.D. and 1580 Wu Ch'eng-ên idealised legends which had grown up and were beloved by the Han people about the real journey to India of a priest named Hsuan Tsang (Tripitaka) who made the journey in the 7th century A.D.

If one tried to condense and explain to another exactly what sort of a story Monkey is we would say that it is a true epic, far above that of the Aeneid in sensitive portrayal, fully comparable to Homer's tales of Ulysses, Troy and the Aegean seas. It contains an almost incredible bubbling humour and an earthiness which brings heaven even closer to the earth than Homer did.

Monkey has about it the freshness of that splendid early dawn which sets Homer apart from all other poets; those times when men were young, when their eyes and ears were full of quest, when every running stream or quiet and solitary pool talked in its own image, and could be understood by men.

Both Homer and Wu Ch'eng-ên have much in common only—Wu Ch'eng-ên lived in the age of gunpowder, of a society of highly developed feudal relations, the other great poet, Homer, in the early dawn of a slave society. Marx might well turn over in his grave! But facts are facts. As Marx so wisely

pointed out, all ideas in the course of time undergo modification. So we are forced, somewhat reluctantly, to look over this business of epic poetry once again! But not here.

STORY OF MONKEY

This business of MONKEY, this Monkey business, teaches us an invaluable lesson: that men, after all, are not gods, they remain men.

The story of Monkey opens with that simplicity of straightforward story telling so beloved of children and others who retain that sort of freshness of mind. "There was a rock that since the creation of the world had been worked upon by the pure essences of heaven and the fine savours of earth, the vigour of sunshine and the grace of moonlight, till at last it became magically pregnant and one day split open, giving birth to a stone egg, about as big as a playing ball. Fructified by the wind it developed into a stone monkey, complete with every organ and limb. At once this monkey learned how to climb and run; but its first act was to make a bow towards each of the four quarters. As it did so, a steely light darted from this monkey's eyes and flashed as far as the Palace of the Pole Star."

You can't be sure, from a creature of such a strange birth, anything can be expected. You are more than right. Monkey in no time at all made himself King of all the Monkeys, and soon

heaven itself was forced to try and placate him with the grand title, The Sage, Equal of Heaven! Not that that held him for long. What a man! Only one equals him in all history, of that this writer is convinced, Ulysses.

Monkey only missed making himself Emperor over all the gods by a bit of bad luck—he wasn't quite as old or as tricky as Buddha. But he was more than a match for the "Jade Emperor," who was forced to hurriedly send for reinforcements to the Western Region, to ask the Great Buddha himself for a bit of a hand for, as everyone should know, the Jade Emperor is of the Taoist Sect, not quite as all-powerful as the Buddha from the West.

The stories of how Monkey overcame such demons as the Demon of Havoc, how he routed the Kings of the Four Quarters, of how he got drunk in heaven and half wrecked it, how he was pursued, how the wonderful goddess, Bodhisattva Kuen-yin, fell in love with him and protected him—just like Athene fell in love with Ulysses—are musts for all with a love of life. Then there are the tales dealing with his actual journey to India to bring back holy documents.

O haste the dawn! O leave the plow,
The thatch, the corn,
For the moon is bloody with the dawn,
Of sickles red! Strike! Strike the blow!

Go sickle, gather in the dawn,
The moon sinks down, the sun is red!

O leave the plow, the thatch, the corn,
The sun is rising with the dawn,
Go sickles, gather in the dawn, the
laughing dawn,
For the moon is down and the corn is
red!

How the brave Monkey, the courageous and resourceful Monkey, had to put up with the miserable whining of the good priest Tripitaka, how he gained his faithful followers Pigsy and Sandy, of how he finally, after triumphantly overcoming all enemies, led the priest to the celestial Court of the Great, All Wise, All Seeing Buddha. And how he was fittingly rewarded by becoming an Immortal himself.

In an age such as ours, an age of capitalist degeneration of everything it touches, what a delight it is to dip into such a book as Monkey. For a few hours the foulness of the capitalist system fades into the background and you emerge from its pages refreshed and ready for battle, just like Monkey!

However, every once in a while one can't help but wonder: how long will it be before Monkey turns restless again? Should he, in some far distant eon, meet up with Ulysses, what mad schemes that wily pair would soon cook up! But that story awaits the pen of another Homer, another We Ch'eng-ên. Maybe, in another thousand years or two thousand years, another epic will burst through to the light of day. J. G.

O Mother-Earth, O earth, my Mother!
So red the earth! so red the sky!
Enflamed within my flanks, my thighs,
My love for you, my need of you!
How great you are! How great you are!
How small am I!

And this is the song the strong winds
blow,
From the north to the south,
From the east to the west,
Of the land and its people
Of men once equal and women born free.

Shakespeare's Henry VI

SHAKESPEARE wrote a great many plays, including his "parts," some 37 in all. To examine such a large body of work through the medium of a general examination and come to a general conclusion that will stand up to time is impossible. As with any other artist, an evaluation can only be arrived at through minute examination of the particular, and this cannot be accomplished without the examiner having a sound knowledge of literature, history and philosophy. But not only must the examiner possess a basic acquaintance with these subjects he must possess also one other indispensable qualification; he must have mastered the Marxist world outlook, which is to say that he must be capable of examining things from the angle of class interest, and that alone. For all thought, all endeavour in the era of private property, is at bottom class thought, class endeavour. Individuals, of course, cross over the class barriers, but inevitably, no matter how great their genius, some vestige of family background, of class ideology clings to them and is revealed in their work.

Thus it is with those who have examined Shakespeare in our own immediate past, men such as Tolstoy and Shaw. Inevitably, their examination is limited by their class outlook. However, living in an age which has god-worshipped Shakespeare, we must give praise to such men, for they at least had the courage to swim against the stream.

It can be truly said that Shakespeare's idolators, such as the "Marxist-Critic," Arnold Kettle, have vulgarised learning in the stupidity of their eagerness to pay homage to the Bard of Avon. "We should say humbly that because he is so much greater than anyone else, that we know less than he . . . he uses language to convey what nobody else has succeeded in conveying." Thus Arnold Kettle. When Comrade Stalin was alive Kettle was singing the praises of Comrade Zdanov, now he croaks in a different voice, but he remains today what he was then: a god worshipper.

Shaw comes much nearer to the mark: "Why should we talk about Shakespeare as if his moral platitudes, his jingo claptrap, his tavern pleasantries, his bombast and drivel, and his incapacity for following up the scraps of philosophy he stole so aptly were as admirable as the mastery of poetic speech, and the feeling for nature, and the knack of character drawing. . . ."

God worship is deeply embedded in man and they have ever been willing to set up a new god once the old has become a bit shop-worn and the gilt been rubbed off. Particularly is this true for the bourgeoisie, who, understandably, venerate the memory of those who personify so many of their cherished beliefs, such as that the age of what they like to call "English Chivalry" was a golden one. Shaw labelled it well: jingo claptrap. And it is true, Shakespeare's English chauvinism in these

but contempt for the creature who wrote Henry VI, we must admit that even in a sorry play such as this, the genius of true creation couldn't be completely smothered, that Shakespeare had more natural talent in his finger-tips than all of today's poets put together. What a sorry lot they are, and have been for many a day. How low have the bourgeoisie fallen in the field of literature!

PEACOCKS IN GLORY

How vain and stupid is the talk of these swashbuckling feudal lords and those around them. As vain and stupid as the talk of the Court which surrounded the last of the Tudors, of this parasitic Welsh family which had sold its own birthright for the richer fleshpots of a far wealthier land, England. We should always remember that Shakespeare did not pull his windy talk, his love for pomp and ceremony, out of an old hat, he drank it in the environment of his own day and age as naturally as a baby suckles its mothers breast.

They are all puppets, these characters in Henry VI, one only could be excepted and even he is still in embryo. The Duke of York, later Richard III. The men, as well as the women, are sexless jumping jacks, trained to do Shakespeare's bidding. Murder and treachery was rife, plots and counter plots, but—no matter—even the worst, the most deprived of all, died bravely as befitting chivalry! He knew his court and its wants backwards and forwards, did Shakespeare!

It was all so understandable to the gentry and aristocracy of that day, for was it not an idealised reflection of daily events? The audience loved it, even as an audience of our own day smack their lips over a play or motion picture dealing with crime or sex.

PEASANTS HERO, JACK CADE

But if Shakespeare descended into the gutter through his chauvinistic portrayal of Joan it is in his treatment of the leader of the Kent peasants, and of the peasants themselves, that he sinks still lower. It is shameful to think that a truly great artist sold himself for Elizabeth's thirty pieces of silver.

Shakespeare starts his treatment of Cade by making him a puppet, a willing tool, of the scheming Duke of York. Shakespeare turns Cade and his peasant followers into caricatures so grossly exaggerated as to appear bloodthirsty and utterly brainless buffoons. They are enemies of learning and murder the Clerk of Chatham because he confesses "that I can write my own name." The peasants shout, "he hath confessed: away with him! He's a villain and a traitor." Jack Cade approves his followers' verdict: "Away with him I say! Hang him with his pen and inkhorn about his neck."

Here is how Shakespeare introduces scene VIII: "Alarum and retreat. Enter Jack Cade and all his rabblement." So

the leader of starving peasantry and the peasantry driven into revolt by a swinish nobility, are termed rabble. How this scene and those before and after must have delighted Elizabeth's Court. What favours must have been bestowed on the fortunate playwright! The people and their leader are murderous rabble, hating culture, put them down before they destroy civilisation! Not much different from the bourgeoisie of our own day, save that the prostitutes who lick the boots of today's capitalists put together wouldn't reach up to the knee of Shakespeare, for even in this play the thinking Shakespeare breaks through: the peasants are won over to the side of the King by an appeal to their chauvinism: "We are all Englishmen!" Yes, Shakespeare was a keen observer of humanity.

But he was also a cunning and unscrupulous man who understood what his patrons wanted, and gave it to them without a twinge of shame—for he too stank of chauvinism, on this score there is no subterfuge. But how well he knew the upper class, their utter hypocrisy and deep pretence:

Gives not the hawthorn bush a sweeter shade

To shepherds looking at their silly sheep,

Than doth a rich-embroidered canopy to kings

That fear their subjects treachery?

O, yes, it doth: a thousand fold it doth.

And to conclude: the shepherds homely curds.

His thin drink out of his leather bottle,

His wanted sleep under a fresh tree's shade.

All which secure and sweetly he enjoys

Is far beyond a prince's delicates:

His viants sparkling in a golden cup,

His body couched in a curious bed,

When care, mistrust and treason waits him.

These are the words Shakespeare places in the mouth of Henry VI as he awaits battle. Yet the genius which Shakespeare possessed must have known that these words were a cruel sham, a mockery of life itself. That water is water, cheap fare cheap fare, the earth is a hard bed. To idealise the life of the poor, and beat them mercilessly when they ask for something better, was, and is today, the answer of those classes who live rich and idle lives at the expense of the people.

Shakespeare, to please the Court, turned to shameless sophistry. How pleased must Elizabeth have been to find out that the Bard of Avon fully recognised the "heavy burden of state," and couched it in language of living poetry.

IDRIS JONES

historical plays of his stinks into the nostrils of an honest man.

DOWN TO WORK

We shall, in this first essay, deal with Henry VI, treating the three parts of the play as if they were one, which is not at all difficult for it is mostly froth. The play deals with the wars of England during the reign of the King, and the never-ending struggle between rival factions of the feudal nobility for the plums of full state power. The first part of the play covers Henry's French war, his loss of most of his father's conquests, then partial stability through the cowardice of the French Dauphine in handing over to the English their heroine, Joan of Arc.

It is doubtful if history records a more shameful treatment of a courageous woman than Shakespeare's treatment of Joan. In order to curry favour with the Court of Elizabeth, Shakespeare, without a hint of shame, distorted history and portrayed Joan as little better than a cheap whore with a sense for the ultra dramatic. Shakespeare makes Joan beg for her life before her English captors. He puts a child in her belly: "Murder not then the fruit of my womb." The Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick taunt her, playing with her as a cat plays with a doomed mouse: "She and the Dauphine have been juggling: I did imagine what would be her refuge." Meaning, how Joan would attempt to escape the fire. Shakespeare has Joan hysterically begging for mercy, now naming one man as father of the unborn babe, now another, while the proud Duke and Earl taunt her, until at last York ends the horrible farce: "Strumpet, thy words condemn thy brat and thee: use use no treaty for it is in vain."

Yet this man, William Shakespeare, who was ready to crawl before the royalty of his own day, could pull from the thin air a simile such as this:

Thus are my blossoms blasted in the bud,

And caterpillars eat my leaves away.

Much as we dislike and have nothing

LITERATURE and ART

THE TRAGEDY OF D. H. LAWRENCE

THE essential failure of D. H. Lawrence was his inability to discriminate industrialism from capitalism. His attacks on British, West European, American and Australian society of his time were annihilating. His tone one of utter alienation and wild anger. Yet he remained an exiled Romantic and was never able to develop the political elements in his revolt. In this way he demonstrates the dilemma and political ambivalence of the petty bourgeoisie intellectual. However, Lawrence is well worth closer study and he has many positive contributions to make on the subject of inter-personal relationships, partly because of his dialectical approach: but it is a dialectical idealism.

The crux of Lawrence's criticism of society was that industrialism had led to "the base forcing of all human energy into a competition of mere acquisition." This distortion led to the mechanisation of all social life: the operative philosophy was mechanical-materialism, a metaphysical system which acknowledges only quantitative change in the universe and degrades men to the status of automata. One of the fetishes of this machine-society was the desire for property which showed itself not only in the field of business and commerce but also in the conduct of human relationships. Men and women lusted for the control and ownership of other men and women . . . a feature most apparent in sexual relationships where men even spoke of

"having" women and where marriage if not an out and out business deal nevertheless often showed the values and jealousies of bartering.

Lawrence, in being repelled by the ugliness of the industrial world . . . "the meanness and dismalness of the workers' environment, the ugly values of the 'masters,' the pretentiousness and egotism of the intellectuals and 'bohemians' . . . nevertheless failed to make the crucial distinction between industrialism under capitalism and the industrial society as it could be. Instead he cursed "civilisation" and started yearning for a perfect agricultural society of the past which had never existed. He took a violently anti-intellectual stance and became mystical about the "dark," "instinctive," "intuitive," "unconscious" side of man. He saw this quality "in the peon of Mexico" . . . a natural dignity and inner strength so different to the frenetic, neurotic egotism of the intellectuals of western society. However the value of the observation became lost in the mysticism grafted on to it.

A MAIN FACTOR

No doubt one of the main factors which militated against Lawrence's ever becoming a Marxist was the fatuousness of the British "Marxists" he met. In the main obviously middle class people who took a patronising sentimental pose towards the working classes and had their "Marxism" shot through with mechanical-materialism. In this group

one would include the Fabians whose utilitarian vulgarity and complacency is historically the shadow of the bourgeoisie's class greed.

Why was it that Lawrence, who was the son of a collier, could not believe that the working classes were the only possible agents of social change? No doubt his mother, who came from lower middle class origins, infected Lawrence at an early age with the need personally to escape from being "beaten down" by circumstances into the social machine. Having "escaped" he came to regard the workers as victims and completely failed to see their collective strength. Paradoxically Lawrence did recognise that the workers constituted the virile class whereas the bourgeoisie was a spent force. (This was the theme of Lady Chatterly). He knew from per-

sonal experience of the living, passionate relationships within the working class family: the intense loyalties and dialectics of the communal relationships. Having known this he could never reconcile himself to the passionless, milk and water ties of the middle and upper classes. It was the contrast between communal life and egocentric social life. What Lawrence wanted above all else was to live in a community where the "natural flow of common sympathy" between men, women and their fellows was allowed in freedom from the "competition for mere acquisition."

The tragedy of Lawrence was that he could see no way of achieving this community and he ended as a romantic raging hopelessly, helplessly against a civilisation from which he felt alienated.

JOHN BLAKE

O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us

To see ourselves as others see us!

It wad frae monie a blunder free us

an' foolish notion:

What airs in dress an' gait wad lea'n us

an' ev'n Devotion!

ROBERT BURNS.

STATEMENT: LEEDS — BRADFORD

A GREAT debate is at present being waged within the International Communist Movement concerning the entire future perspectives of world-wide struggle against Imperialism and the further advance to Socialism. This struggle is becoming ever sharper and more intense as Modern Revisionism and its representatives, headed by Khrushchev and other leaders of the C.P.S.U., constantly systematise and intensify their line of capitulation to Imperialism, repudiation of revolutionary struggle, and betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people. They are flagrantly falsifying and seeking to reverse the revolutionary theses and correct decisions embodied in the Programme Documents of the International Communist Movement commonly agreed upon at the Moscow Meetings of the World Communist Parties in 1957 and 1960, and are seeking to impose their own revisionist line of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful economic competition" and "peaceful transition" upon the Communist Parties of the whole world.

Analysing the contemporary world situation, the Moscow Declaration and Statement point out that there is now a new balance of class forces on a world scale extremely favourable to the forces opposing Imperialism, and that these forces have now advanced to a point where they embrace a majority of workers and toiling masses of the world. Since World War II, a mighty Camp of Socialist Nations has come into being, a powerful base of revolutionary advance; the National and Colonial Liberation Movement has grown to tremendous proportions, shaking Imperialism to its very foundations and rapidly destroying the last vestiges of old-style colonialism; and the working class and peace movements in the monopoly-capitalist countries themselves have developed into powerful organisations playing an ever-increasing role in curbing the imperialist war plans.

NEW FORCES

As a consequence of the emergence of these mighty new forces of social progress, the camp of Imperialism and war has been severely weakened, to the point where it is progressively losing the initiative in determining the future course of world history. Extremely favourable conditions therefore exist for developing and intensifying the struggle against Imperialism to much greater heights, and for winning significant further advances in the historic path of the world's peoples towards National Liberation, Socialism and peace.

It should, therefore, come as no surprise to Marxist-Leninists, to revolution-

ary Communists, and is amply confirmed by past experience of the betrayals of the old-style revisionism of the Second International, that it is at precisely such moments of decisive historical change in the world balance of class forces and the objective conditions for revolutionary advance that the imperialists and reactionaries are compelled to seek allies within the working class and Communist movement within the camp of Socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace. The vanguard of the anti-imperialist forces in all countries is the World Communist Movement and the Communist and Workers' Parties. It is now evident that Imperialism has found the allies it so desperately needs in the persons of Khrushchev and other leaders of the C.P.S.U. and other Communist and Workers' Parties of Eastern Europe. Furthermore, these betrayers have found willing followers in the leaderships of a number of Communist Parties in the capitalist countries of Western Europe, including the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The modern revisionists, headed by Khrushchev, maintain that the new favourable world situation renders further struggle against Imperialism unnecessary. They interpret peaceful co-existence between states of different social system to mean "peaceful" relations between oppressed and oppressor classes and nations. In practice, this means abandoning armed struggle against Imperialism for national liberation, abandoning the armed preparedness of the Socialist Camp against Imperialist

aggression, and abandoning the working people of the capitalist countries to the sickly-sweet embrace of social democracy and reformism. In particular, since the workers and toiling peasants of the colonial and neo-colonial countries possess no other means of struggle but armed revolt, this revisionist line amounts to abandoning these peoples indefinitely to the yoke of Imperialism. In the advanced capitalist countries, it means condemning the working people to passivity and stifles their class initiative and revolutionary emergies.

BETRAYERS

Here in Britain, the revisionist and right-opportunist leadership of the C.P.G.B. has betrayed the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people. Their programme, "The British Road to Socialism," paints a straightforward social-democratic perspective of gaining "allies" within the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, winning a General Election, and thus transforming Parliament into an organ of working class power. This is in direct violation of Marxism-Leninism and the entire experience of the British and world working class and the Communist Parties, the major lesson of which is that power can be won by the workers only by completely destroying in revolution the existing state apparatus of the capitalist class and creating anew its own instrument of power, the State of the proletarian dictatorship. This right-opportunist "leadership" is tailing in the wake of the revisionist policies of Khrushchev and the C.P.S.U. leadership, because their own miserable failure to lead the struggles of the working people in Britain and to promote the long and short-term interests of the working class compels them to rely primarily for their bases of support upon the external prestige attaching to past successes in the U.S.S.R. and other Socialist countries in Socialist construction.

The entire history of revisionism in the C.P.G.B., typified by such measures as the disbanding of the factory branches

by order of the Executive Committee in 1946 and the removal of Communist cadres from work in the National Shop Steward Movement in 1948, found its culmination in the Gollan Statement and E.C. Resolution of Sept. 18th 1963, in which the Marxist-Leninist policies of the Communist Party of China were publicly slandered and misrepresented, bogus votes gathered at Party meetings convened suddenly and without warning and after prior discussion had been denied, and in the subsequent closing of the Party press to all opponents of the revisionist line and policies of the C.P.G.B. leadership. These two features, to wit (a) the foisting on the party of a revisionist programme, "The British Road to Socialism," and (b) the final abandonment of democratic-centralist norms of procedure and organisation in Party life and work, together amount to the fact that the C.P.G.B. has ceased to be a Marxist-Leninist, a Communist Party in anything but name. On every front of struggle, it fails to give a fighting lead to the working people of Britain. All aspects of its activity are subordinated to the social-democratic fetish of electoral struggle and the "Parliamentary Road."

We, the undersigned Communists of Leeds and Bradford, therefore declare our principled opposition to the revisionist programme and policies of the Communist Party of Great Britain. It is now obvious to us that the final abandonment of democratic centralism leaves us no alternative but to declare our firm resolve to work in unity with the Committee to defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity for the establishment of a new and genuine Communist Party in England, Scotland and Wales, and thus to lay the essential and indispensable basis for the triumphant advance of the British people to Socialism and Communism.

KEITH JENNINGS, joined C.P.G.B. 1948,
GEORGE LANGSTONE, 1957,
IAN FAIREY, 1956,
ANGUS BLACK, 1954,
STAN CATON, 1957.

STATEMENT FROM WALES

THE class struggle in Wales has always been of a tempestuous and poignant nature, with the Welsh miners thrust to the forefront in the battle with our so-called betters, known as capitalists by the more class conscious workers. The need for a more revolutionary and militant leadership is all too plain when we observe the situation in which the C.P.G.B. and the trade union leaders are handling the crises in the mining industry, with regards to pit closures and the suffering arising from a such a policy.

Without wishing to be too sectarian, history once again seems to have designated the lead in the fight in Wales

against Robens and the rest of the rabble to the glorious miner. Let us in Wales throw down the gauntlet to those who masquerade under the name of socialism.

Capitalism will not give up its wealth and privilege without a life and death struggle. Realising that revisionism and opportunism in the C.P.G.B., the trade unions, and the labour movement in general, will not be eradicated without a determined fight the need for a genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist party based on the principles of class struggle and dialectical materialism, culminating in the dictatorship of the proletariat, is most urgent.

Let us in Wales help build such a party, dedicated to the fight against capitalism and those that collaborate and compromise with capitalism. We appeal to all comrades who for one reason or another are dissatisfied with the C.P.G.B. to join our group to help achieve this glorious aim: International Marxist-Leninist solidarity, World Socialism and Communism.

Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and scores of other brave and glorious comrades helped usher in the first Soviet State. They knew what it was to want, to go without, to be deprived of so called luxuries and even money, but that did not deter them in any way from struggling for their main objective, a Communist Society. Neither should it deter us today from following the same correct path if we are to play our part in the Marxist-Leninist way. Some comrades say that we want to build a party of the elite and they are quite right in thinking that. Build a castle on sand and at the least strain is begins to tumble. Some people think that you can transform all elements who come over to us into good revolutionaries overnight. We are not saying it could not happen, but pigs could fly if they had wings.

We reject completely what is being

said in the C.P.G.B., that the Labour Party can be transformed into a Socialist Party. We need people to join our groups with the intention of forming a Marxist party later on, people who are prepared to take part in activity now, not at some distant future or when the revolution starts! The main function of a political party of the proletariat is to make the masses of workers politically and socially conscious. They are not going to come to you, you have got to take Socialism to them. Of course, they learn to struggle against the capitalists in their day to day fight with them, but to lead this fight a Marxist party is essential. Surely our intention is to build a Marxist party steered in battle and struggle. What other point is there in breaking with the C.P.G.B. if we are to follow the same path?

The stipulation must be made, that comrades who joint us must take part in activity of the group otherwise they are useless to the movement. It might take a bit longer to form a party but when it is formed you know that you have comrades who you can call on, and rely on in a crisis. This is the only way.

Cliff Roberts, D. Sewell, Glyn Evans,
for Welsh Committee to Defeat
Revisionism, for Communist Unity.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

GLASGOW Langside Hall, Shawlands Cross

Sunday, June 28th, 6 p.m. — 8.30 p.m.

"The international struggle against modern revisionism."

Speakers include:

Ken Houlison, Michael McCreery, Tommy Stewart

LEEDS

Leeds Town Hall

Sunday, June 14th, 7 p.m.

"Modern revisionism—monopoly capital's new ally within the working class movement."

Speakers include:

Keith Jennings, Ian Fairey, Stan Caton,
Arthur Major (Manchester), Michael McCreery (London),
Michael Baker (Scarborough).

LONDON

Asquith Hall, 2 Soho Square, at 7.30 p.m.

Sunday, June 7th—"The class struggle in Britain between the wars."

Speaker: J. Seifert

Sunday, June 14th—"United States imperialism—main enemy of the peoples of the world."

Speakers: A. H. Evans, Noel Jenkinson

Sunday, June 21st—"The degeneration of culture in Britain in the epoch of imperialism."

Speaker: To be announced

Sunday, June 28th—Zionism.

Speaker: Dave Volpe

CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Square, at 7.45 p.m.

Friday, July 3rd

"The world-wide struggle against modern imperialism."

Speakers: To be announced

MONEY IS NEEDED

HELP MAINTAIN "VANGUARD"

The response to "Vanguard" has been good, and is growing. But the gap between cost of production and revenue from sales is still considerable. We ask all those who believe that "Vanguard" has a role to play in the class struggle to guarantee a regular sum each month. If 100 comrades will guarantee £1 each month, "Vanguard" can be maintained in 1964, and beyond. It is up to you.

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