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**A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL**

## A BRITISH COMMUNIST APPEAL

### A BOGUS CHOICE

IN the coming General Election the working class and people of Britain will once again be offered a bogus choice, between parties whose programmes differ only marginally. Tory, Labour, Liberal; they work up much sound and fury in attacking each other, particularly during this election period, but on the essential issues they are in agreement. They all agree on the need to maintain the capitalist system in Britain; they all agree on the need to maintain the United States military occupation of Britain, and United States domination of political, economic, and cultural life in Britain; they all agree on the need to maintain British domination and military occupation of other lands, in the interests of capitalist profit.

### CAPITALISTS AND LANDLORDS RULE BRITAIN

In fact, all three main parties act in the interests of the wealthy capitalists, financiers and landlords who rule Britain, in alliance with their own kind in the United States, upon whom they lean for support. This ruling class owns and controls the land and the factories, the mines and the mills of Britain; either directly, as the dominant landowners and shareholders in the big companies, or indirectly, via the "nationalised" industries (for the machinery of the British state is completely controlled by this ruling class). Production in Britain, and throughout the world wherever British capital is invested, is therefore production for profit. This means, as it has always meant, a life of grinding work, insecurity, hardship and suffering for the great majority of the people, and a life of wealth, luxury and comfort for the few, who live off the rent, interest and profit which they extract from the people.

These few make their vast rents and profits by forcing down the living standards and intensifying the labour of the people, at home and overseas; and they use the military forces of the state, whenever and wherever necessary, to maintain this system of exploitation. Capitalism drives inevitably towards unemployment and war.

### DECEPTION OF THE PEOPLE

But if the people can be deceived into acceptance of capitalist exploitation there is no need to use force—and it is for this precise purpose that modern political parties have been developed. They are Parliamentary parties, designed solely to win votes in elections and seats in Parliament, or the local councils. Each aims to persuade a sufficiently large section of the British people that it is best qualified to form a government which can ensure the successful development of the capitalist system. The arguments among the main political parties centre, therefore, upon how best to maintain and develop the capitalist system, and tend to reflect differing capitalist opinions, differing interests within the ranks of the ruling class itself. But these parties unite as one in defence of capitalist exploitation, and against the basic interests of the people.

### TORY, LIBERAL, LABOUR

The Tory party is the instrument through which the big capitalists and financiers usually prefer to rule. It makes a direct appeal to the profit-motive, to all established, and aspiring sections of the middle class. "Tory freedom works," they argue, and wherever possible "free enterprise" must do the job.

The Liberal Party makes an appeal to disillusioned sections of the middle classes; its proposals reflect the confusion in the minds of those to whom it appeals; its main theme is negative—opposition to the Tory "Establishment", opposition to Labour's "Socialism."

The Labour Party makes its central appeal to the working class. Its emphasis is upon rather more state intervention than is favoured by the Tories, rather more "planning", and "controls" by the state over the capitalist economy (re-nationalisation of steel, some control of rents and land values, etc.), rather more state-organised "welfare". The state is to be used rather more readily than the Tories would like in order to ensure the smooth working of the capitalist system, and even to alleviate some of its worst social consequences. This is the "Socialism" of which the Tories, the Liberals, and Labour themselves, speak.

The Labour Party is the instrument through which the capitalists prefer to rule when "things get difficult" because it is easier to fool the working class and working people with a party that pretends to stand for Labour, than with a party openly standing for capitalist profiteering.

### UNILATERAL OR GENERAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT?

In this present election one important issue does divide Tories from Labour and Liberals. Both the latter now favour abandoning Britain's "independent nuclear deterrent." In other words they argue that British capitalists need not waste vast resources on producing atomic and hydrogen bombs, and the means of delivering them, when British interests can be quite adequately protected by the United States nuclear

armaments. The Tories continue to maintain that the British state should retain its own nuclear weapons.

It is likely that this argument reflects a genuine difference of opinion among British capitalists, between those whose interests are more closely tied up with United States capital, who are anxious to lean more heavily than in the past upon the United States capitalists, and their military power (and thus save resources for increased domination and exploitation of the Commonwealth and Empire) and those who believe that a policy of greater resistance to the United States will ultimately prove more profitable for British capital, despite the military cost involved in retaining nuclear armaments.

The recent acceptance by the Liberal and Labour Parties of unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain brings them into line on this issue with the "Left Wing" of the Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain, who have advocated this for several years now. But is this a policy in the interests of the British people? When two rival gangs are terrorising a neighbourhood the people aim to disarm *both* of them; they *gain nothing* if the weaker gang joins forces with the stronger, so that they can both jointly continue their attacks upon the people. The British working class and people demand general and complete nuclear disarmament, not "reliance" upon the military forces of the most reactionary and dangerous power in the world today. We must achieve the complete banning and destruction of all nuclear weapons.

Any move which increases the power of the United States ruling class to dominate and subjugate Britain increases the danger of world war and is a betrayal of working class interests, a betrayal of the British people, a betrayal of our country.

### WORKING PEOPLE NEED SOCIALISM

The interests of the working class and working people demand not the development but the ending of the capitalist system. Under capitalism the more that working people earn the less the unearned income of the shareholders, the greater the profits of the shareholders the smaller the wages of working people. This clash between wages and profits is inevitable under capitalism. But capitalism itself is not inevitable. It can, and must, be replaced by a Socialist system, in which the people own and control the land and factories, mines and mills, and organise production to meet their own needs. Socialism means planned production for the peoples needs. Socialism means an end of unearned income, an end of wealth and luxury for the few, an end of hardship and suffering for the many. Socialism means peace. And already Socialism is being built in one-third of the world.

### SOCIALISM VIA PARLIAMENT OR VIA MASS STRUGGLE?

Socialism cannot be won through Parliament. Should a genuine working class party, standing for Socialism, even appear likely to win a majority of seats in Parliament, then the law would be changed, Parliament would be dissolved, by force if necessary. The only way to win Socialism in Britain, and end the class divisions and injustice in our society, is for the working class and working people to rely upon their own strength and their own understanding, to build up their own organisations (completely independent of the British capitalist state, of which Parliament is a part) which can lead them in mass struggle against the constant attacks of the capitalists upon their living standards, their rights and their liberties. It is only through such struggles that the working class and working people will steadily gain in strength and understanding of the need for Socialism, and finally succeed in overthrowing the rule of the capitalists, financiers and landlords.

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### GENERAL ELECTION

The North of England Communist Association, which has been established by the local Committees of the C.D.R.C.U. in Lancashire and Yorkshire, will be contesting the Huyton Division in Lancashire in the General Election on October 15. The candidate will be Mike Baker. All comrades and friends who can help, in person or with cash, are asked to contact A. Major (Election Agent), 57 Manchester Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester 21. 35,000 election addresses will be distributed, and there will be two meetings, at The Sylvester County School, St. John's Road, Huyton; 7.45 p.m. Thursday, October 8th; and 7.45 p.m. Wednesday, October 14th. (The election address includes "A British Communist Appeal," and "A Programme of Working Class Demands," reprinted on this page and on page 2.)

# A Programme of Working Class Demands

## FOR HIGHER WAGES AND IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS

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 most official trade union leaders. 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 10% on every wage, for drastic improvements in welfare at the place of work, for the 40-hour week (where this has been achieved, for the 35-hour week) and for three weeks holiday with pay for every worker.

## FOR HOMES AT LOW RENTS

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 re-payments have become a burden for millions of workers. Housing must be treated as a social service. All speculation in land must be ended. All privately rented homes must be taken over from the landlords by the local councils. Interest-free loans must be granted to the councils, and to all home-owners. All rents and mortgage repayments can then be cut by at least one-half, and a huge increase in the building of homes for the people can be achieved.

## FOR HIGHER PENSIONS FOR FULL AND FREE SOCIAL SERVICES

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 full health and educational services, and genuine security for the sick, the aged and the disabled. We must fight to double all pensions, and for free public services for pensioners. We must fight for free and full health and education services for all, and equal treatment for all.

## FOR TRADE UNION AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

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. Victimisation must be resolutely opposed, and attempts to sack shop-stewards must be met with immediate industrial action. The right to work must be guaranteed, in every part of the country, and in every locality. We must fight to end all discrimination on grounds of colour, race, creed or sex.

## FOR FREEDOM FROM FOREIGN OCCUPATION

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., C.E.N.T.O., and S.E.A.T.O., and for the destruction of all nuclear weapons. Arms expenditure can then be more than halved.

## FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

All this military expenditure 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, as in Guyana and South Arabia, and against all attempts to oppress and exploit the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We must fight for the repeal of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, and against all the techniques of neo-colonialism, such as the "Malaysian Federation." We must fight for a united and independent Ireland, and for the right of the Scottish and Welsh nations to determine their own future.

## FOR RECOGNITION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The capitalists have been kicked out of one-third of the world. There is no more rent, interest and profit for the few in the Socialist lands, where the working class is in power. We must fight for full recognition of the Socialist countries by the British Government. Recognise the German Democratic Republic; recognise the People's Republic of Albania; recognise the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; recognise the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; admit the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

## WE MUST ACT NOW!

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 organisations which reject the demands of the working class, or who pay them lip service alone, will in their turn be rejected by the working class. 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 none can be guaranteed, there can be no guarantee of liberty, no security from unemployment, hardship and war. The working class must lead the people in ending capitalist rule, and establish a Socialist Britain, which will, in peace and friendship with the peoples of all lands, utilise the great resources of this country for the needs of the people alone.

## DEFEND

the living standards of the working class and all working people!

## DEFEND

Trade Union and all democratic rights!

## END

United States capitalist domination and military occupation of Britain!

## END

British capitalist domination and military occupation of overseas lands!

## DEFEND

World peace! Ban and destroy all nuclear weapons!

## END

the unearned income of the landlords capitalists and financiers!

## FORWARD

to Socialism in England, in Scotland and in Wales, in friendship with the working peoples of all lands!

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The British capitalist state must then be broken up, and replaced by a working class state, which will rest on the strength of the workers' own organisations.

## THE NEED FOR A WORKING CLASS PARTY

Working class interests demand, therefore, a party of a new type, which does not just call for votes at election times, but which co-ordinates and leads their struggles against capitalist attacks in all fields and at all times.

It is just because the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain has buried these basic truths, just because they are now seeking only to catch on to the coat-tails of the Parliamentary Labour Party, have joined with the other parties in playing the Parliamentary game of make-believe, and have abandoned the call for mass struggle by the working class against capitalist attack, and for the final overthrow of capitalism, that we British Communists are now replacing this leadership in order to re-establish the Communist Party in Britain.

## THE NEED FOR A GENUINE UNITY OF THE LEFT

Whether the idea is advanced by the "Left-wing" of the Labour Party or by the Communist Party of Great Britain it is false to argue that by "nationalising" industries within the capitalist state the working class can advance towards Socialism—the advance, in fact, is towards greater control by the capitalist state, run by the capitalists, financiers and landlords. Whatever the "Left-wing" of the Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain say, it is false to argue that the exploiting class can be removed from power by Act of Parliament. Whatever the "Left-wing" of the Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain say, there can be no peace between capital and labour nationally or internationally.

We reject a "unity of the Left" which is based on these false ideas, and benefits only the exploiting class. We call upon the working class, and all working people, to organise now in order to resist capitalist

attack. We must fight back now against the attacks upon our living standards and democratic rights. We must fight back now against the Government's plans for overseas wars. We must fight back now against the military occupation of Britain by the United States. We must free our country from the domination of the American millionaires, and move on to oust our own ruling class from power, for all time. These are the issues on which the Left, the working class, and all working people, must unite.

## WHY COMMUNISTS STAND FOR PARLIAMENT

We British Communists contest this, and future elections, not because working class representation in Parliament will ever win Socialism, but because during the elections, and in Parliament, when genuine Communists are elected, the real issues can be placed before the people, and the mass struggles of the people encouraged and assisted. But these struggles will be centred in the factories and the depots, the mines and the mills, and the great industrial cities of Britain. It is here that we must organise in defence of our rights; it is here that the decisive battles will be waged; it is here that working class power will finally be won.

## THE WORLD-WIDE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

The wealthy capitalists, financiers, and landlords, who rule Britain today, in alliance with their own kind in the United States, are at heart frightened men. They fear the power of the working class and working people. Their attempts to maintain their domination and exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, from whom they still derive so much of their loot, are visibly failing. Despite all their propaganda the truth is breaking through. With each day, and week and month that passes, the peoples of these lands, who constitute the great majority of the peoples of the world, are advancing towards complete liberation from the domination of Western imperialism. The cardboard castles of our rulers are crumbling throughout the world. Why, then, should we in Britain lag behind? Now, more than ever, is the time when we, the working people of Britain, can strike back against capitalist domination and exploitation, and win all that is rightfully ours.

# Before 'The British Road'

This is the revolutionary programme which *The British Road to Socialism* replaced.....

## FOR SOVIET BRITAIN

*The Programme of the Communist Party adopted at the XIII Congress  
February 22nd, 1935.*

### Part 1—THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN BRITAIN TODAY

BRITAIN today is in the hand of millionaires—owners of the biggest trust, the biggest banks, the biggest steamship companies; in short, owners or controllers of the big monopolies. Nearly everything we use or need pays toll to them: soap and milk, cigarettes and cinemas, newspapers and wireless are in their grasp, as well as mining, chemicals, transport etc. These millionaires, these monopoly capitalists, not only own or control the chief means whereby we work and live, but, in fact, control the whole governing machine. They pull the strings. And they use their power to make themselves richer and richer at our expense. They hire workers to make profit out of their labour; their capitalist production is for profit, not for use; and to get more profit they slash wages, carry through speed-ups and worsen conditions. This mad race for profit ends in a crisis; and then they try to get out of the crisis—at our expense.

Look at the result!

Four of the most important industrial districts of the country are now callously labelled "derelict areas"—South Wales, the North-East Coast, West of Scotland and Lancashire, the very places in which British capitalism established its wealth and power, now "derelict," now "depressed" areas." Over 2,000,000 unemployed! And the Prime Minister openly states that even if trade revives, "great bodies of men and women" would be to all intents and purposes "superfluous scrap."

Poverty, insecurity and malnutrition making their inroads in the homes of millions of workers: low wages, increased speeding-up, to the point of physical exhaustion, is the lot of the workers in the factories, mines and shipyards: increases in the number of accidents, sickness and a high death-rate amongst the working-class mothers and babies. This is Britain today for working men, women and their families.

Nor is it the British industrial workers alone who are suffering. Many millions of small shopkeepers, artisans, working farmers, technical, clerical, administrative and cultural workers are feeling in their working conditions, in unemployment, in falling incomes, and, above all, in growing insecurity, the effects of the decline of British capitalism. Their "independent" lives are more and more confined and crushed within the bounds set for them by the dominating trusts and combines. They are becoming for the great capitalist employers and financiers "superfluous scrap."

For British capitalism, under the domination of the big monopoly capitalists, is decaying. The masses of the people of Britain are being ruined by the big trusts and their millionaires. Unless we put an end to capitalism, the lot of the masses will become worse and worse.

### THE CAPITALISTS ARE DRIVING TO WAR

But it is not only poverty and insecurity and unemployment which threatens the majority of British people. For the great capitalist employers, the great financiers and bankers have one last use for us all, even after it has become unprofitable for them to employ us; and that is to recruit us for war. Just as in time of war the scrap metal of industry is fed back in the blast furnaces to make shells and guns, so now the "scrap men"—which is all that "great bodies of men" have become for the capitalists—are to be fed back into the gigantic machine of capitalist war.

The cause of capitalist war is the attempt of each national capitalist group—British, French, German, American, Japanese, etc.—to beat its competitors on the world market and to win bigger and bigger profits for its own millionaires. For monopoly capitalism has now reached the stage when war is inevitable—unless stopped by the workers. This is the stage of monopoly capitalism or imperialism. Imperialism means that the big trusts and big banks are dominating at home, are dominating (through their investments) abroad, and that the colonial countries have been divided up amongst the Imperialist Powers. Therefore the Imperialist Powers are rivals of one another in the world market.

With the crisis this rivalry becomes fiercer and fiercer. This competitive struggle is carried out, firstly by tariffs, quotas, and other economic measures, and then finally by war. We have seen the fight by tariffs, quotas, etc., and we are now reaching the stage of war. Daily and hourly the capitalists are preparing for this bloody solution of the economic crisis. The most fearsome, ghastly and deadly armaments are being piled up. Science and inventive genius are prostituted to discover and perfect the means of death and destruction of millions, in order to win new markets, territory, and spheres of profitable capitalist investment, to bring rent, interest and profit for a handful of employers, bankers and landlords.

### THE CAPITALISTS ARE DRIVING TO FASCISM

Fascism is the weapon of the millionaires against the working class. Fascism is the dictatorship of the most ruthless, reactionary and jingo section of monopoly capitalism. The paymasters of Hitler and Goering are the biggest millionaire financiers and capitalists of Germany. The whole aim and object of the setting up of Fascist Governments, as can be proved in detail from the experience of Fascist Italy, Fascist Germany and Fascist Austria, has been to reduce wages, lengthen hours of work, abolish social services, curtail education and cut unemployment pay. The object of the violence and barbarity used by the Fascists in crushing the workers' trade unions, political parties and co-operatives is to prevent any resistance to this policy.

To prevent the workers' resistance the Fascists use not only force but also fraud and deception. They play upon the prejudices which the millionaire press instills into the workers' minds. In each country they blame the "alien sweaters"—to prevent the workers laying the blame on their own exploiters. They stir up jingo feeling and nationalist hatred amongst the masses to take the place of class feeling against the millionaires at home.

In Britain the capitalist preparations for a Fascist form of government are not only Mosley's blackshirt gangs, financed and organised by rich capitalist groups. The "National Government" is also preparing the ground, with its militarising of the police, putting in middle-class officers and mobilising middle-class "specials"; it is swelling the numbers of its secret police, to spy upon working-class organisations; it is organising concentration camps for the unemployed, suppressing still further the workers' right of free speech, and abolishing many other existing rights through the Sedition Act, and taking additional measures to concentrate control in the hands of central officials instead of elected local bodies. This is exactly how the Governments in Germany and Austria prepared the way for open Fascism.

British workers are not blind to the fact that the British capitalist class is just as ruthless and savage as any other capitalist class—the methods adopted to crush the General Strike, the Black and Tans in Ireland, the shooting down of hundreds of defenceless workers at Amritsar, in India, the holding down by armed violence of millions of colonial peoples have proved this.

Actually, the huge armed forces, and the colossal imperialist apparatus of the British capitalists is only made possible by the oppression and robbery of the colonial peoples. It is by the plunder of India and other colonies that enables the ruling class to wage the class struggle in this country. And this is also the reason why the struggle of the British workers must be bound up with the

struggle of the colonial masses. It is a common fight against a common enemy.

### FACE THE FACTS

The British workers must face with full and serious determination the situation as it is; face the fact that all capitalism has to offer them today is poverty, malnutrition, low wages, speeding-up and unemployment. Fascism, war and slavery; and that neither they nor their families have any hope or future under capitalism.

There is no need for a single worker to be overworked or in dread of losing his job; no reason why an unemployed worker should lack the necessaries of life, or why he should not be brought back into employment. All over the world millions of workers are year by year coming to realise these facts and to see that nothing except the existence of capitalism prevents them building up for themselves a decent and secure world. Everywhere the workers are becoming less and less willing to put up with an entirely unnecessary state of semi-starvation. They are showing themselves more and more determined to insist upon their right to food, clothing and shelter for themselves and their families. But to get this, capitalism must be overthrown. To get this is only possible by the building up of Socialism, giving peace and prosperity, happiness and new life to the whole working population.

How can the workers end Capitalism? Many workers still believe that all they need can be obtained by Parliamentary action. The Communist Party declares it is not possible to end capitalism and establish socialism in Britain by the election of a majority in the House of Commons. The capitalist class will never allow itself to be gradually expropriated by successive Acts of Parliament. More than twenty years ago leaders of the Tory Party openly organised a rebellion in Ireland rather than submit to an Act of Parliament. Since then, the rise of Fascism throughout the world proves that the capitalists themselves will throw overboard all forms of democracy and resort to every kind of lawless violence to preserve their power and their profits. Without breaking the power of the capitalists it is impossible to get rid of capitalism or to build socialism. It is a question not of votes but of power.

The leaders of the Labour Party declare that the workers must choose between a peaceful gradual way of abolishing capitalism and establishing socialism and the revolutionary way advocated by the Communists. But the workers have no such choice. There is no such "peaceful, gradual" way. The organisation of Fascist storm troops, whose sole purpose is the suppression of the workers' organisations by violence, is the final proof of this fact. The false character of Labour Party policy is written in Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain; written in the blood of the workers, in the concentration camps, in the appalling suffering, the torture chambers and in the swing of the executioner's axe. Yet after this unmistakable growth of Fascist violence in one capitalist state after another, the leaders of the Labour Party still urge the working class to rely only upon Parliamentary and "democratic" methods.

They do more than "urge": they will not tolerate any united action amongst the workers against Fascism and war. These Labour Party leaders, and chiefs of the General Council, who freely speak on the same platform with capitalists, would put a ban on any member of the Labour Party who joins in building a workers' united front. They have even tried to throttle the rights of trade union branches and to insist that none shall be elected who may have other opinions than themselves. Such a policy, such opinions and such methods will never stop Fascism; on the contrary, they break up the unity of the working class for struggle against the capitalist attacks, and open the gates to Fascism and war.

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.

This was precisely what the German Labour Party (the Social Democratic Party, as it was called) and the German Trades Union leaders did. They, too, used all their power to prevent the Communists and Social Democratic workers from uniting to fight against Fascism. They, too, rejected the Communist Party's offer of unity in the struggle against Fascism. They, too, told the German workers that there was no need for militancy or struggle and that capitalism could be abolished, the terrible conditions of the workers ended, and socialism established by securing parliamentary majorities. It was just this which made possible the success of Fascism in Germany.

But since capitalism cannot be overthrown through parliament, how then is

it that the workers can win power, and construct Socialism in Britain?

### HOW THE WORKERS CAN WIN POWER

The answer is that a workers' revolution can do it. But that revolution is not a single spontaneous act, coming like a bolt from the blue. It is a continuous process. It begins with victorious struggles of workers uniting to win their elementary demands: the struggle against wage cuts, the struggle against high rents, the struggle against speed-up and wholesale dismissals. The fight against hunger is the fight against the capitalist class. The fight against Fascism and War is the fight against the capitalist class. The struggle for colonial liberation is the fight against the capitalist class.

By every victory in that struggle on a united front against the capitalist class, the workers step by step develop unity, power and organisation. Bit by bit the workers become more and more conscious of what they have to do and how they can do it. Out of their own ranks there develops in the course of struggle a working-class party that can be the vanguard of the fight, that can lead the whole class in its day to day struggles and therefore in the final struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the workers' rule. This party is the Communist Party.

Not only is this the way by which the workers can and will win: but there is no other way. The choice put by capitalism to the working class today is not some imaginary alternative of socialism by parliament, or socialism by revolution, but the grim choice of "starve or rebel."

For in the end, the workers' refusal to submit to ever worsening conditions, their fight against quick-coming Fascism and War must either be crushed by the capitalists or must lead to the overthrow of capitalism. Nor has the Communist Party ever denied that this overthrow must be a forceful one; for the capitalists are certain to resist with all their might. It is because of this that the capitalists have accused it of "advocating violence." But what insolence and fraud is involved in that accusation! The capitalists, who are themselves already employing unceasing violence against the workers in every part of the world, and who are on the point of drowning the human race in the ocean of blood involved in modern war, accuse the Communist Party of "advocating violence"! The revolutionary struggle which the resistance of the capitalists makes inevitable will be but a thousandth part of the growing violence which is already being used by capitalists. Civil war is forced upon the working class. Moreover, the only effect of the perpetual violence of the capitalists is to destroy human civilisation. But the revolutionary struggle of the workers can, and will, open the way to a new epoch of human progress better than anything the world has yet experienced.

### WORKERS IN UNIFORM

The unity of the working class in struggle makes the capitalists retreat. They give ground. They quarrel amongst themselves. Beaten back in their attack on the working class, they begin to prey on one another. Conflicts arise and the capitalist class as a whole gets into a state of crisis. The authority of the capitalists disappears.

In these conditions the conquest of the power of government by the workers becomes possible. For the army, navy, air-force, are themselves composed of men like the rest of us. They and their families are also feeling the burden of the crisis thrust on them by the capitalists. The men of the armed forces are beginning to see more and more clearly that their only fate under capitalism is to be slaughtered in wars for the benefit of the rich, nor is it true that the men of the armed forces do not feel the need of resistance to attacks on the workers' standards of life. On the contrary, it was the sailors of the British battle fleet who at Invergordon in the 1931 crisis year gave the rest of the workers the best and most successful example of how workers can prevent their standards of living being reduced.

There is not the slightest doubt that as and when the capitalists are compelled to ask the men of the armed forces to perform more and more hateful tasks of violence both at home and in the colonies, while at the same time imposing worse and worse conditions upon them and their families, the capitalists will find that their soldiers, sailors and airmen are after all only workers in uniform.

But this decisive issue of which side in the struggle is taken by the armed forces, itself depends upon whether the working class as a whole frees itself from the disastrous leadership by which it is being stifled today, and adopts a policy of unity and resistance to every capitalist attack. For, at the decisive

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# OPPOSE "MALAYSIA"!

Following is an abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" September 9 editorial.—Ed.

AFTER concocting the "Gulf of Tonkin incident" and brazenly unleashing its armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has lately been working hand in glove with British imperialism in carrying out military provocations and the threat of war against Indonesia under the pretext of supporting so-called "Malaysia."

With the connivance and support of U.S. and British imperialism, the Rahman clique made a false charge against Indonesia and the U.N. Security Council. This is evidently a scheme by which it hopes it will not find itself in the dock once it launches aggression against Indonesia; this also prepares the way for U.S. intervention under the cloak of the U.N. All this points to the fact that U.S. imperialism, while extending its aggression in Indo-China, is making use of the so-called "Malaysia" question to pave the way for invading Indonesia and spreading the flames of war to all of South-East Asia.

Because of its opposition to the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project and its support for the just struggle of the North Kalimantan people, Indonesia has earned extreme hatred from U.S. and British imperialism. U.S. imperialism, in particular, has run the gamut of pressure, from calling off economic "aid" to subversion, to force Indonesia to abandon its just stand against "Malaysia." But all this has failed to cowe Indonesia. As the North Kalimantan people wax strong in their fight for independence, U.S. imperialism, which has taken upon itself the task of suppressing the national-liberation move-

mon struggle of the people of the two countries. The aim of the imperialists in creating "Malaysia" is to oppose both Indonesia and China. In rigging up "Malaysia," British ruling circles make no secret of their aim to sow discord between the Chinese and Malays inhabiting this area so as to oppress both of them and thus ensure British domination. At the time of the formation of "Malaysia," the U.S. propaganda machine also talked about turning it into an "anti-communist bastion" and employing "U.S. and British military forces" in jointly coping with so-called "aggression from Indonesia, Communist

## INTERNATIONAL

There's not one national spokesman for the Administration committee that is waiting to civilise the provision on the would-be district judge, I might say, or any other civil rights bill shown as a total mess when addressed by representatives appointed by the President. The Federal Government must show us ourselves of our own revolution.

ment in South East Asia, has turned the spearhead of its aggression against Indonesia.

In the eyes of U.S. imperialism, the control of the region of Indonesia and "Malaysia" is one of the key links in pushing its global strategy. It is precisely because of this that the United States, while intensifying its aggression in South Vietnam, is actively interfering in "Malaysia" in a vigorous bid for linking up the battlefields in South Vietnam and in North Kalimantan into a single front.

The resolute opposition shown by the Indonesian Government and people against "Malaysia" and against the threat of aggression from the U.S. and British imperialists is entirely just. The Chinese people firmly support this just struggle of the Indonesian Government and people. This is not only because China and Indonesia are close, friendly neighbours and the two peoples have the common task of opposing imperialism and upholding peace in Asia and are duty-bound to support each other in this struggle; it is also because the struggle against "Malaysia" is a common China and North Vietnam." The U.S.

and British imperialists, together with the Rahman clique, are now persecuting people of Chinese descent in the area of "Malaysia"; they even have no hesitation about fomenting and creating clashes between the Malays and people of Chinese descent in order to whip up an anti-Chinese atmosphere and pave the way for their anti-Chinese campaign. In the face of these vicious and despicable imperialist tactics, the Chinese people naturally cannot look on with folded arms. If the U.S. imperialists are rash enough to unleash aggression against Indonesia, the Chinese people will do all they can to support the Indonesian people until the U.S. imperialists are completely defeated. South-east Asia belongs to the people of the South-east Asian countries and not to any imperialist power.

We are convinced that, under the leadership of President Sukarno, the Indonesian people, united and highly vigilant, will smash every aggressive design of the imperialists and achieve great victories in their struggle against imperialism, against "Malaysia" and in defence of their national independence.

British workers are beginning to fight back, both industrially and politically. There are millions of sincere and stalwart working class fighters in the ranks of the Labour Party and Trade Unions. There are many district and local officials of the trade unions who do not share the views of the National leaders, and who feel the need for working class unity against worsening economic conditions and against the dangers of fascism and war.

### IT IS THE WORKERS WHO WILL WIN

Let these men and women be assured that it is only the suppression of the workers' struggle by their present leaders which is preventing the advance of the British working class. The workers have the power to overthrow capitalism. It is the capitalists who are powerless, powerless to move a single inch towards the essential reconstruction of society. It is the workers who are strong from the very moment that they unite and resist.

The Communist Party of Great Britain summons the workers of Britain to those tasks of organisation and struggle which are necessary to the overthrow of British capitalism. It does so in the knowledge that there is no other way out for the people of Britain. There are only two alternatives; fascism, war and decay; or Revolution, peace and socialism.

continued from page 3

moment, the action of the workers in uniform will largely depend upon whether they see the workers out of uniform united, organised and ready to take power from the capitalists.

### THE UNITED STRUGGLE GROWS

All over the world the tide of working class resistance is now rising; the rampart of working class unity is being built.

In the Soviet Union the power of the capitalists has been broken over one-sixth of the globe. The Chinese Soviets already cover an area with twice the population of Britain. The European capitalists are meeting with ever increasing resistance when they attempt to set up their fascist tyrannies. The leaders of the Labour and Social-Democrat Parties are finding it harder and harder to prevent the workers from uniting their forces.

In France, Austria, Italy and Spain, the workers' united front was actually formed between the Communist and Socialist Parties in 1934.

With us in Britain also the struggle grows. In spite of the efforts of the leaders of the Labour Party, the Trade Unions and the Co-operative Party, to discourage all working class unity, the

## "Indonesian Landings"— The Truth

VANGUARD has received the following statement by Pemuda Sosialis Malaya on the reported "Indonesian Landing" in Malaya

On Monday, August 17th, Reuter reported that "heavily armed Indonesian forces had landed" on the west coast of Johore early that morning. An official statement issued in Kuala Lumpur put their number at between 30 and 40 and said that they included members of the regular Indonesian Navy and some Malaysian Chinese and Malays.

On August 20th, newspaper reports carried a statement by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, saying that the reported landing was "a mere fabrication of Kuala Lumpur."

On the same day as the "landing" was announced, a Malaysian royal proclamation declared the three neighbouring states of Johore, Malacca and Negeri Sembilan as a security area. The Territorial Army was mobilised throughout the country. All persons over the age of 12 were ordered to carry identity cards at all times and the death penalty was proclaimed for persons found with illegal arms. The death penalty for possession of illegal arms had in fact been proclaimed in an earlier royal proclamation on August 13th, four days before the reported landing.

The Malaysian Government has so far only produced a picture of "a young Indonesian infiltrator" being taken into a police station at Pontian "The Times," August 19th. This picture in no way proves the "landing." On the contrary, a close look at the official figures and statements issued by the Government reveals a vagueness and contradictory aspects in the whole episode. For instance, consider the following:

- (1) The number in the invading party was given at between 30 and 40. Sixteen were captured on the same day and to date (August 22nd) seven have been killed. That leaves seven to 17 guerrillas still at large. On August 18th, 19th and 20th, according to the Ministry of Defence statements, "several" "Indonesian guerrillas" were captured on each of those days (the number was not specified). That would give an average of either 2½ or 5 2/3 persons captured each day and exhaust the number of guerrillas that have landed. But it seems that the number has not been exhausted, since on August 21st several more were said to be wounded ("The Times," August 22nd). That means the taken as meaning an average of 1½ official term "several" must now be taken as meaning an average of 1½ or 4½ persons. The first figure is definitely ridiculous. The second figure is made impossible by Tengku Abdul Rahman's statement on August 20th that "most of the infiltrators had been captured and the remnants were starving in the jungle." ("The Times," August 21st).
- (2) On August 17th, Tun Abdul Razak, the Deputy Prime Minister, described the situation as serious and alleged that "Indonesia had committed an act of aggression." On August 18th, Dr. Ismail, the Minister for the Interior, stated that "we were prepared for this landing and it was not unexpected. We are confident we can contain them." On August 18th, Tun Abdul Razak made another statement saying that the situation was under control. Is it not surprising that a serious situation arising out of external aggression can change into a situation under control in a matter of one or even two days? Is there not something suspect about the "seriousness"?
- (3) On August 20th, Tengku Abdul Rahman said that one of the principal objectives of the "Indonesian guerrillas" who made the landing was "to assassinate political leaders in Malaya and to stir up trouble

generally." On the same day his colleague, Enche Saadon Zubir, the Minister for Transport, reveals that the captured guerrillas told him that their mission was "to overthrow the British in Malaya. They had been misled and did not know that Malaya was independent." Can it be that Indonesian guerrillas are so ignorant of political developments that they do not know that formal independence was granted to the Federation of Malaya on August 31st, 1957? As to assassination of political leaders, it is still fresh in everyone's mind that on the eve of the last general election in April the Alliance made public a so-called Indonesian plot to assassinate Tengku Abdul Rahman. Tengku Abdul Rahman is still very much alive today, but the "plot" did play its part in scaring the people into voting the Alliance into power. Might this not be another premeditated scheme of the reactionaries in order to prepare the ground for further attacks on the already dwindling democratic right of the people? Certain measures, like the death penalty for possession of unlawful weapons, have indeed already been taken.

Pemuda Sosialis Malaya reiterates its stand and support for a negotiated settlement of the Malaysia dispute. The door for such a settlement is still open. We are convinced that the proposal for a four-men Afro-Asia commission to examine the dispute afresh still provides the best way out. The Philippines and Indonesia have accepted the proposal. Tengku Abdul Rahman has said that he is not opposed to it on principle and that he would not spare his efforts in seeking peaceful means to settle the dispute. We therefore call upon the Malaysian Government to be true to its words and act on them. The war-like preparation that the Government has been intensifying since the collapse of the Tokio talks in June do not constitute actions that are designed to encourage and bring about a peaceful settlement. On the other hand, it is a course of action that is fraught with danger. This danger comes from a total involvement of our people in the U.S.-led imperialist plot against the overwhelming majority of the people of South-east Asia. Such involvement would sooner or later be strongly resisted by our people and a civil war may arise leading to serious consequences for the Government and the peace of the country. Before such a possibility becomes a reality, we say to the Alliance Government to think twice and adopt a reasonable attitude towards the call for peace by the majority of its citizens.

Pemuda Sosialis Malaya is opposed to the settlement of political issues through violence. The progressive forces do not need violence to advance their just cause. But progress can only be made in a condition of wide genuine democracy for the people and on the basis of their growing political consciousness. It is the paramount duty of the Government of the day to guarantee that such a situation prevails. Lacking such a situation, orderly progress is impossible and violence is inevitable. Violence in such a case is only revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence, just defence against unjust attack.

Our country is now in danger of coming to such a position. To avoid it, the Government must at once repudiate British neo-colonialism and U.S. imperialism, step by step uproot the vestiges of colonialism in our country, abolish the remaining feudal relations in the countryside and establish wide democracy for the people. This is not an impossible and unreasonable demand. It is the only way out of the present near impasse.

KASSIM AHMAD

Chairman, Central Committee, PSM

THE working class and working people of Britain are opposed to war in South-East Asia in defence of the profits of the monopolies. They are opposed to the attempts by the United States and British capitalists to maintain the "Malaysian Federation" against the expressed wishes of the people of Singapore, North Kalimantan and Malaya. "Malaysia" is a scheme cooked up by them in order to permit continued military occupation of South-East Asia, and continued looting of South-East Asia by the monopolies. "Malaysia" is directed against the peoples of South-East Asia, against all who are fighting for freedom from imperialism, our common enemy.

- "Malaysia" must be opposed
- All provocations against Indonesia must be opposed
- Defend South-East Asia from United States and British imperialist aggression
- The British people will not fight for imperialism in Asia
- Recall all British forces from Singapore, Malaya and North Kalimantan, and allow the peoples of these lands to determine their own future

# What is Latin-American Youth Fighting for?

THOSE — who because of ignorance or premeditation, like to simplify Latin-American events, present an image of our youth as anarchic mobs, manipulated by professional agitators and with a supreme taste for violence. They are supposed to stage systematic street riots, acts of terrorism and of disobedience to the law.

But the causes of events are never analyzed. Journalists and commentators never try to unveil the reason for this rebellion and find out:

## WHAT IS LATIN-AMERICAN YOUTH FIGHTING FOR:

Latin-American youth fight for the economic and political liberation of LA, ruthlessly exploited by U.S. imperialism and its local allies. The youth know that U.S. investments in the area (more than 10,000 million dollars) are in absolute control of the continent. They know that the U.S. sell to LA 20% of their exports at very high prices, while they get from LA, at ever decreasing prices, raw materials. This unfairness of all deals results in a balance of payment deficit of over ONE THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS per year.

The youth know who in LA are the collaborators of the foreign exploiter. They know that 0.3% of all landowners are in possession of 65% of all the land, most of it lying waste for centuries (latifundio). The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has declared that 20 million rural families have incomes below subsistence levels (calculated for a life expectation of 37 years!!!) while the ruling oligarchies own deposits in foreign banks of more than 14 billion dollars.

Latin-American youth fight for a standard of living for their peoples that is simply humane. The per capita income of the Latin-American worker is 120 dollars per year. 25 million workers are lacking the most elementary rights, working up to 14 hours a day for wages of hunger. 100 million Latin-Americans (out of a population of 230 million) are suffering endemic diseases. 140 million are undernourished. 100 million are illiterate.

The youth fight for the right of Latin-American children to live. The mortality rate, below 15 years of age, is 127 in a thousand, in the U.S.A. it is 27 in a thousand. Each year ONE MILLION children under one year of age die of malnutrition and lack of medical care. This is more than twice the number of soldiers the U.S. have lost in all the wars they have fought from the independence war to Korea.

The youth fight for an independent foreign policy, in keeping with national interests and the aim of peace and friendship with all peoples of the world. For the development of trade with all nations on the basis of mutual benefit. They fight for respect for the principles of self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of the nations.

The youth fight for an end to U.S. military presence in LA. Recent events in Panama are a clear proof of what the U.S. troops are capable of doing. A similar case is the illegal occupation of Cuban territory at the Guantanamo base, which is a permanent provocation. The U.S. give the reactionary dictators and ruling oligarchies military aid worth 482 million dollars a year. This only means further repression for Latin-Americans.

The youth fight for an end to cultural colonization by U.S. imperialism in LA, which means adulteration and sometimes even suppression of national cultures as in the case of Puerto Rico.

The youth fight for their rights. For the right to work. To work for the same salary and the same number of hours as other workers.

The right to education. To primary and secondary as well as higher education. The right to sports and recreation. The right to occupy a place in society, won with their effort.

The youth fight because they have not forgotten the patriotic legacy of our liberators of the last century. They have inherited our liberators' heroism, their love for great ideals, the spirit of abnegation and sacrifice and absolute confidence in the final victory.

Reprinted from *Revolutionary Venezuela* issued by the London Committee of the Venezuelan National Liberation Front.

# A CRIMINAL POLITICAL BARGAIN

Following is the translation of an article by "Renmin Ribao's" Commentator published on September 8 under the title, "Oppose This Criminal Political Deal!"—Ed.

BONN politicians and propagandists have recently been clamouring for the "peaceful" elimination of the German Democratic Republic and its socialist system. They call for "German reunification without the participation of Communists from central Germany." They openly advocate a "deal with the Soviet Union" to buy the German Democratic Republic for a certain price. This is a plot that deserves close watching.

The West German revanchists have always dreamt of annexing the G.D.R. With the backing of U.S. imperialism, the ruling circles in Bonn have, over a long period, energetically revived militarism and increased their military power in the hope of annexing the G.D.R. by force and rebuilding the German empire. While busily working out plans for military adventures, they have recently been doing their utmost to isolate the G.D.R. and prepare the dirty deal of "buying the G.D.R. from the Soviet Union" in order to achieve their aim of "reunifying" Germany "in freedom."

What makes the Bonn revanchists so bold as to push openly such an insolent plan of "buying" the G.D.R.? And what makes them regard the G.D.R. as something put on sale by certain persons? Can it be that they have received some tacit approval or hints from those who recently sang the praises of the West German militarists? But in so doing, these people are reckoning without their host. They should know that the days of Munich are gone for good. *Neues Deutschland* put it well when it wrote, "As for the price offered to the Soviet Union, it is of course easy to give away things which one does not possess and can never obtain." The paper added, "No bargain can ever be struck by offering such prices, even in the 'free market economy'."

The German Democratic Republic is a state of the German people themselves and a member of the great socialist community. It is not to be sold or bought by anyone. As Albert Norden, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, has declared, "It is impossible to annex the G.D.R. or buy it from any other socialist country." The destiny of Germany is in the hands of the German people. The G.D.R. cannot be by-passed in seeking a settlement of the German question. Those who want to treat the G.D.R. as a piece of merchandise and strike a political bargain at its expense will never succeed.

The Chinese people have all along supported the people of the G.D.R. in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, against West German militarism and revanchism, and for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and the settlement of the West Berlin question on that basis. We firmly support the G.D.R. people's righteous stand in safe-guarding their country's sovereignty, and resolutely oppose the West German militarists' aggressive scheme to annex the G.D.R. and all criminal designs to buy or sell out that country.

# PRODUCTIVE LABOUR

PEKING, September 22nd (Hsinhua)—Today's *People's Daily* carries an editorial on the importance of full-time officials in industrial enterprises taking part in productive labour. It is entitled "Share fully in the work like ordinary workers."

The editorial makes the point that whether or not the officials of an industrial enterprise, especially those in charge, really participate in labour like the ordinary labouring people is part of the important question of whether they have the determination to carry forward the socialist revolution to the end.

Persistently sharing in productive labour, the editorial goes on, functionaries of the industrial enterprises can prevent themselves from becoming special and preserve the qualities of diligence and industriousness which are

# FROM CALCUTTA

THE era of undiluted Capitalism is gone. Gone also is the era of "Guns for Butter." The reactionaries the world over and their yes-men, the neo-revisionists, are aware of that and that is why socialist of different brands of their own brewing is on the lip of almost each and every bourgeois democratic leader. To fleece the "under-dogs" and to outwit and pay the genuine Marxist-Leninists in their own coin nothing sounds more euphemistic than the slogan of socialism itself.

But however desperate and hysterically frantic their efforts may be to steal the thunder off the world proletarian revolution, they have to, with the sharpening and climaxing of the class struggle, come out in the true colours and their class-character is unmasked by their eventual lining-up with the die-hard reactionaries.

Hence small wonder that the arch-revisionist, Khrushchev, who tom-tommed his climb to party hegemony by insulating ingeniously those of the Russian comrades who questioned the wisdom and efficacy of his dubious policies, finds in Eisenhower "an emissary of peace"—the very Eisenhower who set Asians and Asians by the ears with a view to enabling the US Big Business to thrive on the tears and blood of the teeming millions of Asia. Small wonder that this arch-revisionist, Nikita Khrushchev, prescribed parliamentary democracy (or in the words of Marx, "parliamentary idiotism") to the Indian revisionists as the only passport to the establishment of an "egalitaire" society and strengthened the hands of the Indian Big Business by rubbing shoulders with Nehru, an advocate of the shifty "tiers monde" who masterminded the art of putting the socialist cart before the capitalist horse and who, notwithstanding the fact that he visualised in his "Discovery of India" that "the whole world is advancing along the road of socialism as shown by Lenin," fathered, during his years of power, a new brand of socialism, that is, "Socialistic Pattern of Society" which has helped the Indian Big Money-Bags to bag more profits than they had done during the entire British regime. In 1925 Comrade Stalin said about the Indian National Bourgeoisie that their eye was "sur le porte-monnaie." In India today the Dangaite revisionists (Mr. S. A. Dange, Chairman of the National Council, Communist Party of India and at the same time a shareholder whose letters to a British Viceroy recently unearthed have proved beyond a shadow of doubt that he was an agent of the erstwhile imperialist rulers of India and have caused a flutter in the country's political circles, is now busy whitewashing his misdeeds and disciplining the genuine Marxist-Leninists.

The official party today is in the hands of a handful of "Odgars" and "Lucrafts" and the reptile press is singing the glories of these spineless self-styled Marxists) are toeing the Nehru line with the nodding approval of Messrs. Khrushchev, Suslov and Company, and are torpedoing all efforts at militant mass opposition to the party in power and the dark forces of right reaction. On the trade union front, too, the activities of the Dangaite revisionists consist merely in answering charge-sheets and referring disputes to labour tribunals. The sober fact is blinked by these class-collaborationists that "there is a struggle," as Comrade Mao said, "for every grain of rice that the people grow" and it only through struggle that the genuine Marxist-Leninists can get the masses on their side and not by exploiting narrow national sentiments.

The conclusion is, therefore, inescapable that the neo-revisionists are a menace to the world Marxist-Leninist movement and these political chameleons, whose only stock-in-trade is their deliberately inconsistent policy contrived and aimed at sowing confusion and disruption among and beguiling the struggling masses and at blunting the

edge of the poinard of class struggle, seize each and every opportunity to stab the genuine Marxist-Leninists in the back. The scurvy treatment which is being meted out by the neo-revisionists in league with the US imperialists to People's China and their sinister machinations to estrange her from the countries of Asia and Africa and the Eastern Democracies today are an eloquent pointer. The genuine Marxist-Leninists are, therefore, as they were in the past, confronted with a two-pronged attack.

The arch-revisionist, Khrushchev, has almost proved himself a laughing-stock before the world by his infantile statements. The real danger of a socialist country lies in its falling prey to a leadership prone to inconsistencies, and not in how much criticism, however trenchant that may be, it is subjected to by a fellow socialist country.

The stage is pretty spacious and the motly players enter the stage all at a time and over-act their roles by raving nonsense. Examples below:

- (i) In 1957 Khrushchev said: "When it comes to fighting the imperialists we are all Stalinists."
- (ii) Then again in September, 1959, on the eve of his departure from Peking back home, Khrushchev said: "We Communists of the Soviet Union, consider it our sacred task, our primary duty, to utilise all possibilities to liquidate the cold war."
- (iii) And then again in 1964 Khrushchev fulminated on the May Day: "If the U.S.A. continues reconnaissance flights over Cuba, consequences will be disastrous."

One can make neither head nor tail of all these puerile utterances of Khrushchev. When Khrushchev's sacred task is to liquidate the cold war by utilising all possibilities (in Laos today Khrushchev is utilising some of the possibilities, if not all!), the sacred task of the U.S. imperialists is to utilise the cold war, that is, to keep the cold war simmering, by liquidating all possibilities of peace although, according to Khrushchev the US imperialists are emissaries of peace. If the US imperialists had been really emissaries of peace then the cold war would have long ceased to exist and Khrushchev would not have had to set out on his boyish errand to liquidate the cold war.

The reconnaissance flights over Cuba are still continuing and "consequences" have not been "disastrous" although Khrushchev says "when it comes to fighting the imperialists." Will it ever come to fighting the imperialists? Does he mean what he says? If he does not, then by indulging in meaningless and glib talk he belittles not so much his own position as that of the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. Self-deception, servile genuflection and fulsome blandishments seem to be ingrained in Soviet leadership today.

"Socialism ten per cent" is infinitely worse than capitalism hundred per cent and to drill spurious drugs down the gullet of the patient is certainly more dangerous than for the patient to have no drugs at all. But the role of the neo-revisionists or in other words, the ten per cent concessionists is one of stemming the tide of the world proletarian revolution by dealing in "spurious drugs" in order that capitalism in general and dollar imperialism in particular can ultimately be salvaged. But time is on the side of the genuine Marxist-Leninists who are determined to put, once and for all, a stop to all crimes against humanity and to usher in an era when "every human home," as the *People's Daily* wrote, "will glow with peace and happiness."

N. M., CALCUTTA

## VOICE OF INDIA

Comrades!

Let us stand  
Against lackeys of imperialists  
Like "Palme Dutt" in England  
Not only in England  
Comrades! Everywhere  
You will find  
They have based  
To betray toiling man.  
But, Comrades,  
Don't be frustrated  
Sun will rise again  
We will laugh again  
South America will laugh  
Africa will laugh!  
It is impossible for  
Khrushchev to bluff  
All of us,  
Workers and peasants of the  
World unite  
To fight world's revisionists.

RATAN LAHIRI

## NEWS COMMENT

The Britain-China "Friendship" Association advertise for their "celebration" of the 15th Anniversary of People's China, an entertainer who is the proud owner of "100 faces."

Recalling the antics of certain leaders of the B.C.F.A. at the recent A.G.M., we feel that they might be a trifle envious. After all, it is 98 more faces than these gentlemen possess.

Front-page large photograph in the *Daily Worker*, September 26th, is that of "His Beatitude, Alexii, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia."

Readers are informed that he had just returned from the Greek Royal Wedding in Athens. It was most inconsiderate of the Greek King, and rank bad luck for the *Daily Worker* photographic Dept., that Nikita Khrushchev was omitted from the invitation list.

"I'd go anywhere, talk to anyone about anything, in the pursuit of world peace." (President Johnson, September 25th, 1964.) These are, of course, the identical words used by Eisenhower when he was President of the U.S.A. and before he lost his "Camp David" spirit. Now Eisenhower is a close crony of Barry Goldwater.

All Johnson has to do is not to "go" or "talk" but to take his armed forces out of other people's waters, lands and air space, and to stop giving dollars to corrupt puppets. It's as simple as that.

*Daily Worker* erstwhile columnist, Walter Holmes, recently contemptuously referred to the publicity in the capitalist press given to the affairs of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity, and to its "Fleet Street friends." As is well known, the C.P.G.B. is "breaking its neck" to appear on British T.V. General Election programmes.

What are the B.B.C. and I.T.V., Mr. Holmes? A capitalist set-up?

Or Socialist, maybe? Perhaps, Mr. Holmes and the *Daily Worker* no longer bother with such trivial distinction. At any rate, we await with interest for an answer.

A £3½-million take-over bid for the Beatles, a famous Liverpool pop-group, has come from New York, and been turned down by their manager.

This will, no doubt, give much glee to the above-mentioned Walter Holmes. He recently gave due credit to Messrs. Beatles for "being British."

Well, damnit, you chaps—can't let our most valuable cultural asset go to the Yanks—what? Let the blighters have Shakespeare.

We are indebted to Mr. David Floyd of the *Daily Telegraph*, for the following: "Marshall Tito insists on receiving full honours due to him as Head of State... when Mme. Jovanka Broz married Tito, much was said of her service in the partisan movement. But today, she is impressively regal in her manner. The perfect foil for her husband—at a time when most surviving royal families feel obliged to 'democratise' their behaviour, Yugoslavia's proletarian ruler is unashamedly regal in his behaviour."

Of course, being British, we are used to royalty.

Nonetheless, we shudder slightly at the prospect of comrade—sorry—King Tito turning up at Khrushchev's "world Communist conference" and delivering a weighty lecture on "workers control."

It is comforting, however, to reflect that should certain leaders of the C.P.G.B. be present, they will be able to advise His Majesty on the importance of prudence in the exercise of regal affairs.

Tom Flint

# PETTY BOURGEOIS LEADERSHIP

HOW do the leaders of the C.P. differ from the leaders of the Labour Party? Whereas the leaders of the Labour Party are capitalist politicians spreading capitalist ideas, the C.P. leaders claim to be Marxist-Leninists, claim to be working class leaders and claim to spread working class ideas. They are to the left of the Labour Party leaders and closer to the ideals and aspirations of the working class. Posing as Communists, they adulterate Marxist-Leninist theory, revising it to serve the needs of the capitalists. Therefore, in a given situation, e.g., when Marxism-Leninism has taken hold inside the ranks of the organised working class, revisionists can give better service to the capitalist class than reformists can. This is precisely the service that the revisionists are rendering the capitalist class in France, Italy, Spain, Greece and other countries. The modern revisionists like Thorez and Togliatti are playing today exactly the same role that old revisionists like Kautsky and Bernstein played yesterday. The aims of the bourgeoisie remain constant. Money is their god, profit is what they live by, and to maintain capitalism by one means or another their intention. The Conservative and Liberal Parties are bourgeois parties. The Labour Party is also a bourgeois party, in essence no different to these other parties—just a variant. But the CP is different—it is a petty bourgeois party with a petty bourgeois leadership. The position of the petty bourgeoisie is between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It vacillates all the time. The pressure of events blow it this way and that way, now towards the bourgeoisie, now towards the proletariat. Revisionism is the expression in concentrated form, of bourgeois ideological influence in the ranks of the international Communist movement and within individual Communist parties. If working class leaders submit to bourgeois influence

and pressure instead of resisting it, they cease to be working class leaders and become petty bourgeois leaders, adapting Marxist-Leninist theory to suit the modern requirement of the bourgeoisie.

Khrushchov provides us with a clear example of such petty bourgeois revisionist leadership. He cares nothing for his friends and bends over backwards to please his enemies. He goes from capitulationism to adventurism, then goes back to capitulationism. He makes dirty deals with his adversaries at the expense of his allies. He does not even understand Marxist-Leninist theory, so how can he possibly apply it correctly? He is a typical pragmatist, muddling along from day to day, without worrying about inconvenient and embarrassing things like principles. He blows hot and cold. You never know what the man is going to do next. He says one thing one day, something else the next day. For him, situations suddenly change overnight. When he changes his mind, all the criteria which applied yesterday no longer apply today.

### NO CHANGE

Because of its position in society, the aims, objectives and aspirations of the working class do not change. The working class is the revolutionary class destined for power. It remains steadfast. Although it is always prepared to make tactical compromises, it resolutely sticks to principle. It does not vacillate.

The sort of leadership provided by the Chinese CP is working class leadership. China stands by its friends through thick and thin. It staunchly adheres to the principle of proletarian internationalism. China believes in equality between nations large and small. It firmly adheres to the *Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence*, which it initiated at the Bandung Conference of Afro-

Asian states in 1955. It believes in uniting all peoples and classes which can be united against the biggest menace to peace in the world today, namely US imperialism. Its policy is consistent, firm, steadfast, principled.

Marxist-Leninists do not live in ivory towers. They are subject to bourgeois pressures and influences the same as anybody else. However, as they learn to master Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, so they become better equipped to resist these bourgeois pressures and influences. They learn to protect Marxist-Leninist theory, to keep it pure and unsullied. This is no easy thing to do. It requires absolute devotion and loyalty to the proletarian cause, it also requires strength of character. It was not for nothing that Comrade Stalin called a Bolshevik "a new type of man—a man of a special mould". It was not for nothing that V. I. Ulianov took upon himself the name of Lenin, which is Russian for "iron", and that J. V. Djugashvili adopted the name Stalin, which is Russian for "steel". All his life, a Marxist-Leninist fights hard to protect his proletarian ideas against the onslaught of bourgeois ideas, to keep his principles untainted by petty bourgeois corruption.

The solid rock of Marxism-Leninism has always proved the true and relevant theory of our class. Today, there are those who in deed if not in word, are abandoning the solid rock of Marxism-Leninism for the shifting sands of revisionism. But Marxism-Leninism is more relevant today than ever before, and every day that passes proves again and again the dynamic indestructibility of Marxism-Leninism. Reformism and revisionism will die—they will be tossed into the ash-can of history. Marxism-Leninism lives on.

JACK ANGEL

## CAN WE TRUST WILSON?

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 Philip 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. Last year he went to Washington to get his orders from the late President Kennedy, and this year he took another trip across to see LBJ, the new chief. Wilson's policy is tailor-made to suit the policy of US 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 trots out a great deal of futile verbiage designed to cloud the issue and pose as a man of peace. His statement that only the women can save peace is a peurile piece of useless 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. When a Labour government is formed he will be Minister for Disarmament a deceptive gimmick if ever there was one, and he will spend all his time working out plans for disarmament, control, inspection, World Government and loads of other pie-in-the-sky schemes designed not to achieve peace but to stop people struggling against war.

Peace will be achieved not by a few statesmen being reasonable round a conference table but by an implacable struggle against the forces of war (primarily, U.S. imperialism, which is their spearhead) by all people all over the world. The value of C.N.D. was its participation in this struggle against the forces of war in this country who take their orders from Washington and act as American stooges. But there is now the danger that C.N.D. is becoming a tame arm of the establishment directing its supporters into harmless channels such as collecting for "Freedom from Hunger" 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 peace. 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 people with

soft 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 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.

J.A.

## THE GENERAL ELECTION

All who can assist—in person or with cash—please contact:

A. Major, 57 Manchester Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester 2

## ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING

London Friends of China Committee sponsored a "house-full" meeting in September to hear famous writer and authority on China, Felix Green.

He described the "considerable shock to China, caused by the withdrawal of 1,300 technicians plus their 'blueprints' at the period of food shortage caused by the natural calamities. This had resulted in an abrupt halt to 400 projects and the Chinese Government and people had resolutely faced up to it." He went on "this forced the Chinese to be more practical and pull together even better in a way which increased the strength of her Communes." So far from Khrushchev's action isolating China, he had seen more Western traders and shipping in China than ever before. "China today was a land of tremendous human effort; a new era. They are moving ahead and absolutely nothing will prevent this progress." Mr. Greene referred ironically to Press "scares" about II Chinese being in Tanganyika "a world danger" when there were 17,000 U.S. "advisers" in Vietnam alone. He described as nonsense the slander of China wanting war and explained that China spent less than 10% of her budget on military purposes and quoted even the U.S. Pentagon opinion that "there is no evidence that Peking plans military adventures."

"The pre-crisis condition of imperialism is China's strength." Her strength is in the people and not the military.

China is with history.

In reply to a question regarding "Chinese racism," Mr Greene described this as "a sheer myth." "China wants a peaceful solution to her dispute with India. It is up to India to respond." Loud cheers greeted an Indian in the audience who confirmed India's guilt for the frontier fighting.

To loud applause, he said "China is a revolutionary power. At this time, the U.S.S.R. has ceased to be revolutionary. This could not go unheeded by the undeveloped part of the world."

One day, the American people will question many important things in their economic system. He stressed the importance there of the movement for Negro democratic rights.

Replying to a question on Mao-tse-tung, he said that "people feel real contact with him."

Mr. Greene denied that China was "expansionist"; there was no compulsion to be so in spite of her growing population. She had much land requiring irrigation and her developing industrial society could provide sufficient food.

A long ovation was given to Mr. Greene, whom British people will remember for his excellent documentary film on China and interview with Chou-en-lai, shown on TV some months back. Over £25 was donated to the Friends of China Committee.

M.M.

## READ The CARIB

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# ROYAL CIRCUS IN SCOTLAND

THE Royal Circus was very much in evidence in Scotland during the month of September. Their grossly overpaid performances took them to Hunterston, where they opened the "world's largest nuclear power station." The Scots now have the distinction of being the biggest consumers per capita of electricity produced by nuclear power, no consolation this, however, to the many miners in the area, idle as a result of the Tory "oil instead of coal" policy, as the electricity produced is piped into the national grid and consumed somewhere south of Scotland. Among our other distinctions is an unemployment rate double that of the British average, although the Scottish press did their best to disguise that fact, by highlighting the September drop in the unemployed of 3,250, from the August total of approximately 75,000.

But while the press may "kid some of the people some of the time," they can't "kid all of the people all of the time." They don't, for example, fool the people of Banffshire, where there is a 5.1% unemployment rate, and where between the years 1951-1961 the parish of Kirkmichael lost a quarter of its population by the emigration of 6,200 of its inhabitants. Or to the Glasgow Central constituency, where the unemployment rate is 4.5%, which is more than the Glasgow average of 3.8%. And to Greenock, where the shocking figure of 7.7% is the tragic result of the decline

of shipbuilding on the Clyde. Only in the Edinburgh and Lothians area (other than West Lothian) is the unemployment figure near the British average.

Another royal romp was the opening of the new £2-million international air terminal at Prestwick, whose gleaming structure was a tribute to the skill of the workers who designed and built it. Small comfort it will be to the thousands of Scots emigrants who will pass through the passport barriers, compelled through economic necessity to seek security in other countries (although few will find it), for this is another distinction the Scots have the highest emigration rate in Britain, 30,000 per annum, and just consider, this from a total population of approximately 5,000,000.

Speed the day when the Marxist-Leninists are strong enough to reach out to all the people of Scotland, with a real alternative to the present economic chaos and social injustice, a policy which will incorporate many of the ideas of our immortal John McLean, who alone of the politicians of his time, understood the Way Forward for the Scottish people. We need a policy which will restore our Scottish Nationhood. We need a policy who's prospectus will inspire the Scottish people to struggle and win their independence, and take their place among the socialist nations of the world.

K. HOULISON

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STOKE NEWINGTON COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNIST UNITY

# FROM THE PRESS

## There's an unfamiliar air of good fellowship

THE Soviet Premier and the Indian President are at this moment in Moscow together, preparing the most resounding testament of good fellowship ever to commemorate a simple state visit.

It is the measure of our testy times that this is imperative: the momentous wrath. Whenever national leaders get salutations to mark the absence of publicly together for any purpose without actively insulting each other they must need produce a fulsome guarantee that this is the case.

We are adjusted to standards of international principle so dreary that unless non-foes do produce these formal definitions of the normal decencies people tend to believe the worst.

President Radhakrishnan's trip has, however, some significance not sufficiently recognised. It immediately follows the signing of the agreement by which Russia undertakes to arm the Indian Army.

The only possible purpose of arming the Indians is to strengthen them against China. In other words, the Soviet Union is now doing exactly what the Americans are doing, in the same way and at the same time and for the same cause. On one front the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have become what was probably inevitable one day: allies.

Thus in a trickle are the familiar old cold-war stereotypes breaking down. The Soviet-China rift was not a simple ideological quarrel; it was a chasm clean through the whole political world.

This week the North Koreans joined the Chinese in denouncing Moscow for "actively co-operating with the U.S. Imperialists in the Asian struggle." This week the Vatican, of all institutions on earth, signed a protocol with Hungary, of all places.

Every week is a development that in isolation would constitute a revolution, and that now is an item down the page. This is making things very difficult indeed.

The conflict is no longer the simple one between all Communists and all non-Communists. How the flux will settle cannot be known, but reality is going to present opportunities—and problems—we have never known before.

James Cameron, *The Sun*, 18.9.64.

## India after Russian aircraft and tanks

MR. Y. B. CHAVAN, the Indian Defence Minister, who recently visited Russia, told Parliament today that India would buy some Mig-21 aircraft and some light tanks from Russia. Several times during his statement he emphasised that both

in the United States and the Soviet Union he had received full support and encouragement for India's political stand in international affairs and her estimates of the threat from China and her needs for meeting that threat. . . .

He confirmed that a revised and enlarged agreement had been reached for the manufacture of Mig aircraft in India and for the supply of nearly three squadrons of Migs in fully operational form. The new agreement, he said, provided for the supply of plant and machinery, jigs, tools, and so on of Soviet manufacture to facilitate the early establishment of the Mig complex of factories. He said that "important fields" had been left out of the original agreement signed in 1962.

The statement threw no light on how long the Mig complex in India will be able only to assemble the fighters from imported components. Mr. Chavan said only that "arrangements for the supply of major assemblies, sub-assemblies and raw material from the Soviet Union for the production of initial batches of Mig-21 aircraft have also been finalised."

The Soviet Union has agreed to supply "a certain number of light tanks and associated equipment."

*The Times*, Sept. 22, 1964

## U.S. wants to forget Tonkin "Battle"

THE unmistakable fact today about the latest "incident" in the Tonkin Gulf was that the American Government would like everybody to forget about it as soon as possible.

The incident occurred in darkness on Friday. Terse statements in Washington since then have not removed suspicions that the affair was a one-sided duel between two American destroyers and non-existent "attackers."

Some freak effect at sea may have shown up on their radar screen as suspicious vessels. Apart from reports of radar sightings, no evidence has been brought to light that the suspicious vessels really existed.

*Daily Telegraph*, Sept. 21, 1964

PRESIDENT NYERERE read out an article in a British newspaper which suggested that China would transform Tanganyika into a colony through the efforts of [11] instructors and interpreters. He asked, "Am I expected to deal with such rubbish?" The press conference, he continued, was both an explanation and a protest. He said he did not expect other people to take decisions for his government, as in the case of the Congo (Leopoldville), where "the decision to form a government in the Congo was taken outside, not in the Congo." He stressed, "I do not like this kind of pressure."

*Peking Review*, No. 37

# Balance of Payments Crisis

WHY is yet another "balance of payments" crisis brewing? Why do these crises recur every two or three years? Because Britain is an imperialist power. Our rulers, the big capitalists, financiers and landlords, invest a great deal of their capital overseas each year, in order to obtain the huge profits which are available in lands where capital is scarce and labour is plentiful. Roughly one pound in three of all British capitalists' investment is overseas.

But in order to invest in any overseas country they must have available the currency of that country. So the recurring refrain of every British government is "export more goods, export more goods." They pretend that we must do this in order to buy raw materials and foodstuffs, without which we would starve. But we are already exporting more than enough to pay for all the imports that we need.

The trouble is that on top of the foreign currency needed for these necessary imports the capitalists spend hundreds of millions of pounds on their overseas investments each year, and hundreds of millions of pounds on their overseas military bases, and wars, to protect their overseas loot. Even according to official figures, which underestimate the total, about £600 million of foreign currency is spent for these purposes each year.

This capitalist investment for profit overseas, and this military expenditure to maintain capitalism overseas, causes untold suffering to the peoples of these overseas lands, and hits directly at the interests of the British people, because it is British living standards which are forced down in order to make these extra goods available for export. Every balance of payments crisis is solved at the expense of the British people. The only solution to these crises is the ending of the capitalist system.

# A MOUNTAIN GIVES BIRTH TO A MOUSE

The 15th September saw the launching, by multi-millionaire news tycoon, Cecil King, of the new daily, the *Sun*.

It purpose? Let it speak for itself.

- (a) "We are politically free."
- (b) "We are independent."
- (c) "We want the modernisation of Britain—regardless of the vested interests of management and workers."
- (d) "We are radical—and we will expose cruelty and exploitation . . ."
- (e) "Above all—we are gay."

Assuming capitalist Mr. King also wishes to make a fat profit out of this enterprise (this is discreetly omitted from the paper—so we ask pardon for our assumption)—we can appreciate point (e), but as for the other 4 purposes, we must remain distinctly unamused.

How a project launched by invested capital of Mr. King & Co. can honestly be "politically free"; "independent"; can "expose exploitation" (sic); we leave to our readers to fathom out and wish them the best of luck in so doing. As to point (c) we are obliged to the *Sun* for disclosing a truly historic discovery—on par with the invention of the wheel, the iron axe, the finding of the law of gravity, and atomic power.

Namely, that the workers in a capitalist enterprise have "vested interest."

Perhaps the *Sun* might be good enough to elucidate, with due expedition, further basic details of this phenomenon of economics.

A hushed expectant world will rest content with nothing less.

Can it be that we have yet another "creative developer" of Marxism-Leninism? That they have discovered that the workers' labour-power and their exposure to redundancy, should the new paper fail, are also in some way, "vested interests"? But let us swallow our curiosity.

"The division of Britain into social classes is happily out of date"; so says the *Sun*. At one decisive stroke, the class struggle is abolished. Modern revisionists, take note. Here lies the very hub of the *Sun*'s "radicalism." The British, you see, are one big happy family. Some rather richer than others, tis true, but, by and large contented. Their "mental horizon is broadened by watching TV" (sic). It is possible that Mr. King's new paper is worth buying for light comedy relief in these dramatic days.

Our new journalistic colleague waxes chivalrous, as it reflects pleasantly on "British women." "Women are no longer trapped between 4 walls." "They are released from household drudgery by intelligent home-planning." "Their minds have been emancipated." "One married woman in three goes out to work", etc. etc. Given time for our dazed mind to also emancipate itself, we beg to ask: (1) Since 1 in 3 go out to work, does this not make their household drudgery even worse, since they have only evenings and week-ends in which to accomplish it? (2) Is it not a fact that most wives work so as to ward off serious hardship, since their husband's wages are insufficient to make ends meet? (3) How many thousands of British women have no homes worth speaking of, let alone to plan? (4) How many thousands cannot go out to work, due to scandalous inadequacy of Day-nurseries and the even more scandalous inadequacy of nursing staff wages? Since you have "emancipated their minds," when are you going to campaign for their equal pay with men in order to help "emancipate them economically and socially?"

Page 1 is graced by a picture of Sir Alec Douglas-Home, a sardonic-looking black poodle and some simpering Tory women. The poodle is the most impressive. It, at least, looks honest.

*Sun*'s very first words are—"They're off in the General Election States. Up go the starting tapes for 1,600 men and women in the race for 630 House of Commons seats. . . ." Comment on this is superfluous—unless to observe that we would be glad if some of the electorate doped some of the candidates instead of the traditional practice of vice-versa.

The *Sun* plays it safe by including the pictures of 14 alluring young women, just in case the fatuity of its contents becomes too speedily apparent to its victims.

For this sun, I prophesy an early and total eclipse.

DAVE VOLPE

## Fate of a mannequin Lodge returns empty-handed

HENRY CABOT LODGE, President Johnson's special emissary to Europe, has returned to Washington after a fruitless trip to "explain" the U.S. policy in South-east Asia, and the "special war" in South Vietnam in particular, to NATO allies. His swing through Europe gained the United States little sympathy and hardly any support. There is too much that needs "explaining."

Although the former U.S. "ambassador" to Saigon managed to secure vague expressions of support in some capitals, he sparked more fears that the Johnson Administration would extend the war in Indo-China. In Paris, the first stop of his tour, reactions to his "explanations" were such that one French columnist described Lodge's meeting with the acting Foreign Minister as "a cordial talk between two deaf persons."

*Peking Review*, No. 37.

## Africans will not fight Africans

### U.S. Intervention opposed

ALONG with political and trade union organisations, the African press is voicing a loud No to U.S. intervention in the Congo (Leopoldville). It has denounced Tshombe as a despicable traitor, and exposed Washington's busy manoeuvres to introduce African troops into the country as a vicious scheme to prop up a disintegrating puppet regime and make Africans shed the blood of their Congolese brothers.

Tshombe is "a handmaid of American foreign policy in the heart of Africa," declared the Tanganyikan *Nationalist*. All Africa is disgusted with "Tshombe and his conspirators," noted the Kenyan weekly *Nyanza Times*.

*Peking Review*, No. 37.

DESPITE widespread opposition the Japanese Government has succumbed to Washington's pressure and allowed U.S. nuclear-powered submarines to dock in Japanese ports. The decision came after a cabinet meeting on August 28, and it touched off a nationwide movement of opposition. Prime Minister Ikeda's official residence was bombarded with protests.

*Peking Review*, No. 37.

## No longer associated

THE following are no longer associated with *Vanguard* and the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity: A. O'Neill, I. Kenna, N. Jenkinson, H. Sheriff, T. Hall.



*Pang Kuan-hsiang — mining engineer, Laohutai coal mine, Fushan*

# 15th Anniversary Peoples Republic

WORKERS, peasants and intellectuals throughout the world salute the 15th Anniversary. Just as they recognise United States imperialism on every continent and country, the peoples of the world also recognise the mighty and ever-growing alliance in defence of peace and progress,

As a result of the correct leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Peoples' Republic of China triumphed in 1949, after more than a quarter of a century of war against imperialism and its Chinese agents. The national democratic dictatorship led by the working class, in firm unity with the poor peasants, was the result of the struggle of the Chinese people against the imperialists and all reactionaries. A people's democracy exists in China. Socialism is being built in China.

It is just because the imperialists and their agents, led by the United States, are attacking the Peoples' Republic of China as the centre and mainstay of the forces of national liberation and Socialism in the world today that they are desperately attempting to divide the peoples of the world against Peoples' China. In this they are aided by the imperialists. But in the course of many decades of struggle against imperialism, the peoples of the world have learned the measure of imperialism and its propaganda. They know that the Government of N. Khrushchev is acting in the interests of the imperialists. They know that when the imperialists attack a Government, as they attack the Government of China, that this Government is acting in the interests of the working people.

Long may the Peoples' Republic of China continue to earn the hatred of the imperialists!



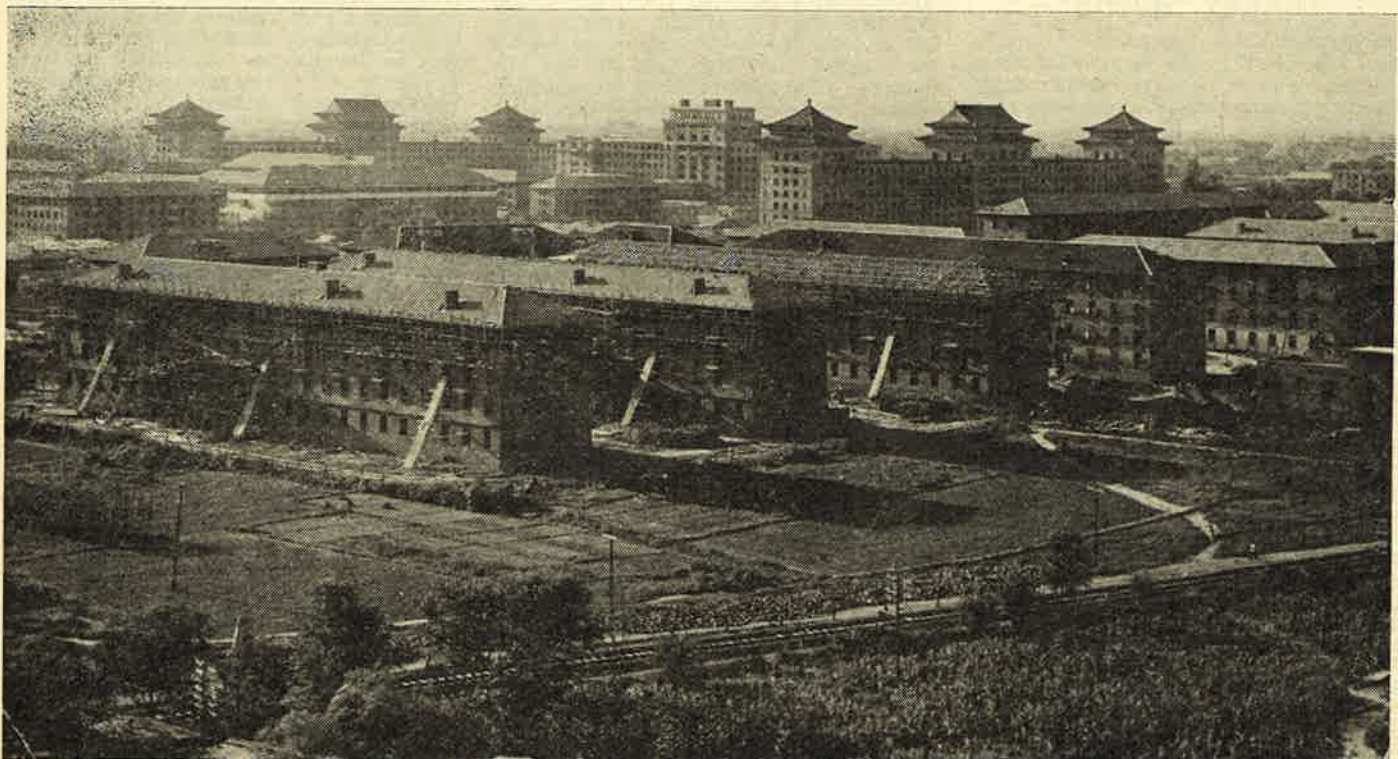
*Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Communist Party of China, chats with student*



*Early rice transplanting at the Tali People's Commune in the Pearl River Delta, Kwantung. Improved irrigation enables three crops to be gathered each year, as against two in the past*



*"Aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of China is aggression against China" August*



*New flats in West Peking*



# y of The of China

the Peoples' Republic of China on its  
as the main bulwark of reaction in  
Peoples' China as the centre of a  
and against imperialist aggression.

of China, the Chinese Revolution  
against the aggression of Western  
ship of all the revolutionary classes,  
then established against imperialism  
ism is being built in China today.

United States imperialism, recognise  
liberation, peace, democracy and  
to poison the minds of the working  
and abetted by the modern revision-  
ism the peoples of the world have  
that when the imperialists praise  
the U.S.S.R., that it is acting in the



*The Peking Ballad Troupe, entertaining in Chungshan park*



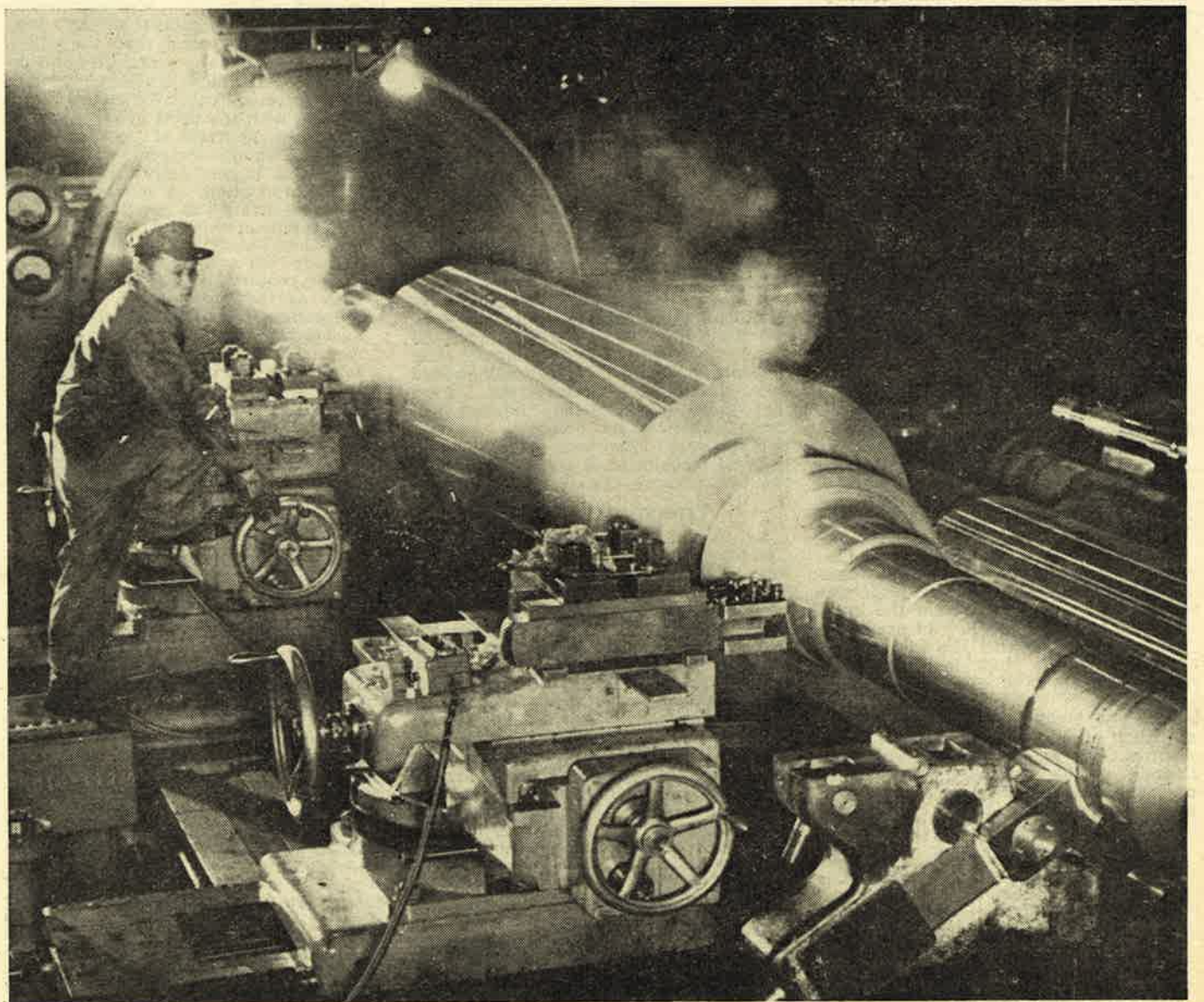
*Communist Party and People  
ents at Tientsin University*



*A day's outing for a seaman and his family*



*Democratic Republic of Vietnam  
— People's militia, Peking,  
1964*



*Modern industry — the Shanghai Electric Motor Plant*

# THE LOWER MIDDLE-CLASS IN BRITAIN TODAY

IN recent years the Communist Party of Great Britain has virtually abandoned any attempt to analyse British society in its publications and propaganda. We can agree that it is absurd and erroneous to argue that "we are all middle-class now, or are rapidly becoming so," but it is equally absurd and erroneous to argue that "we are all (or nearly all) working class now." For both statements reflect the same false idea; that there are no longer important class distinctions among the people.

"The people versus the Establishment," argue those middle class radicals who seek to reform the capitalist system rather than to end it; and they push their analysis of our society no deeper. "The people versus the Monopolies," argues the C.P.G.B. And, as far as it goes, this slogan is correct. But the analysis is pushed no deeper. For both slogans refer to the same contradiction in our society, but this contradiction is not the only one, nor indeed is it the main contradiction in capitalist society. "The essence of capitalist society," as James Klugmann, of the C.P.G.B., has written, "is the contradiction of two decisive classes—the capitalist class and the working class." The monopoly capitalists are only a section of the capitalist class, although the decisive section. The working class are only a section of the people, although the decisive section.

Lenin wrote, in *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism*, "Monopoly . . . has grown out of capitalism, and exists in the general environment of capitalism, and remains in permanent and insoluble contradiction to that general environment." If we were able to achieve the impossible, and resolve the contradiction between the people and the monopolies while the basis contradiction in our society, between the working class and the capitalist class, remained, this would not bring socialism, but only a return to competitive capitalism. Our capitalist society will only be replaced by a socialist society when this basic contradiction is resolved in favour of the working class, following a Socialist revolution, and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

## Who are "the people"?

A Communist Party which exists in order to achieve this dictatorship over the capitalists, needs to make a most careful analysis of "the people," in order to determine how strong are the links which bind each section of the people to capitalism, and, equally, which sections of the people are most oppressed by capitalism, have the weakest links with the system. Why? Because we analyse society in order to change it. Our analysis is made from the standpoint of the revolution. The strength of the links which bind people to capitalism, which are objective fact, determine the strength of their subjective determination to struggle against capitalism; the weaker the links with capital the stronger the determination to struggle against it, and visa-versa.

Failure to make such an analysis is nothing new. Lenin, in *The Economic content of Narodism*, quoted this passage from Marx:

"The Democrat, because he represents the petty bourgeoisie, that is, a transition class, in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously blunted, imagines himself elevated above class antagonisms generally. The democrats concede that a privileged class confronts them, but they, along with all the rest of the nation, form the people. What they represent is the people's rights; what interests them is the people's interests. Accordingly . . . they do not need to examine the interests and positions of the different classes. They do not need to weigh their own resources too critically. . . . If in the performance their interests prove to be uninteresting and their potency impotent, then either the fault lies with pernicious sophists, who split the indivisible people into different hostile camps . . . or the whole thing has been wrecked by a detail in its execution, or else an unforeseen accident has this time spoiled the game. In any case the democrat comes out of the most disgraceful defeat just as immaculate as he was innocent when he went into it, with the newly won conviction that he is bound to win, not that he himself and his party have to give up the old standpoint, but, on the contrary, that conditions have to ripen to suit him."

And Lenin comments:

"The Russian Narodniks are exactly the same. They do not deny that there are classes in Russia which are antagonistic to the producer, but they lull themselves with the argument that these "pirates" are insignificant compared with the "people" and refuse to make a careful study of the position and interests of the respective classes, to examine whether the interests of a certain category of producers are interwoven with the interests of the "pirates," thus weakening the former's power of resistance against the latter."

This tendency to oversimplify the structure of our society is apparent in Andrew Grant's *Socialism and the Middle Classes* (1958). In this work, much praised and widely used by the C.P.G.B., he states:

## Over simplification

"It was only after a hard struggle that the use of the terms 'middle class' or 'middle classes' as though they were accurate expressions was firmly rejected. Both terms have suffered badly from being so widely and so loosely used that their meaning is more often than not misinterpreted. They are indeed terms which one finds in common usage, but are not more

accurate because of this. Their use implies that there is in fact in Britain at this moment a third class or more than three classes. It is the thesis of this book that an examination of the facts does not lend positive support to either of these contentions. (My italics, M.McC.) So where these terms have been used they have been placed within quotation marks to indicate that they are used colloquially and not as precise expressions. The terms middle sections or middle strata have therefore replaced them here, even though they may come more awkwardly to the tongue, because they more accurately express the existing position as far as Britain today is concerned."

And later, in praising G. D. H. Cole's *Studies in Class Structure* (1955), he writes:

"Cole is arguing here that the changing position of sections of the former 'middle class' is resulting in a larger working class, which certainly does not square with his other and older concept of an expanding middle class (sic). An expanding working class must be at the expense of the 'middle class,' and in fact Cole produced plenty of evidence of this process taking place.

"His disagreement with Marx therefore resolves itself, as he points out himself, into whether or not the fusion is taking place as a result of levelling up or levelling down. There is still plenty of room for argument between Cole and present-day Marxists as to what has actually been taking place in the class structure of Britain. More important, however, is the growing measure of agreement that the scope of the working class today must be regarded as not only the manual or wage worker but also the majority of salaried workers as well. Most Marxists will argue that the salaried worker has been part of the working class all along, and that his position in society depends on his similar relationship to the means of production as the wage worker, even though he may not always have been conscious of his position or have "felt" himself a part of the working class.

"Both views are tending towards the same vitally important conclusions—that large sections of those formerly regarded by themselves and others as 'middle class' cannot be any longer so regarded; they are tending to merge into the working class, and this has political implications of great significance." (My italics, M.McC.)

But why this determination to deny that there are classes in our society other than the capitalist class and the working class? The fact that the contradiction between these two is the main contradiction, determining the character of the society, in no way rules out the existence of other classes. They do exist!

It is, incidentally, quite unsatisfactory to replace the word "class" by the word "strata." Marxists have always analysed society in terms of certain broad class divisions, and then further sub-divided these classes into various strata. To say that there are various "intermediate strata" which do not belong to any class is really only to play with words in order to avoid recognition of classes other than the two decisive classes.

## The middle class

Let us look for a moment at this term, "middle class." It is not really confusing. Marxists have always used the term, and been clear as to its meaning. Marx and Engels wrote, in *The Communist Manifesto*, of "the bourgeois, the middle class owners of property," and they also distinguished "the lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradespeople generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants. . . ." Mao Tse-tung adopts the same terminology in *An analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, when he writes, "The middle class. This class represents China's capitalist relations in town and country."

This use of the term largely coincides with its use in everyday speech. We include in the middle class all those whose interests are bound up with the capitalist mode of production. The strength of the ties with capital vary, however, considerably, from one strata to another within the middle class. At the top end of the scale there are the big bourgeoisie, the upper middle class, the upper class, the monopolists, the financial oligarchy—all

these terms refer to the same small minority of extremely wealthy capitalists who dominate the economic life of Britain. They are closely integrated with the landed aristocracy. At the bottom end of the scale the lower middle class, or petty bourgeoisie, include all those whose economic and social status place them in an ambivalent position between the capitalist class and the working class. It is the various strata of this petty bourgeoisie which we need to examine in some detail.

## The lower middle class

Marxists have always maintained that the petty bourgeoisie must be carefully distinguished. In 1917, in *Constitutional Illusions*, Lenin wrote:

"The Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks . . . are afraid to admit the truth that every capitalist country is fundamentally divided into three main forces, the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie, and the proletariat." (My italics, M.McC.)

Why be afraid to admit the truth? Because they were up to the same old game for which Marx had castigated the Democrats. In fact since the foundations of the modern working class movement on the basis of scientific socialism, with the publication in 1848 of the Communist Manifesto, Marxists have consistently and repeatedly stressed the importance of recognising the key role played by the petty-bourgeoisie, without whose support the capitalist class is unable to maintain its rule, who generate utopian socialist ideas of class compromise which constantly penetrate the ranks of the working class movement in the guise of "revising" basic Marxist principles so as to bring them "up to date." In that important, and often neglected, section of the Communist Manifesto in which Marx and Engels related various brands of utopian socialism to their class origin, under the heading *petty-bourgeois socialism* there is this passage:

"In countries where modern civilisation has become fully developed, a new class of petty-bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie and ever-renewing itself (my italics, M.McC) as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual (my italics, M.McC) members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by onlookers, bailiffs and shopmen."

## Revisionism

In other words the petty-bourgeois is always present in capitalist society, although as modern industry develops new strata of this class emerge and old strata decay. Lenin develops this analysis in *Marxism and Revisionism*.

"The inevitability of revisionism is determined by its class roots in modern society. . . . Wherein lies its inevitability in capitalist society? Why is it more profound than the differences on national peculiarities and degrees of capitalist development? Because in every capitalist country, side by side with the proletariat, there are always broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie, small masters. Capitalism arose and is constantly arising out of small production. A number of new "middle strata" is inevitably created by capitalism (appendages to the factory, home-work and small workshops scattered all over the country in view of the requirements of big industries, such as the bicycle and automobile industries, etc.). These new small producers are just as inevitably being cast into the ranks of the proletariat. It is quite natural that the petty-bourgeois world conception should again and again crop up in the ranks of the broad worker's parties." For, as he points out elsewhere, "the proletariat is inevitably linked with the petty-bourgeoisie by a thousand transitional connections."

## The small masters

In Britain today the small producers and traders, the "small masters" remain the hard core of the petty-bourgeoisie. And they are more numerous than many suppose. In a contribution from *Marxism Today* in *World Marxist Review* of May 1960 an attempt was made to estimate their number.

"There are in the U.K. large numbers of individual traders and small partnerships (i.e. two or three joint traders) and even small companies. (There are many man and wife companies formed in this sort of unit for financial reasons.) In many cases, particularly in building and clothing and small sub-contracting firms in engineering, they pass in and out of employed jobs. Those individuals or partners of companies which make under £1,000 a year can be regarded as small. Out of a total of 1,904,700 units recorded for profit assessment in 1956-57 there were 1,506,000 in this group. This must account for some 2 million individual persons." (My italics, M.McC.)

A class of this size is, in itself, sufficient to generate ideas of class compromise in Britain, which constantly re-emerge within the working class movement. But in addition to these small masters, or petty producers and traders, there are several other strata of society whose economic status places them in the same ambivalent position. Lenin wrote in *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*:

"Further, if we are not to replace the complete economic picture by petty details we should include among the well-to-do small proprietors a considerable section of the commercial and industrial management personnel, clerks, bourgeois intellectuals, government officials, and so on."

And Mao Tse-tung wrote, in *An analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*:

"The petty-bourgeoisie, owner-peasants, master-handicraftsmen, and the petty intellectuals, lower government functionaries, office clerks, small lawyers and petty traders—all belong to this category."

## The management personnel

Let us look first at the "commercial and industrial management personnel." Why do we include them within the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie? Marx explained this most clearly in Volume III of *Capital*:

"The labour of superintendence and management will naturally be required whenever the direct process of production assumes the form of a combined social process, and does not rest on the isolated labour of independent producers. It has, however, a double nature.

"On the one side all labours, in which many individuals co-operate, necessarily require for the connection and unity of the process one commanding will and this performs a function, which does not refer to fragmentary operations, but to the combined labour of the workshop, in the same way as does that of a director of an orchestra. This is a kind of productive labour, which must be performed in every mode of production requiring a combination of labours.

"On the other side, quite apart from any commercial department, this labour of superintendence necessarily arises in all modes of production, which are based on the antagonism between the labourer as a direct producer and the owner of the means of production. To the extent that this antagonism becomes pronounced the role played by superintendence increases in importance. Hence it reaches its maximum in the slave system. But it is indispensable also under the capitalist mode of production, since the process of production is at the same time the process by which the capitalist consumes the labour power of the labourer."

In other words, all those engaged in "the labour of superintendence and management" have an economic status which ties them to capital and ties them to the workers. In them "the interests of the two classes are simultaneously blunted."

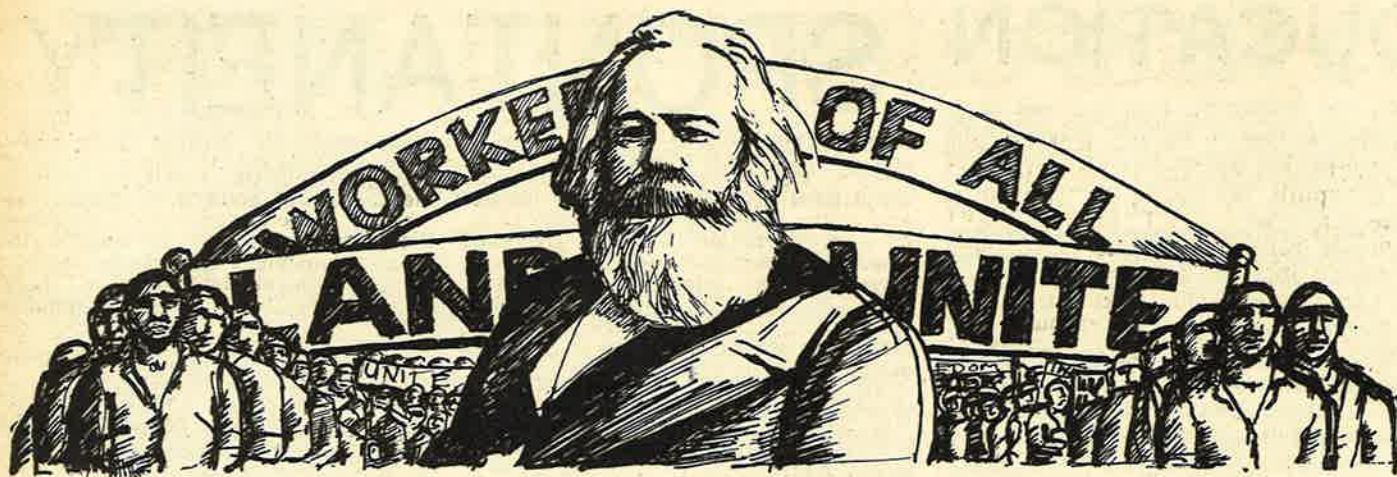
The 1961 Census (unfortunately the full 1951 Census is not yet published) enables us to distinguish between those engaged in "the labour of superintendence" and those engaged in the "labour of management." There were about 320,000 foremen, overlookers, inspectors and gangers in the mining, manufacturing, building and transport industries in that year. In general they are suitably rewarded, as the N.C.O.s of the capitalists. In the same industries there were about 290,000 managers (colliery managers, works managers, labour managers, etc., etc.). Some of these managers should be included within the ranks of the capitalists, but a good proportion certainly fall within the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie. They perform a necessary role in the army of productive workers, but also act on behalf of the capitalist class, and obtain financial and other rewards for their services. A good proportion of the 126,000 architects, surveyors and engineers, also combine this dual role of productive worker and agent of capital, and for the same reason must be classified as petty-bourgeois.

In the fields of commerce, finance and insurance, there are many more petty-bourgeois occupations. Most managers here again qualify as petty-bourgeois (in Great Britain as a whole there were 748,000 managers in 1951) and, a rather lower stratum, over 200,000 commercial travellers, canvassers and insurance agents. (The number of these must have expanded considerably over the last ten years.)

## The state officials

Several hundred thousand of those who work directly for the capitalist state are petty-bourgeois in their world outlook. They include some of the 50,000 military and police officers, most of the 100,000 executive and higher clerical and administrative grades of the local authorities and the civil service. With the great expansion of social services and education during this century the number employed by the state in these fields is now considerable. Most medical,

continued on page 11



## GENERAL RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

which was established September 28th, 1864, at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London

Considering,

That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule.

That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopolizer of the means of labour, that is, the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political independence.

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means.

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries.

That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries.

That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements. For these reasons—

The International Working Men's Association has been founded. It declares: That all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality.

That it acknowledges **no rights without duties, no duties without rights.**

And in this spirit the following rules have been drawn up.

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries and aiming at the same end; viz, the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

2. The name of the Society shall be "The International Working Men's Association."

3. There shall annually meet a General Working Men's Congress, consisting of delegates of the branches of the Association. The Congress will have to proclaim the common aspirations of the working class, take the measures required for the successful working of the International

Association, and appoint the General Council of the Society.

4. Each Congress appoints the time and place of meeting for the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting. The Congress appoints the seat and elects the members of the General Council annually. The General Council thus elected shall have power to add to the number of its members.

On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the General Council. The latter may, in cases of emergency, convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly terms.

5. The General Council shall consist of working men from the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, etc.

6. The General Council shall form an international agency between the different national and local groups of the Association, so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country; that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that when immediate practical steps should be needed—as for instance, in case of international quarrels—the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies. To facilitate the communications, the General Council shall publish periodical reports.

7. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few

national centres of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.

7a. In its struggle against the collective power of the possessing classes the proletariat can act as a class only by constituting itself a distinct political party, opposed to all the old parties formed by the possessing classes.

This constitution of the proletariat into a political party is indispensable to ensure the triumph of the social Revolution and of its ultimate goal: the abolition of classes.

The coalition of the forces of the working class, already achieved by the economic struggle, must also serve, in the hands of this class, as a lever in its struggle against the political power of its exploiters.

As the lords of the land and of capital always make use of their political privileges to defend and perpetuate their economic monopolies and to enslave labour, the conquest of political power becomes the great duty of the proletariat.

8. Every section has the right to appoint its own secretary corresponding with the General Council.

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

10. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Working Men.

11. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation, the working men's societies joining the International Association will preserve their existent organisations intact.

12. The present rules may be revised by each Congress, provided that two-thirds of the delegates present are in favour of such revision.

13. Everything not provided for in the present rules will be supplied by special regulations, subject to the revision of every Congress.

The original text of the Rules was drawn up by Marx between October 21 and 27, 1864. The final text was published at London in 1871 in the form of a separate pamphlet.

## THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS IN BRITAIN TODAY—continued from page 10

medical auxiliary, and social welfare workers, totalling about 140,000, and primary and secondary school-teachers (about 300,000) must also be included. These salaried employees receive in the main, more than the average labourer, and their conditions of life are easier; they play their part in maintaining the capitalist system.

These members of the lower middle class can not be won for lasting alliance against capitalism. On particular issues, and for certain periods they will unite with the industrial workers, but their position in society always leads them to veer away from permanent alliance. We must influence them, weaken their ties with capitalism and win them during the decisive struggle for power, for without their support capitalism cannot survive.

### The semi-proletariat

Between the proletariat proper, the productive workers, and the petty-bourgeoisie, there are several strata of working people that jointly constitute the semi-proletariat. For example most of the 235,000 hospital nurses, whose conditions have worsened substantially in recent years, fall into this category. So do a large proportion of the 2,300,000 clerical workers. It is true that both Lenin and Mao Tse-tung placed the clerical worker within the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie, but the status of most of these workers has substantially wor-

sened in modern industrial society. The work has been substantially mechanised, women have replaced men in the main, and relative to the industrial worker rates of pay have fallen. All this was foreshadowed by Marx, who wrote in Volume III of Capital:

"The office is from the outset always infinitesimally small compared to the industrial workshop. For the rest, it is clear that the commercial operations increase to the extent that the scale of production is enlarged. There are operations which must be continually performed for the circulation of the industrial capital, in order to sell the product existing in the shape of commodities, and to keep account of the whole. The calculation of prices, book-keeping, managing funds, carrying on the correspondence, all these belong under this head. The more developed the scale of production is the greater, if not in proportion, will be the commercial operations of industrial capital, and consequently the labour and other costs of circulation for the realisation of value and surplus value. This necessitates the employment of commercial wage-workers, who form the office staff. . . . The commercial labourer does not produce any surplus value directly. But the value of his labour is determined by the value of his labour-power, that is, of

its costs of production, while the application of this labour power, its exertion, expression and consumption, the same as in the case of every other wage labourer, is by no means limited by the value of his labour-power. His wages are, therefore, not necessarily in proportion to the mass of profits, which he helps the capitalist to realise. What he costs the capitalist and what he makes for him are two different things. He adds to the income of the capitalist, not by creating any direct surplus value, but by helping him to reduce the costs of the realisation of surplus value. In doing so he performs partly unpaid labour. The commercial labourer, in the strict meaning of the term, belongs to the better paid classes of wage-workers, he belongs to the class of skilled labourers, which is above the average. However, wages have a tendency to fall, even in proportion to the average labourer (my italics, M.McC.) with the advance of the capitalist mode of production. This is due to the fact that, in the first phase, division of labour in the office is introduced. . . . In the second place the necessary preparation, such as the learning of commercial details, languages, etc., is more and more rapidly, easily, generally cheaply reproduced with the progress of science and popular education. . . . The generalisation

## VISIT TO ALBANIA

AT the invitation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, a delegation of 10 members of the C.D.R.C.U. visited Peoples' Albania for two weeks commencing August 10.

On arrival at Tuana Airport, we were most warmly greeted by Comrades Piro Biti and Faiq Zennelli, of the International Department of the C.C., A.P.L. After a short rest in the reception rooms of the airport, our delegation was driven to a large hotel on the outskirts of Durres, on the coast. Here, we met members of other fraternal delegations visiting Peoples' Albania from the Communist Parties of Belgium and Australia, and Marxist-Leninist Groups from many other countries.

In the course of the talks with the comrades of the Central Committee of the A.P.L., a wide range of questions concerning the contemporary British working-class and Communist Movement were covered, and the Albanian comrades were given a full account of the origins and development of the anti-revisionist movement in Britain, including an outline of the history and activities of the C.D.R.C.U. and of the bases of its line and policy. This was followed by a detailed and extremely positive exchange of views and experience, during which the Albanian Comrades asked us many pertinent questions relating to the British working-class and Communist Movement, and expressed full and unreserved agreement with the line and policy of the C.D.R.C.U. The talks closed with a discussion concerning the International Marxist-Leninist Movement main tasks and perspectives of the In- and anti-revisionist struggle, particular reference being made to the steps being taken by the Khrushchevite leading clique in the C.P.S.U. to convene a meeting in December of the "Drafting Commission" in preparation for their factional "World Conference of Communist Parties" to split the International Communist Movement. The Comrades of the Albanian C.C. stressed that the A.P.L. would under no circumstances lend their support to this conference to confirm a split, and would not be represented at it.

Our delegation also made a number of interesting and highly enjoyable visits to various centres and industrial establishments. These included the famous Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Hydro-power stations, and ultra-modern and superbly designed refrigeration plant, and a large and beautifully tended vineyard and vinery. In addition to Tirana, we also visited the towns of Durres, Vloza and Skodra, at which latter we visited a large-capacity copper rolling mill currently under construction with Chinese aid, and equipped wholly with modern machinery of the most advanced design supplied in toto by the Peoples' Republic of China.

When finally, the time came for us to take leave of our hosts who, in the course of our two weeks stay, had shown us so much of the great revolutionary spirit, vigorous enthusiasm in Socialist construction and unbreakable proletarian unity of the Albanian people and their Marxist-Leninist Party, we carried away with us ineradicable memories of the Socialist spirit of the Albanian nation, unconquerable in its revolutionary staunchness despite being surrounded by enemies of all kinds, revisionist and imperialist. We have returned with a greatly strengthened resolve to redouble our efforts to establish a true Communist Party in Britain, and thus to ensure that our own people one day also join hands with the workers of Albania and all other lands in Socialist construction, in a world of peace and plenty for all. M.B.

M.B.

# BRITISH EDUCATION SPONTANEITY

THE educational system of Britain reflects the underlying economic and class structure of this society. It takes the form at present of state primary and secondary schools existing side by side with a private system of preparatory and boarding (public) schools; then there are institutes as well as the various ancillary organisations such as the Workers Educational Association, various summer schools and business schools and the Oxbridge universities are monopolised by the children of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, although a considerable number of children from the latter class go to state schools and the provincial universities. About four-fifths of the school population goes to secondary modern schools and the great bulk of these children are from working class homes, although a certain number come from semi-proletarian white collar worker homes. Unskilled manual workers' children receive the worst treatment and it has been estimated that only about 2 to 3% of this category (the largest) get full time education to the age of 18. The 11 plus examination with its pseudoscientific intelligence testing is the superficially objective way in which children are selected for grammar schooling and the chance of higher education. This method shows a remarkable class bias in operation and only 18% of skilled workers' and 11% of unskilled workers' children are awarded grammar school places. This compares with 54% for children of professional people. Naturally the children of the bourgeoisie are not submitted to this test as money has secured their education by private means.

The educational system as a whole serves two basic functions (1) to train the whole people in general skills such as reading, writing and simple calculation which are necessary because of the economic level of the society; and to train some people in specialist skills (e.g. tradesmen, professional workers etc.); and (2) to inculcate the prevailing bourgeois ideology in terms of individualistic moral and social values and national (world) outlook.

The second named function of education is powerfully backed up and reinforced by what one might call para-educational systems, which include the press, television, radio, advertising, the arts (especially films and literature), the various religious bodies, communal associations (such as boy scouts, British Legion etc.) and the establishment political parties. These various organisations have a vital role to play in help to mould and contain individual and public opinion: they help to carry on and extend the conditioning started in school.

Nevertheless, the educational system does not necessarily perform its functions well even by the standards of bourgeoisie. This leads to controversy among bourgeois and petty bourgeois educationalists. The main criticisms at the present time tend to be that not enough skilled personnel is being trained—only one in five of the million or so annual school leavers gets a job involving any kind of specialist skill—and that this will lead to the gradual decline of Britain as a major industrial power and so on. Their criticism is therefore directed at the 11 plus selection method and the rejection of 4/5 of the school population from any kind of "adequate" secondary schooling. There are also criticisms of public school privilege and "admiss" culture. These radical critics, such as Vaizey, Pedley, Halsey, Hoggart and the Labour Party spokesmen, all see the solution of educational problems in greater investment in education with a comprehensive secondary school system and expanded universities and techs. So far only about 2% of state secondary schools are comprehensive in nature and the bulk of them are in London, Wales and one or two of the larger provincial cities. About one child in twelve receives his schooling at a comprehensive school.

The shallow criticisms of the radicals and their naive belief that Britain can be transformed by an educational change are understandable considering their lack of Marxist education, but this kind of reformist illusion is unforgivable in men styling themselves as Communists for it leads to the ideological disarming of the more militant workers. The leaders and spokesmen of the CPGB (most notoriously Bryan Simon) have the same reformist notions as the radicals—they too see a golden future following from the abolition of the 11-plus and public schools and from a greater public investment in a comprehensive school system, universities and so on (the money gained from unilateral disarmament).

One would agree that such short term aims as the abolition of public schools and the setting up of a complete comprehensive education etc could serve (and do) as political rallying points on the educational front of the class struggle: they are tactical issues. Yet no true Marxist-Leninist must harbour the delusion that an alteration in the FORM of education in this society will bring a true socialist educational system one whit nearer. The CONTENT of education must be changed as well as the form . . . besides quantitative changes in the number and types of

specialists trained, there must be a qualitative change in the ideology promulgated. Moreover this ideological change must extend to the para-educational systems of mass communications and the arts. In brief, the socialist education system proper can only come from the establishing of a socialist state, which in turn can only be brought into being by the revolutionary seizure of state power by the proletariat.

Under capitalism a complete comprehensive system of schools could well be legislated into being to replace the Grammar/Modern school system; public schools could even be integrated into this system—but this would not alter the fact that this educational system, in the ideology it taught, would still serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. The egalitarian appearance would be superficial as university and job selection would still have an overwhelming class bias: moreover, because of their class advantages bourgeois and petty bourgeois children would perform better than their working class contemporaries, by and large, in examinations. Those working class children who did gain academic distinction would undergo ideological conditioning, and this coupled with their economic advance would lead to them changing their class. This does happen today on a considerable scale and with a complete comprehensive system it would happen on a somewhat larger scale.

This change to a comprehensive school system would be analogous to the setting up of a bourgeois republic in this country. The constitutional monarchy is not essential to capitalism: it is a mere form it happens to take in this country. So with the present education system.

These considerations also reveal that there are non-essential antagonisms between various sectors of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie—and these antagonisms show up, in such matters as attitudes to the monarchy, public schools and private medicine and so on. A politician of the parliamentary left can sound very radical in his attacks on certain forms capitalism takes . . . he will talk of the need for "modernisation" and so on, often couching his language in pseudo socialist terms but what he is seeking is only a new, efficient, "humane" form for capitalism. What we Marxist-Leninists must work for is the final utter destruction of the capitalist state and its replacement by the workers' state.

PAUL NOONE

EVERYTHING past and present has done more to confirm Marx's prophetic statement, "That when Capitalism goes down, it will be with its teeth firmly embedded in the entrails of the organised working class."

To enter the plea of "nuclear weapons" in order to negate the above statement is a betrayal of the fundamental principles of the working class; a betrayal that appeases Capitalism. Thus we are reduced to Marxist slogans with the virility withdrawn, Marxism emasculated, or as Lenin aptly described it, "Legal Marxism."

To show the misuse of the Workers Press by the present leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain, it is only necessary to examine one year's issue of the *Daily Worker*. One looks in vain for any critical analysis of the international scene.

To allow for this very serious short-coming extensive quotes are made from readily available sources of the international Capitalist information bureaus. [bolstered in plenty by the urging to enter the economic struggle].

In short, the present leadership of the C.P.G.B. have proven themselves incapable of a true class analysis of the world situation. To further aggravate matters, their incapacity reflects itself in their attitude to domestic issues. That pathetic document, "The British Road to Socialism," is presented as a Marxist analysis and solution to the British Working Class, but it is in fact so Fabian in content that one wonders if the lot was written by Professor Harold Laski, G. D. H. Cole or any other of the group that was responsible for many Fabian works. Did not Lenin say, "THAT WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY THEORY THERE CAN BE NO REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT." Selected works, vol I, pp163. Moscow 1947.

To grind insult into injury, the present leadership of the C.P.G.B. add another name to their "revolutionary" tract, they call it Marxist-Leninist. Perhaps, like so many before, they are looking in vain for that third ideology. That was disproved by Lenin, pp175 same volume, when he said: "Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement the only choice is: either the bourgeois or the Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a third ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above class ideology). Hence to belittle the Socialist ideology IN ANY WAY, TO TURN AWAY FROM IT IN THE SLIGHTEST DEGREE means to strengthen bourgeois ideology. There is a lot of talk about spontaneity, but the SPONTANEOUS development of the labour movement leads to its becoming subordinate to the bourgeois ideology, LEADS TO ITS DEVELOPING ACCORDING TO THE PROGRAMME OF THE CREDO, for the spontaneous labour unionism. Is NUR-GEWERKSCHAFT-LEREI, and trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers to the bourgeoisie. Hence our task, the task of Social-Democracy, is to COMBAT SPONTANEITY, to DIVERT the labour movement from its spontaneous trade unionist striving to go under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of revolutionary Social-Democracy. The phrases employed by the authors of the "economic" letter in ISKRA, No. 12, about the efforts of

the most inspired ideologists not being able to divert the labour movement from the path that is determined by the interaction of the material elements and the material environment, ARE TANTAMOUNT TO THE ABANDONMENT OF SOCIALISM, and if only the authors of this letter were capable of fearlessly considering what they say to its logical conclusion, as every one that enters the arena of literary and public activity should do. They would have nothing to do but "fold their useless arms over their empty breasts" and . . . leave the field of action to [those] who are dragging the labour movement "along the line of least resistance," i.e., along the line of bourgeois trade unionism, or to [those] who are dragging it along the line of clerical and gendarme "ideology."

The "Committee to Defeat Revisionism" has persistently exposed the present leadership of the C.P.G.B., in their endeavours to make the C.P. a radical appendage of the Labour Party. I think that it is worth repeating here that the Labour Party exist in order to tighten the ideological reigns of the Capitalist system, not to destroy it. How does this compare with Lenin's statement, pp158, vol. I, Selected Works, Moscow?

"The rupture, of course, did not occur because the "allies" proved to be bourgeois democrats. On the contrary, the representatives of the latter tendency were the natural and desirable allies of Social-Democracy in so far as its democratic tasks that were brought to the front by the prevailing situation in Russia were concerned. But an essential condition for such an alliance must be complete liberty for Socialists to reveal to the working class that its interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the bourgeoisie. However, the Bernsteinian and critical tendency, to which the majority of the "Legal Marxists" turned, deprived the Socialists of this liberty and corrupted Socialist consciousness by vulgarising Marxism, by preaching and toning down of social antagonisms, by declaring the idea of the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat to be absurd, by restricting the labour movement and the class struggle to narrow trade unionism and to a "realistic" struggle for petty, gradual reforms.

"This was tantamount to the bourgeois democrats denial of Socialism's right to independence and, consequently, of its right to existence; in practice it meant a striving to convert the nascent labour movement into an appendage of the liberals."

There is no doubt that when the present leadership of the C.P.G.B. chose to follow a line so opposed to the principles of Leninism, and in the process emasculated Marxism, they chose to carry a can, one so large and leaky that they can easily be drenched in their own calumnies and lies.

ALF CROSS

## For a New Trade Union Strategy

by Arnaldo Bressan.

The contradiction between the revisionist line of the P.C.I. leadership and the revolutionary requirements of its working class base is becoming more and more apparent. The attitude of the revisionist leaders towards the Moscow Congress, for example, proves, in spite of their "wisdom" and "autonomy," their fear of the aggravation of the anti-revisionist ferment inside the Party, and the development and consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist movement throughout the country. To the extent that, conforming to the purest social democratic tradition, the revisionist leaders abandon the direction and organisation of the workers' struggles to the TUs, to that extent does it become clearer and clearer to the masses and their vanguard of the need, also subjective, for a new political organisation.

The fact that neither the P.C.I. nor the TUs, confronted by the general line of the monopoly capitalists, are able to counterpose a general line for the workers; the fact that neither the P.C.I. nor the TUs, in face of the capitalist attack, are able to offer the working masses an adequate defence; the fact that the working class is becoming more and more conscious of this weakness renders our intervention in struggles not only possible but necessary, through the construction and development of our organisation at the place of work.

This poses the question: how do we

intervene? Answering this question means asking more general questions. How can the working class meet the general capitalist attack, and annihilate it? What must be its general line, its objectives, its tactics, and who are its allies? What are its strong points and what are its contradictions? Replying to these questions, we will have also defined the general character of our intervention, and its particular and immediate characteristics.

What can be the general line of the working class, able to defeat the general line of the capitalist class and its monopolies? The overall mobilisation and unity of the working masses under the guidance of a new political organisation; the alliance of the working class, under its leadership, with all strata and sections of the working population hit by the general attack of the monopolies and their government, and the utilisation of all the contradictions and weak points of the enemy.

The immediate demands of the working class are obvious; but the only way they will be achieved is when they are fought for in a general way by the entire working class. To beat individual capitalists, factory by factory and sector by sector, we need to beat them as a whole, to vanquish the monopolies and their government, and to defeat the capitalist plan inside and outside the factories. This is the condition necessary for the success of the struggle for the immediate demands of the working masses.

The capitalists move as a class, both inside and outside the factories. Only by correspondingly moving as a class, as a compact social mass both inside and outside the factories can the workers defend themselves against the attacks of the capitalists. And it is only through the adoption of a new central class policy, which is Marxism-Leninism, that the workers can attain such a new unity.

The workers' individual and local struggles must be part of unified strategy and tactics. Their demands cannot be won without mass actions: strikes, occupation of factories, street demonstrations leading up to decisive actions like those of July 1960. It is in these actions where we link up and unify all our demands, that the working class realises that unity is indispensable to fight and defeat the capitalists. It is in this way that the construction of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist workers' party becomes accepted as an objective and also subjective necessity, without which the working masses and their vanguard have no weapon with which to meet the general capitalist attack and defeat it.

We must not delude ourselves that at the present moment, we can guide and determine the result of a large class encounter, but it is to the extent that objective needs become subjective that our intervention in struggles will become ever more possible and necessary.

(Translated from *Nuova Unità* of September.)

### PLEASE NOTE

THE address 41 Scrutton Street, London, E.C.2, is no longer used by the C.D.R.C.U. or by *Vanguard*.

# THE FACTS ABOUT JAGAN

It is to be regretted that there were a number of errors in the previous material, e.g., the bottom of page 10 after "has played a big part in producing," please delete the whole paragraph from "The British Government's Robertson" to "Marxist-Leninists in the Party." This whole paragraph should appear as the beginning of this present article. On page 11, third column, third paragraph, it should read "In the early 1900s," not 1960s.

THE British Government's Robertson Commission Report of 1954 set out to whitewash their ignominy and to further divide the people; to create the base for neo-colonialism. They labelled P.P.P. leaders as *moderates*, which included Burnham and others—and *Extremists*, which included the Jagans and the Marxist-Leninists in the party.

Firstly, Burnham and his followers split from the P.P.P. in 1955, forming another P.P.P. which eventually changed its name to the P.N.C.

Secondly, the Marxist-Leninists in the P.P.P. were now pressing for (a) general reorganisation of the party to develop a more ideological following; (b) a general discussion and decision on the question of the West Indian Federation.

Jagan and his small clique without considering the objective conditions, the party, and the Guyana Liberation movement as a whole, and due to pressure from the right wing and racists within the P.P.P., to which he and his small clique pandered, would have no proper discussion on these matters and were only prepared to baldly state that the party accepted Federation in principle and when we are independent we will have a plebiscite. Of course this did nothing to expose the sentiments expressed by the right wing and racists within the P.P.P. which was that if we join the West Indies Federation the black people are going to rule us. The evil and pernicious Apan Jhaat slogan was at work. When this became generally known Burnham's party, and especially the racists among its members, were adopting a similar opposite attitude.

Thirdly, Jagan, at the same time as he was pandering to the right wing and racists within the party attacked the Marxist-Leninists. During 1955-56 he wrote about them—and it found its way into the press—as left-wing communists suffering from infantile communist disorders, ultra-leftists, extremists, etc. In the opinion of the left-wing in Guyana at that time, AND MORE SO NOW, he was not only pandering to the right wing and racists within the party but was also pandering to the imperialist intrigues of the Robertson Report and unknowingly ushering in the base for Neo-Colonialism in Guyana. He repeated these same anti-Marxist statements at Conway Hall on 4th November 1963—then as now he is guilty of the most criminal blunders and the workers and history WILL NOT ABSOLVE HIM.

Within the P.P.P. organisational democracy became obsolete and racism based on the Jagan clique's bureaucracy became the dominant factor. Under these circumstances the majority (98%) of the Marxist-Leninists were either chucked out of the party or left and have joined no other party, but now, some have organised and are building a new party organisation that will undertake the Guyana National Liberation Struggle in the national interest.

The P.P.P. today is a 95% Guyanese of East Indian origin dominated party comprising agricultural workers, semi-proletariat, some large and small capitalists and the leadership is riddled from top to bottom with left and right opportunists who are unknowingly or knowingly ushering in total Anarchy and Neo-Colonialism while masquerading as Socialists and some even admitting publicly to be Communists.

The P.N.C. today is a 95% Guyanese of African and some Mixed Race origin, dominated party comprising mining, transport, general industrial proletariat, some white-collar workers, civil servants (middle class) and the leadership professes to be socialist—they claim to be like the Labour Party of England type socialists—who, like the P.P.P. is knowingly or unknowingly ushering in total Anarchy and Neo-Colonialism while masquerading as Socialists.

The United Force led by Peter D'Aguiar a Guyanese of Portuguese origin, millionaire businessman and a number of other wealthy businessmen of all sections of the society ARE DEFINITELY SUPPORTED BY THE FOREIGN RULING CLASS, by IMPERIALISM and particularly U.S. Imperialism and its C.I.A. and other agents. This group is comprised of Guyanese of the Local Upper Class and developing national bourgeoisie mainly from the European, Portuguese, Chinese and Mixed Race sections of the society but also have the support of some misguided workers. It is very important to mention here that the U.F. have only been able to win 4 seats, 16% of the votes cast at the 1961 General Elections because of the criminal divisions caused by the present left and social democratic opportunist leadership of Jagan and Burnham in the workers movement.

The P.P.P. the P.N.C. and the U.F.

have all pandered to imperialism, to sectionalism and thus to racism in one form or another and we know that a period of serious reorganisation is necessary but even more vitally necessary is the safeguarding of internal peace, the ending of anarchy and the creation of a united front of struggle against the main enemy British, American and World Imperialism.

General Elections in 1957 and 1961 were clearly undertaken on a communal basis regardless of the window dressing of multi-racial candidates put up by the parties.

There developed in 1961-62 a racist—Guyanese of African origin—organisation calling itself the Association for Racial Equality (A.S.R.E.) led by Sydney King, a person who has hedge-hopped from



the P.P.P. and the P.N.C. This organisation has put forward an evil proposal of PARTITIONING THE COUNTRY INTO THREE PARTS.

Within the last three months it has been reliably reported in the press that some 5,000 Guyanese of East Indian origin have petitioned the Governor for the partitioning of the country also.

GUYANESE GENERALLY WOULD STRUGGLE TO THE DEATH AGAINST PARTITION AS NEARLY EVERYONE SEES THIS AS A MOST REACTIONARY PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD BY PERSONS WHO HAVE DEGENERATED AND HAVE BECOME REACTIONARY.

## THE TRAITOR'S ROLE PLAYED BY THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP

The government party the P.P.P., posing nationally and internationally as a party with socialist leadership have continuously committed the most criminal blunders and finally in a most irresponsible and tragic manner called in the imperialist enemy's troops to safeguard their own position. The Opposition P.N.C. who also claims to have socialist leadership is opportunistic and virulently anti-socialist, anti-communist and behave in a manner purely in opposition to the P.P.P. Government and is very destructive in its efforts. As mentioned before, the U.F. is composed in the main of sections of the Local Upper Class and developing national bourgeoisie and is the agent of the Foreign ruling and Imperialism.

These leaders Jagan and Burnham and D'Aguiar, the agent of the Imperialists and nine others came to independence talks in London in October 1963, completely disunited. They completely ignored the noble Guyanese proposals for a United Front of struggle against Imperialism for National Independence based on a FIVE-POINTS DECLARATION AND DEMAND which still remains and represents a sound basis for national discussion which will eventually bring about internal peace. Instead they wrote the following letter to the imperialists, the common enemy of our people.

"To: H.M. Government, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Sir,

At your request we have made further efforts to resolve the differences between us on the constitutional issues which require to be settled before British Guiana secures independence, in particu-

lar, the electoral system, the voting age, and the question whether fresh elections should be held before independence.

We regret to have to report to you that we have not succeeded in reaching agreement; and we have reluctantly come to the conclusion that there is no prospect of an agreed solution. Another adjournment of the Conference for further discussions between ourselves would therefore serve no useful purpose and would result only in further delaying British Guyana's independence and in continued uncertainty in the country.

In these circumstances we are agreed to ask the British Government to settle on their own authority all outstanding constitutional issues, and we undertake to accept their decisions.

Signed: Cheddi Jagan,  
L. F. S. Burnham,  
P. S. D'Aguiar."  
25th October, 1963.

(Italics our emphasis.)

This traitorous letter was written in the face of protests and demonstrations by Guyanese (totalling over 24, nearly all of whom are workers) in front of Lancaster House, London, the venue of the independence talks. These two leaders collaborated with the imperialist agent D'Aguiar, not in the interest of the Guyanese Workers and people but

sense of the people) to discuss the colonial problems and find solutions? After all is it not the workers and the people generally who are suffering at the hands of imperialism and the leaders' fanatics, at the hands of the intrigues and actions of C.I.A. and other imperialist agents in Guyana?

Is it not because the leaders are afraid of the workers' and peoples' criticisms and are holding on for dear life to the crumbs of imperialism, the perks of the bogus constitution and the fanatics that surround them and do their evil bidding for the "perks" they receive?

But let us not lay charges against the present leadership without substantiating them, and here we give just a few examples of the traitors' statements made by them for you to judge for yourself.

## ON THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN IMPERIALIST TROOPS

When the P.P.P. and its socialist (sic!) leadership called in the imperialist enemy's troops in 1962, and more in 1963; Guyanese protested and demanded their withdrawal. What did the P.P.P. say?

"They were unwelcome only to those who did not desire a return to normalcy and were bent on promoting disorder and hatred in Guyana. The calling in of British troops involved nothing more than the invocation of the constitutional powers of the British Government. . . . The P.P.P. has always been and remains opposed to the stationing of foreign troops on the soil of British Guyana." . . . etc.

P.P.P. Mirror, Sept. 29th, 1963.

We say that this is a lot of traitorous double talk and displays a complete lack of understanding of the nature of the main enemy, imperialism. We ask! Since when has the troops of our oppressors, the main enemy of the workers and people, become so peace-loving that they can help the oppressed workers and people struggling against them to restore law and order? Did they in the Congo, Korea, Laos, Vietnam and now Cyprus? The troops called in by Jagan and the P.P.P. are there against the interest of the workers and people—against Guyanese national interest.

They are now playing their true role, to support the Governor and the Foreign Ruling Class clique to stamp out all militancy in the Guyana National Liberation Movement. They are the armed power (violence) behind the colonial governor's dictatorial rule. Have they not arrested and thrown in jail over 40 Guyanese from among P.P.P. and P.N.C. members? Have they yet touched their local agent D'Aguiar and his fanatics?

Jagan and the blind men of the P.P.P. must accept blame for this insane blunder, and it is of no value whatsoever to ask, as they usually do, what do you want us to do, because it is directly the comedy of errors year after year that has brought us to this sorry state, and the Guyanese workers and people are not likely to forget this very easily. Never in the history of "socialist leadership of the working class" against imperialism has this ever been witnessed.

Let us turn to the U.S. National Broadcasting Company Press Conference of the Air, Sunday October 15th, 1961, and examine the discussion held between L. E. Spivak, others, and Dr. Jagan.—pages 2 & 3, Volume 5, No. 40.

Mr. Spivak: You say you are a Socialist, and you have stated on a number of occasions that you are a Marxist. Will you tell us in what fundamental way, for example, your Marxism differs from the Marxism of Communism.

Dr. Jagan: I have been a student of people like Professor Laski. I have been greatly influenced by his writings, and in this sense I have said on several occasions that I believe in Marxism. I am a Socialist in the sense that I believe that the means of production should be in the hands of the state—public ownership of the means of production, exchange and distribution, which will result in greater distribution of wealth in favour of the poor and also will mean the participation of the people themselves in the whole process of government—in the administration, in factories, in other levels of government.

Mr. Spivak: Mr. Prime Minister, you seem to be avoiding a direct answer on some of these questions. The Communists of the Soviet Union insist that they are democrats also, that theirs is a real democracy. What we would like to get, and what is important, I think, for the people in this country to know, is where you stand on some of these issues, because you have been quoted as saying in some of your speeches in the past, for example, "My idea was to show the members of this Council that in theory Socialism and Communism are the same." That is why I ask you, where do you stand on this fundamental division in the world today between Communism and western democracy?

continued on page 14

# Ideology and methods of work

At our national conference, six comrades disagreed with the decision on the ideological differences. Each of them, however, stated they did not agree with the methods used by the Soviet leaders in using state measures against China and Albania. But they could not agree that erroneous methods of work were an indicator of incorrect ideology. Because this question is a very vital one for all Communists and has a very great significance for the development of our work in New Zealand, it is raised in this discussion.

There is an old injunction: "Judge a man by his deeds, not by words." It has a sound basis in Marx's introduction to his "Critique of Political Economy." Marx says: "Our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself." So also in our Party we have said many times in connection with our struggle to consciously remould ourselves: "We are not what we think we are; we are what our practice (our actions) prove us to be." Consequently when we observe in the practice of other comrades or ourselves, bureaucratic methods, commandism, "my kingdom" attitude, intolerance, arrogance, steamroller tactics, a "know-all" attitude, inability to delegate responsibility, etc., we are able to recognise such manifestations as hangovers of bourgeois individualism.

No matter how earnestly we may wish to serve the Party and the class, we cannot help but harm the cause so long as our ideological condition precludes us from seeing and correcting the errors in our practice. One may be able to talk at length on the mass line method of work. But unless one understands its roots, that it is a necessity (a law) of Party development, and consciously tries to make one's practice conform to that law, one cannot but fall repeatedly into bourgeois methods of work, leadership and organisation which creates a road block to building the Party.

The method of work disclosed by the Soviet leaders in using economic pressure against socialist countries to force them to accept an anti-Marxist-Leninist position was not confined to the cutting off of aid and the withdrawal of experts in the case of Albania and China. The wrong method of work are evident in a whole series of actions. Here are some:—

The unilateral action in regard to Yugoslavia in breach of the 81 Parties' Statement.

The action in supplying arms and armament factories and missile sites to India who had committed aggression against China.

The breaking off of diplomatic relations with Albania.

The open attack on Albania at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. which sparked off the public polemics.

The justification of public polemics as a correct Marxist-Leninist method on this and other occasions.

The frantic concern at the continuation of public polemics today and the demand for their immediate cessation.

The presentation of only the views of the Soviet leaders to the Soviet Party membership.

The committal of Cuba in negotiations without consultation with Cuba.

The absence of self-criticism in the connection with the so-called exposure of Stalin.

The one-sided and complete negation of Stalin.

The intolerance of and failure to examine criticism.

The use of the occasion of the Bucharest

Congress to launch an attack on the Chinese Party before fraternal delegates.

Ignoring the free equal and independent status of fraternal parties.

Failure to make use of the procedure laid down for settling disputes.

Unilateral formulations affecting world Parties without consultation.

The subjective reaction to principled criticism and the failure to substantiate theoretically their replies to such criticism.

Unilateral breach of the world Parties' decisions and Appeal to the Peoples of the World for priority in the banning of nuclear weapons.

All these and many other actions of Soviet leaders are on record for all who care to verify. They make a clear pattern of contradiction with Marxist-Leninist methods of work. They offend against the principles of collective discussion and decision and are a radical break with the proletarian class stand, the historical materialist viewpoint (that masses are the makers of history) and the dialectical method of thinking—which constitute the main content of proletarian ideology. On the contrary, are they not a very clear illustration of bourgeois individualism in the ideological outlook of these leaders? The philosophical roots of bourgeois individualism are found in subjective idealism.

Consequently, does it not become clear that these leaders' actions show them to be neither materialist nor dialectical in their world outlook? Does this not lead to the conclusion that the actions referred to are not mere accidental mistakes, but are the result of the ideological departure of the Soviet leaders from the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism? Is this not the explanation of the vacillations and inconsistency which marks the policy, speeches and actions of the Soviet leaders and their inability to consistently adhere to and rely upon the revolutionary principles that permeate the basic documents of the world Communist movement?

Consequently, should we be surprised that in their hands the struggle against the so-called "cult of the individual" has turned into its opposite and now exposes to public view the naked, ugly, bourgeois individualism of its originators?

## LEFT SECTARIANISM AND DOGMATISM

We have dealt so far with right wing manifestations of bourgeois ideology within Communist Parties and the world movement. This is correct because, as the world Parties' documents stress: "Revisionism remains the main danger." But the 81 Parties' Statement also emphasises the need to conduct determined struggle against opportunism on two fronts—against revisionism and against dogmatism and sectarianism. It is necessary for all comrades to give close attention to section six of the 81 Parties' Statement (page 55 and following) which deals with the dangers of both aspects.

Our Party has much experience of the serious losses which arise from dogmatism

According to the P.P.P. *Mirror* of 4.8.63, "Guarantee Treaty will Rid Fears." Dr. Jagan has said that "a guarantee treaty should lay to rest the fears of this country. . . . That its territorial integrity and sovereignty should be guaranteed by treaty with the great powers." He quoted Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and Cyprus, and went on, "Similarly under the Cyprus Treaty the U.K., Greece and Turkey guarantee and undertake to ensure the maintenance of the independence, territorial integrity and security of Cyprus. A Treaty somewhat along these lines . . . should reassure those sections of public opinion who need to be reassured and the governments who are opposing independence for British Guyana."

We say that we do not believe at all that the Cypriot workers and people were pleased with the treaty they have had, which they have now abrogated.

Jagan on the Test Ban Treaty: "I welcome the nuclear test ban agreement reached last week in Moscow between the Soviet Union, Britain and the U.S.A. and which brings to an end nuclear testing by these powers in the atmosphere and under water. I welcome this treaty not because it has achieved much but because it might be a first step towards complete disarmament. It is clear that only the vast resources released by disarmament can provide aid on the scale necessary to bring about an increase in the rate of growth of the poorer parts of the world. . . . Diminished world tension might well lead to a greater

and left sectarian trends in our Party approach. We know they are still manifested in much of our work. We also know that many workers do not regard left sectarianism as an expression of bourgeois ideology. Too often it is regarded as a correct expression of a militant proletarian outlook. For this very reason we must pay serious attention to its manifestations in our approach and methods. Unless we do so we will not be able to take full advantage of the favourable conditions for the building of the Communist Party, extend our influence among the industrial workers and assist the building of the

broadest movements of the people against foreign monopoly (imperialism) and for peace.

As with right trends, so also with left sectarianism, the only way to overcome them is the struggle against them within the Party itself. And that struggle can be successful only if we constantly raise our ideological level and deepen our ability to expose the bourgeois ideological roots of both manifestations of opportunism.

Reprinted from *National Inner-Party discussion material of the Communist Party of New Zealand, April, 1964.*

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Mao Tse-Tung

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## continued from page 13

Dr. Jagan: Let me put it this way. There is, in my view, a difference between politics and economics. In the political field my objective obviously is national independence for my country. In the economic field, I am wedded, dedicated to parliamentary democracy. In the economic field I do not believe in capitalism. I do not believe that free enterprise, which may have been wonderful for, say, the United States of America, will in present circumstances develop either my country or an underdeveloped country in the world generally. . . .

We say that Dr. Jagan has been masquerading as a Socialist for too long, it is clear that he doesn't even understand the basic ABC fundamentals of scientific socialism and does not even behave before the imperialist propaganda machinery like a dedicated nationalist.

*Labour Monthly*, Sept. 1963. Jagan: "British Guyana may well decide whether the road to the future will be peaceful or violent. For many years, long before the advent of Premier Khrushchev, the P.P.P. has been advocating the peaceful parliamentary road to Socialism."

Jagan and other members of the P.P.P. have also been dabbling in a most disastrous manner in international affairs and have brought Guyana into direct conflict with the correct line being carried forward by revolutionary workers' governments. Even before Guyana gains its independence he wants to tie our hands in a treaty with the big imperialist powers.

movement of private capital into the underdeveloped countries." *Mirror*, 4.8.63.

P.P.P. *Mirror* Editorial, 4.8.63: "The Test Ban Treaty to be signed in Moscow tomorrow by Russia, the United States and Britain, must be regarded not only as an important political event and an historical turning point in East-West relations, but also as a triumph for socialism and peaceful coexistence."

On the India-China Border Dispute: "There can be no justification of the Chinese invasion of India. But truth and justice will hold out and India shall be the victor. British Guyana is far away from the battlefield, but the people are sympathetic and can appreciate how grievous is the struggle." Dr. Fenton Ramsahoye, Attorney General, a Member and Minister in the P.P.P. Government. *Graphic*, 28.1.63.

We say this was clear pandering to Guyanese of Indian origin and this address was delivered at the celebrations of the Independence of India. The P.P.P. did not utter a single word against this vicious slander until ten months after.

George Bowman, Parliamentary Secretary, P.P.P. *Thunder*, October 1963—India/China Border question: "When the issue first raised its ugly head the P.P.P. took up a peculiar policy—peculiar only to our enemies. But we thought this was right and proper in the circumstances, we worked towards bringing about a settlement in the dispute. For we felt the following: That the spirit of Bandung would be destroyed. . . . That

the leadership of India in South-East Asia would be shaken and socialism would have suffered a great setback."

There are a number of other extremely serious matters that can be exposed; like the brand of "socialism" being peddled by Richard Hart, a P.P.P. socialist and editor of *Mirror*, in his book, *What is Socialism*, which we have re-named *Hart's Disease*, and denounced as rubbish.

But before we leave the "socialists (sic!)" of the P.P.P., let us examine finally what Jagan had to say after he had sold the workers' movement out and the imperialist enemy given a blank cheque to do whatever they liked. They have set up a Colonial Governor's Dictatorship, raped the country of its constitutional government authority, and with the backing of thousands of British troops are arresting and imprisoning without charge or trial.

Having given our imperialist enemy the blank cheque, which encouraged all this, what did Jagan have to say, according to the G.I.S. No. 42 Bulletin: "For my part, I am disappointed because I felt that good sense would have prevailed and that the opportunity would have been taken by the Secretary of State to heal racial differences and bring our peoples together, and a compromise solution put forward. I did not expect a complete and utter capitulation to the Opposition and to the United States. I would normally have resigned in protest but I have been persuaded to remain in office."

to be continued

# From County Durham TO THE CHARTISTS OF WALES

## FLOWERS AND SLAVES

I SAW the bonny flowers of May  
In beauty bloom before me,  
And verdant fields were spangled gay  
With Summer's tints of glory.

The varied songsters of the grove  
Were tuning notes of gladness,  
And azure skies were clear above  
Of hazy clouds of sadness.

The god of love seem'd joying o'er  
His wondrous works before us,  
And Nature seem'd to own his power  
In universal chorus.

But midst the beauty and the light  
Of Summer's bright creation,  
There burst upon my pallid sight  
A nation's lamentation.

A starving tiller of the soil,  
His bread—a *Whig oration*—  
A starving host of sons of toil—  
A bleeding, captive nation!

The demon groan of ghastly want,  
Like Etna's muffled thunder,  
Was rumbling in its hollow vault  
To tear restraints asunder.

I ask'd the daisy on the lea  
The cowslip gently kneeling,  
The skylark, with its nature glee,  
The cloudless sky of evening—

I ask'd them why they bloom'd so fair,  
And smil'd so sweetly round us;  
And man, the sweetest flower there  
Was wither'd, sad, and homeless.

Alas! they could not answer why  
The hearth should e'er be blasted;  
Or hopes, descending from on high,  
Should vainly there have rested.

I turned away from fields so gay,  
From man, so lorn and blighted,  
And lonely knelt me down to pray  
That England's wrongs be righted.

Before the zephyr's gentle breeze  
My raven locks parted;  
And midst the solitary trees  
I wept for FRIENDS DEPARTED!

To see the plunder'd son of toil  
Forsake his ruin'd cot,  
And tearing from the thief his spoil,  
Leave palace worms to rot—

To see the mother in her pride  
Hurl lightning on the foe,  
And blush to think her baby died  
A famish'd child of woe—

To hear the rolling battle drum  
Exulting beat to arms,  
And see the flash of freedom's gun,  
Dispel a world's alarms—

My very heart would bound again!  
To God I'd bend the knee,  
For 'peace on earth—good will to men'  
Would beam upon the free.

To free my land, my ardent soul,  
My very arm would try—  
And down my burning cheek would roll  
A rebel tear of joy!

*The Northern Star, May 16, 1840*

*From Bishop Auckland, Co. Durham*

## FROM CORNWALL

### ONE AND ALL

"ONE and all," is Cornwall's cry—  
One and all, let us reply;  
Hand to hand, and heart to heart,  
Let us act a nation's part;  
Let us free our native isle  
From the rule of despots vile;  
And send apostles o'er the world  
With the Chartist flag unfurl'd.

One and all, let us proclaim  
He who bears a bondman's name,  
And seeketh not to cleanse its shame  
Deserves to live in scorn, and die  
With the vilest things that lie  
Groveling on their mother earth,  
'Midst the spawn which gave them  
birth.  
Earth will curse the dastard grave  
Of the mean and cringing slave.

One and all! let tyrants quail  
Now that sound is on the gale.  
Who dare meet a nation's frown?  
Who can keep a nation down?  
Millions claim their rights as men,  
Millions brave corruption's den,  
Millions shout, from sea to sea,  
"One and all," we will be free!

*The Northern Star, June 25, 1842*

## To the Chartists of Shropshire

"In the spring of 1842, the colliers and iron-workers of South Shropshire were amongst the firmest and foremost advocates of our beloved Charter. Is the Spirit of Democracy dead amongst them now, or only sleepeth it? I would in the following lines call upon them to awake, arise, and again unfurl the banner of Freedom! All England is moving; will Shropshire stand alone, silent and mute?"

RAISE the Chartist banner high,  
Plant it in the Wrekin,<sup>1</sup>  
Let its mottoes proudly fly,  
To the tyrant speaking.  
Agitate each wooded vale,  
Agitate each village;  
Show the wife and orphan pale,  
How the factions pillage.  
Leave no spot in Shropshire wide  
Until it owns the Charter;  
Spare the man who would divide  
Your ranks, or freedom barter.  
Prove that in each vein now runs  
The British blood of old;  
And that—crushing freedom's foes  
Ye dare be firm, and bold.  
Cease not in your noble cause,  
Until you freedom gain;  
And liberty, and equal laws,  
Are England's own again.  
Then bear the Chartist flag once more,  
O'er mountain stream and vale;  
A cause like your's, so bright and pure,  
Is never doom'd to fail.

*The Northern Star, May 27, 1843*

<sup>1</sup> The highest hill in the Midlands; it is situated a few miles from Wellington, Salop, and is 1320 feet above the level of the sea.

"An inquest was held upon the body of a little girl, aged five years, who died from starvation on the roadside near Llangefni, North Wales, last week. It appears that her father was unable to procure employment, and had applied to the relieving officer in the parish, who gave him one shilling, and told him to be off about his business, and not trouble him again. The consequence was that the father had nothing to give to his children, one of whom died for want of proper food.

*The Northern Star, May 6, 1843*

ANOTHER soul hath winged its way,  
To God's bright seat on high:  
Another heart is Mammon's prey,  
And ye stand tamely by!

Where is the Cambrian blood that flowed in Howell's<sup>1</sup> veins?  
Where are the men of old who burst the tyrant's chains?

Is liberty a farce?  
Is justice but a name?  
And must each pen, alas!  
But chronicle your shame?

Oh if Llewellyn<sup>2</sup> came from out his lonely tomb,  
Would he not weep to see, his much loved Cambria's doom?

Would he not curse the slaves,  
That kiss the blood-red hand?  
That forms their children's grave,  
And desolates their land?

Would he not wish your hills were sunk beneath the sea,  
Since ye no longer are worthy a heritage so free?

Oh! can you see your children,  
The innocent, the pure,  
Stricken down by wicked men,  
And still their yoke endure?

Can ye see your native land, beneath the despot's thrall  
And not awake! arise! at freedom's earnest call?

O, Cambrians! your sires  
Call on ye from their graves;  
If lived their wonted fires  
Ye would not long be slaves.

They bid ye to unfurl the Chartist flag again,  
They bid ye bear it onward o'er mountain, hill, and plain

Rise from your slumber!  
O! rise from your sleep!  
Millions in number,  
Why crouch ye and weep?

England is waiting ye; tyranny flies;  
Hark! hark! to the summons, awake and arise!!

*The Northern Star, June 10, 1843*

<sup>1</sup> A famous Welsh chieftain, the friend of Llewellyn.

<sup>2</sup> The last of the Welsh princes. He was taken, bravely defending his country, by Edward I and executed in London.

## THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT

THE great Chartist movement in the industrial centres of England, Scotland and Wales, was the first independent struggle of the working class aimed at conquering political power in order to end capitalist exploitation and misery. The three great waves of mass struggle, in 1839, 1842, and 1848, failed largely because the understanding of the Chartist leaders was unequal to their task. But the struggles of the people in those grim years will always remain an inspiration to those who aim to achieve their central goal—the conquest of political power, and the ending of the exploitation of man by man. The determination to engage in mass struggle which emerges from the poems of the rank and file Chartists contrasts strongly with the arguments of the majority of the Chartist leaders that socialism could be won through Parliament. The lesson for us today is clear.

### TO: VANGUARD

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33 Anson Road  
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# UNITY, DISCUSSION, UNITY

IN this present epoch imperialism is decaying and disintegrating under the blows of workers and peasants throughout the world, and a new Socialist system is emerging from the ruins of the old order, and steadily gaining in strength. Each changing situation requires careful analysis by Communists, whose duty it is to give a correct lead to the working class and all working people in this struggle against imperialism, and in particular United States imperialism, the main bulwark of reaction throughout the world.

Capitalism, in its final, imperialist stage, is international, worldwide, in its operations. Necessarily, therefore, the working peoples of the world, and their vanguard parties, the Communist parties, must co-ordinate their actions on an international basis. Each Communist Party must learn from the experience of all—and those with the greatest experience have the greatest duty to make this experience available to all, so that others may learn from the mistakes which have been corrected and the successes achieved, during long years of struggle.

International conferences of the Communist parties of the world should, therefore, be held periodically, so as to generalise the experiences of all parties and lay the basis for further advance against imperialism, and for its final overthrow. (These conferences should be in addition to such exchanges of views as two, or more, Communist parties may find necessary in the course of the struggle.)

But we British Communists cannot support the recent move of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in calling for an international conference of fraternal parties in the summer of 1965, to be prepared for by a preparatory committee consisting of the members of the drafting committee of the 1960 Moscow meeting.

Firstly, as is well known, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has publicly levelled a whole series of false charges against the Albanian Party of Labour, the Chinese Communist Party, and others, and has initiated actions against these parties, and the peoples of their countries, which make it clear that the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has no honest intention in calling this meeting of the fraternal parties. It is not motivated by the desire to proceed from unity, to discussion, to unity, but by the desire to cause a split in the ranks of the world Communist movement.

The modern revisionists, led by Nikita Khrushchev, who now dominate the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., desire to cause this split as a necessary part of their grand design to abandon the struggle against imperialism, and to do a deal with it—and particularly with United States imperialism.

Until such time, therefore, as the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. calls off its attacks upon the fraternal parties, and their Marxist-Leninist leaderships, and publicly retracts the charges it has made against them, there is no sense in holding a meeting of the fraternal parties, as proposed. Such a meeting would lead not to unity, but to a split.

It is, of course, equally necessary for all other parties who have publicly

echoed these false charges against the Albanian Party of Labour, the Chinese Communist Party, and others, publicly to retract these charges before they can be permitted to participate in a meeting of the fraternal parties.

Secondly, when this necessary condition for a meeting of all the fraternal parties has been met, it will still be necessary to reach agreement among all parties as to the precise timing of such a conference, and the composition of the committee which will prepare for this conference. The baton-waving technique of arbitrarily appointing members to such a committee without prior consultation with all parties can in no way be accepted. It is a clear breach of the rules governing the relationships between parties, all of whom have equal rights, even though some have more experience than others.

Thirdly, with regard to the timing of such a conference, we British Communists believe that it is necessary to delay its convention until such time as the Communist parties in Western Europe have been re-established on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and are therefore in a position to participate in such a conference. For the modern revisionists have succeeded in capturing the leaderships of nearly all the Communist Parties of Western Europe, and have converted them into parties which have abandoned Marxism-Leninism, and have come to terms with Social-Democracy.

In our own country the Communist Party of Great Britain has been converted by the modern revisionists into a Social-Democratic Party, of the "Left" type, and British Communists are at present uniting on the basis of Marxism-Leninism in order to re-establish the Communist Party in Britain as soon as possible.

However, the damage inflicted by the modern revisionists cannot be undone in a day. A number of objective conditions must be fulfilled before the Communist Party can be re-established in Britain. In particular it is only over a period of time that the task of determining true friends from false, true comrades from false, can be accomplished, so that when the party is re-established it is able to apply Marxism-Leninism to Britain, to fulfil its duty to give a correct lead to the working class and all working people and to relate the struggle in Britain to the international struggle against imperialism, led by United States imperialism.

We British Communists are striving earnestly for unity, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, within Britain and internationally. It is for this reason that we favour periodic meetings of all the fraternal parties. It is for this reason that we oppose the conference proposed by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., which is designed only to split the international Communist movement.

The Secretariat, C.D.R.C.U.

## Wishful thinking, Mr. Walter Holmes!

Dear Comrades,

The *Daily Worker* (September 23rd), through its "Worker's Notebook," by one W. Holmes, takes the opportunity to crow over some initial difficulties experienced by the C.D.R.C.U.

One might imagine that an alleged "Marxist-Leninist" journal would recognise that these difficulties are very often experienced by Communist Groups and Parties, and must be dealt with according to principle and particularity. However, since the C.P.G.B. hierarchy long since departed from Marxist-Leninism and have, especially under Khrushchev's baton, become an anaemic appendage of "Social Democracy," one need not be surprised at their cackling. I understand that ducks cackle loudest just prior to their end.

Mr. K's circus performance of 1956 cost the C.P.G.B. alone 8,000 members (nowhere near compensated for, up to now). Only the class enemy cackled then. The similarity is self-evident.

According to W. Holmes, the C.D.R.C.U. promote "current Chinese and other distortions of Marxism-Leninism." Now we knew where the *Daily Worker* stands for sure, in relation to the Chinese C.P.

The C.P.G.B. and the Chinese Party were founded at about the same time—1921. The Chinese have a Socialist land since 1949, after waging a historic struggle, and their C.P. has 650 million members and supporters.

The C.P.G.B. has not a single M.P. and a mere handful of Councillors, and even its Trade Union "captured positions" are fast diminishing in importance, since 1956. After 43 years, its publications and the *Daily Worker* are stuck solid in a very tiny circulation. This is the direct result of departing from Marxism-Leninism and is leading to the transformation of the C.P.G.B. itself into an anti-Communist faction.

Witness the indisputable fact that the majority of Communists in the world agree with the Chinese views and interpretations of Marxism-Leninism. The modern revisionists have become outright renegades to the working peoples of the world.

Marxist-Leninists in Britain and elsewhere in spite of all difficulties and crowing by their enemies, will certainly triumph, because we uphold truth, and truth is invincible.

If the *Daily Worker* is really interested in the truth regarding the Committee for Communist Unity, why does it not enquire from the Central Committee of the organisation, instead of printing rubbish?

Wishful thinking, Mr. Holmes, can be a most perilous pastime.

Yours fraternally,

Jim Roberts,  
Clapton, E.5.

## COMMITTEE TO DEFEAT REVISIONISM FOR COMMUNIST UNITY

THE Committees in Scotland, Wales, Lancashire, Yorkshire, London and the Home Counties have established a Central Committee, which will determine the general line and policies of the C.D.R.C.U. This Central Committee has appointed a secretariat, to be responsible for leading the work of the C.D.R.C.U. This secretariat includes the Editors of *Vanguard*; D. Volpe, J. James, J. Seifert and M. McCreery.

Where necessary regional associations will be established by the Committees in a given part of the country, in order to co-ordinate their work. Thus the Lancashire and Yorkshire Committees have established the North of England Communist Association, and the Committees in the Greater London Area also jointly co-ordinate their work.

The Secretariat, C.D.R.C.U.

## THE HERITAGE OF OCTOBER

IN this month of October each year, working people of all lands join in commemorating the most significant single event in the whole course of world history to date: the Russian October Socialist Revolution. For the first time in all the age-long history of exploitation impoverishment of one class at the hands of another, of class struggles, wars and revolutions, the last great exploited class in history, the proletariat, had seized power in the heart of the largest multi-national state in the world, and thus taken the first steps towards the full and final emancipation of working people everywhere from exploitation and want, from the domination of the producer by the product of his own labour, from the age-old division of society into oppressed and oppressor classes, from the all-pervading yoke of capital. Under the leadership of the great Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, which had been forged out of remorseless and irreconcilable struggle against all open and disguised enemies of the working class and Socialism, in particular against those once all-powerful agents of capitalism, the revisionists and opportunists of the Second International, the Russian working masses were led to victory against all the assembled might of the old ruling classes and their feudal abettors, against the juggernaut of international capitalism and reaction and their 17-nation crusade; the young Soviet Union, the first Socialist State in history was born out of the very life blood of the world's working class and toiling peasantry, at whose head stood the Russian workers and peasants.

Having wrested political state power from the hands of the old exploiting classes, smashed the repressive state apparatus of the capitalists and landlords, established their own class rule, the dictatorship of the working class and poor peasantry, and having finally routed and dispersed the foreign interventionist armies, the Soviet working people had to commence upon the even more difficult and protracted tasks of Socialist construction and consolidation of their proletarian dictatorship and Socialist democracy. Though, without any doubt, the most politically advanced in the world, the Soviet working class was small in numbers—some 5 million out of a total population of over 160 millions. They found themselves surrounded by a virtually mediaeval agriculture, as wasteful of

natural resources as it was frustrating and maiming of the development of skills initiative and discipline in the agricultural labour processes. No centuries long history of capitalist relations, the great training school of both collective discipline and individual initiative in production, had operated to create a relatively advanced agricultural proletariat in the conditions of Tsarist feudal autocracy. The task confronting Lenin, and later Stalin, at the head of the working class and the working people of the U.S.S.R. was, therefore a truly colossal one, unprecedented in the whole history of social development: to encompass the tremendous leap from semi-feudal backwardness, squalor, ignorance and waste, as it characterised 80% the Tsarist Empire, to the achievement of a modern society with an advanced industrial base and a mechanised agriculture—achieved in a space of a mere 19 years (1917-1936)—a process which, in our own country, had required a period of over 200 years!

Furthermore, the overall external and internal conditions under which this unbelievably difficult task had to be accomplished were unfavourable in the extreme; external encirclement by an entire capitalist-imperialist world of hostile aggressive states, which frequently voiced their intention to destroy the Soviet Union, and often carried their threats into effect—witness the many foreign-supported invasions between the years 1918-1922. Throughout the period 1923-1945, when the Soviet Union stood alone as the only Socialist State, it was Stalin's profoundly scientific grasp of historical development and social contradictions, coupled with his practical mastery of tactical manoeuvre and his ability to utilise to the full the contradictions between the imperialist powers themselves, which played a decisive role in consolidating the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. His insistence on the overriding ALL-IMPORTANT NEED TO DEVELOP THE ECONOMIC BASE OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R. AT AN ACCELERATED PACE, represents the "solid base" on which Khrushchev now depends for his "spectacular" successes—i.e., rocketry, research into which commenced as early as 1933 in the Soviet Union, the kudos for which, however, Khrushchev seeks to claim for himself whilst vilifying Stalin, his erstwhile comrade, for what are, in fact, extremely transparent ulterior motives. M.B.

## Peace is not won through appeasement

"PEACEFUL co-existence and peaceful transition to Socialism are not only possible, but are also a necessity," preach our revisionist friends. We must become realists and recognise the fact that the alternative is nuclear war. We "Communists" must be constantly vigilant against any action that will draw mankind into a world nuclear conflict.

All these noble gestures and fine phrases of our present day revisionists, display but barren minds to those capable of logic and of reasoning scientifically in a dialectical materialist manner: these dreamers' fruity words relay but the theories of wishful thinkers, but in their dreams and wishful thoughts they are in danger of luring the International Communist Movement on to the rocks of Capitalist contamination which result would, in turn, condemn the whole of mankind to enslavement and finally to self-destruction.

History and our own personal experience tells us that a bully cannot be

appeased by a homage of peaceful co-existence he can only be contained by the strict disciplinary actions of those he seeks to intimidate; and so this is more true of Capitalism; this obnoxious insidious bullying force cannot be appeased by peaceful co-existence for it has nothing but contempt for all members of the human race, yes even those who serve it—look how it degrades and humiliates even its most loyal lackeys. For mankind to progress man must constantly struggle against those forces which seek to restrain and destroy him. The greatest of these destructive forces facing him today is the subversive force of International Finance Capital operating under the protective wings of American Imperialist Forces assisted by their stooges, the British, French, West German, etc. These forces must be constantly warred against, contained, and finally destroyed, there will be no peace on earth for mankind until they are.

JOHN SHARPE

### PUBLIC MEETING

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE

Friday, October 23rd, at 7.45 p.m.

"The New British Government"

Speakers: Dave Volpe and Michael McCreery

Organised by The Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity