

VANGUARD

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A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

TASKS AHEAD

EDITORIAL

THE Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity (CDRCU) was founded in November 1963 under the leadership of Comrade M. McCreery. The need to take an open, public stand against the British type of revisionism as expounded by the C.P.G.B. leadership had become of crucial importance. A public slander against the Chinese Party had been made by Gollan in which he slyly accused the Chinese leaders as being racialsists and adventurers. The Party press had been closed for some time to all views which ran counter to the leadership's revisionist statements and policies. The CDRCU came into being to answer the slanders, expose the bureaucratic centralism operating within the Party, expose the revisionist sell-out by the C.P.G.B. leaders—the contemptible "British Road to Socialism" of 1951-1957—and to rally all Marxist-Leninists and honest activists inside and outside the Party in the struggle to defeat revisionism and reconstitute in due course a Marxist-Leninist vanguard Workers' Party. To this end the CDRCU's organ *Vanguard* was published, the first edition coming out in February 1964. This enabled a correct Marxist-Leninist line to be put forward against the revisionism of the C.P.G.B.'s leadership and the publications which they control. Moreover the correct Marxist-Leninist stand of the true revolutionary Parties in the International Communist Movement was reported and supported; the false stand of the revisionist-controlled Parties was exposed and condemned. Furthermore the first analysis, polemics and discussions have been inaugurated in the pages of *Vanguard* in preparation for the drafting of a Marxist-Leninist programme for England, Scotland and Wales.

OVERESTIMATES

Initially certain comrades expected overnight fireworks and a dramatic build-up of Marxist-Leninist forces—such overoptimism led to impatience and disillusion when progress was gradual. These comrades had underestimated the strength of social-democracy in the working class in this country and the strength of revisionist ideas in the ranks of the C.P.G.B. Certainly great and growing numbers of the rank and file of the C.P.G.B. are critical of the revisionist leadership, feel hostile to the recent sell-out by the Party leaders to the Labour Government—but this sort of disaffection is not the expression of a developed Marxist-Leninist consciousness but rather an empirical awareness that revolutionary policies have been deserted. This disaffection is however the basis for the growth of a Marxist-

Leninist consciousness. Revisionism has been firmly in control for over 20 years in the British Party and there have been strong revisionist currents, stemming from social-democratic contamination, within the Party since its foundation. With no Marxist-Leninist education for over 20 years; no serious cadre-training; with mass membership open to all and sundry—no wonder that petty-bourgeois ideas are deeply entrenched even in the activists of the C.P.G.B. No wonder even that those who try to take an anti-revisionist line, such as ourselves have to fight continually to overcome our own opportunist tendencies: sometimes so-called anti-revisionists succumb to these tendencies and either drop from activity or else try to disrupt the work of those who continue the struggle. This is to be expected and must not cause dismay. In overcoming such difficulties we gain strength.

The growth of the CDRCU has therefore been gradual though steady.

"MANY ARE CALLED BUT FEW ARE CHOSEN"

This past 18 months has been taken up with rallying a Marxist-Leninist nucleus around which further growth can occur. This process of consolidating a qualitatively sound nucleus will predominate for some time yet. In this process there has been a certain degree of turnover in the nucleus—some of those who rallied with enthusiasm to the CDRCU in the early days have already fallen by the wayside either through leftist or rightist opportunist limitation or from a failure of confidence and nerve. There are still some weaknesses in the nucleus and mistakes will be made and new problems will arise. But the way ahead, the way of growth is through such problems—and we will learn from our mistakes as long as we are honest enough to admit them and do our utmost to overcome them. There is no room for arrogance and complacency in the proletarian movement—at all times we must be aware that we are students of Marxism-Leninism and that we are serving the cause of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world. We must be vigilant against overestimating our own individual importance.

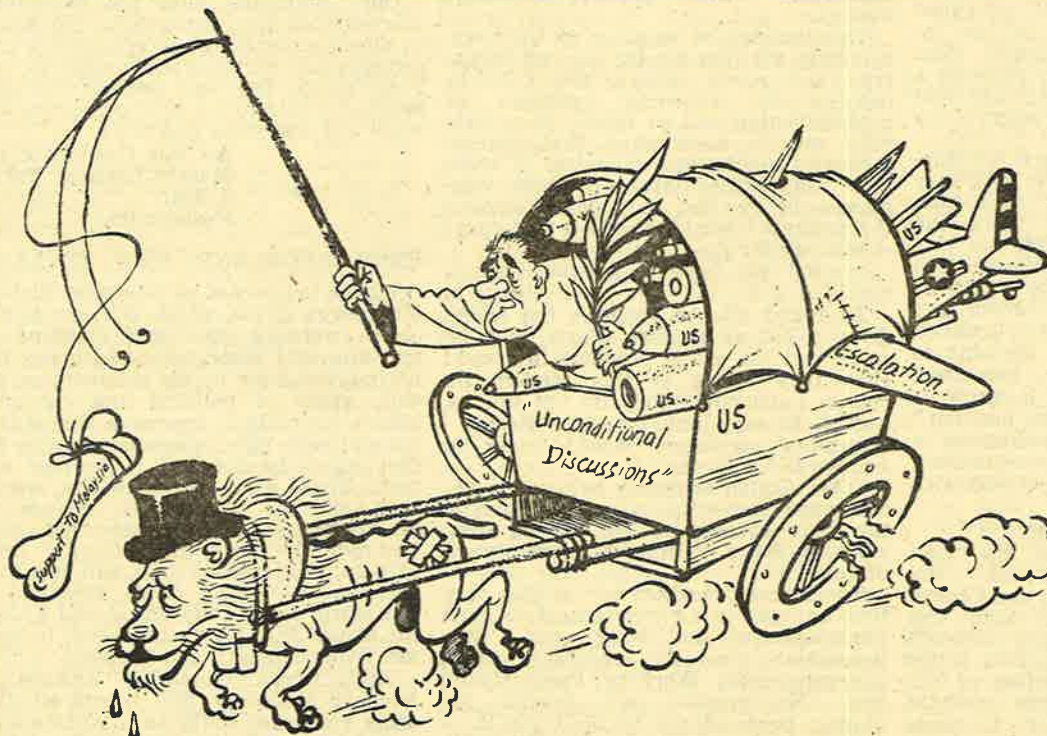
INNER PARTY STRUGGLE

There has been a consistent growth in our ranks and sympathisers all over the country and last August the Central Committee was elected as the highest authority of the CDRCU and to co-ordinate our work nationally.

From certain quarters there has been the criticism that we are neglecting the inner party struggle—but this is a misrepresentation, often stemming from an overestimation of the importance of the inner party struggle. The CDRCU has at all times clearly stated that the chief task at present is to publicly challenge revisionism in his country and by doing so to rally Party members and Marxist-Leninists and sympathisers generally to the understanding that the C.P.G.B. cannot be transformed from within as bureaucratic centralism on the part of Gollan and Co. makes transformation from within an impossibility. The revisionist leaders have a rigid control over the Party apparatus and will never allow it to be wrested from their grasp by internal manoeuvring and criticism.

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"Anglo-American Interdependence" (see page 7)

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On the other hand the inner party struggle is of importance in contacting and rallying the rank and file of the party on a Marxist-Leninist basis and giving direction to the growing, general feeling of day to day dissatisfaction with the conduct and policies of the revisionist leadership. The CDRCU has played and will continue to play an important role directly and indirectly (through its public stand) in developing the inner party struggle.

SLANDER

There has been a ceaseless gush of slander and invective against the CDRCU and against its leading members, especially the late Comrade McCreery: even his untimely and tragic death has not stopped the foul efflux of calumny. This was to be expected—from both the Party leaders and the erstwhile “friends” and “comrades” who could not accept the need for a public stand against revisionism. It could and can be expected too from those who from time to time fall or break away from the CDRCU and challenge its Marxist-Leninist stand.

Instead of conducting a principled political argument these deviationists and hesitators have to resort to slander to bolster up their politically erroneous positions. The CDRCU has always welcomed principled and amicable discussions with all honest comrades who differ on this or that point but who in essence agree with our position. Such discussions take place on the basis of mutual respect. On the other hand the CDRCU has never gone in for and will never undertake slander and calumny: we only answer political charges never personal attacks. We seek unity with all honest anti-revisionists—a principled unity—on the basis of mutual respect and the recognition of the necessity to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist party of England, Scotland and Wales.

AIMS OF CDRCU

The aim of CDRCU is to carry on the struggle against revisionism, social democracy, capitalism and imperialism; to build links of proletarian internationalism on the basis of genuine equality and mutual respect with the organisations of

Marxist-Leninists and anti-imperialist national liberation fighters throughout the world.

The CDRCU will fight where and when it can at home to rally the workers on the sites, in the mines, foundries, factories and offices to wage mass struggle not only for immediate benefits but also to raise the political consciousness of the workers through the medium of these struggles to an understanding of the need for a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in England, Scotland and Wales. There will be no fetishism about capturing positions within the framework of the Trade Union bureaucracy and parliament. Such positions will be used to expose these institutions as bastions of capitalist rule and rally the mass struggle to higher levels of political awareness.

The CDRCU will strive to rally workers and progressive sections of the wavering petty bourgeoisie against U.S. imperialism. Solidarity with the international workers and oppressed peoples' struggle against world imperialism led by U.S. imperialism and its minions is an essential component of the Marxist-Leninist line of advance and the CDRCU will continue to strive to its utmost to uphold this line. In keeping with this, the CDRCU will forever fight resolutely against racialism and the divisive tactics of the ruling class; we will struggle always for the unity of the whole working class and all who can be united with it, against imperialism and capitalism.

The CDRCU will continue to expose unmercifully the revisionists be they in Moscow or King Street—these false friends of the oppressed people of the world; these deceivers of the vanguard sections of the working class in England, Scotland and Wales. However they manoeuvre and twist we will unmask them!

After our 18 months of existence, the CDRCU is gaining day by day in strength and experience. The future holds problems and difficulties but we will master them. We must forever remember the beginning that Comrade McCreery made for us and forever hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism in England, Scotland and Wales which he bequeathed to us. Let us be worthy of his trust.

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!

More Tributes To McCreery

TRIBUTE TO
MICHAEL MCCREERY

The People's Voice regrets that it has not previously recorded its tribute to the late Michael McCreery, British Marxist-Leninist, who died in Christchurch earlier this year at the age of 36.

Over the last few years Mr. McCreery carried on a consistent fight under difficult circumstances to preserve the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. He sacrificed his health to the struggle to develop and widen the movement in Britain for the defence of Marxist-Leninist principles against those who are actively revising them.

We join the other Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups in our sorrow at the death of this sterling fighter for the peoples' cause.

—Peoples' Voice, New Zealand Communist Party, July 21, 1965.

FROM AD HOC

We are shocked by the news of the untimely demise of Comrade Michael McCreery, a dedicated and untiring fighter for International Solidarity of the Working Class, for Peace and for Socialism.

Although his career ended much too early, we are sure that the high principles for which he fought and died will be carried forward with a renewed vigour and determination by our British comrades for the emancipation of the British working class, and, indeed, for the emancipation of the oppressed peoples in every corner of the globe. For the cause for which Comrade McCreery struggled and gave his life is the just cause of all mankind.

The forces of peace, equality and socialism are on the march everywhere! Victory is inevitable over the forces of war and reaction, over the main enemy of humanity—imperialism!

Our Committee joins the principled Marxists-Leninists throughout the world in offering our sincerest sympathies and condolences to the family and to the Party of the late and beloved Comrade McCreery, and to his high principles our work will always be dedicated.

Ad Hoc Committee for
Marxist-Leninist Party,
U.S.A.

Fraternally,

FROM AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

I have today read of Comrade Michael McCreery's death, which is a loss to the entire working class and mankind. I met him only twice, some years ago, but he impressed me by his genuineness, his wide grasp of political and economic affairs, his realistic approach. One sensed his ability to fight uncompromisingly for that which he believed to be true and just. Those equipped with the searchlight of the materialist science of Marxism-Leninism can see that what Comrade McCreery strove for will come to pass, that his strivings will not have been in vain. The death struggles of capitalism lie directly ahead and I know for myself that his example will be with me giving strength and purpose.

Sadly, I read Vanguard's "Tribute" to Michael McCreery but heartened that other comrades could have written such a fitting piece. His unfinished work is in good hands.

New Zealand Marxist.

FROM CARIB

It was with great sorrow that "Carib" received the news of the death on April 10 of Michael McCreery, secretary of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity and Vanguard, one of the organisations affiliated to "Carib-Latin American Publications."

Comrade McCreery's main work was in the CDRCU but he showed by his participation in the activities of the Caribbean Movement that he understood practically what was meant by international proletarianism. Thus from the very beginning of "Carib" he took a great personal interest in the publication and greeted its first issue with genuine pleasure.

In the active work he carried out alongside Caribbeans he was an example and inspiration to Caribbean and British comrades alike. From him we saw how complete must be our commitment to the struggle of our working class brothers of every race and nationality.

In sending his greetings, from his deathbed, to those working in the CDRCU and those working on "Carib" in one of his last letters he said: "We must never forget that these two sides of our work are vitally necessary to each other."

His premature death at the age of 36 is a tragic loss to the CDRCU and to the whole working class and anti-imperialist movement generally. To our comrades in the CDRCU we send our deepest sympathy. We know that they will continue successfully the work which Comrade McCreery began, and to which he dedicated his life.

The most fitting tribute to Comrade McCreery is that we should continue our own work inspired by his example.

LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF
MICHAEL MCCREERY! WORKERS OF
THE WORLD UNITE!

FORWARD TO SOCIALISM!

FROM INDIA

It was a shock to us to hear about the sad demise of Comrade Michael McCreery which we came to know very recently. It is a loss indeed not only to revolutionary forces from your place but to us in India who looked forward for inspiration from people like Comrade Michael McCreery, especially in these times when people like us look forward for analysis of situations in correct perspective. He had maintained the standard of the Vanguard as it ought to be kept and all that we can now hope is that the revolutionary traditions he left of a vanguard will be observed by all these who had the fortune to associate closely with him in the said work.

In him we have lost a great friend of the revolutionaries and we dip the Red Flag in honour of the memory of Comrade Michael McCreery.

K. L. Bajaj.

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S.W.13

EARNING
A LIVINGAUTOMATION IN THE
COAL INDUSTRY

by Jim Strong

An article in *The Times* of July 13 highlighted the continuing process of intensifying exploitation of the workers which occurs under Monopoly Capitalism. The article was entitled "Coal Mining Entering New Era."

In summary the facts are that a new, fully-automatic mine will start production this October at Bevercotes Colliery in Nottinghamshire. If it functions successfully then within 10 years half of Britain's coal mines will be working in this manner. The machinery and equipment needed for this automated production are a magnificent technological development but how will the workers—the miners—be affected?

INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY

When Bevercotes was opened in 1961 on a "conventional" basis, it was expected to produce 1,250,000 tons of coal a year at a rate of 3 tons a man shift: 2,000 men would be employed. Now, the automated Bevercotes will produce 1,500,000 tons of coal a year at a rate of 8 tons a man shift: only 770 men will be employed.

Thus through the use of advanced machinery the productivity of the individual worker will be more than doubled. Lord Robens fondly foresees a day, not too far hence, when pits will operate like oil refineries, 18 hours a day for 7 days a week.

As for the miners, who are "fortunate" enough to be retained in jobs, they must be of a "new type": a "technician with at least two skills." Thus the worker becomes more skilled, his productivity increases out of all proportion to the miserly "increase" in wages he is promised, thousands are thrown into unemployment or underemployment, and the (operating) profits accruing to the industry are greatly increased. Moreover, the British coal industry is put into a better "competitive position" vis-a-vis rival, foreign coal industries in export markets and in the home market, and is able to compete more closely with the rival fuel industries.

NATIONALISATION

The "strengthening" of the coal industry in turn "strengthens" the British Iron and Steel, Power and Chemical Industries and through them the whole economy. It enlarges, through cheaper fuel costs, the available profit margins for these other sectors of the economy. This is the reality of state capitalism which is what Labour's "nationalisation" has achieved and was meant to achieve.

For "nationalisation" must always be

in the interests of the British monopoly capitalists as a whole (although possibly against the particular interests of this or that capitalist sector of the economy) as long as the British capitalist state remains in existence. Only with the smashing of that state, the complete expropriation of the monopolies and with the establishment of the working class dictatorship—the Worker's State Apparatus in the hands of the workers' vanguard party—then and only then will nationalisation be truly socialist and in the interests of the working class and all working people.

Aircraft Industry

FROM BRISTOL

Set against the mounting crisis in the aircraft industry, and the recent massive strikes by Bristol aircraft workers at the "Bristol-Siddeley Engines" factories, the C.P.G.B. has published an insipid leaflet, asking nervously, "Is there a future for the Aircraft Industry?"

The authors of this leaflet completely ignore the wider political and class issues involved in an answer to this question; they affirm that if the government would but implement a "progressive" policy the present malaise could be cured, apparently within present capitalist society.

Thus instead of pointing to the revolutionary solution for the aircraft industry (and every other), the C.P.G.B. indulge in reformist fantasies of nationalisation and so forth. They note with puerile observation that Britain possesses factories, technical "know how" and skilled labour to make aeroplanes. To this list they finally append the greatest "asset" of all—a real gem! —yes wait for it—

"—and we have a Labour Government"!!! (page 3)

To round off the panacea, the leaflet gives a list of aircraft which must be made and the actual numbers involved! How they arrive at this random ill-chosen hotch-potch they do not tell us, except to say that the 30 "Belfast" freighters envisaged would come in handy for "trooping"!!!

(Mr. Gollan evidently believes in the continued necessity to send troops to the four corners of the world, even allowing for a "Socialist" government at home!)

The aircraft workers are at this very time engaged in a bitter struggle against unemployment and wage cuts. They desperately need the leadership which a revolutionary Workers' Party should give. No wonder they despise the utopian trash offered by the C.P.G.B.

How much longer can the C.P.G.B. masquerade as a Communist Party? "Aircraft Worker."

VIETNAM AND THE C.P.G.B.

Report from the British Comrades in Peking

JOHN GOLLAN, John Mahon and Bill Alexander arrived in Peking on their way to Hanoi on June 9. That evening nine British comrades who live and work in Peking (with the approval of the E.C.) went to their hotel to discuss the Party's policy on Vietnam. (The nine comrades were: Rose Smith, Michael Shapiro, Elsie Cholmely, David Crook, Isabel Crook, Patricia Davies, Joshua Horn, Miriam Horn, Margaret Turner.)

The custom had grown up over the years that whenever British Party leaders came to Peking they arranged to meet the comrades working there. Not this time. In fact as they stepped out of the lift and saw us their faces were a study of surprise and discomfort and one of them gasped: "Good god!" Gollan did not even invite us into his room but headed off down the corridor away from us. We followed him and ourselves went for extra chairs. The meeting that followed lasted only 25 minutes, after which Gollan summarily ended it.

ON "SETTLING" THE VIETNAM QUESTION THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS

When we said that we gathered from the Party press that the leadership was for a negotiated "settlement" in Vietnam (which the Vietnamese oppose as a dodge to rob the people of the south of their hard-won victories) Gollan replied: "How would you gather that from the Party press?"

We cited the February 20 issue of *Comment* with its main slogan: "Britain Should Act Now to Get Peace Talks Going." Gollan dodged the issue. He tried to throw the question back at us and did not answer in a comradely way. In fact he did not deny that the Party is for negotiations. He just gave an opinion that Britain won't initiate peace talks. He said the Lobby organised by Fenner Brockway's Council for Peace in Vietnam was the main action to be taken in Britain. He said: "We've criticised the Lobby, but we support it." He did not explain why the Party had so often come out in favour of demands contrary to those of the Vietnamese people. He said nothing about supporting the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation or the Four Points of Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (see below) which sum-up the position of our Vietnamese comrades.

Here we have to add our own opinion on the crucial question of negotiations. The U.S. want negotiations. Why? Because they are being beaten. They want to win at the conference table what they can't win on the battlefield. They want a breathing spell. They want the N.F.L. to let down its guard and lay down its arms. Then they will attack again. They insist that their Saigon puppets represent South Vietnam—i.e. that U.S. domination must be preserved. Look at South Korea. The Americans are still there after 11 years. They will never leave Vietnam till they are kicked out.

London, New Delhi, Paris, Moscow and Washington have been calling for negotiations—while the bombing of Vietnam is stepped up. What is the Vietnamese people's attitude to negotiations? They know they cannot be defeated; that negotiations now means throwing away victory. They beat the French, who had 400,000 men (several times as many as the Americans), who knew the country and the people, were acclimatized and had far better morale than the jittery American troops, whom the Vietnamese have already licked in hand-to-hand combat.

The Vietnamese demand is not for negotiations but for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops, weapons and war material from South Vietnam, the dismantling of all military bases there and the stopping of all acts of war against the territory of North Vietnam. The Americans are trying to force the Vietnamese to negotiate by bombing them. Should any Communist Party support such pressure by suggesting that it too favours negotiations? No, it should openly oppose them.

This has not been explained in the British Party press. *Marxism Today*, the Party's theoretical journal, has not carried a single article analysing the issues in Vietnam since the beginning of 1963. *The Daily Worker* of March 25 did carry extracts from the N.F.L. March 22 Declaration; but it presented the Front's warning to U.S.: "We may call for fighters from other lands," as if it were a desperate appeal instead of an expression of their determination to fight until final victory. It did not include extracts showing the Vietnamese people's contribution to the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism and what we owe them; their confidence in victory and the U.S. imperialists' desperate plight and weakness in Vietnam. On April 22 the *Daily Worker* reported Yugoslavia's view that "an initiative was needed on Vietnam and suggested unconditional talks"—without a word of comment to show that this was precisely Johnson's line. On May 2 the *Daily Worker* quoted Gollan as saying: "The real voice of Labour and the progressive movement was the decision of the USDAW conference and

the Easter March . . . we should win every trade union and public body to do as USDAW has done." But USDAW passed several resolutions, one urging "negotiations that will leave the people of Vietnam free to decide their own future," another supporting the 17 nation (Tito) appeal for "realistic negotiations" and it also demanded that "the Government use its influence to stop the fighting." And neither Gollan nor the *Daily Worker* said a word to the effect that calling for "cease-fire" and negotiations amounts to telling the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms in the face of aggression.

On April 8 in a front page box on the May Day March the slogan was: "Voice your demand for peace and no war in Vietnam!" How would it have sounded if the Party had called for "peace and no war" in Spain in the '30s instead of recruiting International Brigadiers? Or in Russia in 1919 instead of calling for "Hands Off Russia" and striking the "Jolly George"? Obviously the Party and the *Daily Worker*, while appearing to support the people of South Vietnam, is creating confusion on the most crucial question. It is not spear-heading the campaign directly against U.S. imperialism and for the demands of the people of South Vietnam.

Gollan said he was going to Vietnam "to develop the solidarity campaign." What did he mean? The South Vietnamese have made clear what they mean by solidarity: offers of aid including arms and volunteers. It is necessary to be precise on this point because the revisionists try to twist on it. The official committee of the W.F.T.U. nearly split the recent International Trade Union Conference on it (held in Hanoi June 2-6) by opposing even a mention of arms, volunteers and boycott of U.S. shipments. One West European delegate to the conference put the revisionists' attitude very clearly when he said: "You" (i.e. the South Vietnam N.F.L.) "by calling for volunteers are trying to enlarge the war. Our unions are against all wars of any kind anywhere. We support you to restore peace and carry out the Geneva agreements; not to make war." Is this the sort of solidarity Gollan offers?

The *Daily Worker* of April 26 announced a coming conference of Communist Parties of capitalist countries in Europe to discuss "solidarity with the people of Vietnam and the struggle against American aggression there. . . ." It went on: "Because of the worsening situation in Vietnam, and because of the dangers which this means for world peace, it was proposed to call this conference as soon as possible." What is meant by "the worsening of the situation"—when the Vietnamese people are winning? What are "the dangers which this means" for world peace—when the

imperialists are being defeated? This is pure pacifism without any class approach, which can lead to no real "solidarity with the people of Vietnam." It plays into the hands of Johnson who tries by every means to drive a wedge between the North and South to weaken the unity of the Vietnamese people. Vietnam's slogan is: "Defend the North, Liberate the South, Unify the Country." It is solidarity for this that is needed.

ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S LEADING A MASS CAMPAIGN IN BRITAIN

In reply to our doubts as to whether the Party was leading a mass campaign to aid Vietnam, Gollan replied: "We're putting the whole strength of the Party behind this Vietnam thing. We have to handle other issues too. We must act in an overall fashion. We're doing more on Vietnam than on any other single issue." Here he cited the Lobby, saying "it is the biggest mass movement we have engaged in for a long time;" and the Aldermaston March, saying "there would have been no Aldermaston March except for us." He then noted that "104 Labour M.P.s are critical to one degree or another of the government position on Vietnam;" and that 10 trade unions are taking various actions, with the N.U.R. taking a full-page advertisement in the *Sun*.

Is this a mass campaign initiated by the Party, or is it tailing behind the Labour movement and the C.N.D.?

If the Party is putting its whole strength into support of Vietnam, why was no publicity given to the Vietnamese May Day Trade Union Appeal to transport workers all over the world not to handle U.S. war material for South Vietnam? Why did not the Party press publicise the Japanese dockers' refusal to load ships for Vietnam? These should have been top headlines to arouse similar action in Britain. Why has there been no call for action in Britain like that in New Zealand, where the Federation of Labour Conference took a stand against sending troops to South Vietnam and the seamen came out against transporting either troops or military equipment?

GOLLAN'S ATTITUDE TO THE BRITISH COMRADES IN PEKING

From the outset Gollan showed contempt for our questions—which were such as any Party member is entitled to ask. He told Rose Smith—a foundation member of the Party—that he was not going to discuss her questions seriously because they were "hostile" and she had criticised him. (She had criticised him when he defended the beating up of Vietnamese and Chinese student demonstrators in Moscow.) In fact it was Gollan who was hostile and arrogant. He neither sought our opinions as comrades, nor deigned to put his own case. He acted as a boss with underlings. We knew he was tired from travelling, but it was obviously not just tiredness that led him to announce that he would give us only 20 minutes. And when faced with a very awkward question he stood up and replied: "I'm not going to allow you to rob me of my sleep." Then he began to undress. It was nine o'clock.

CONCLUSION

We went to discuss things with Gollan because we have long noted that the line of the British Party leadership is to play down the victorious fight of the Vietnamese people and by stressing the war's horrors and the campaign for a negotiated settlement, to advocate compromise and capitulation. This is aid and comfort to Johnson, not to our Vietnamese comrades.

Of course this line is not advocated openly. Instead confusion and illusions are created. We know from first-hand experience how Gollan and Mathews used their visit to Peking in February 1963 to tone down opposition at the April 1963 Party Congress with a show of impartiality. Now they are preparing for the November 1965 Party Congress by arming themselves against a challenge to their revisionist line by a show of

"solidarity with Vietnam"—which in reality does not support the Vietnamese people's fight for victory. We believe they aim to use their Hanoi visit to this end.

Despite the present Party policy we still hope and look for a militant mass campaign in Britain for solidarity with and support for the people of Vietnam, based on:

FIVE POINTS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM N.F.L. CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 22, 1965

1. The U.S. imperialists are the saboteurs of the Geneva Agreements, the most brazen warmongers and aggressors and the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people.
 2. The heroic South Vietnamese people are resolved to drive out the U.S. imperialists in order to liberate South Vietnam, achieve an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Vietnam and eventual national reunification.
 3. The valiant South Vietnamese people and the South Vietnam liberation army are resolved to fully accomplish their sacred duty to drive out the U.S. imperialists so as to liberate South Vietnam and defend North Vietnam.
 4. The South Vietnamese people express their profound gratitude for the wholehearted support of the peace- and justice-loving people all over the world and declare their readiness to receive all assistance including weapons and all other war materials from their friends in the five continents.
 5. The whole people to unite, the whole people to take up arms, to continue to march forward heroically and to resolve to fight and to defeat the U.S. aggressors and Vietnamese traitors.
- Quoted from *Vietnam Courier*, Hanoi, April 3, 1965.

HANOI'S FOUR POINTS

1. Recognition of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. According to the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. government must withdraw from South Vietnam all U.S. troops, military personnel and weapons of all kinds, destroy all U.S. military bases there, cancel its "military alliance" with South Vietnam. It must end its policy of intervention and aggression in South Vietnam. According to the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. government must stop its acts of war against North Vietnam, completely cease all encroachments on the territory and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
2. Pending the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, while Vietnam is still temporarily divided into two zones, the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam must be strictly respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, there must be no foreign military bases, troops, and military personnel in their respective territory.
3. The internal affairs of South Vietnam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves, in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, without any foreign interference.
4. The peaceful reunification of Vietnam is to be settled by the Vietnamese people in both zones, without any foreign interference.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam declares that any approach contrary to the above stand is inappropriate: any approach tending to secure a U.N. intervention in the Vietnam situation is also inappropriate because such approaches are basically at variance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

From *Government Report*, submitted by Premier Pham Van Dong (National Assembly, 3rd Legislature, 2nd Session) Hanoi, April 1965.

PROBLEMS FACING COMMUNISTS IN BRITAIN

BY COMMENTATOR (A Contribution to Discussion)

[This article does not necessarily represent editorial opinion].

1. We must re-study closely British modern history and acquire more and more practical experience in political work, in order to improve our capacity for solving problems that do and will continually arise.

2. The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism must be applied to our own specific conditions and we can expect no external organisation to do this job for us. Adopting a policy of self-reliance from the start, one must be prepared to listen to responsible advice, yet take the strategic and tactical decisions by our own efforts.

REVOLUTION FORCES

3. The realisation that a Marxist-Leninist Party or even small groups (depending upon its activity) is an important leading detachment of the world revolutionary forces and has indestructible ideological links with these forces, can only be denied by renegades from Communism. In our day, the world revolutionary forces are:

1. The working people of the Socialist camp, led by the proletariat.
2. The National Liberation forces in battle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.
3. All those forces which are in action against U.S. imperialism or can be won for such action.
4. The working class (industrial) and all who can be won for unity with it.

Objectively, these comprise the world revolutionary forces, because they are helping or will help, under specific conditions, to sharpen and consummate the main contradictions which operate in social life, in favour of the working peoples.

REVISIONIST SLOGANS

4. These contradictions are interconnected, just as the reactionaries are interconnected on a world scale and progressive people are interconnected on a world scale. Therefore, to place artificial "chokes" and "condensers" amongst these contradictions under various signboards such as "peaceful evolution," "compromise on principle," "socialism within the framework of a capitalist state," "legitimate demands for reform into a rounded system of reformism," "parliamentary road through alliances with the social democrats to the virtual exclusion of extra-parliamentary mass struggle," "to the ballot box rather than the factory floor" and similar fallacious notions of the modern revisionists—all these slogans put together or even only one of them—result in a temporary dislocation of the Leninist concept of continuity in revolution.

5. Herein, lie the roots of the damage inflicted by the modern revisionists on the course of the anti-imperialist struggle. The erroneous Khrushchovite formulations of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. gave the green light to Kautskyites, Fabians, Trotskyists and political hoboos of every description to bid for the leading positions in Communist Parties with up to now, some success. Khrushchov's adventurism-capitalism on Socialist Cuba has proved a direct encouragement to Lyndon Johnson to wage war on the Socialist Democratic Republic of Vietnam. His unilateral nullification of the spirit and content of the Moscow Declaration and Statement has caused a serious split in the world Communist movement and within Communist Parties.

6. Thus, the modern revisionists, like their predecessors, have in actuality, served to blunt the militancy of workers against their exploiters, to head them off into the blind alley of reformism and to prolong the life of imperialism, headed by the U.S.A.

THE DECAY OF THE C.P.G.B.

7. In Britain, where a long history of colonialism has helped to instil bourgeois ideology into the workers' ranks, where even the Trade Unions, Co-ops, etc., have long been captured by careerists

(classical examples of Lenin's "Labour lieutenants of the capitalists") and where the mass Labour Party is a specimen of a bourgeois party with working class members—here in Britain, there has long been an objective need for a Communist Party based upon and permeated throughout with a revolutionary theory and ideology. Instead, after 44 years of existence, the C.P.G.B. has degenerated into an applicant for parliamentary privilege and clamours loudly for its credentials, enabling it to be an integral unit of the bourgeois state political apparatus.

As a matter of fact if the "British Road to Socialism" published in 1951 was its first formal claim to the credentials, then the bureaucratic dictatorial behaviour of its leaders during the vital debate in the World Communist Movement, is, in effect a self-printed credential since a prerequisite for a reformist parliamentary party, is a leadership exceedingly top-heavy in centralism but distinctly underweight with democracy!

TRADE UNIONS

No more sectarian "leftist" error could be committed in Britain than to underestimate the importance of Communist work within the Trade Unions. It is here that conditions are most favourable for an isolation of the bourgeois careerists. It is here that these gentry are most vulnerable to self-exposure. Two main avenues of advance present themselves:

(a) A constant counter attack within the Trade Union Branches Conferences etc., plus the utilisation of voting rights in Union elections.

(b) A comprehensive re-organisation of works committees "unofficial" liaison units, shop steward organisations—with a goal of an "unofficial" organised unit in every mine, mill, dock and large factory.

Under the call for "unity" the modern revisionists have for too long striven to contain the militant and legitimate tendencies of the industrial workers within the boundaries of the "accredited" Trade Union.

UNITY

The question is unity with whom—against whom. Very often, the militancy of the worker comes into conflict not only with his employer but with the "accredited" Trade Union official representative.

This is a natural dialectical process, since, under particular conditions things create their opposites, and indeed, "one divides into two." The industrial worker will learn by practice how to both unite with (on certain issues) and struggle against, (on certain issues) the traditional T.U. official. It is here that Marxist-Leninist industrial workers can play such a key role introducing Socialist consciousness into the spontaneous mass movement.

Fight as hard and long as possible inside the official Trade Union for a qualitative change and at the same time build the "unofficial" units as the embryo forms of these changes in content, which must come about in the Trade Unions, as the contradictions ripen externally and internally. Thus unity has its place and also "disunity" has its place, only to attain a higher unity still. Thus theory and practice are linked, in fact (as opposed to metaphysical rhetoric.)

Thus a start is made to use Marxist dialectics as the tool to genuine unity as opposed to modern revisionist idealism, the tool to sham unity!

The impending serious economic deterioration in Britain (as elsewhere in the capitalist world) creates a most pressing need for all militant industrial workers to think out anew the way forward and the content and forms of organisation, which must adequately reflect their present and future interests.

NOTE:

The Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity invite readers to submit their views on this subject to Vanguard. We will endeavour to publish them in full, as polemical contributions, although they cannot be taken as representing editorial policy.

MORE ABOUT THE LEFT

by JACK ANGEL

WITHIN society, the main contradiction is the one between the proletariat and bourgeoisie. This contradiction is absolutely irreconcilable and will never be resolved until, in the words of Hamlet, the proletariat decides to "take arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing end them." Eventually, learning from their own experience and mistakes, the proletariat will inevitably do this. It will. It will. This is not a pious wish, as all historical experience assures us that it will. But "eventually" is a long way away, as the process by which the proletariat learns to unmask all the various shades of opportunism within its ranks is long, tortuous and full of frustrations. In addition to ephemeral victories, it suffers one disappointment after another, one defeat after another, one rotten sell-out after another. But all this superficially negative experience has its positive side and a bad thing can be turned into a good thing, if and when the proletariat learns its lessons in the school of life and draws the correct conclusions.

CUNNING CAPITALISTS

In this country, birth-place of capitalism and at one time strongest and wealthiest power, the working class comes face to face with a capitalist class which has been able to learn all the tricks and stratagems needed to securely maintain its position. In addition to its coercive state machinery, it has learned how to use some of its wealth to buy off sections of the working class, to foster divisions inside its ranks along sectarian and racial lines, to encourage the acceptance of bourgeois ideology and the rejection of proletarian ideology, and to work through the medium of opportunists of various shades so as to lead the working class, and particularly, its vanguard, up one blind alley after another. The history of the Labour movement is the history of one attempt after another by the agents of bourgeois ideology to divert the working class away from the fulfilment of its historical tasks. The British capitalist class had the time, money and room for manoeuvre to be able to arrange for themselves a defence in depth. No capitalist class has ever been so skilful in the cunning utilization of the "democratic" shell and the fostering of bourgeois ideology within the ranks of the proletariat.

LABOUR PARTY

The main social prop of the British capitalist class is official social democracy. By the granting of judicious concessions to sections of the working class at certain times, the capitalists have been able to ensure the prevalence of pernicious social democratic ideas within their ranks. It is because of this that we are "blessed" with a huge Labour movement firmly in the grip of the social democrats; it is because of this that we now have a Labour Government which is and cannot be anything else but the instrument of the monopoly capitalists for the implementation of their reactionary policy.

We have said that official social democracy is the main social prop of the capitalists in Britain. But it is not the only one, and this is the start of their tactic of defence in depth. Although the mass of the organised working class vote Labour and support the Labour Party, nevertheless there is still quite a sizeable minority which is dissatisfied with the reactionary policy of the right wing. This minority is growing and will continue to grow as the hopes raised by the election of a Labour Government remain unfulfilled. It is among these elements that the left wing opposition leadership within the Labour movement plays out its historical role. While it is the task of the right wing leaders to deceive the majority of organised workers in the Labour movement and keep them on the reformist path, the left wing performs the same function with the more militant minority. Thus, the right and left wings inside the Labour Party complement each other by performing the same function among different strata—they are by no means opposite poles.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

In the early days of the Communist Party of Great Britain, this fact was clearly seen and understood. R. Palme Dutt, today's Chairman of the Party wrote in the Labour Monthly of January 1930:

"The workers are urged to believe that if only the Labour Government would move a point or two to the left, all would be well; instead of being assisted to see that the whole line of the Labour Government is the line of capitalism and imperialism, against the workers and that, therefore, support of

the Labour Government is necessarily support of capitalism. In this way the Left and the Right in the Labour Party are objectively allied parts of a single machine."

However, with the growth and development of revisionist ideas, the role of the Party has become identical with that of the left social democracy. In fact, that is precisely how the C.P. leaders see themselves, not as leaders of a proletarian vanguard party but as a left wing ginger group, as an appendage of the Labour Party. They are increasingly blurring over the differences between Marxism-Leninism and social democracy, to such an extent that it is now almost impossible to see the dividing line. This is especially noticeable in their nauseating crawling to such as Cousins and other left wingers. They call the Daily Worker the "paper of the Left." To all intents and purposes, they are part and parcel of left social democracy; objectively, they perform the same function for the capitalists, constituting one of their last-ditch ideological weapons.

TROTSKYISTS

But this is not all. There is a small but growing minority within the minority which has seen through the antics of both right and left social democracy. These elements are particularly strong among the youth, and because of the rise of Khrushchov, the degeneration of the C.P.G.B. and the abandonment of its vanguard role, the Young Socialists has become a happy hunting ground for Trotskyism. In common with the revisionists, the Trotskyists are also trying to transform the Labour Party by pushing it to the left, and whereas on the one hand, the revisionists are too timid to demand the resignation of the Labour Prime Minister and only say "Wilson Must Act," on the other hand, the Trotskyists say boldly "Wilson Must Go." They are doing everything in their power to maintain the illusion that the Labour Party can be pressurized into acting in a more militant manner. They present themselves as an alternative leadership to both the right and left wing leaders, who they call "centrists" and "false lefts" to enable themselves to pose as the "genuine revolutionary left." The whole concept of Left against Right is a monumental fraud. To counterpose Left against Right as the reformists and revisionists do, or sham left against genuine left as the Trotskyists do, is to become party to this fraud. Marxist-Leninists do not participate in this fraud; they counterpose revolution to reform, Marxism-Leninism to revisionism. In effect, the Trotskyists strive to prevent the working class vanguard organising along revolutionary lines. Thus, they are another ideological reserve of monopoly capitalism in the era of its decline.

FALSE "MARXIST-LENINISTS"

But there are still some remaining elements of the Left with which we must deal. There are some elements who call themselves Marxist-Leninist who agree with the above analysis about the Labour Party, but instead of committing the error of trying to transform the Labour Party, they make the equally serious error of trying to transform the Communist Party. If we worked along these lines we would be attempting the impossible, directing our efforts into useless channels. These are right opportunists.

But there are also other elements who call themselves Marxist-Leninist who are left opportunists. Although we categorically state that there is no possibility of transforming the C.P.G.B., nevertheless we do say that there are still many sincere comrades within it who do

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not abandon to the revisionists. We do believe in the combination of work both inside and outside the C.P.G.B., so that arising out of the struggle against revisionism, the basis can be laid for the reconstitution of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. But the left opportunists write off the Party altogether and say that there is nothing good at all left in it. They cannot patiently conduct a long drawn out struggle against reformism and revisionism, different brands of the fabric of opportunism which must be burned piece by piece. They cannot patiently build up our small forces into larger ones. No. With what little we've got, with our very small forces, they want to set everybody alight. They are adventurists who are acting as provocateurs, endeavouring to make the tiny embryo Marxist-Leninist movement bash its little head up against a brick wall. Sorry "comrades," we have other fish to fry. Therefore, it is true to say that both the right and left opportunists hovering around our movement, are just two more ideological reserve weapons in the capitalist armoury.

OUR DUTY

What is to be done? The problems facing the vanguard of the working class are difficult and complicated, but not insurmountable. Before our problems can be solved, they must be understood. This requires an objective analysis of our actual situation as it really is and not as we would like it to be. It is to throw light on the objective role of the various elements within the Left that this analysis from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint has been attempted.

Can It Be Transformed

The essence of Paul Rivers' argument is that there is such an anti-revisionist ferment going on inside the Communist Party of Great Britain, that it is possible to transform it into a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party. To quote from the letter:

"The situation has changed dramatically within the past year and there is much drastic rethinking going on by many Party members. To fail to recognise this, to fail to plan tactics accordingly, would be the greatest disservice to Marxism-Leninism. The smear campaign, the suppression of facts and the underhand tactics of calling on Party loyalty and trust to get away with these manoeuvres, have led to a sense of shame by many C.P.G.B. members; and a feeling of resentment against those "cadres" who consciously lent themselves to such falsifications. World developments have so thoroughly confirmed the truth of what we anti-revisionists have consistently said, that there is now no possible excuse for any C.P.G.B. member continuing to trust John Gollan or to continue to accept present policies and programme."

The above is a hopelessly exaggerated and highly idealistic picture of the internal situation inside the Party, which simply is not true. You are not dealing now with a party which contains 35,000 highly politically conscious members. You are dealing with a crowd with a generally low political consciousness, apathetic, and content to allow Gollan and Palme Dutt to do their thinking for them. This is inevitable in a party with a petty bourgeois leadership, which long ago degenerated into a caucus of office holders and parliamentary cretins. One of us joined the Party 26 years ago and can testify that the type of person the Party attracts today is very very different from the dedicated enthusiast of years back. As is inevitable in all social-democratic type Communist Parties, the ideological level has progressively dropped lower and lower. In fact, we can say with certainty that the ideological level of the Young Socialists is far higher than that of the average C.P. member today.

Of course it is true that there are exceptions. Some members are concerned about the political degeneration of the Party. Some do follow the Marxist-Leninist arguments of the Chinese and Albanian comrades. Yes, some are concerned, but they are exceptions. Paul Rivers commits the petty bourgeois idealist mistake of making the exception

the norm. Our strategy and tactics must always be based on objective facts, not on subjective wishes and delusions.

If we were to follow his advice, basing our strategy and tactics on a myth, we would be on to an enormous bum steer. Hasn't enough energy been wasted by well-meaning people devoting all their efforts trying to transform the Labour Party? Are we to repeat this terrible mistake with the Communist Party? The C.P.G.B. cannot be transformed into a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party. There is not a hope in hell's chance of doing it.

Does this mean that we wash our hands on the Party and hand it on a platter to the revisionists? By no means. We do continue to carry forward the banner of Marxism-Leninism, defending it both inside and outside the Party, but without kidding ourselves that we can do the impossible. Our immediate task is to rally the vanguard, and our work inside the Party is directed towards fulfilling this task, so that when our comrades inside the Party are expelled or feel that they can no longer further our cause inside, they will be in a position to form the nucleus of the new Marxist-Leninist party outside.

Comrade Paul Rivers must realise that the process of degeneration inside the C.P.G.B. has been taking place over a long period, that the machinery of the Party is in the hands of the revisionists and that democratic centralism does not operate. It is not a question of healing a healthy body, as the body we are talking about is rotten. Therefore, our job is to create the conditions for the birth of a healthy organ, be it on ever so narrow a basis when we start. A healthy baby, even though it is tiny when it is born, can still thrive and grow big.

If Comrade Rivers remains unconvinced, let him count up the number of anti-revisionist delegates at the next Party Congress to see which of us is more realistic.

Two Surrey Trade Unionists.

American Negro Struggle Attains New Heights

During the third week in August the fight of the American negroes against oppression, and exploitation reached new heights with the outbreak of violent resistance to police brutalities in Los Angeles.

The fighting has its origins in the pitiful living conditions of American negroes as a whole, and of those in Los Angeles' 'negro quarter' — Watts — in particular. Here 1/3 of the city's 520,000 negroes live in a segregated area of ca. 20 square miles with a population density four times as great as that anywhere else in L.A. 34% of the adults are unemployed, 60% live on 'relief'. Economic and social conditions have deteriorated over the years.

Although the fighting started in a small way, it grew to immense proportions as the fascist tactics of the U.S. administration failed to quell the militancy of the negroes. Police with guns and dogs and 20,000 national guardsmen of the 40th armoured division with tanks, helicopters, gas, bayonets and guns, fought pitched battles with the negroes, whose strength and determination were intensified and not reduced by the imperialist tactics.

The significant feature of this new outbreak is the clearly growing realisation among the negroes that a mere paper equality, and only pacific measures will not improve their lot. They must organise to meet an enemy who is identical with the enemy of the liberation movements of the world — U.S. imperialism. Many placards made this position clear.

They have rejected the farcical 'civil rights' legislation as they fight against the fascist violence which goes with it. They have rejected Dr. Martin Luther King who once again turned up on the scene to help the American ruling class by appealing for calm, and denouncing the militants. They have proved to themselves that the C.P.U.S.A.'s policy of support for solely peaceful, legal tactics in gaining equality, and freedom from oppression is ineffectual.

Now they must organise, in alliance with the oppressed working masses of the U.S.A. to meet the fascist violence with revolutionary violence.

ENEMIES OF WORLD PEACE AND SOCIALISM

A VICIOUS EXAMPLE

LENIN never tired of exposing the "social democratic" politicians for what they really were.

Long ago, he relentlessly stripped their pretensions and showed beyond doubt, that they were the stooges of the capitalists within the ranks of the world labour movement.

In Britain, where decades of "social-reformist" ideology and practice have served to stifle the militancy of the working class movement, confuse it, and turn it into a prey on which all sorts of vultures fatten themselves, it is vital that we continue Lenin's struggle to vanquish these utterly false "friends of the people."

The "Labour Party," due to its lack of revolutionary theory and its carefully forged links with capitalism, has long been a happy hunting ground for a freakish type of political hybrid fondly misnamed by the capitalist Press as "Socialist."

We in Britain, bearing painful memories of the MacDonalds, Thomases, Bevens and Attlees of this world, have come to regard their successors much as a mother regards the whooping-cough and measles. They are troublesome and dangerous but have to come and afflict each generation.

The Wilsons and Callaghans will come and go and come again until the British people, with a united working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard at the forefront go through the necessary experiences and are confronted with the necessary problems which must inevitably impel them to take matters into their own hands and determine their destiny in a revolutionary way.

"SOCIALIST" STALWART

One fairly typical example of a "Labour" stalwart is Maurice Edelman, Member of Parliament for the working class constituency of Coventry North. As to whether he is "Right," "Centre" or "Left," we are at a loss to explain. We do not apologise for this. If one is to judge by the antics of certain "Labour" M.P.s and even Ministers, they themselves do not know where they are.

Albeit, Mr. Edelman is reputed to be quite a pundit on what is what in the world and the capitalist Press liberally avail themselves of his talents, unhibited by the fact that he is one of "Labour's" shining intellectuals.

Thus, on July 6, the *Daily Express* carried an important article written by him, the burden of which was an ardent plea for the continuation of the "solid bridges" built between the West and Eastern Europe since the Khrushchov era.

Says Edelman: "The bridges between North and South Vietnam are being destroyed but the U.S.A. and Britain hold on desperately to the East-West bridges."

As a commendation for this he quotes no less than Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and a chief spokesman for rapacious U.S. imperialism.

Our next quoted authority is the Hungarian leader, Janos Kadar: "We have many projects in common with the West, including peace."

So we begin to get a defined perspective of "social democracy," U.S. imperialism and Khrushchovite revisionism, all in accord.

Behind the canvas of this landscape, thunders the American bombs as they rain down on Socialist North Vietnam.

"UGLY CO-OPERATION"

Edelman boasts that it was none other than he, who, in 1945, first used the concept of "functional co-operation" between Western imperialism and the Socialist camp—promptly castigated then by *Isvestia* as a plan for economic imperialism and correctly so. Now, he informs us, "it's an O.K. activity in Russia. Everybody's doing it."

This illuminates the gradual process of the Kennedy-Khrushchov arrangement for "peaceful evolution" of Socialism into new forms of capitalist exploitation; of "one world without wars," with no distinction between an unjust war of suppression and a just war of liberation; of the nonsensical "complete and general disarmament" slogan in the era of armed revolutionary struggles and the general acute crisis of imperialist domination; of the complete and traitorous abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the modern revisionist drive about a "Party and State of the whole people" and a multilateral "vanguard" of Socialism, of "leftish unity," not necessarily led by the Communists but including some M.P.s and a few Ministers. In a word, the outright betrayal of the working class and Marxism-Leninism. This "Socialist" pundit gives

us obligingly a few modern examples of "functional co-operation" and a lesson by negative example, in the bargain.

"Krupps plan to set up a £3½ million machine-tool plant in Poland, based on joint investment and a sharing of technical knowledge."

Alfred Krupp is a convicted war-criminal. Every penny of the colossal profits of his firm is stained with the blood of innocent people through two world wars. Millions of Poles perished in the second world war. His "joint investment" with the Polish leaders will, of course net him still more profits—this time from the labour power of Polish workers—instead of the flesh and blood of his Polish victims of Hitler's concentration camps.

We advise the Polish leaders: If you really want a Socialist Poland and not a country that will go the same way as Tito's Yugoslavia, then keep out the Krupps. German monopoly-capital has no interest in a Socialist Poland but only an interest in a capitalist Poland.

Edelman then tells us that I.C.I., the biggest of Britain's capitalists, is joining with Hungary in building a huge plastics plant there and that Soviet leaders, Breznev and Kosygin "have turned a kindly eye on these increasing arrangements between Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia with the West, including West Germany." "Russia has economic problems and . . . knows that there is a whole area . . . in which the Soviet bloc can benefit from Western finance-investment and knowledge; that partly explains why the Soviet leaders have left the Chinese to do most of the anti-Western insults, while they have concentrated on "goulash communism" at home and prudence abroad." A grim and pointed estimation.

TWO DIFFERING LOGICS

The logic of imperialists, their social democratic job-servers and the modern revisionist renegades from Leninism, is subject to the same objective laws of development. They run counter to the tides of history cover up for each other in various ways and increasingly deepen the contradiction between themselves and all that is progressive and revolutionary.

In our era, the mightiest bastion of world peace and Socialism is the 650 million Chinese people, led by their Communist Party and its Chairman, Mao-tse-tung. For this reason, all the reactionaries find expression for their enmity towards the working peoples by lining their gun-sights on People's China. The "Labour" M.P. for Coventry N. proves no exception to the rule.

To quote him again: "In a world where the greatest non-American Power is seen by the U.S. as her natural enemy, not Russia but China is seen as the candidate for that role." He then proceeds to tell us that "strengthened by Eastern Europe's links with the West, Russia today has natural affinities with Britain and the U.S.A." and a joint concern with them in keeping Europe stable and in "containing China;" to "understand Russia's dilemma with China" and to look for new ways of "functional co-operation."

The thinking of the imperialists and their agents of various hues are like streams which, sooner or later, meet in one river. For their essential objective situation is one and the same. Subjectively they overestimate their own strength and position and underestimate the strength and potentialities of the revolutionary forces.

The observations of Edelman and his ilk have great value for all the working peoples.

To know the mind of the enemy is half-way to victory; if the threats and insults hurled at the People's Republic of China multiply a million-fold, then this serves very well to distinguish friend from foe and greatly clarify the position, not only in relation to China but to all the revolutionary, liberation forces of the world, now striving for the ultimate and certain victory.

DAVE VOLPE.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

— — THE FACTS.

by AHILYA NOONE

LIKE the people of many Latin American and Caribbean territories, the Dominicans have fought for their freedom for decades. In 1844, they proclaimed their independence of Haiti, their neighbour on the island of Hispaniola. From then on the territory was ruled by the local oligarchy. These rulers were unable to maintain their hold over the country except with the financial help of European interests to whom the country became heavily indebted. Meanwhile the armed peasants were used as a means of putting leaders into and out of power.

U.S. IMPERIALISM INTERVENES

In 1904, President Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine proclaimed that chronic wrong doing or lack of order in any country called for the intervention of civilised states, "and in the Western hemisphere, the adherence of the U.S. to the Monroe Doctrine may force the U.S., however reluctantly in flagrant cases of such wrong doing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police force."

This marked the beginning of their intervention into the affairs of the Dominican Republic. They proceeded in their self-assumed role of international gendarme, now viciously, openly interfering, now quietly but still brutally protecting their interests with the willing co-operation of local dictators.

In 1907, they took over control of the customs of the country in order to forestall those European powers who were threatening to collect their debts by force. From 1916 to 1924 they occupied the country militarily. They had to intervene they said to establish law and order as political chaos had developed.

During the military occupation the National Guard had been trained by the Americans. At the head of the submissive army was Trujillo. Now the American presence was no longer necessary. Instead a ruthless and efficient dictator was to rule the country for many years and in the end to incur the displeasure of the United States of America.

ENTER TRUJILLO

Raphael Leonidas Trujillo—the archetypal dictator, seized power in 1930. He dissolved all opposition and political parties, carrying out systematic repression of the opposition. The brutal persecutions, the extermination centres, the development of even more involved forms of physical and mental persecution, the terror in which the people lived was easily comparable with the worst atrocities of the Nazi state machinery. Trujillo, along with the Catholic clergy ruled the country, mostly following a Washington line.

This could not help but breed resistance. The hatred of Yankee imperialism had already stirred the anger of the people. The persecutions of the local dictator spurred on their hatred. Their main problem was that their resistance was spontaneous, rather than organised. Moreover it met only Trujillo's sophisticated persecutions.

Nevertheless, political ideas permeated the country to give shape to their resistance. After the Spanish Civil War, Communist, Socialist, Anarchist, Liberal ideas were brought to the country by refugees from Spain. And within the country political parties were formed to organise the urban and agricultural proletariat, and to foment activity—e.g. strikes. Trujillo's reaction was to kill, or to send into exile the leaders of the people.

Now invasions from outside the country were organised, but these met with little success. A 1947 invasion was fought and driven back by the American Navy on the high seas. By the time a new invasion was organised, the Americans had armed Trujillo's own forces, and the 1949 invasion too was repulsed.

In 1959, all the exiles outside the Republic united to form the Movement for the Liberation of Dominica. Six months after the Cuban Revolution, on June 14, a third invasion set out, from Cuba. But North American planes, arms and tanks, plus U.S. "advisers" met them, and once again the invaders were defeated. A contributing factor to the failure of this movement was that there

was no organised underground movement within the country to help them.

During Trujillo's regime he was also engaged in reorganising the economy of the country to his own advantage. He bought the greater part of the sugar industry from the weak local bourgeoisie, and developed a limited amount of other industry, all under his own ownership, e.g. cocoa, coffee. He took control of the export trade. Trujillo made himself the local bourgeoisie of the Dominican Republic.

The defeats suffered by the invaders helped the people to realise that although these particular struggles had been unsuccessful, there was a way of overcoming their sufferings. In November 1959, the June 14 Movement was founded secretly, to continue to fight for the liberation of the Dominican Republic. This was discovered by the police in January 1960, before it could act. Over 1,000 prisoners were taken. But something else had happened. Trujillo recognised the importance of the movement which involved even members of his own government. He was forced to make concessions.

It was too late. His tyrannical behaviour had forced even the Catholic Church to desert him. The people had united against him across class barriers. Even the Americans had now decided to jettison him—and this for the interesting reason that they were preoccupied with the "problem" of Castro. They realised that if they were to condemn Castro on the grounds that he was a "dictator," they would certainly have to withhold their support from Trujillo. Also Trujillo was threatening the economic interests of imperialism as he had most of the economy of the country under his own and his family's control.

Ruthlessly the U.S. went about the next step. They chose four generals to prepare a coup against Trujillo—among them Imbert Barrerras. On May 30, 1961 Trujillo was assassinated.

A LIBERAL INTERVAL

Juan Bosch attained power in the American imposed elections of December 1963, in the first free elections for thirty years. But the measures he and his government proposed to introduce frightened American imperialism. He allowed total political liberty in the country. He attempted to make trading agreements with European countries. He set a top price for sugar, and put a kind of development tax on land measures which affected some local and all foreign capitalists. Agrarian reforms seemed likely too. Bosch would not participate in the aggressive policy of the U.S. against Cuba.

In addition Trujillo's death had resulted in the unique situation whereby that 60% of the sugar industry which he had owned had passed to the state—and had not been wrested from it between 1960 and 1963. Both the U.S. and the local capitalists wanted to take it away from the Bosch government. U.S. imperialism, the high clergy, and sections of the military combined to trample the people's liberty. Bosch was denounced as a "Communist" and removed by a military coup, led by Wessin, in September 1963.

THE PEOPLE ACT

Reid Cabral's right wing dictatorship took over and ruled until it was overthrown by the united forces of the workers and peasants, the intellectuals and small industrialists, as well as some of the military under the leadership of General Camaño on April 24, 1965. This united movement would undoubtedly have been successful (it was on the point

of victory) had the United States marines not been sent in in answer to an appeal from Wessin. But now the people had been armed to defend their interests. Perhaps they have not been successful but they now know their real strength, they are still defending a part of the city and their morale is clearly still high. Only recently a very successful rally was held in the "rebel"-held area of Santo Domingo at which the people reiterated their firm stand against Yankee imperialism. But a long struggle lies ahead for them.

THE O.A.S. (U.S.) ACTS

United States' imperialism has yet again exposed itself to the peoples of the world—particularly in its manoeuvring within the Republic. Its first major blunder, the unilateral sending in of troops aroused such strong expressions of disapproval on a world scale, that they sought to hide behind their puppet organisation the O.A.S. Even within this body there was denunciation of the U.S. action but their eventual action proved once more that they are the tool of Yankee imperialism. Perhaps the O.A.S. stand-by force does have a Brazilian Commander, but his deputy will be an American and we know who will carry the big stick.

Then clearly the U.S. has back-pedalled in their support for the various groups within the Republic. Even Liberals, and progressive people throughout the world have not been fooled by Johnson's claim to protect U.S. nationals. The Dominican Republic is a sovereign state and Camaño and his supporters demand merely a return to the constitution of 1963—the free choice of the people. Faced with this world reaction Johnson withdrew his support for Wessin. Now he finds it difficult to silence Imbert, whom he has actually placed in a strong position. That stooge is getting out of hand and will not agree to the "compromise" proposal of the leadership of Guzman, a former minister under Bosch. Camaño stands firmly by his original demands; with him the people stand united and armed.

AND WILSON REACTS

How has the British Labour Government reacted to this trampling of the liberty of an independent people by American imperialism? Once again it has sprung to the defence of its master, once again revealing itself as essentially pro-imperialist.

Everything indicates a long and bitter struggle for the people of the Dominican Republic, in their efforts to achieve real independence. But their struggle will inevitably be successful. We salute the heroism of the Dominican People. Working people in Britain support the just struggle of the Dominican people against U.S. imperialism and for peace and democracy in their homeland.

U.S. IMPERIALISTS—GET OUT OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC!

INDIA

ANTI U.S. DEMONSTRATION BY THE KARNATAKA YOUTH LEAGUE

by A. K. Dutta

(General Secretary of Karnataka Y.L.)

The inaugural conference of the Karnataka Youth League was held in Bangalore on June 5, 1965. Delegates and observers from 16 districts of Karnataka and observers from Bengal and Tamilnad attended.

A resolution was passed severely condemning U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

After the Conference the delegates marched in a procession to the U.S. "Cultural Centre," Bangalore. They staged a demonstration before the "Cultural Centre," shouting slogans condemning U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America, particularly in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

The delegates hoisted the flags of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the flag-masts of the U.S. "Cultural Centre," and pasted placards to the window-panes ("Hands off Vietnam, U.S. aggressors," "We support the Dominican peoples' struggle against U.S. imperialism").

Below is a copy of the memorandum addressed to President Johnson, which was handed in at the "Cultural Centre," and acknowledged for delivery to President Johnson.

We heartily congratulate the patriots of Vietnam in their valiant struggle against the brutal aggression of the U.S. imperialists, and support their just cause. The forces of liberation will surely triumph.
To,

THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A.

We, the delegates of the Karnataka Youth Conference, denounce and vehemently condemn your naked aggression against the people of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and the Congo.

You have replaced International Law by the Law of the Jungle.

We condemn:

1. Your barbaric atrocities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the name of "democracy" and "freedom."
2. Your use of gas warfare and napalm bombs against the patriots of Vietnam.
3. The indiscriminate bombings of civilians in Vietnam.
4. Your unilateral intervention in the Congo in the name of the United Nations and your atrocities in Stanleyville.
5. Your imperialistic suppression of the revolution of the Dominican Republic and the attempt to impose a puppet regime with the help of the puppet troops of the O.A.S. This is a crime not only against the people of the Dominican Republic but against all humanity.

We demand:

1. The immediate withdrawal of all aggressive forces and arms from Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, and the cessation of all your conspiratorial activities aimed at subjugating and exploiting the people of Latin America, Asia and Africa.
2. The abolition of all your foreign aggressive bases which are used to enslave the people of these countries, and which serve your grand design of world domination and exploitation.
3. That you disband your aggressive reactionary alliances and military blocs which are used to blackmail and threaten the people of all countries.

In spite of your threats and nuclear blackmail you are nothing but a "paper tiger" before the peoples' struggles against imperialism and for national liberation. We seriously warn you that you will be annihilated by the inevitable historical process. Remember we buried Hitler and Mussolini, the criminal fascist dictators. You have surpassed your past masters in crime by your present atrocities. Your fate is written on the wall of time. Doom and destruction await you. Heed the voice of the revolutionary youth of Karnataka and mend your ways while there is still time.

BELGIUM

The organ of the (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party of Belgium, "Voice of the People," reports in its issue of July 2, 1965:—

"Following the 'Proclamation of Solidarity with the Vietnamese People' by the Communist Party of Belgium, a considerable number of the politically most conscious youngsters and workers have volunteered to fight side by side with the popular, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist forces of Vietnam, whenever the N.F.L. deems fit to call upon them. They consider themselves from now on as fully mobilised for action against the American imperialist aggressor."

READ THE CARIB

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL
Produced by Caribbean and Latin-American workers and their friends

FIGHTING FOR
CARIB-LATIN-AMERICAN UNITY
AGAINST IMPERIALISM
FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE
AND SOCIALISM

Write to: CARIB,
Top Floor, 374 Grays Inn Road, W.C.1

Latin America and the Caribbean

EXTRACTS FROM "BOLLETTINO" THE APPEAL OF THE PACHACUTEC GUERRILLA TO THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE

IN MARCH 1965, the militants of the M.I.R. (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) initiated armed struggle. The guerrillas are led by Luis de la Puente, a lawyer, aged 38, ex-leader of A.P.R.M., a party he left in 1959 to found the M.I.R.

The leaflet we publish marks the beginning of the phase of expansion of the struggle, following the phase of organisation in which the political-military bases of the action were formed, and particularly in the zones of Puno and Apumirac.

Exploited Brethren,

Quickly, we approach the hour in which ILLARY CHASCA (Star of the Morning) (1), in the Valley of Convencion in the heart of peasant Peru, will light up the sky with faith and hope for the poor, the exploited and the oppressed.

The Pachacutec Guerilla (2) commanded by Luis de la Puente Uceda, General Secretary of the M.I.R., is ready to avenge the peasant blood shed by the servants of the feudalists and capitalists.

The Pachacutec Guerilla is ready to defeat whoever dares to attack its fortresses.

The Pachacutec Guerrilla is the military defensive arm of the peasants, to avenge their massacred brethren, and to ensure that the land is handed over to its true owners, without indemnity.

The Pachacutec Guerilla is the revolutionary torch to illuminate the way for the exploited people of Peru, and to set alight their desire for complete liberation.

The Pachacutec Guerilla is one of the instruments of the people to put an end to the miseries, the abuses, the lies and the crimes of the latifundists and big bourgeoisie. We are certain that our banner will be raised by other Peruvians throughout the whole arc of the Andes, to lead our people towards the same objectives of liberty and justice.

From high in the mountains we say to our exploited brethren: The hour is near, ILLARY CHASCA is already illuminating the horizon, and nobody can put the brake on its ascent.

The moment has arrived when the peasants, workers, small traders, small industrialists, small landowners, artisans, clerical workers, students, artists, intellectuals, professional people, policemen and soldiers will understand that history cannot be stopped, and that truth and justice will triumph no matter what the obstacles.

The people's struggle is against the latifundists, the big bourgeoisie, their civil and military servants and American imperialism, the biggest enemy of the peoples of the world.

All the exploited people must be united, must know that this struggle is their struggle, that this cause is their cause, must think about the exploitation that they have suffered in the past and that they suffer now, must think about their wives, mothers and children, for whom they do not want the same torments, privations and outrages.

Those who betray their own class and serve the enemies of the people are not worthy of calling themselves Peruvians, and will not be able to escape punishment.

To the appearance in the revolutionary firmament of our country of the brilliant light of ILLARY CHASCA, we exhort the valorous Peruvian people, heirs of Pachacutec and Tupac Amaru to:

strengthen their revolutionary faith, by tearing away the blindfolds hiding the truth; maintain the unity of all the exploited people against those who are responsible for our misery, hunger and bad health, and the backwardness of our country;

organise themselves clandestinely to develop the insurrection, using all means at their disposal; participate decisively in the defence and strengthening of the Trade Union organisations, and in defence of the demands of the workers and peasants, thus raising the class and revolutionary consciousness of the masses; sort out and bear in mind the traitors, torturers and murderers of the people, for the approaching hour of justice.

Exploited Brethren,

The hour is near. Upon our faith, our unity and our work depends our victory.

We active comrades of the Pachacutec Guerilla, will do our duty and ILLARY CHASCA will shine brilliantly in the sky of Peru and the world.

We are sure that you will accomplish your historic task without fear, weakness and uncertainty.

LAND TO THE PEASANTS.
DOWN WITH THE EXPLOITERS.
POWER FOR THE PEOPLE.
LONG LIVE THE PACHACUTEC GUERRILLA.
LONG LIVE THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION.
Illary Chasca, April 1965.

Notes:

1. Locality of the Valley of Convencion in the zone of Mesa Pelata in the Andes, so called by the guerilla fighters.
2. In addition to a particular type of revolutionary tactic, the term "Guerilla" indicates, in Spanish, a group of armed revolutionaries.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

It was postulated at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. that the countries liberated from direct colonial rule would have had the possibility of choosing between two equally strong economies to aid their development. The certainty was that they would have chosen the socialist road.

In large measure, this forecast has been proven wrong. Economically, imperialism is stronger than it was. For the vast majority of these countries, only one choice was possible, which was to remain inside the capitalist system trying to safeguard at least a formal autonomy. Therefore, even the theory of co-existence as a state of peace imposed on the capitalist countries from positions of strength to sharpen imperialist contradictions, if it ever was true, is certainly not true today. In fact, in these last years, imperialism has continued to provoke wars wherever it wanted to (Algeria, Congo, Cuba, Laos, Vietnam, Malaysia, etc.) without encountering particular reactions such as to impose peace.

It may appear paradoxical, but peaceful co-existence is being practiced by the partisans of South Vietnam, who are fighting in order to impose peace on the imperialists and in order to freely choose their own future.

COLOMBIA

Traditionally, the Colombian bourgeoisie is divided into two tendencies, Conservative and Liberal. The consequence of this vertical division has been the organisation of armed bands of the respective political groups, which have thrown the country into a permanent climate of violence by both sides, costing approximately 200,000 lives.

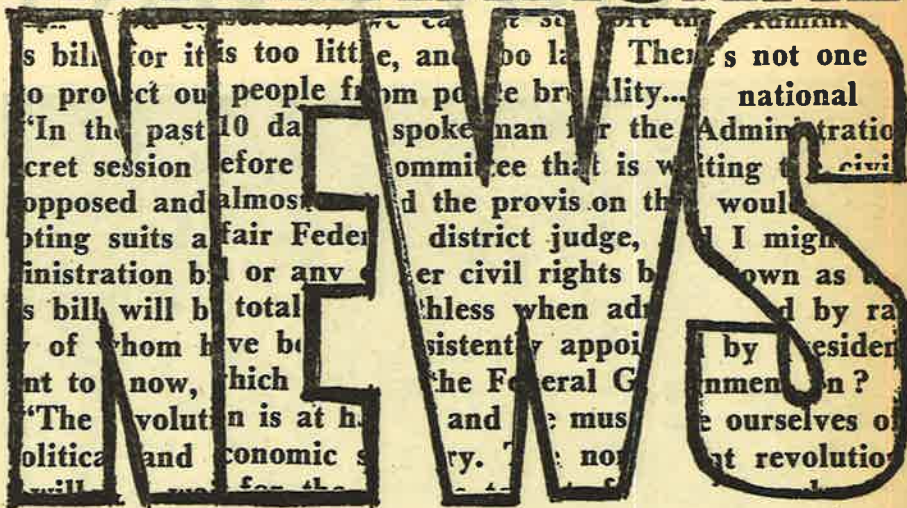
In 1957, at the fall of the dictatorship of General Rojas Pinillas, the leaders of these two traditional parties agreed to alternately share the power, based on a new constitutional system under which each party is in office for five years under its own President. Starting from 1958, the Liberal, Alberto Lleras Camargo held the office of President until 1962, then he was followed by the Conservative, Guillermo Leon Valencia, whose term ends in 1966, when he will in turn be replaced by a Liberal President, and so on.

In the opposite camp, the Communist Party, from its foundation in 1929, relied upon the peasant movement and formed an important nucleus in the region of Viota, which will soon be converted into a "self-defence zone" in accordance with the tactics of the Party in its phase of reformist involution.

Whether it was Camargo or Valencia as President, a complete "pacification" of the countryside was undertaken. So, while the C.P. enjoys relative freedom in the towns, the repressions in the countryside increase day by day.

In July 1964, the Colombian army initiated the Lazo Plan, with the object of impeding the extension of these "self-defence zones" which were developing into guerilla zones. For the second time they tried to "pacify" the famous zone of Marquetalia, with massive attacks of the army and air force, which bombed and machine-gunned the zone. However, the armed guerrillas had already aban-

INTERNATIONAL



doned the zone and the operation ended in complete failure for the army. The repression continues with growing intensity against the peasants of these regions, and through this action, the U.S. intended to provoke a military coup-d'etat.

In the last months of 1964, new guerilla fronts were opened up in different zones. There actually exist five firmly consolidated fronts: Marquetalia, El Pato, Guayabero, Sumpaz and Santander. The first two are controlled by the Colombian C.P., while the other three are controlled by the Army of National Liberation, an armed organisation which is comprised of different movements and parties of the left.

JAMAICA

On the 31st December 1964 Jamaica imported foodstuff from the U.S.A. and other countries valued at £21,000,000. What kind of foodstuff was this? Eggs, tomatoes, carrots, rice, chicken and other agricultural products that could be grown in the country.

Taking the years at random, these imports vary — 1954 — £14,649,000, 1962 — £16,195,000. Over the past six years 1959-1964 the country brought in from the capitalist countries £108,000,000; while there is agricultural land, large scale unemployment and the people are still suffering from hunger.

This is the state of things which exist in the country today, yet Jamaica is supposed to be independent. "CALLS ON AMERICANS HERE TO HELP STRENGTHEN INDEPENDENCE OF JAMAICA."

Yes, this is the way of U.S. imperialism and we all must understand that our destiny is being planned in the U.S. and world capitalist interests by the speeches at their luxury clubs.

The Jamaica Gleaner reports of the 4th July (American Independence Day) message to the U.S. capitalists and the Jamaican people by the U.S. Charge d'Affaires Mr. Lewis Purnell. "I know we are all enjoying ourselves but I think it is important to stop a moment and realise that the security and freedom which we enjoy both in the U.S. and here in Jamaica, depend to a significant extent on the sacrifices which are being made today by members of our armed forces serving in Vietnam and elsewhere and by civilians serving there and in other dangerous areas..." The statement continues... "We all recognise and accept that the U.S. is committed to seeking a peaceful world."

Interfere, intervene, commit aggression, murder, bomb FAIL and try again, this is the bloodthirsty nature of IMPERIALISM led by U.S. imperialism and their stooges.

GUYANA

The public stand taken by the Guyana National Liberation Movement at home

ANGLO-AMERICAN "INTER-DEPENDENCE" (Front Page Cartoon)

One of the leading newspapers in Peking, the Ta Kung Pao, recently carried this cartoon by Kuo Chao-chuan. It illustrates the relation between the British Labour Government and the U.S. Johnson administration.

The United States is playing dual tactics with regard to Vietnam in a desperate attempt to escape final defeat. While escalating its aggressive war by sending more and more U.S. combat troops to South Vietnam and intensifying its air raids in the North, the United States is peddling "unconditional discussions" which are designed to bring the Vietnamese people to terms.

Britain has a part to play. A "Peace Bid Mission on Vietnam" has been organised by British Prime Minister Harold Wilson. This is a new effort by the Labour Government to do the United States a service.

The United States knows what Britain wants in return. William Bundy, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, said on March 8 of this year: "The U.S. fully supports the independence and integrity of Malaysia."

(China Features)

and overseas, over the past 18 months against right and left opportunists, careerists and the imperialist capitulationists Burnham and Jagan (both of whom claim to be socialists but are in reality "political frauds," revolutionary phrasemongers) is now ricocheting within the P.P.P. and the P.N.C. with interesting developments among the "left forces" within and outside Guyana.

The P.P.P. bureaucracy and its racists led by Cheddi Jagan having been forced to postpone the party elections for one year, have now been forced, for the third time in a decade, to make unprincipled attacks against the left wing. They have suspended Moses Bhagwan for six months; dismissed another official and a third has resigned in disgust — all members of the P.Y.O. the P.P.P. youth movement. The position of P.P.P. Chairman Brindley Benn is also very precarious.

The P.N.C.'s bureaucracy and its racists led by Burnham have also been subjected to attacks from certain left wing elements within the party and especially from the Y.S.M. the youth movement of the party. Recently Mr. Hugh a person on the left of the leadership has resigned from the party.

The P.P.P. renegades from Socialism and its principles in the anti-imperialist struggle have now established a London office. This is welcomed by G.N.L.M. and all genuine anti-imperialists since without a doubt their complete exposure internationally, as the political frauds they are, will be completed. On the other hand we can pressurise them into correcting their criminal blunders and getting back onto the road of genuine anti-imperialist struggle in a united front.

INDEPENDENCE NOW!

All Guyanese and the G.N.L.M. demand Independence Now! the immediate release of all detainees and withdrawal of the emergency regulations and foreign troops.

The Guyanese 5 point declaration and demands of October 1963 still remain a sound basis for discussion at an ALL GUYANESE NATIONAL CONFERENCE LEVEL. These are:

1. the establishment of a national crisis government...
2. the fixing of a firm and definite date for national independence...
3. a national independence constitution drawn up by Guyanese reflecting the minimum demands they will accept...
4. formula for the safeguarding of internal peace; the smooth running of the national crisis government and the adoption of a minimum national programme...
5. the creation of a large peoples' volunteer force, the nucleus of the Peoples' National Army and the quickest withdrawal of the imperialist enemy troops.

Continued on Page 14

SUPPORT THE VIETNAM U.S. IMPE



U.S. equipped puppet troops burn down thatched cottages of those who refuse to go and live in "strategic hamlets"



U.S. troops torturing the civilians of South Vietnam

The C.D.R.C.U. and Vanguard have consistently campaigned against the aggression by U.S. Imperialism and its puppets against Vietnam since our formation in November 1963.

We have continually exposed the treacherous role of the "Labour" government and the two faces of modern-revisionism. We have called three public meetings and printed three leaflets — 9,000 copies demanding **FULL SUPPORT FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE IN THEIR JUST STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION.**

We shall continue to do all in our power to support the Vietnamese people vanquish the U.S. armed forces and its lackeys everywhere.

THE BRITISH PEOPLE SHOULD DEMAND THAT PARLIAMENT STRONGLY CONDEMN U.S. AGGRESSION NOW EXPOSED AS A NAKED WAR !

The British Government as a Co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference has an inescapable duty to demand that Johnson's pirates are withdrawn back to the U.S.A. immediately.

THIS IS THE ONLY HONEST DEMAND THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT CAN MAKE IF IT IS TO MEDIATE FOR PEACE ON THE BASIS OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS.

TO BE NEUTRAL TOWARDS THIS FLAGRANT HITLER-LIKE INVASION IS OBJECTIVELY TO HELP THE INVADER AND ASSIST HIS OVERALL PLANS FOR FURTHER INVASION !

THE PEOPLES' STRUGGLES

The entire Vietnamese people have vowed time and again and are proving in practice that they will not cease their armed struggle until the last U.S. soldier has left their soil.

The South Vietnam Liberation Front in its historic March 22nd statement fully endorsed by the Vietnam Fartherland Front has stated :—

Brilliant Victories Scored by the South Viet

(1961 — end of February 1965)

Territory liberated
over 3/4 of the total area of south Viet Nam
People liberated
over 8,000,000
(2/3 of the total population of south Viet Nam)
Enemy casualties
341,000
among these, U.S. casualties
4,366
U.S. planes shot down,
destroyed or damaged
2,079
Enemy war vessels
sunk or damaged
nearly 900
Enemy military vehicles
destroyed or damaged
over 2,200
Enemy strongholds, military
sub-districts and training
centres destroyed
nearly 2,000
Enemy military trains
dynamited
over 150
Weapons captured
53,800
"Strategic hamlets" demolished
80% of the total
(over 6,400)
Enemy casualties
1961 36,000
1964 150,000
U.S. casualties
1961 30
1964 2,111
U.S. aircraft destroyed or damaged
1962 200
1964 1,027
Thanh Hoa Province
U.S. aircraft shot down 49
Nghe An Province
U.S. aircraft shot down 18



Militlawomen in the suburb of Hanoi

**All Peoples! unite and act now to c
LONG LIVE THE VAL**

VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

"..... even if we struggle for 20 years or longer and have to suffer greater hardships, we are resolved to fight to the end until not a single U.S. soldier is seen in our country"
 "we are determined to hit vigorously at the U.S. aggressors and their quislings to liberate the South, defend the North and re-unify our Fatherland"

President Ho Chi Minh's speech of 10th April 1965 :—

"..... the U.S. imperialist must respect the Geneva Agreements and withdraw from South Vietnam! They must at once stop the attacks on North Vietnam! that is the *only measure* to solve the problem of the war and to defend peace in Indo-China and South East Asia. **THERE IS NO OTHER SOLUTION.** That is our answer."

This is and will remain the one and only basis for a *genuine peace* as opposed to a *sham peace*.

To conclude we quote Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of The People's Republic of China:

"China and Vietnam are closely related, share each other's security and danger.

To help the fraternal Vietnamese resist U.S. aggression is our sacred internationalist duty.

We firmly support the March 22 statement of the South Vietnam Nation Front for Liberation. The Chinese people will exert every effort to send the heroic South Vietnamese people the necessary material aid including arms . . . stand ready to despatch their men to fight shoulder to shoulder with the South Vietnamese people whenever the latter so require. No matter what U.S. imperialism may do next, China will stand by the entire Vietnamese people and carry through to the end the struggle to defeat the unspeakably vicious U.S. aggressors."



Young workers and students in Hanoi demonstrate against U.S. aggression

Vietnam Army and People



Submitting applications for joining the army

Ha Tinh Province	
U.S. aircraft shot down	16
Quang Binh Province	
U.S. aircraft shot down	53
The Viet An Victory	
U.S. helicopters destroyed or damaged	19
U.S.-puppet troops killed or wounded over	150
The Pleiku Victory	
U.S. planes destroyed	42
Americans killed	
wounded	357
The Bien Hoa Victory	
U.S. planes destroyed or damaged	59
Americans killed or wounded	293
Shelling of U.S. Airfield	
U.S. planes destroyed	16
Enemy troops killed or wounded	70
Quang Ninh Province	
U.S. aircraft shot down	3
Bach Long Vilsland	
U.S. aircraft shot down	6
Vinh Linh	
U.S. aircraft shot down	19
The An Lao Victory	
Enemy casualties	680
The Binh Dinh Victory	
Enemy casualties	858
Surprise Attack on U.S. Army H.Q.	
Americans killed or wounded	107
Blowing up of U.S. "Embassy"	
Americans killed or wounded	217
Blowing up of U.S. Officers' Hostel	
Americans killed or wounded	155
Blowing up of U.S. "Embassy" "Advisory Group" H.Q.	
American officers killed or wounded	55
The Binh Gia Victory	
Enemy casualties over 2,000	
Enemy planes shot down or damaged	37



U.S. made weapons captured by the Liberation Army after taking a U.S. puppet stronghold

**Drive U.S. imperialism to ITS DOOM!
 WANT VIETNAMESE!**

WILSON'S 'WHITE' PAPER ON IMMIGRATION



EVEN if the British "Labour" Government were making a deliberate attempt at showing its true motives, its basic imperialistic and capitalistic character to the coloured immigrants, and to the working people of Britain in general, it could not be doing it better. We have had the support of U.S. Imperialism in Vietnam, the "incomes policy" (wage freeze), the ineffectual Race Relations Bill, all of which make it quite obvious that any actions they are prepared to take will never be in the interests of the working class.

Now we have the Government's "white" paper setting out its future policy on immigration to Britain from other parts of the Commonwealth. From those "socialists" who voiced heated protest against the Tories' 1962 Immigration Act — effectively a colour bar, we have their proposals for the more organised working of that same colour

bar. It is undisguised throughout the pamphlet that the sole aim of the government's policy is to use the immigrants from the coloured countries in the way that the British economy demands from one time to another, but at the same time to ensure that these immigrants remain restricted to those jobs which are not wanted by British workers. Hence the racial divisions among those who live and work in Britain will be maintained and encouraged. And of course like its openly imperialist predecessor, not once does the "Labour" Government mention in its pamphlet those conditions arising out of imperialist exploitation and neo-colonialism which force immigrants to leave their homes and try to find work in the metropolitan country.

A COLOUR BAR BAN

The "White" Paper does not attempt to camouflage the fact that those whom it seeks to restrict are immigrants from the "coloured" commonwealth. For example on page two it states quite clearly that:

"From 1955 a rough count was kept on the number of Commonwealth citizens from the Caribbean, Asia, East and West Africa and the Mediterranean" only.

On page four, two separate tables give the details of entry of immigrants from the "white" Commonwealth countries i.e. Canada, Australia and New Zealand on the one hand, and from "other Commonwealth and dependant territories" — clearly intended to cover the "coloured" Commonwealth as we gather from the fact that they are so drawn up as to show a net influx of immigrants from these territories.

Then we learn further that Lord Mountbatten's mission which visited a number of countries to "discuss with their government means of regulating the flow of immigrants to this country, including measures to reduce evasion of control" did in fact visit Malta, India, Nigeria, Canada, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Cyprus and Pakistan. Canada was probably added to his itinerary for the sake of appearances!

A CONTROLLED INTAKE OF "COLOURED" PEOPLE

Now the intentions of this government are clear. This so-called "Labour" government proposes to restrict the intake of immigrants from the commonwealth to 3,500. The gist of their predicament is this: that while the economy of this country demands immigrant labour, the size of the demand varies from time to time. Thus as the "Times" famous series "The Dark Million" pointed out in its forthright fashion, when unemployment was rising in 1956, the major flow of immigration from the Caribbean was falling. At present there is a certain low level of unemployment in the country which is likely to increase greatly in the autumn because of deflationary economic measures. The "Labour" government will do the Capitalists dirty work for them. They will legislate for controlled restriction.

To achieve this they will in future issue only two kinds of vouchers permitting the entry of commonwealth citizens to work in this country. Type A "to ap-

plicants, whether skilled or unskilled, who have a specific job to come to in this country." But we already know from the preceding page that it is employers who will apply for these kind of vouchers. So it will be even easier to leave the labour opportunities of Commonwealth citizens to the discretion of employers who will presumably use them when the local labour force falls off. And when is this likely to be? When the jobs are less well paid, less highly skilled — in fact the "labour" government will foster the creation of second class citizens from the Commonwealth.

Note a further escape clause — Paragraph 17, "The need for immigrant workers from the commonwealth for seasonal employment presents a special problem which will be dealt with outside the voucher scheme." In other words, We'll choose. You are like the machines necessary to our industry, not human beings born in certain historical circumstances and in search of work.

But in order that no one creeps in undetected, parents will not be permitted to bring with them their own children who happen to be between 16 and 18 years of age, for they might be able to get jobs soon after arrival. As in the days of slavery, the family of a labourer is irrelevant except in so far as it affects his working performance.

Category B vouchers will continue to be issued

"to persons with special professional qualifications and skills" i.e. —

(a) doctors, dentists, and trained nurses,

(b) graduates in technology and science with at least two years experience.

(c) non-graduates with certain professional qualifications.

So Britain's health service will continue to be run on the skills of commonwealth citizens. (If there is a serious nursing shortage, because of poor conditions of work and pay, then they can still be recruited for training on type A vouchers).

While the British imperialist governments have neglected to provide professional training for those in the colonies, or at best provided only limited facilities, she will be quite delighted to deprive them of the professional people they do have while her own emigrate for "better opportunities" in the USA and "white" dominions.

ALIENS? OR COMMONWEALTH CITIZENS?

On reading through the white paper, if one believes what it says, one must come to the conclusion that Commonwealth citizens have been so desperate to leave their homelands and get to Britain that "Evasion of existing control was being practised on a considerable scale." No figures are given but we are led to believe that it is so large as to justify the government's decision to treat commonwealth citizens as aliens. This is stated quite clearly in the document, which first describes the treatment meted out to aliens, and then advocates the identical treatment for commonwealth citizens, "at the discretion of" the government, the immigration officers, or the Home Secretary. "A general power" is sought for these persons in the sections dealing with "Evasion of Control" and "Repatriation" and with the entry of students.

Thus, for example, paragraph 24 reads "There are, however, some individuals in these or other classes who the immigration officer has good reason to suppose are unlikely to comply with their conditions of entry unless they are subject to some further supervision. The Government propose to seek power for an immigration officer to include among the conditions on which a particular commonwealth citizen is admitted one requiring him to register with the police."

In addition to the voucher control the government proposes to act arbitrarily in cases where they so desire. The Tories could not have done a better job!

"COMMONWEALTH?" "LABOUR?"

What is this farcical entity the "commonwealth"? It never was and never will be a description of a group of peoples and nations sharing common interests or wealth. It was invented merely to replace the more obvious term "empire" and to fool the people. It has always been a group of nations some of whom held less privileged positions than others and whose interests were subordinate to those of others. And at its head stood British Imperialism. This proposed "immigration" policy is yet another example of the thinly disguised colonial nature of the so-called "commonwealth." The only real fraternal grouping together of nations and peoples can be one based on mutual respect and recognition of the social and economic independence and national sovereignty of each and every member of the group.

Likewise in the "name-game" the "Labour" party too has yet again exposed itself as a pro-imperialist party, willing to pander to fascist sentiment, willing to foster racial antagonisms among working peoples, and more than ready to use tactics identical with those of the openly imperialist Tories to these ends. They will never explain to the people that the origins of the stream of immigrants from the colonies and neo-colonies to Britain lie in the British domination of the economies of these colonies.

It is yet another lesson to those neo-colonialist stooges in the Caribbean who, instead of developing the independent balanced economies in our territories, collaborate with the foreign capitalists, while depending on the stream of immigration to solve that own unemployment problems.

But we in the Caribbean do not want to emigrate. We will work both here and at home to create societies which do not force emigration, humiliation, and racial exploitation on our people. In the meantime none of your words Mr. Wilson and Co. — "Commonwealth," "Labour" will fool us. Your actions will show us your true nature.

(By courtesy of "Carib")

ANNOUNCEMENT

During the last few months owing to circumstances beyond our control Vanguard did not appear every month.

We apologise to all our readers and supporters.

We have been able to overcome these difficulties and as from OCTOBER 1965 Vanguard will appear regularly every month.

The closing dates for all contributions of articles, letters, reports etc., are as follows:—

October 1965 issue — closing date 10th September.

November 1965 issue — closing date 10th October.

December 1965 issue — closing date 10th November.

MALAYSIA IS COMING APART

British imperialism has suffered a serious blow.

Singapore is no longer a part of "Malaysia."

Thus, this pot-pouri, cooked up in Whitehall, has turned bad, caused dismay in London and serious disarray to the imperialist military-political-economic ambitions in south east Asia.

Due partly to the particular interrelations of British and U.S. imperialist interests there and to the geographical-military importance of Singapore, the secession is also a serious setback for the No. 1 enemy of world peace and the independence of the peoples . . . U.S. imperialism.

Singapore lies at the Southern tip of the Malayan Peninsular about half-way between Indonesia and Indochina. It has long been a major naval base of the British imperialists and is the head quarter and supply depot for the 52,000 troops now deployed throughout "Malaysia," in order to defend the enormous rubber, tin and oil investments of the British and suppress the strivings of the multi-racial peoples of that area for self-determination and genuine independence.

The "Federation of "Malaysia" was hatched out by Whitehall with full collaboration by the Malayan and Singaporean bourgeoisie under Prince Abdul Rahman and Cambridge-educated pseudo-Socialist, Lee Kuan Yew, only in September 1964.

With the two other "Federations" master-minded by British imperialism . . . the West Indies "Federation" and "Federation" of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland . . . it is doomed to explode in the faces of its creators.

Somewhat sobered by its discouraging experiences of substituting "divide and rule" by the neo-colonialist sleight — of hand trick of "federate" and rule, Whitehall is even now pensively experimenting with yet a new trick this time in the oil-rich Persian Gulf—namely "unite and rule."

It must be said that this, too, is experiencing a rough passage and even the suave, charming "left-wing" darling of the "Labour" Party, Colonial Secretary Anthony Greenwood, is finding it hard going to sell this trick to the Arab peoples. So far from pouring "oil on troubled waters," it seems that troubled waters are coming to the oil and Mr. Greenwood's engaging smile is rather forced, these days.

The capitalist Press is sorting out all kinds of "excuses" for the Singapore debacle. Racial tensions; party politics; personality feuds; and whatnot. Nonetheless, the real reasons for the Singapore secession go deeper than that. Clearly, it heralds the break-up of "Malaysia."

1. The contradictions between the comprador Malayan exploiters on the mainland and their Party, U.M.N.O. and the comprador counterparts in Singapore and their Party, Peoples Action — made more acute by the Malayan fear of domination by the Singaporeans.

2. The chauvinistic anxiety of the Malayan compradors to be in a position to dominate all the non-Malayan peoples of "Malaysia" such as Indians, Pakistanis, Dyaks, Kadagans, Ibaans, in addition to the Chinese living on the mainland.

3. These contradictions were sharpened by the external confrontation of Indonesia, which correctly sees in "Malaysia" a neo-colonialist threat to her own revolutionary independence and a betrayal of the Manila Agreement.

4. The contradictions were still further aggravated by the victories of the Vietnamese patriots against U.S. imperialism, which give a powerful impetus to all the liberation struggles of south east Asia and the rest of the world.

5. The fact is that these anti-imperialist struggles, including that being waged by the Malayan National Liberation League in N. Kalimantan for independence, are mobilising the support of all the freedom loving peoples of the world, comprising 90% of the population.

Continued on Page 14

Ben Bella, Boumedienne And The Revisionists

by Arnold Harwaelt

Article Published in "Voix du Peuple" (July 1965)

WE HOPE THAT Colonel Boumedienne had both the time and opportunity to read the revisionist press after the 19th June, because in that case he would have been able to appreciate the humour of the situation. On July 14, he received a message from Kosygin congratulating him on his rise to the position of Prime Minister. The Soviet President cordially wishes his Algerian colleague "great success in this noble function, for the welfare of the Algerian people." In the editorial offices of "Humanite" and "Drapeau Rouge," however, this despatch undoubtedly caused embarrassment, because they had not yet digested the inevitable change. In reality, the Algerian events demonstrated in a striking way the lack of principle, the subjectivism and confusion of the Khrushchevite revisionists, while proving at the same time, the intolerable interference in the internal affairs of other countries practiced by the Soviet leaders.

First Phase: Ben Bella allows himself to be used by the USSR and Yugoslavia. He surrounds himself with revisionists and Trotskyists. He aligns himself more and more towards the foreign policy of Moscow and Belgrade, and permits the Trotskyists and Titoists to make Algeria an experimental station for their political-economic theories. The revisionists discover unlimited admiration for him, sanctify him champion of socialism and award him the Lenin Prize.

Second Phase: June 19. Ben Bella is deposed. Without waiting a minute, the revisionist chorus kicks up an infernal row. First "L'Unita," "Drapeau Rouge" and "L'Humanite" start screaming, then the Hungarian papers; the radio transmissions of the socialist countries virtuously express their indignation, demanding the release of the ex-President, and the overthrow of Boumedienne, who is called all the names under the sun including fascist, militarist, dictator, reactionary, etc. Several of these papers' correspondents in Algeria discover massacres which they refer to as shooting, and they keep on shouting until they are expelled. In Moscow, Sofia and Belgrade, students are allowed to demonstrate against the Algerian Revolutionary Council where some weeks before, Vietnamese students were brutally beaten up by the police for protesting against American aggression in their country. The Soviet delegates on the International Preparatory Committee of the Ninth Festival of Youth and Students forced a vote on a scandalous resolution which constituted a characteristic interference in Algeria's internal affairs. The diplomatic personnel from socialist countries under revisionist leadership, carried out a feverish activity of support to their local agents desperately trying to launch the counter-revolution.

Third Phase: Contrary to their hopes and plans, the revisionists find out that the Algerian people receive coldly their appeals for a Benbellist comeback. The Revolutionary Council affirms its position and invites some foreign diplomats and technicians to go and exercise their talents in their own country. In Moscow, as before in Belgrade, they are already changing their minds. But in Paris, Rome and Brussels, the Khrushchevite revisionists press on regardless and triumphantly trot out the U.S. recognition of the Revolutionary Council, "proof" of the reactionary nature of the events of June 19.

Fourth Phase: It seems like the Soviet leaders are going to retrace their steps. In Algeria, the first declarations and acts of the Revolutionary Council give cause for hope among the masses. In the Western revisionist press, the anti-Boumedienne shouting dies down a bit; the reports are more neutral.

Fifth Phase: Kosygin sends congratulations to Boumedienne. The revisionists have lost the battle. They try to regain the lost time and ground. They tried every means available to bring back Ben Bella — pressure, diverse offers, attempts at corruption, infiltration — they did not succeed. When counter-revolutionary manoeuvres failed, they went back to more flexible methods of interference.

Whenever a political event occurs, the good Communist looks for the causes and examines the consequences. To do this, he must put aside prejudices and sympathies, and stick to the facts. In the case of Algeria, certain facts speak clearly. Ben Bella, after a certain period,

deviated from the revolutionary road and drew away from the masses. It would be dangerous to jump to conclusions about the orientation of the Revolutionary Council.

However, certain declarations from the personalities responsible for Ben Bella's removal, provide reassurance for those who have always had faith in the Algerian people and revolution. What took place confirmed their first diagnosis: the revolution was continuing without the "man of providence." For a Communist, the disappearance of one man however he is, cannot hold back the advance of the people. All the more so if this man has become a brake on the revolutionary struggle. For all these reasons, we consider that the events of June 19 in Algeria can have advantageous consequences for the Algerian people and revolution. In any case, only the Algerian people can be the judges. They choose their own government and no other choice can be imposed from outside.

This is precisely what the revisionists tried to do, when the man who was doing their dirty work, disappeared. Without any proof at all, they decreed that Ben Bella was deposed by a "right wing coup d'etat," so that they could create panic, insecurity and tension inside Algeria. Today it is Kosygin himself who wishes Boumedienne great success, while "Drapeau Rouge" dare not even publish the terms of the message. But we know that, as they have always done before, the Belgian revisionists will soon follow the baton again. Yes, they are very flexible in a revisionist party.

For our part, we will continue to manifest our full sympathy and solidarity with the Algerian people and revolution. We will judge their leaders by their deeds. Regarding this, we note with great interest the pronouncement of Boumedienne on the occasion of the introduction of his government. He spotlighted two immediate objectives: liquidation of the consequences of colonialism and consolidation of national independence. At the same time, the head of government assured the national liberation movements of concrete help from Algeria. The seriousness of the man, the absence of demagoguery, his views on the industrialisation of the country, all this contributes to reinforce our faith in him. In spite of all the dangers ahead, the Algerian revolution will certainly triumph.

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

"U.S. Forces get out of Vietnam!"

The passing of a resolution and a general statement on Vietnam marked the close of the six day World Congress for Peace, National Independence, and General Disarmament, held in Helsinki recently under the auspices of the World Council For Peace. At the congress a struggle had taken place between those who advocate a line of peaceful co-existence with U.S. imperialism, and those who advocate the unity of all who are fighting against U.S. imperialism in order that the strength of imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism, may be weakened, and a genuine peace be eventually achieved. The Vietnam statement represented a victory for those who seek to achieve a genuine world peace with the defeat of imperialism.

The U.S. delegation to the Congress, while paying lip service to the valiant struggles of the Vietnamese people, in actual fact was advocating "peace talks" on the lines put forward by President Johnson.

Other delegates pointed out that the so-called peace talks were not unconditional for they were based on a refusal of the prerequisite for talks demanded by the South Vietnam Liberation Front, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, i.e. that all U.S. troops must first get out of Vietnam before talks could be held.

It was pointed out that peaceful co-existence with imperialism was impossible because the very nature of imperialism was bellicose. The only effective means of defeating imperialism and of achieving a genuine world peace was a unity of all those suffering under imperialism - in order that continually blows could be struck against our main enemy thus weakening her. Such a struggle against imperialism was going on. All over the world, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the national liberation movements were winning victories against US imperialism, her allies and lackeys. The world council for Peace must dedicate itself to the uniting of revolutionary people and all the peace loving forces of the world.

This was the only correct line for the defence of world peace. The alternative represented capitulation and helps only imperialism.

This was the approach that won the day. For at the closing session 1,400 delegates passed in a standing ovation the resolution on Vietnam and the general statement of the Congress.

The resolution passed condemned U.S. imperialism for its aggressive policy in Vietnam in contravention of the 1954 Geneva Agreement. It denounced the crimes against humanity — the use of napalm bombs, the bombing of peaceful villages. While the US continued in its efforts to transform South Vietnam into a US base, to keep the country divided, it presented fake "peace-talks" proposals.

The resolution expressed the gratitude of the people of the world to the Vietnamese people who were valiantly fighting against the main enemy of the world's peoples. It acclaims those movements which supported the Vietnamese people's struggle in any way.

The resolution ended by declaring that the only sound basis for a correct solution of the Vietnam question was a respect for the fundamental and sacred rights of the Vietnamese people to independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity which were solemnly recognised in the Geneva agreement of 1954.

The congress called for: An end to U.S. aggression in South Vietnam.

The immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The removal of U.S. bases from South Vietnam.

An immediate end to all aggressive acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The National Liberation front is the only true representative of the people of Vietnam. They must be allowed to settle their affairs by themselves without any foreign interference. The reunification of Vietnam is the problem of the people of Vietnam and no one else. The congress called on all the forces of peace to launch a world wide movement of support for the people of Vietnam in their just struggle for national independence, unity and peace.

Once again the peace loving people of the world aligned themselves along the only possible path towards genuine world peace.

MAKE all racial
discrimination a
criminal offence!
Force the Labour
government to Act
against racism—
not just talk!

Committee for Communist Unity.

BROADCASTS FROM RADIO TIRANA *a voice of revolution in Europe*

Broadcasts are daily at the following times and on the following wavelengths:—

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from 8 p.m. till 8.30 p.m. G.M.T. on 41, 31 and 95 metres

FOURTH broadcast:

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THESE ARE JUST A FEW OF OUR HUNDREDS OF PAMPHLETS — Albanian, Chinese and others — ORDER NOW!

DAILY WORKER AND KENNEDY

Dear Editors,

It seems that the modern revisionists cannot restrain themselves for long.

The "Daily Worker" after a jolly period of junketing, following Gollan and Co's return from Hanoi (where, no doubt, he shouted anti-imperialist slogans at the top of his voice), treats us to a piece of down-right modern revisionist propaganda on 27 July and yet another on August 2.

The July effort was a feature article by Bob Leeson on President Johnson, in which he begins exalting the virtues of the late President Kennedy "whose approach to world affairs offered hope of fulfilling the American people's dreams of peace and social progress."

Kennedy was a millionaire leader of the most vicious gang of cut-throat exploiting ruling class the world has seen since 1936-45 Germany.

Kennedy's "approach to world affairs" can be summarised as follows:

1. The abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of April 1961.
2. The Berlin provocation of July 1961.
3. Intensified interference in the Congo (L) July 1961.
4. The dispatch of U.S. forces to South Vietnam, January 1962.
5. The dispatch of U.S. forces to Thailand and the 7th. Nuclear Fleet off Indo-China in May 1962.
6. The call-up of 150,000 U.S. reservists for aggression against Cuba and Berlin in September 1962.
7. Intensified aggression against South Vietnam and Laos in January 1963, and the acceleration of the "China-containment policy."
8. The largest military budget in history.
9. The promotion of M.L.F., in collusion with the Bonn neo-Nazi expansionists.
10. General nuclear blackmail, based on *Polaris* and *Minuteman*.
11. Relentless intimidation of the Latin-American peoples.

These 11 points alone testify to the falsity of the "D.W.'s estimation, as quoted above.

For all their shrill cries of support for the Vietnamese patriots, the modern revisionists, cowering in fear of U.S. nuclear weapons, still pin their hopes on a "sensible" "sober," (leftist ??) section of U.S. imperialism joining with the Soviet leaders to impose "peaceful evolution" on a world seething with revolt against imperialism. Thus they betray the content of the *Moscow Declaration* and the *Moscow Statement* of 1960, and objectively assist the imperialist drive to a major war.

On August 2, the "D.W." headlined in their Letter Page, an "appeal" by C.N.D. to Harold Wilson, in relation to Vietnam. This "appeal" is a disservice to the Vietnamese patriots and the "D.W." Editorial Board reveal their two-faced opportunist features by giving it such prominence.

The C.N.D. plead for "conciliation" for "negotiations" which "have not started because the two sides are still too far apart" for the U.S. gangsters to "negotiate with the Viet-cong."

The only genuine call worth support, is "U.S. imperialism — get out of our country or be annihilated."

One must ask Gollan and Co. Did you return from Hanoi filled with righteous anger against the U.S. aggressors or with even greater fear of them than before?

When are you going to, if ever, mobilise the C.P.G.B. to stand up against U.S. imperialism in an honest and consistent manner?

Yours Sincerely,
 Jim Bradley,
 London N.

MR. WILSON'S "PEACE" MISSION

It is obvious that Wilson's latest proposal to send a delegation of five Commonwealth Premiers, including himself, to the five capital cities of Washington, Moscow, Peking, Hanoi and Saigon, is nothing but a crafty manoeuvre designed to head off criticism of the Labour government's complete endorsement of America's aggressive war against the Vietnamese people.

There are many naive (and not so naive) people about these days who raise misleading slogans such as "Stop the War," "Negotiate Now," "Make Peace in Vietnam." However, these people, sincere as some of them may be, are merely confusing the issue by lumping both sides together and failing to make a clear distinction between right and wrong.

The issue in Vietnam is one of American aggression and war crimes against people who are valiantly fighting for their freedom and independence. The U.S. aggressors must either get out or be thrown out. Those who sincerely want peace must direct their struggle against the real culprits, if their activity is to yield results. Significant it is that No. 1 Warmonger, L.B.J., has enthusiastically welcomed the idea of this so-called fact-finding mission. The facts are plain for all to see. The U.S., with the support of its allies, is making cruel and inhuman war on innocent people, including women and children. If Mr. Wilson really wants peace, there is only one relevant capital where he needs to go and that is Washington, where he can ask his employer in the White House to remove all his troops, planes and weapons from Vietnam, and allow these people to run their own country in their own way, without interference. The great one would probably tell Wilson to go to hell, but at least it may ease his conscience—if he has one, for what can one say about a man who, while supporting the aggressor up to the hilt in his inhuman atrocities against innocent people, weeps crocodile tears over their consequent suffering?

P.T. & J.A.
 London.

letters to the Editor**REGARDING THE UNITY OF THE LEFT**

The predominant position Britain held in the world during the period known as the "Industrial Revolution," propped up by the exploitation of vast resources of raw materials and mineral wealth from her various abundant colonies, created a barrier of insulation around her islands and an atmosphere of arrogance and chauvinism within her society.

When the inevitable Labour movement originated through the sharp social contradictions heaved up by an industrial monopolistic society it did so in a very hostile environment, which moulded it accordingly; the results were fatal, for the whole movement developed independent of the movement on the continent; it developed an immunity to the theories of scientific socialism based on the laws of the historical development of society through class struggle, elaborated on by Marx and Engels and amplified in his time by Lenin.

All sorts of kinky idealists sprang to its head, philanthropists, humanists, pacifists, "do-gooders" of every shade and colour from every nook and cranny of society, reformers and opportunists of every level, whose inheritors we still have with us today. In consequence the capitalist class of Britain from their huge reserve of wealth were able to exploit this softening of the hard core of the movement, and bribe the most skilled of the industrial workers creating what Marx called a "Labour aristocracy" in Britain.

On the breaking away of the movement to form a politically independent Labour party, it carried in its wake these parasites, who found it easy to worm their way through the movement and arrive at its head turning it from its natural path into the cul-de-sac of reformism and apathy, and a deep lethargy

descended upon it, from which it is just shaking itself now, or it may be truer to say, from which present day effects are shaking it.

Certain events appeared on the horizon in the period of history terminating the first world war and leading up to the second world war which could be said to be the social causes leading up to these effects.

In Russia, a predominantly backward imperialist country and a strong bastion of reaction, a successful socialist revolution was waged. The U.S. in the west and Japan in the east had developed their resources to a high level and were competing successfully with Britain for the world's markets, penetrating her insular barrier and toppling her from her high position as the "World's Workshop."

The result of the second world war bringing about the defeat of the fascist military machine of Germany, Italy and Japan (manufactured by International Capital to storm the socialist country of Russia; but turning into a Frankenstein threatening its creator) taxed to the limits the reserves of Britain and France. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. emerged from this catastrophe the two most prominent nations.

The character of the U.S., being imperialist, naturally inclined it towards stepping into its weakened imperialist rivals rich colonial shoes. Not wishing to expose her true nature, after emerging from the second world war with the laurels of "the defender of the world," she applied the more sophisticated methods of modern imperialism, behind the smoke screen of "aid"—large capital investments, propping up the military might of the old colonialists and using them as her puppets and lackeys. But she reckoned without the natural aspirations of the peoples of the colonies, and so they came up against the many National Liberation forces that had sprang up to defend the U.N. charter. Many of these National Liberation forces waged successful political independence struggles but remained tied to their mistress's petticoats economically, resulting in the birth of neo-colonialism: but a few severed themselves completely from the imperialist camp—China and Cuba took the next big decisive step which placed them in the socialist camp: and this is the struggle the Vietnamese are waging today, the successful conclusion of which will place her in a noble position in the socialist world, a beacon not only for those nations in danger of perishing on the imperialist rocks in S.E. Asia, but for the whole world.

The results of all these phenomena have constituted the force which has finally smashed the old false barriers of ideology the ruling class had built around the Labour movement in Britain; the theories of scientific socialism are at last finding a foothold; and the whole myth of infallibility woven around a self-perpetuating leadership creating what almost amounted to a hierarchy even in that body that operated under the label of "Communism" is vacillating. The whole Labour movement at present in Britain is in a state of flux and deep agitation, fertile soil on which sound Marxists can work effectively. When Johnny Gollan in a revolutionary fervour proclaims to the Caxton Hall rooftop "There can be no peaceful co-existence while imperialism is in the field" forgetting (if only momentarily perhaps in view of the looming November Congress) that there is in circulation such a policy as the "British Road to Socialism" he reflects the present mood of the Labour movement in Britain and while I agree that it is possible for the *Vanguard* to unite with some elements on this or that policy, the other point should be emphasised that we cannot have organic unity with them and we certainly cannot rely on them.

Only on the development of ourselves and our groups can we rely. The gathering together of our various scattered groups into an organised vanguard of the working class will be the result of using our Marxist theory as a guide to our actions in the political field.

JOHN CLARKE,
 London.

FROM AD HOC COMMITTEE, CHICAGO, U.S.A.

A comrade from the East Coast (U.S.A.) was kind enough to pass on to us several copies of your fine publication, *Vanguard*.

We would very much like to receive your publication on a regular basis for here in the heartland of U.S. imperialism there is a dearth of principled M-L material, which our organisation is

sorely in need of for educational material.

We are enclosing our modest effort in the fight against revisionism and imperialism here. Ours is a small but dedicated working class organisation with limited finances. We make every effort to publish bi-monthly; however, a lack of funds sometimes occasions a delay. We shall be happy to continue sending to you our *Bulletin* in exchange for your publication.

from NEW ZEALAND

In the Progressive Bookshop of Auckland I often see the *Vanguard*. I am delighted that at long last Marxism-Leninism with Mao-Tse-Tung's thinking has come to light. Wilson's Labour Government, as soon as they came to power I knew they were no good. This also applies to the leaders of the Trade Unions.

I think a general boycott of the U.S.A. in all kinds of trade is important so long as they use armed force. On New Zealand B.B.C. this morning Wilson is reported as buying more fighter planes from the U.S.

I am very proud of Indonesia's stand on the imperialist dominators, United Nations. The weakness of the Soviet leaders is to blame for the mess in the world today. If they had carried on the fight for Red Socialism we would be more powerful today.

Long live Mao-Tse-Tung's thinking, self-reliance and red socialism.

Good Luck,
 Comrade Tim Egen,
 Auckland,
 New Zealand.

UNITY OF LEFT

Dear Comrade,

I wrote of Wilson and his band of social democrats only 44 days after they had been in office. I repeat myself after their first "session" of Government nears completion. Everything this Labour Government has done in these eight subsequent months confirms the thesis that social democrats are capitalist supporters, imperialist promoters and working class suppressors.

The unity of the Left articles have been most stimulating, perhaps Jack Angels' the more so since he thoroughly and critically examined this dubious concept of "Left." The entire history of the working class struggle is rent with rifts and discords, sectarian splits and opportunist betrayals and is nearly always a depressing series of internecine squabbles between rival and dissenting socialist sects. The onslaught against the common enemy has resultantly been diluted and enervated leaving us where we are today, in the solid grip of a dominant capitalist society where the prevailing bourgeois ideology is very strong, as Jack Angel noted.

Regrettably, the course of working class history has also resulted in leaving Communism as a social, political or economic force in this country high and dry, unrelated to the realities of everyday life amongst the working class. This in no small way is also due to the fact that the British Communist Party has never been one with the people. It has never been of the people as a whole. And its whole structure nowadays is anti-revolutionary, "offering reformist solutions acceptable to all and to none" as Roy Grant says, the very denigration of a live Communist Party.

The issues facing the people of Britain are real and bound up with their everyday lives. The domestic ones affect our pockets, our standards of living, our social lives; the foreign ones ultimately decide whether we are going to be around much longer anyway. But it is absolutely vital and essential that a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party with the British working class fights these issues other than on the ground of the enemy's choosing. It is useless to attempt any further to smash the capitalists and their entire superstructure within the set-up of the capitalist system, i.e. Parliamentary procedures, commissions of inquiry, White Papers, Royal Commissions and all the rest of this farcical merry-go-round which gets the working class nowhere. Parliament itself is fast becoming a sick joke, except to the bourgeoisie and their hangers on. It keeps going by reliance on ludicrous and anachronistic measures of tradition and ceremony Queen's Assent, Royal Opening, etc., and is operated like a club for weary members of the sixth form debating society.

This entire parliamentary system should be attacked and shown up for what it really is, a facade of urbane gen-

Continued on p. 13

On The Fallacies Of Revisionism

SOCIAL revolution is the quintessence of change from one mode of society to a higher one.

The revisionists don't deny this fact. They reason something like this: Revolution means nothing more nor less than the taking of state power out of the hands of one class into those of another more progressive class.

And from that they proceed: If we capture and control parliament, transforming it together with other organs of state power into an instrument of the working class, have we not then effected a socialist revolution?

Would that this were so!

And they reason further: Smashing the bourgeois state machine from without is a phenomenon belonging only to earlier proletarian revolutions under conditions of intense foreign domination, absence of elementary democratic institutions and an adverse balance of world forces.

They then proclaim: Today the world situation has changed so radically in favour of the revolutionary forces that what was necessary for Russia or China in the past is by no means necessary for Western Europe today. (They envisage increasing democratic rights leading the way to revolution in the imperialist countries, and a consequent bestowing of independence on the colonial countries.)

Now look what has happened! First, a particular form of revolution, viz., proletarian revolution, has suddenly changed into the general form of revolution, viz., revolutions of societies in history. Secondly, the general form of proletarian revolution, has simultaneously become its particular form. And thirdly, bourgeois dictatorship has miraculously turned into workers' democracy!

Proletarian revolution is a particular form of social revolution, which particularity is distinguished precisely by the smashing of the state from without. On the other hand the taking of state power out of the hands of one class into those of a progressive class is a general aspect relating to social revolutions as a whole; it is something which every form of revolution has in common. Since the general manifests itself in particularities, so then must this general aspect of revolution manifest itself in a number of particularities—as many forms as there are modes of society.

But then, in turn, each of these particularities become generalities when we take them separately; and each generality again manifests itself in a number

of particularities—as many forms as there are members of that specific society. So that although "smashing the state machine" is a particular form of social revolution, through which the general form manifests itself, so also is it a general form of proletarian revolution which itself is manifested in a number of particularities—as many as there are bourgeois states.

The destruction of the capitalist state from without is a general law of proletarian revolution asserting itself through the concrete conditions of each capitalist country!

Where is the dialectic in the revisionist scheme of things? What would they say if we were to ask them: What then, is general and what is particular in the socialist revolution? If according to you, the smashing of the state machine from without is only a particular form of proletarian revolution which occurred under certain conditions in certain countries before the birth of a mighty socialist camp, (and an apparent "change in the nature" of capitalism) then what is its general form? And if simply changing hands of state power is its general form, then what becomes of the general form of social revolutions as a whole throughout history?

The so called democratic rights and civil liberties enjoyed in some western capitalist countries are in reality a form of bourgeois dictatorship. They are nothing more nor less than dictatorship of the capitalist state carried on by other means. Just as war and peace are two facets of politics, so also fascist rule and "democratic" rule are two facets of bourgeois rule. Workers' democracy cannot exist in a bourgeois state! (The idea that "democratic" rights and civil liberties in some capitalist countries are institutions for and won by working people and therefore by nature democratic, is a misconception prevalent among those Communists under revisionist influence.) Obviously, any rights won as a result of struggle by working people are only conditioned by that struggle; their nature is determined by the nature of the state (and ultimately by the nature of social production).

Democracy and dictatorship are both opposites of a unity, which unity is determined in its essential nature by the nature of social production and appropriation upon which it is based—and the nature of the state is determined by the predominant form of social production and accumulation. (True of all class societies.) In that case, workers' democracy (dictatorship) can only rest upon socialist production, and since socialist production and appropriation cannot arise nor exist in a capitalist system of production, then how can democracy for the workers arise under the same conditions?

This peculiarity is precisely what distinguishes revolution of the proletariat and dictatorship of the proletariat from all other counterparts in history. Because it does not follow that bourgeoisie democracy cannot exist and grow in a socialist system of production. Private ownership and production can always arise in any society where there is lack of abundance; and of course, private production still remains in some degree after a proletarian revolution—long after. And private ownership and production, and consequently capitalist production and relations of production, generate themselves spontaneously, unlike socialist ownership and production, which require deliberate planning. (What happens if these points are not fully realised, will be all too painfully seen in that classic example—Yugoslavia.)

In short: although revisionism employs the term "bourgeois democracy," it applies that term, "democracy" indiscriminately to imply workers' democracy within a capitalist society and including political parties, ballot box, trade unions, co-op societies, etc., etc. If these institutions constitute workers' democracy fought for and won by working people, then we have here the fantastic phenomenon of a workers' democracy (and therefore a proportionate dictatorship upon the capitalist class) which has no corresponding economic base!

R. ALDERSON.

FRIEDRICH ENGELS

70th Anniversary of his death

The immortal comrade-in-arms of Karl Marx devoted his entire life to the revolutionary cause of the working people.

Their companionship, something which was destined to change the face of the world, began in the early 1840s, when the young Engels wrote for a Cologne radical paper, which Marx edited.

By 1842-44 Engels, now in Manchester collected his material for his still famous "Condition of the Working Class in England."

By 1845 Engels, now an established figure in European Socialist circles, was propagating revolutionary teachings among the Rhineland workers and he was compelled to make haste for Switzerland after the abortive rising in Baden in 1849.

The Communist Manifesto 1848 was already the "spectre" haunting the European rich bourgeoisie.

In 1850 we find Engels again in Manchester where for 20 years as a partner in the cotton firm of Ermen and Engels he bravely stuck to (for him) uncongenial work so as to help support his friend Marx, who was working on his historic "Das Kapital."

This philosophical political and practical affinity between the two great men was to continue unabated until the death of Marx in 1883.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

The essence of the work of Engels and Marx was the foundation of scientific socialism as distinct from "utopian," "radical" socialism. The exposition of the dialectical objective laws which govern all social development. The discovery of the source of "value" and profit — from the exploitation of the labour power of millions of workers.

The classic theory of leadership of the people's revolution, which could lie only in the hands of the working class in developed capitalist countries. However Engels was no "armchair intellectual." "It is not enough for men to understand society . . . he must also work to change it."

No one had closer contacts with active Socialists than Engels, who after the death of Marx, became the "father" of the international revolutionary movement. He had abounding faith in the ultimate collapse of capitalism and regarded all setbacks (and there were many) as merely lessons to be analysed by the revolutionary socialists so as to help their future struggle!

He wrote a large number of works and his genius ranged freely over philosophy, sociology, politics and military affairs. Some of his better-known works include "Anti-Duhring" "The origin of the State, Family and Private Profit," and "The Civil War in the U.S.A."

The legacy of Marx and Engels passed on to be enriched by Lenin, Stalin, Dimitrov and later by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and many other Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in the 20th century.

Today mighty storms are shaking the position of monopoly-capitalism and this is the era of revolution. The situation is favourable to the militant people who dare to rise up and challenge imperialism and the future is indeed bright.

With victory certain for the working people and the complete abolition of human exploitation well up on the agenda, we salute the shining memory of the co-founder of the glorious Communist cause — Friedrich Engels.

LETTER "UNITY OF LEFT"

Continued from Page 12

teel English ruling class techniques embodied in a visible form where silly schoolboy pranks and tricks are indulged in, meaningless and trite forms of address are exchanged, a bells ringing for "divisions" (as if a majority once obtained can mysteriously be lost) brings in the sack, in the parody, the lame to take part in this parodied, this travesty of so-called democracy.

The Labour movement as such and the parliamentary system are only suffered by the working class simply because there is no alternative. It is a negative support. But the people of this country cannot continue to be fooled by a Labour movement beset with discord and dispute, bereft of socialist intent, betrayed by knighted union leaders and peered to participate in this desirous parliamentary game of farce replete with antiquated robes and obsolescent forms of procedure. It has nothing to do with real government or the real rulers. This should be the primary task of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. To fight capitalism on ground of its own choosing, in terms easily understood and along lines clearly portrayed so that the working class senses that the struggle is their struggle, the goals their goals, the techniques used their techniques.

And so, Wilson and his social democrats, Heath, Home and Hogg and their Conservatives, "break up," "recess" from the so-called model of democratic government. Like smirking schoolboys they saunter away, leaving the country to be ruled, dominated rather, by those who do so in reality all the time, no matter what the Commons, the Lords, Downing Street or the F.O. say. Against them must the war, the class war, be mounted, built up and directed. But let us continue to demolish the pretensions of the parliamentary politicos and their hacks in TV, radio and press, whilst forswearing any involvement or participation in their three-ring circus.

Yours fraternally,

B.C.,
London, S.E.4.

REJECT the "incomes policy" of the Labour government! This is just a fancy name for a wage freeze.

Committee for Communist Unity.

TO: VANGUARD

Flat 3
33 Anson Road
LONDON N7

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MANIFESTO—MALAYAN NATIONAL LIBERATION LEAGUE

ON MARCH 15, 1965 the Malayan National Liberation League issued its manifesto containing an eight-point programme for the current struggle of the Malayan people. The Malayan National Liberation League is the organisation of the Malayan People's United Front, successor to the PUTERAAMCJA united front formed after the Second World War by parties and groups which included the Malay Nationalist Party, Malay Progressive Youth, Malay Women's Progressive Group, the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trades Union, Malayan Democratic Union, New Democratic Youth League and the Malayan Communist Party, and which were banned by the British colonialists in June 1948. On June 2, 1965 the League announced the establishment of a Mission in Djakarta. Following is part of the manifesto and the full eight-point programme of the League.

To all patriotic political parties and organisations opposing "Malaysia," whether functioning publicly or secretly, whether in Malaya or overseas, and to all compatriots whether at home or abroad, the Malayan National Liberation League makes this fervent appeal:—

Although there are differences in political views among ourselves, nevertheless, let us join our forces and form a strong united front. Let us crush "Malaysia" and fight for our country's true independence, democracy, peace, and the reunification of Singapore with the Malay Peninsula.

The Malayan National Liberation League puts before our people of all national groups and social strata a programme for the current struggle. Based on this programme, we are willing to hold talks with all patriotic political parties and individuals opposing "Malaysia" whether in Malaya or overseas, and, through adequate consultations, to reach agreement with them in accordance with the principle of seeking concord while preserving differences. Let us march forward hand in hand, in mutual support and in close co-operation in the struggle against our common enemy.

PROGRAMME

1. Realise the genuine independence of Malaya (including Singapore)

Overthrow the neo-colonialist rule of British imperialism and its henchmen, the Abdul Rahman clique; establish a national democratic coalition government consisting of representatives from all patriotic political parties of the Malay Peninsula and Singapore; break away from the British Commonwealth; abolish the Treaty of External Defence and Mutual Assistance between Malaya and Britain; dismantle foreign military bases and expel all foreign troops.

Oppose all criminal designs of U.S. imperialism attempting to take the place of British imperialism by infiltrating into our country in the military, political, economic, and cultural fields, etc.

2. Adopt a broad democratic system.

Repeal the Emergency Regulations, the Internal Security Act and all other laws and ordinances which prohibit and restrict the struggle of workers and peasants for better living conditions and other popular movements; abolish the policy of forcible grouping of the rural inhabitants and identity cards; guarantee the inviolability of the people's fundamental democratic rights.

Release unconditionally all political prisoners; enable the unconditional return to Malaya of all patriots who have been forced to leave the country or banished.

3. Build an independent national economy.

Confiscate and transfer to the State all plantations, factories, commercial firms, mining, banking and other industries belonging to the Anglo-American imperialists and their lackeys; empower trade unions to participate in the management and supervision of production of state-owned enterprises; build up an independent national economy with the state-owned economy playing the leading role; assist handicraft industries and small holdings, etc.

Abolish the present system of multi-farious and exorbitant taxes; introduce an equitable and rational policy of taxation.

4. Improve the people's livelihood.

Take active steps to improve the living conditions of workers, employees and government servants, etc; introduce an eight hour working day and the policy of equal pay for equal work; eradicate unemployment and prostitution.

Ensure landless and land-poor peasants the freedom to open up new lands as well as their titles to such lands as are opened up by them; ensure freedom to the fishermen to pursue their occupation; reduce rents and interests; outlaw all forms of exploitation by usury and the squeezing of huge profits by middlemen; the state to grant loans free of interest or at low rates of interest to peasants and fishermen so as to enable them to develop production and raise their living standard.

5. Build a patriotic, progressive culture and education.

Eliminate the colonialist culture and education of the Anglo-American imperialists and the reactionaries that enslave the people; build a progressive and healthy culture and education which foster the spirit of patriotism and democracy to serve our fatherland and people.

Extend every effort to develop primary and secondary schools using the mother tongue of the various national groups (including the English Language) as the media for teaching, learning and examining, introduce free, compulsory and universal primary and secondary education.

Expand adult education using the mother tongues as media; wipe out illiteracy.

Establish universities, colleges and other institution of higher learning where the media of teaching and learning are Malay, Tamil, etc.; recognise the status of existing universities, colleges and institution of higher learning where Chinese or English is the medium of teaching and learning; safeguard the academic freedom of all institutions.

6. Realise equality for all national groups in all spheres.

Smash the British-Rahman clique's racist policy which tramples on the principle of equality for all national groups; consolidate anti-imperialist unity on the basis of equality for all national groups in the spheres of politics, economy, culture and education, etc.

All national groups whether big or small are equally entitled to use their own languages and develop their own culture and education; adopt a multi-lingual system in assemblies and councils at all levels.

Develop the Malay Language into the lingua franca of the country on a voluntary basis and reject the fascist policy of the British-Rahman clique in coercively imposing a "national language."

All workers and employees, irrespective of national origin or religion whether in government service or in private employment are to receive equal treatment.

Render every aid to the national minorities in the mountainous regions to develop their economy, culture, education and health service and improve their living conditions, and bring them into the main stream of the political life of the country.

Ensure the people of each national group the freedom to preserve or change their customs and habits, and the freedom of worship.

7. Support the national liberation struggle of North Kalimantan.

Recognise the Kalimantan people's right to self-determination.

Unceasingly strengthen our solidarity and co-operation with the people of North Kalimantan in our common struggle to overthrow the rule of the British-Rahman clique; vigorously and unreservedly support the North Kalimantan people's struggle for national liberation; thoroughly crush neo-colonialist "Malaysia."

8. Pursue a peaceful, independent and active foreign policy.

Establish diplomatic relations, expand trade and promote cultural exchange with Afro-Asian nations and other countries on the basis of the principle of peaceful co-existence adopted by the Bandung Conference; oppose the policies of aggression and war pursued by the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries headed by the United States of America; support the just struggles of peoples throughout the world against imperialism and old and new colonialism; defend world peace.

Compatriots at home and abroad!

The international situation is rapidly developing in our favour. The surging tide of national liberation movement is sweeping over the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The victorious fight of the 30 million heroic people of Vietnam to liberate the South, defend the North and reunify their fatherland is dealing heavy blows at the U.S. imperialists' global policies of aggression and war, greatly inspiring and supporting the revolutionary struggles of all peoples. The Vietnamese people's staunch struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation has set a brilliant example for us.

Our people's struggle, which is part of the struggle of people the world over against imperialism and old and new colonialism headed by the U.S.A., is just and progressive. Despite numerous difficulties that may lie ahead, final victory is surely ours, so long as we foster the spirit of daring to fight and daring to seize victory; so long as we unwaveringly oppose the anti-democratic and anti-popular policies of the British-Rahman clique and their accomplice, the Lee Kuan Yew clique; so long as we resolutely fight against all the criminal machinations of the U.S. imperialists of infiltrating into our country in the military, political, economic and cultural fields; so long as we support with all the strength at our command the Malayan National Liberation Army, and in the course of the struggle, defeat the enemy's attacks and expand the revolutionary forces.

People of all national groups, unite! Let us fight to the end to crush "Malaysia" and overthrow the neo-colonialist regime of the British imperialists and their lackeys. Let us fight for our country's genuine independence, democracy, peace and the reunification of Singapore with the Malay Peninsula!

Continued from Page 10

MALAYSIA etc.

The above five factors constitute not only the basic reasons for the secession of Singapore but also the basic reasons why "Malaysia" is surely doomed and British imperialism, whether its guardian be "Labour" Harold Wilson or "Tory" Edward Heath, will surely meet with even bigger debacles in south east Asia.

Already, the Singapore Government has broadly hinted that the great naval base may not be used for aggressive actions by SEATO which U.S. imperialism knocked together in order to strangle the liberation struggle of the Asian peoples.

To quote N. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party (August 10) — "Singapore's withdrawal — was new proof of Indonesia's revolutionary national unity — in combination with international anti-imperialist co-operation — and is eloquent witness to the failure of U.S. and British imperialist policy in south east Asia." "The disintegration of "Malaysia" is an historic judgement of the world-wide collapsing of imperialism, headed by the world devil the U.S., which is indeed a paper tiger, being torn to pieces by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples." Long live the independence struggles of the peoples of Malay, Singapore, N. Kalimantan and Brunei.

D.V.

Continued from Page 7
Latin-American

Caracas

U.S. oil installations were thoroughly wrecked on six occasions on the 28th July in Eastern Venezuela. Venezuelan guerrillas are hitting hard at the U.S. exploiters — where it really hurts.

75% of this country's enormous oil deposits is under the control of U.S. imperialism and is the biggest single source of its loot, while the mass of the people languish in poverty.

Ecuador

Massive demonstration have broken out against the pro-U.S. military dictatorship.

50,000 students and others fought the police with stones and clubs. Some demonstrators were killed and tortured. The panic-stricken military junta have been forced to grant some "concessions" but the Federation of University Students has declared that their nationwide strike would "go on until the military dictatorship is overthrown."

Honduras (Central America)

San Jose. A great strike has spread throughout this country in late July.

The puppet Arellano dictatorship allied with the United Fruit Company and the landlords have mobilised the troops to meet the just demands of the people with terrorism.

Arellano was shoved into power in October 1963 by a coup staged by the U.S. imperialists.

The governments of Nicaragua and Salvador have alerted troops to help their fellow U.S. lackey.

The Yankee overlords are squeezing the 2 million Honduran people to the point of bankruptcy. 15% of the Budget is earmarked to repay interest on U.S. "aid" — with the burden falling on the workers and small merchants. The U.S. United Fruit Company owns 25% of the land. It has many other "investments" and controls all ports and railways.

Such is the scope and volume of this strike for higher wages that a state of siege has been declared.

Columbia

The government has resigned as a result of the serious political and economic crisis.

The subservience to U.S. imperialism has led to an internal deficit of 1,000 million pesos this year and foreign debts of 1,400 million dollars. Many factories have gone bankrupt.

The anti-U.S. guerilla movement is now operating on five fronts and is waging armed attacks on government troops. Workers' strikes are mounting.

The Columbia U.S. puppets are fighting among themselves and the corrupt "National Front" is falling apart.

Peru

The armed guerilla movement which began last April has spread to five provinces.

Interior Minister Rotalde has resigned following his failure to suppress the rising Peruvian revolt.

U.S. PLANS TO ARM SOUTH KOREAN PUPPET ARMY WITH NIKE MISSILES

The U.S. imperialists have decided to equip the puppet army of South Korea with ground-to-air Nike missiles which have been brought into South Korea in violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement banning the introduction of combat materials.

According to a report of the South Korean news agency Dongyang Tongshin, an agreement on the introduction of Nike missiles was signed on June 7 by U.S. 8th army commander Howze and the puppet Defence Minister.

The above report also reveals that a Nike missile base has already been built in South Korea and missile crews of the South Korean puppet army are being trained.

In this way the U.S. imperialists are further aggravating tension in Korea with the approach of the 15th anniversary of their provocation of an aggressive war in Korea on June 25, 1950.

This is part of the U.S. plan to "modernise" the puppet army. In March this year, the U.S. imperialists supplied the South Korean puppet army with Hawk missiles.

LITERATURE and ART

Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837)

Pushkin was brought up in the aristocratic atmosphere of those circles which gravitated around the Russian Tsarist court. His education prepared him for the diplomatic service and whilst at college he began writing verse, influenced, as he confessed by the songs of his old childhood nurse and faithful friend.

Whilst in the foreign office he wrote his first great work, *Ruslan & Ludmilla* at the age of 21. This work proved a new landmark in Russian literature. Already Pushkin had joined a revolutionary society—the Decembrists, and was writing subversive epigrams.

The awful plight of Russia's vast mute peasantry was moving many intellectuals to oppose the Tsarist autocracy and search for new ways.

"Pushkin is inundating Russia with abominable verses" exclaimed the Tsar, "all the youth are learning them."

He was exiled to far off Ukraine. Vastly influenced by Byron's epic *Don Juan*, Pushkin began his second great work and his verse novel *Eugen Onegin* captured the literate circles of the Tsarist empire.

Pushkin was expelled from government service and quarrelled violently with his father who disapproved of his "scapegrace" son's rebellious views. With only his old nurse as company he settled down to serious study.

The Decembrist revolt took place and he told the Tsar personally that he would have actively joined it had he been on the spot at that moment. The Tsar replied that henceforth he would personally censor all Pushkin's work.

Very soon came his third historic creation *Boris Godunov*.

By then Pushkin had read Shakespeare and was overwhelmed.

Thus the university of true art was further demonstrated by the influencing of Russia's greatest dramatic poet by two of England's greatest—Byron and Shakespeare. Pushkin in turn has influenced Russian poetry even as *Turgenev* influenced her prose-writing.

Fatally wounded in a duel with a French officer, this magnificent idealist rebel was secretly moved to the church at night so as to avoid "disorders" from crowds who wished to do him honour.

Extracts From Pushkin's Works

EXEGI MONUMENTUM

*I raised a monument not built with hands,
A Nation's path will lead to it.*

*Not all of me shall die for in my song
There lives a soul outlasting mortal things,
My fame will walk upon the earth as long
As underneath the moon one poet sings,
Long will my people love me, great and small,
Because in man for men I woke goodwill;
I called for mercy on the fallen soul,
And in this despot age praised freedom still.
Gods will obey, my Muse and walk his ways,
Demand no laurels, from no insult fly,
Be heedless both of calumny and praise,
And to the cavilling fool make no reply.*

SLUMS

*I've wandered through these slums
and seen the snub nosed, black cheeked kids
grin greasy gobstoppers at me,
call me uncle and shoot me dead with sticky fingers.
I've seen their parents, too, relics of the race run too far;
shattered images of movement,
pale, broken images, no fault of theirs.
Hollow eyed, grinning yellowy, here they live
(this is the affluent age)
among the brown and black with walls that strip
with age and ceilings decorated with cracks
where spiders spin their silky solitudes.
The walls are as bare as death.
No fancy paper lighting here,
no neon, soda sipping comfort, no plush soft sofas
or carpets to lose your feet in.
The doors are on bad terms with their hinges,
and the stairs never cease complaining of their lot,
and on them Tommy sits, his tummy rumbling hungry signals
while Mother burns her dress with the iron.*

*Here amongst the dirt and stench are people
as real as you and I—more real!*

*The slavish race who unflesh their bodies with work
so the rich can stay rich and get richer.*

These are the people, the unknowing makers of history.

ROBERT TURPIN.

THE PRISONER

*In a damp cell behind the bars sit I,
An eagle young, and proud, and born to fly;
Outside, the sad companion of my day
Flutters his wing and pecks his bleeding prey;
Then pecks no more, but through the window stares
As though we thought the same thing unawares
As though with look and cry his heart would say;
"Brother, the time is come to fly away."*

*We are free birds together, free and proud;
Fly where the mountains whiten through the cloud
To that sea country blue beneath the sky
Where only walks the wind, the wind and I!*

THE PROPHET

*I dragged my steps across a desert bare,
My spirit parched with heat,
And lo! a seraph with six wings were there;
He stood where two roads meet.*

*Soft as the coming of a dream at night,
His fingers touched my head;
He raised the lids of my prophetic sight,
An eagle's, wide with dread.*

*I heard the soundless growth of plant and tree;
Then stooping to my face,
With his right hand he tore my tongue from me,
Vain, sinful tongue and base.*

*A serpent's fiery fang he thrust instead
Through my faint lips apart;
He slit my breast, and with a sword stained red
Hewed at my quaking heart.*

*A coal of living fire his fingers placed
Deep in my gaping side.
Dead as I lay upon the desert waste,
I heard God's voice that cried:
"Arise, O prophet, having seen and heard";
Strong in my spirit, span
The universe Earth, and make my word
Burn in the heart of man.*

THE NOBLE HOUR

by John Wilkes

*How irks the burden
When the road is long, and
Pointed stones pierce the throbbing flesh,
What thirst afflicts the throat, and
half-sleep the turbulent thoughts enmesh.*

*Beyond that hollow, green with new-born grass,
Look, the gleaming spear points of a brook parade,
Let us stop and rest awhile, and
Kiss the beauty of this tempting glade.*

*For the Earth spins on oblivious to chattering time,
What if one hour is idle?
What if we find the swallows song sublime?*

*The dancer fleets across life's stage in breathless haste,
His breast inspired with awesome zest,
Yet e'en he must weariness taste
E'en he must breathe in deserved rest.*

*So flows the thoughts as the load grows grim;
a straining back cries out for balm;
protesting limbs tremble with pain and
the soul for blessed calm.*

*The wind that brushes a pallid cheek
will brush the cheek of others,
rush its way o'er land and sea and
whisper the tale to our brothers.*

*In Asia's fields and Africa's plains
it will tell that we dared to sleep and
return to chide us with several tongues
"Shall others sow, that ye may reap?"*

More Tributes To McCreery

(Continued from Page 2)

FROM KARNATAKA YOUTH LEAGUE, INDIA

We are sad to learn of the death of the revolutionary leader, Comrade Michael McCreery. The members of the Karnataka Youth League send sincere condolences. Comrade McCreery's death is a great loss for all Marxist-Leninists. We are inspired by his heroic and courageous struggle in combating modern revisionism and building the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain. His life and work will always live in the mind and hearts of Marxist-Leninists. Long live Marxism-Leninism!

We are pleased to have made fraternal contact with the "Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity." Our friendship will surely grow; they are based on the firm and unshakable revolutionary principles of Marxist-Leninist unity. The struggle of the British people against the oppression of capital and its reactionary ally, modern revisionism, will surely succeed. We, the Indian people, are determined to wage an unrelenting battle against neo-colonialism and capitalism.

We will not rest until we have achieved the socialist revolution. Let us join hands in our common struggle. Long live proletarian internationalism! Long live Community Unity!

FROM ENGLAND

Apart from his gifted understanding of Marxism-Leninism, other very outstanding qualities of Michael McCreery stood out to all those that knew him. His compassion for those in trouble tightly interwoven with a great fighting heart. Yes Michael McCreery was a fighter of the first water. A man, that having once discovered the truth, had the courage and principle to carry it to the bitter end. Regardless of the slanderous sniping of his political enemies. The derogatory and untrue statements made by them. (It is well to note that his principles could not be honestly slurred.) How many of these minions of conceit could honestly swear that they would have given up the place of privilege that he previously occupied prior to becoming a Marxist-Leninist? Even with this writer, I am prepared to place a question mark against my attitude in similar circumstances. Although now I can honestly say that I could not betray my principles of Marxism-Leninism or Michael McCreery. If at any time I should err, I know that the memory of Michael McCreery's example would have a devastating effect on my conscience. To be reproached by staunch comrades that he left behind would be a sufficient disciplinary influence to carry out his wishes. Such a man was M.M. and such was his example.

From ALF,
A Friend and Comrade.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Re: Northern Resolution

An undated letter and carbon copy of a resolution was received by us on July 10, 1965 signed by some comrades from the north of England, for consideration of the Central Committee, CDRCU. This resolution was immediately put on the agenda of the regular monthly Central Committee meeting for July 25, 1965 and all C.C. members, including the two from the north of England, were invited to attend by recorded delivery post.

We received two separate letters dated July 23 and 24 from the two C.C. members from the north, stating, and we quote the relevant parts:—

"The content of this resolution will make it clear why the signatories see no further purpose participating in a body calling itself the Central Committee."

Signed: Keith Jennings.

"I hereby resign from the C.C. of the CDRCU and completely disassociate myself from Vanguard."

Signed: Joe Dix.

Since the two northern comrades on the C.C. took the coward's way out and refused to attend to support their own resolution, to avail themselves of the democratic process of the CDRCU—of collective discussion, collective decision and action—the Central Committee has rejected completely the slanderous, untruthful and splittist Northern Resolution.

Central Committee
C.D.R.C.U.

VANGUARD

read
every month

see page 13 for Order form

Vietnam

*It is a sad soil
That bears the imprint
Of the enemy's heel.
It is a great love
That resolves to wipe out
Every cursed trace of it.*

*She holds his letter ;
Her hand is shaking,
She cannot keep the tears from coming :
"O, I tremble
For my brave soldier,
Far away, in a distant land,
Fighting the people's war."*

*"Can there be a love
Without liberty ?
Or can there be
A love of slavery ?"
He asks.*

*"The bombs are falling
Like a fiery cloud
Burying the dead and the dying :
Our green fields are drowned in blood.*

*Yankee tyrant, you will not escape us !
We have recorded the balance-sheet
Of your love of gold
And hate of people.*

*Unfurl the scarlet flag
Before the East Wind !
At Dien Bien Phu
It was the last time. . . .*

*The bamboo-flute will sing
Over the mountains and jungles
And the blood-red river of our martyrs.
We will sow again
Green paddy and sweet soya bean ;
There will be peace again.*

*We will rock the cradle
Of our new-born
In liberty."*

A.K.D.

HELP US WITH MONEY

We appeal to all who are against imperialism, the source of modern wars.

To all who recognise in U.S. imperialism the No. 1 and most vicious enemy of world peace.

To all who stand for national liberation and independence from neo-colonialism.

To all who recognise in "Social Democracy" and renegade modern revisionism the real splitters and deceivers of the working peoples.

To all who are for right against wrong, for justice and an end to exploitation of man by man.

WE APPEAL FOR DONATIONS to help keep going the struggles, to help the "VANGUARD."

Please send what you can to:—

**The Treasurer,
"Vanguard,"
Flat 3,
33 Anson Road,
London, N.7.**

(Receipt and acknowledgment by return of post.)

THE EDITORS.

JAPANESE COMMUNISTS GREAT VICTORY — REVISIONIST RENEGADE TROUNCED

A Hsinhua report quoting the Peking People's Daily announced a great victory for the Japanese Communist Party in the recent House of Councillors Elections.

Sanzo Nosaka, chairman of the C.C. to the J.C.P. was re-elected topping the poll in Tokyo metropolis. The party polled its highest vote since the Second World War. This is clear proof that the J.C.P. consistently holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, opposing reaction and modern revisionism is winning the increased support of the Japanese working people.

In contrast to the magnificent triumph of the J.C.P., the Liberal Democratic Party representing monopoly capitalism was totally defeated in Tokyo metropolis—all its candidates being defeated.

A handful of revisionist renegades from the J.C.P. put up their leader, Kamiyama to run as a candidate, under the signboard of the "J.C.P." votes. These rascals have become the darlings of the Soviet Party leaders, together with the renegade agent Dange of India.

Such patronage, however, failed again to benefit the treacherous cause of modern revisionism. In fact it only served to expose yet again, precisely whom Krushchov's heirs unite with and whom they oppose.

Whereas no bourgeois election can truly reflect the will of the broad masses of the people, since it is clear that it is conducted from first to last within the framework of the capitalist state, the watch-dog of private property, nevertheless the results in Japan bear witness to the fruits of revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism, domestic capitalism, "social democracy" and modern revisionism. Without doubt this heralds still further triumphs for Marxism-Leninism in Japan. J.W.

TITO'S BETRAYAL

J. William Fulbright, chairman of the U.S. senate foreign relations committee recently described the Tito clique of Yugoslavia as "a reliable and stalwart associate" of the United States, according to a U.S.I.S. report.

Dealing with his 9-day visit to Yugoslavia in November, 1964, Fulbright stated that the policies pursued by the Tito clique did not threaten American interests. "It has proven itself a reliable and stalwart associate (of the United States) in the advancement of certain objectives in which our interests coincide," he said.

He emphasized the importance of the role played by the Tito clique as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism. The major importance of Yugoslavia from the viewpoint of American interests "is in its role as a bridge between east and west."

He declared that the major conclusion he had reached during his visit was that Yugoslavia "is a nation which is for the most important purposes friendly, and certainly not hostile toward the United States, and that it is possible and desirable for the two nations to maintain normal, co-operative, and even cordial relations."

Fulbright praised the Tito clique for enforcing in its country an economic policy for the restoration of capitalism, saying that it "has modified . . . marxian economics and has gradually adopted flexible, pragmatic and in some cases quite imaginative economic policies."

Tito has recently returned from the Soviet Union, where he received "red-carpet treatment."

Judging from the Tito-Kosygin communique "comradely" relations are as close as can be between these arch revisionists of Leninism. The call of the 1960 Moscow Statement for the need to expose Yugoslavia's revisionism in order to safeguard world Communist unity is completely scrapped by the C.P.S.U. leaders.

In fact they speculate openly on the need to import some of Tito's "economic creative ideas" — which have caused severe unemployment, emigration of labour to West Germany and the recent devaluation of the dinar.

It will be recalled that in a recent series of articles carried by the Daily Worker on European Socialist countries, Yugoslavia headed the list.

Perhaps, for once, the C.P.G.B. leaders will inform party members, precisely where they do stand in relation to this "reliable and stalwart associate" of U.S. imperialism and bosom pal of Kosygin and Co.?