

VANGUARD

Politics
Economics
World News
Literature
Polemics 1/-

VOL. 2 No. 6

OCTOBER 1965

A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

BRITAIN'S ECONOMIC CRISIS

EDITORIAL

THE British economy is going downhill. The serious deficit in balance of payments; the colossal debts which have been incurred by Tory and "Labour" governments alike; the stagnation in overall production; the pernicious weakness of sterling; the everyday "factual devaluation of the £," as distinct from formal devaluation—all this and more testifies that the country is moving towards an economic and financial slump of major proportions.

Who is to blame for this grave state of affairs? Without doubt, the capitalist class is to blame. This class is the parasite. It lives and waxes rich on rent, interest and profits, sucked from the labour power of the British working people and hundreds of millions of colonial and neo-colonial peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

The capitalist press tells us it is the fault of the working peoples. This is a blatant lie and they know it, and it is meant to confuse, deceive and split the ranks of the working people both here and abroad. Is it not true that the British economy is a capitalist economy and not a socialist one? Therefore all the major decisions are taken by the "capitalists" for the sole benefit of their class?

Every working man and woman is feeling the economic pinch today. Are the big employers feeling the "pinch"? Let us see for ourselves.

In 1964, profit from the big companies, front rent and surplus on public enterprises (which more often than not serve big business) added up to £7,033 million—or 7/6d. in every £1 of the nation's income. The "Top Ten" giants grabbed a return on capital averaging 48%, or 9/10d. in every £. The "Top Two," Shell Transport and I.C.I., made a net profit per employee of £1,500 in one year—£30 approximately per week. £15 to £20 per week profit per worker was quite common in 1964. Ten companies recorded profit increases in 1964 of from £10 to £25 million. Gross company trading profits in 1964 increased by 14%, while rents rose by 5.8%. (Statistics—National Income and Expenditure—1965 Blue Book.)

Briefly put, while Tory and "Labour" governments alike were "warning" the workers that wage-rises were ruining Britain, their bosom friends, the capitalists, were (and still are) just minting it!

INDEX

International T.U. support Vietnam	2
Immediate Tasks; Eve of C.P.G.B. Congress; and Contradictions and Revisionism	3, 4 & 5
International News	6 & 7
VIETNAM	8
ALBANIA	9
Urgent Appeal: Greetings to China	10
Some aspects of Modern Revisionism	11
Letters	12
Disturbing Trends in Soviet Agriculture and Tom Flint Column	13
Racialism and National Liberation and United Nations-U.S. tool	14
Literature and Art	15
Revisionism seeks Unity with Catholicism and Report of our Work since Dec. 1964 ...	16

BOOMS and SLUMPS

The capitalist system has always brought us periodic "booms and slumps". Why is this? Because it is a chaotic system, grasping for the maximum profit whenever it can. It overproduces many goods and underproduces others. Because of this our fathers suffered great poverty and privations in 1926, '29 and '31. Some say "but this can never happen again." We state categorically and deem it our duty to warn the British working people—"it can and it will unless you understand the writing on the wall; are resolved to take matters into your own hands; to unite and defend your own interests." Even now the unemployment figures are soaring with layoffs and short time working in the car and building industries, etc. A Tory MP recently spoke of one million out of work by December and broadly hinted that it was good "Labour" government policy to go along with this, since it would reduce the people's spending power and the import bill and "strengthen" the £1—if you please!

This disaster, should it occur, would also strengthen the bosses' hand in refusing wage increases and even reducing wages.

In past slumps, the capitalists and landlords have, in the main, always managed to protect their incomes by reducing wages, raising rents and depressing the living standards of the workers, who with their families comprise over 80% of the population. The "Labour" government is "going along with this" also.

Mr. Brown's infamous Prices and Incomes Board is merely an instrument to keep down wages, whilst having no real powers to reduce general prices.

"LABOUR" PARTY'S BETRAYAL

The leaders of the Tory and the "Labour" Parties are together committed to defending the exploiting capitalist system. Their noisy debates in Parliament are designed to fool the people that some real difference exists between them.

Whilst the *City Press* (August 13th, 1965) forecasts unemployment and wage-cuts, some people still think that a "Labour" Party Prime Minister will protect them. Well, according to the weekly *Spectator* . . . "the ghosts of 1931 walk again . . . it is comforting to a Tory and infuriating to a Socialist that Lord Cromer, Governor of the Bank of England, is now in charge of the Cabinet. Mr. Wilson, is indeed, Lord Cromer's poodle." The *Spectator* is correct. We must point out that Lord Cromer's central idea is to cushion the rich capitalists against the effects of the impending economic crisis by compelling the workers to accept longer dole queues, higher prices and reduced wages.

All the grand promises of the "Labour" Party, like the Tories before them, have been broken to bits. Wilson's expenditure on military forces in Aden, Malaysia and West Germany is as enormous as Home's and Macmillan's before him. Thousands of millions of pounds are "invested" overseas so that the loot may flow into the City of London. These two factors alone make it impossible to balance the difference between Britain's Expenditure and Income.

Last year the deficit was a record £800 million, the £ exists on foreign loans, which increase the debt still further. Now Wilson-Brown have told the foreign bankers that they will shortly bring in



"FREEDOM FOR THE ARABS, IF I HAVE TO SEND THE ENTIRE BRITISH ARMY TO IMPOSE IT!"

Continued from Page 1

legislation to compel the workers to accept much lower living standards.

We state that it is intolerable that the working men and women of Britain should be expected to suffer and sacrifice in order to ensure the continued existence of capitalism—the system which itself breeds war, misery and crisis after crisis.

We state that the only ultimate solution for the working class is to unite, organise and win a just socialist society and end the exploitation of man by man.

Meanwhile, we would suggest some measures which the working people can take to defend themselves in the coming months. To rely on the Tories, "Labour" government, Parliament or the Trade Union leaders, is to court certain and further betrayal.

1. **DEMAND NOW**, substantial wage increases, a 40 or 35-hour working week and 3 weeks paid annual holiday and prepare to use the fullest organised industrial power to compel the bosses' acceptance.

2. **INSIST NOW**, on extended Social Services of every kind and substantial increases in unemployment pay,

sick benefits, pensions and national assistance payments.

3. **DEMAND** strict price control of basic foods, fuel and clothing.

4. **DEMAND NOW**, a return to strict rents control.

5. **DEMAND NOW**, an end to colonial military occupation of Aden and Malaysia and the withdrawal of the British Army of the Rhine.

6. **DEMAND** the strictest control of sterling investments overseas.

7. **DEMAND NOW**, a greatly increased tax on unearned income, i.e., rents, interest, dividends and profits.

8. **ORGANISE NOW** into the Trade Unions so as to campaign for these demands and unite and organise into "unofficial" factory and works committees and tenants' committees, so as all the better to fight for these and other demands under working class leadership and with people you know and trust.

We are convinced that the above eight demands are a basis, offering the only real chance, in the present and coming situation, for the working people of our country to defend their fundamental interests and even to advance them at the expense of the rich capitalist exploiters and their paid political servants.

Solidarity With Vietnamese People

The 2nd Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity With the Workers and People of Vietnam Against the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors

RESOLUTION

THE Second Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity With the Workers and People of Vietnam against the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors was held in Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, from the 2nd to the 7th of June, 1965. It was attended by representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Trade Unions Internationals and the All-Africa Trade Unions Federation, representatives of the trade unions of 50 countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, Australia-Oceania, and representatives of the North American workers.

The Conference heard the report of activities by the Secretariat of the International Trade Union Committee, the reports by the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions and the South Vietnam Liberation Federation of Trade Unions, and the speeches by the delegates.

The Conference viewed with indignation the U.S. imperialists' continuing intensification and extension of their aggressive war in Vietnam.

For eleven years, the U.S. imperialists have been systematically sabotaging the 1954 Geneva Agreements. They have brought into South Vietnam all kinds of war materials and tens of thousands of troops, have resorted to toxic chemicals and gases to destroy crops and massacre the civilian population. They have perpetrated the most heinous crimes against the South Vietnamese people in an attempt to enslave them, and to turn South Vietnam into a U.S. new-type colony and military base, and to prolong indefinitely the partition of Vietnam. They have launched air and naval raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and placed Vietnam and the adjacent waters in the "combat zone" of the U.S. armed forces, violating all norms of international law and jeopardising the independence and sovereignty of a democratic, free and peaceful state.

The Conference energetically condemns these criminal activities of the U.S. imperialists, and strongly denounces President Johnson's deceitful and hypocritical words, his cynical proposals for "unconditional discussions" with which he is trying to conceal and continue the U.S. imperialists' criminal aggressive policy.

The Conference stresses that the above-mentioned facts supply further evidence that U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war, and the worst enemy of all peoples.

The Conference hails the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and its Liberation Army which are recording ever more brilliant victories, and is gratified to note that four-fifths of South Vietnam with over ten million inhabitants have already been liberated. The Conference hails the brilliant successes achieved in the national liberation struggle by the South Vietnam Liberation Federation of Trade Unions which unites in its ranks the working people in the towns still controlled by the U.S. imperialists and those of the liberated areas.

While hailing the heroic struggle of the South Vietnamese people, the Conference expresses its deep admiration for the brilliant victories recorded by the people and army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in fighting against the U.S. imperialists' aggressive actions.

The Conference holds that the just struggle waged by the Vietnamese workers and people against the U.S. aggressors sets a great example and constitutes a considerable support for the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, and a great contribution to the maintenance of peace in South-east Asia and the world.

The Conference fully approves the five-point stand expounded in the statement of March 22, 1965 of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam expounded on April 8, 1965, and holds that they are the only valid basis for the settlement of the Vietnam question.

On these bases, the Conference has decided to step up the struggle of the working people and their trade union organisations for:—

—the immediate ending of U.S. aggression;

—the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, and dismantling of U.S. military bases in South Vietnam;

—the immediate cessation of bombings, strafings, and other aggressive activities against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

—the respect for, and implementation of, the 1954 Geneva Agreements by the U.S. Government;

—the settlement of South Vietnam's affairs by the South Vietnamese people themselves without any foreign intervention, on the basis of the political programme of the South Vietnam Front for Liberation;

—the recognition of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people;

—the settlement of the peaceful reunification of Vietnam by the population of the two zones of Vietnam, without any foreign interference.

The Conference denounces and rejects all manoeuvres to bring about U.N. intervention, all attempts to use foreign troops to interfere in Vietnam's affairs, as well as any other solution contrary to the purport of the stands expounded in the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation's March 22, 1965 statement and in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Government's April 8, 1965 declaration. The Conference expresses its admiration for the Vietnamese people who have made clear their resolve not to stop fighting as long as the U.S. imperialists do not bring their aggression against Vietnam to an end.

The Conference notes that, fully endorsing the stand of the Vietnamese workers and people, the world's working people and their trade unions have developed and multiplied all forms of support for, and solidarity with, the Vietnamese people.

The Conference notes that throughout the world most diverse actions have developed: collecting of funds, medicines, food and clothing, sending of letters and telegrams, holding of meetings and demonstrations to oppose U.S. aggression, and to support the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as well as movements like refusal to ship U.S. weapons and munitions bound for South Vietnam; workers of some countries have sent money to the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation for the purchase of arms.

Inspired by the March 22, 1965, statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, workers, young men and women in many countries have volunteered to go, when necessary and if requested by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, to fight at the side of the South Vietnamese people. The Conference highly regards this movement as a powerful demonstration of solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

The Conference notes that even in the United States, trade unions and other mass organisations, broad masses of the people, and personalities from all walks of life are increasingly aware that U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam harms the American people's prestige and national interests, and come out against the U.S. Government's aggressive policy and support the Vietnamese people's just struggle.

The Conference notes that the great achievements of the socialist countries, the struggles of the working class in capitalist countries against imperialist monopolies, the growing struggle of the workers and peoples in all continents against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism constitute an action co-ordinated with that of the Vietnamese people for which they are a great support.

That is the reason why the Conference, while extending its unreserved support to the just struggle of the Laotian people for national salvation against U.S. imperialists' intervention and aggression, demands that the United States and its satellites strictly implement the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, stop its aggression under all its forms against this country, and let the Laotian people settle their own affairs themselves; the Conference unreservedly supports the people of the Kingdom of Cambodia who are courageously struggling against the provocations and aggressive acts of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, to defend her national dignity, sovereignty, independence, neutrality, territorial integrity and peace. The Conference supports the Chinese people's struggle against the occupation of Taiwan by the U.S. imperialists and for its return to the Fatherland; it supports the struggle of the Indonesian, North Kalimantan and Malaysian peoples against "Malaysia", a product of U.S.-British neo-colonialism; it supports the Korean people's struggle for the liberation of South Korea and for national reunification.

tion; it supports the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and internal reaction; it supports the Arab peoples' struggle against U.S. imperialism and its instrument, the Israeli Government, and demands the return of the Arab people of Palestine to their native country; it supports the liberation struggle of the peoples of Oman, South Yemen, Cyprus, the Congo (Leopoldville), Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique; it supports the South African peoples' struggle against segregation and racial discrimination; it strongly condemns U.S. imperialist armed aggression against the Dominican Republic and supports the Dominican people's just struggle against the aggressors; it supports the armed and political struggle of the peoples of Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras and other Latin American countries against the political and economic domination of U.S. neo-colonialism; it supports the Cuban people's struggle against military provocations and economic blockade by U.S. imperialism; it supports the Spanish people's struggle against Franco's fascist dictatorship backed by the U.S. imperialists; it supports the struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination; it supports the struggle of the people of the German Democratic Republic against the revival of West German militarism and the plan for a "multilateral nuclear force."

To broaden solidarity with the Vietnamese people and to lend them increased moral and material support, the Conference calls on the workers and trade unions of all countries to take more extensive and effective actions with a view to:

1. Intensifying propaganda work to energetically denounce and condemn the U.S. imperialists' aggression against Vietnam and their political machinations.

2. Making more widely and better known the stand of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

3. Multiplying the mass actions by workers and other sections of the population with all appropriate forms of struggle: meetings, demonstrations, strikes, refusal to transport U.S. troops and weapons consigned to them, etc., to show solidarity with, and support for, the Vietnamese people, in opposition to the U.S. imperialists' criminal aggression against the entire Vietnamese people.

4. Launching a widespread and many-sided movement of solidarity and support and for material aid with a view to collecting and promptly dispatching to the South Vietnam Liberation Federation of Trade Unions: medicines, food, clothing, etc., and especially funds to provide the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation with the means to strengthen its fighting force, so as to achieve more rapidly final victory over the U.S. aggressors.

The delegates to the Conference decided to organise on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, which falls on July 20th, 1965, and on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the founding of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, which falls on December 20, 1965, great campaigns of support for, and solidarity with, the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The Conference is confident that, with the entire Vietnamese people's will to struggle in unity and the growing solidarity of all peace- and justice-loving peoples in the world, the workers and people of South Vietnam will get the better of the U.S. imperialist aggressors; the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam will certainly defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors; Vietnam will certainly be reunified; peace in Indo-China and in South-east Asia will certainly be safeguarded.

APPEAL TO WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORLD

WORKERS and Trade Unions all over the world!

For nearly eleven years now, the U.S. imperialists have been conducting in South Vietnam the dirtiest and most atrocious war of aggression in the world in an attempt to impose their domination on the South Vietnamese people, turn South Vietnam into a new-type colony and military base, and perpetuate the partition of Vietnam.

They are now stubbornly intensifying and expanding their war of aggression in Vietnam, an extremely dangerous war, thereby bringing about a very serious situation in this country, and posing a direct threat to peace in Indo-China, South-east Asia and the world.

Continued on Page 3

Continued from page 2

The heroic South Vietnamese people, preferring death to slavery, have risen up in a most valiant struggle, they have captured weapons from the enemy to fight him, have won victory after victory, inflicted increasing defeats upon the U.S. imperialists and driven them deeper into the bog.

Confronted with this hopeless situation, the U.S. imperialists are desperately clinging to South Vietnam. They are rushing in thousands of tons of weapons, and tens of thousands of U.S. troops and mercenaries from South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia, Malaya, etc. . . . to take a direct part in the war, and have even used poison gases to massacre the South Vietnamese people. In addition they are brazenly sending hundreds of air and naval craft on round-the-clock bombing raids on North Vietnam, massacring the civilian population including women and children. At the same time they are beginning to blockade the coastal areas of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and making frenzied preparations for new military adventures. Besides, they are stepping up the aggressive war in Laos, and provoking and intimidating Cambodia.

The new aggressive and war activities of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam not only grossly trample upon the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and the norms of international law, blatantly encroach upon the independence and freedom of the Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese peoples, but also constitute a serious challenge to the socialist camp, the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to all peace, freedom and justice-loving mankind.

Yet, U.S. President Johnson has the cheek to slanderously charge North Vietnam with "aggression against South Vietnam", and to diffuse "peace" and "negotiations" smoke-screens to cover up these criminal actions. But such tricks, however perfidious, can fool nobody. On the contrary, they have increased the indignation of the working people and the progressive forces in the world, and strengthened their solidarity with, and active support for, the Vietnamese workers and people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists.

The Conference affirms that in such circumstances, the South Vietnamese people have every right to drive out the U.S. imperialists, liberate South Vietnam and settle their own affairs themselves. It affirms that each Vietnamese, both in the North and the South, has the right to fulfil his sacred duty towards his fatherland, that is, to take up arms in a resolute fight against the U.S. aggressors. Vietnam is one. The Vietnamese people are one. They are indivisible.

The U.S. imperialists, however frenzied and reckless, cannot prevent the patriotic Vietnamese people from carrying on their heroic struggle until final victory.

Workers and Trade Unions all over the world!

The struggle waged by the Vietnamese workers and people against the U.S. imperialists, for national salvation, sets a brilliant example, and is an important part of the struggle of the world's workers and peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, trade union rights, democratic freedoms and social progress.

That is why the world's workers and peoples regard this just struggle as their own, and have the urgent duty to support it till final victory.

And that is also why the Second Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity With the Workers and People of Vietnam against the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors met in Hanoi, from the 2nd to the 7th of June, 1965.

Workers and Trade Unions all over the world!

We earnestly call on you to condemn and expose to world public opinion the U.S. imperialists' policy of intensifying and expanding the criminal war in Vietnam and all their political machinations. This is to be achieved by diverse forms: meetings, statements, letters of protest, mass demonstrations, strikes, etc.

The Conference calls on you to oppose the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war in Vietnam, to extend whole-hearted support to the patriotic, just, and certain

to be victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people; to demand that the U.S. imperialists withdraw from South Vietnam, stop all attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, respect and strictly implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

We call on all the workers and trade unions of those countries directly or indirectly under the U.S. imperialists' domination or influence to struggle so as to prevent the U.S. imperialists from using you as cannon-fodder in their aggressive war in Vietnam.

Refuse to transport the weapons, war materials and troops sent from the United States and its satellites to massacre the fraternal Vietnamese people.

Demand that the U.S. military bases in your countries be dismantled, don't allow the U.S. imperialists to use them for their aggressive war in Vietnam.

By so doing, you will contribute to checking and defeating the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war in Vietnam.

The Conference calls on the world's working class and labouring people to give even stronger and more effective support to the just struggle of the Vietnamese workers and people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. We call on them, in particular, to respond with all their strength to the March 22, 1965 appeal of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, to extend to the Vietnamese workers and people moral and material assistance under forms suited to the specific conditions of each country so as to strengthen their fighting force and enable them more rapidly to win final victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Participate eagerly in the weeks of solidarity with, and in support of, the Vietnamese workers and people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam (July 20, 1965) and of the 5th anniversary of the founding of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (December 20, 1965).

In order to co-ordinate your action with the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and people, step up the struggle on your own soil against imperialism and colonialism headed by U.S. imperialism, the bulwark of international reaction.

For the glorious historic mission of the world's working class and labouring people, for the peoples' great cause of independence, democracy, peace and social progress, let us, workers and trade unions all over the world, fulfil our international duty towards the Vietnamese workers and people, and make our worthy contribution to their struggle to defeat the criminal war waged by the bellicose and aggressive U.S. imperialists.

—Resolutely support the Vietnamese people in defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors!

—The U.S. imperialists must pull out of South Vietnam, and stop their attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

—Long live the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples!

—Long live world peace!

—Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!

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

"VANGUARD"
is available monthly from
COLLETT'S BOOKSHOP
CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON, W.C.1
and
HAMMERSMITH BOOKSHOP LTD.
LIFFORDS PLACE, HIGH STREET, BARNES
S.W.13

OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

SPEAKING of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity in *The Way Forward*, Cde. M. McCreery said, "This Committee is now organising a public campaign to expose revisionism and win the militant industrial workers and intellectuals to understand that a genuine Communist Party must be established before advance can be made against monopoly capitalism in Britain. We shall before long achieve this goal."

Thus our prime task is, at the moment, to win militant workers and intellectuals *ideologically* for Marxism-Leninism. This is primarily a *political struggle* which involves exposing modern revisionism and opposing reformist *strategies* in the working class movement. However the mere exposing of modern revisionism, nationally and internationally, is not enough and we must seek always to carry a positive Marxist-Leninist line in the British context — in industry, the peace and youth movements etc — Nor is it enough merely to support foreign Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups — one cannot be a genuine Marxist-Leninist by abstractly accepting Marxist-Leninist principles in the realm of ideas without trying to apply them to the everyday struggle. Nor can a person be a genuine Marxist-Leninist if he or she accepts the validity of Marxism-Leninism for the National Liberation movements and socialist states but condones revisionist theory and practice at home!

How do we go about giving this Marxist-Leninist lead? Firstly, by careful analysis of our system of society, its economic base, its neo-colonial ramifications throughout the world; its classes; the present outlook of these classes and of the various strata within these classes; its trade union movement; its various other institutions such as the Labour Party and Parliament which go into ensuring the smooth running of bourgeois democracy.

Secondly, our organ *Vanguard* (and our other publications) is the means by which we can reach the vanguard workers and intellectuals. In *Vanguard* we can analyse the whole British and international situation and advance a Marxist-Leninist outlook. We must report on the triumphs of the Marxist-Leninists over the revisionists in the world communist dispute; we must report on the successes being achieved in the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world (a job which the C.P.G.B.'s publications have reneged on for years. Where apart from *Peking Review*, among easily obtained literature, can the advanced workers and intellectuals read of the successes of the anti-imperialist struggles in Latin America, Asia and Africa? The C.P.G.B.'s publications always accent the (clay-footed) might of the imperialists and the reverses of the liberation struggle: always they accent the suffering of the people in a pacifist way).

Not only must *Vanguard* inform and educate the advancing sections of the workers but it must also become the means of organising them. *Vanguard* is the means of contacting and rallying our supporters and sympathisers at work, privately, at meetings, demonstrations and so on. It also acts as the basis of discussion groups which in time become fully fledged affiliated groups of the C.D.R.C.U. carrying out a full programme of Marxist-Leninist study and political work.

These groups of sympathisers and supporters must be transformed by study and practical work into groups of Marxist-Leninist cadres—disciplined and organised on the basis of collectivism, on the basis of democratic centralism in the group itself and overall in the C.D.R.C.U.

1. The theoretical study must be thorough and systematic covering the Marxist-Leninist classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung, Liu Shao Chi and others—incorporating a thorough objective study of the theories and practice of right and left opportunists, revisionists and dogmatists.

2. The chief content of the practical work is the waging of an unrelenting though tactically flexible *political struggle* at our place of work, in our trade union branch, in our locality with all who might be won to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint or at least to a progressive anti-imperialist position.

The political struggle which we wage to win the minds of the advanced workers must cover all aspects of the ideological struggle in order to give a complete picture of the realities of the world we live in. We must deal with the real, avaricious, brutal nature of imperialism; with the pro-imperialist and anti-working class nature of social democracy; the modern revisionist sell-out; peaceful co-existence and imperialist aggression; the relationship of the colonial and neo-colonial liberation

struggles to the metropolitan class struggle; and the imperialist facts and ruling class divide and rule tactics behind the immigration and racialism issues. We must not confine ourselves to purely economist and bread and butter issues. Indeed, the day to day issues—housing, rents, pay increases, working conditions, health, speed-up, etc., etc. must be related to the overall Marxist-Leninist political analysis of Britain and the world and the consequent need for the working class to build their own organisations to overthrow capitalism and smash the capitalist state power. We must seek to build up the worker's confidence in their own powers, once correctly organised and led, to liberate and rule themselves. Catchwords like "radical reforms" and "structural reforms" must be exposed as class collaboration in disguise. There is no easy, compromise road to socialism.

BROAD MOVEMENTS

Our aim is to raise the political consciousness of the masses of working people but first (and this is our present task) we must raise our own political consciousness and that of the advanced sections of the workers and intellectuals—the activists and militants.

We must also work in the Broad Movements where we are able and have the manpower—in M.C.F., the Peace Movement, the T.U.M., etc. but our task here is to put the correct Marxist-Leninist political line in broad movement language and advance the correct slogans. Thus, for example, in the Peace Movement we must seek to put forward anti-imperialist slogans—pointing out always that imperialism, capitalism and all economic exploitation of man by man, of nations by nations, of class by class are the source of war in the modern world. Thus again in the anti-racist campaign we must seek to unify all workers against the common enemy, imperialism, including British monopoly capitalist imperialism—exposing the economic exploitation of the colonies and neo-colonies, exposing the imperialist stooges in the neo-colonies and at home, and relating all this to the continuing and increasing domestic exploitation of workers of all origins in this country.

At no time must we capitulate to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois humanitarian notions—abstract love of mankind and pacifism—hoping in this way to "catch" mass support for the broad movements.

One of the chief dangers facing us at present is the possibility that we might get lost in feverish activity within the broad movements (as they are at present) without a clear idea of what we are supposed to be doing. Nor must we go rushing to this or that particular economic struggle to get a cheap identification with the economic struggle as a whole. This is left opportunist spontaneity.

ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

The economic struggle goes on spontaneously in capitalist society but it is not necessarily Marxist-Leninist struggle. Marxist-Leninist consciousness can be grafted on to the economic struggle (and indeed must be) and this gives the latter *political content*. The time will come when a reconstituted Marxist-Leninist Party in this country will play its full role in initiating and leading such struggles with great political success.

But at present to run after the spontaneous economic struggle in our present state of strength and organisation (or lack of it) is *tail-ism*. However where our cadres, at work, do get involved in the spontaneous struggle then they must

(Continued on page four)

seek to inject political content (of a Marxist-Leninist nature of course) into that struggle in order to raise the political consciousness of their fellow workers. Such practical experiences are invaluable for both the workers and cadres involved.

We must save our manpower to concentrate on those struggles which do contain overt political content and in these situations we must try and show our solidarity with the workers involved. A clear example of this kind of struggle was the strike recently at Courtauld in Preston in which the attempt was made (with some success) to divide the working class against itself. Here, in this kind of economic struggle, where political issues are to the fore, here is where we must seek contacts and solidarity with the workers involved. And our intervention will be to put clearly to the workers involved and the workers everywhere (by leaflet, personal contact and *Vanguard* articles, etc.) the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation and the relevant lessons which militant workers must learn.

Again we must, where we can, seek to initiate industrial action but once more we must put political considerations first and not purely economic ones. Any industrial action which we undertake must be to give a Marxist political lead to the workers. (E.g. if we were able we should initiate a transport workers boycott of war material for the use of the Imperialists against the Vietnamese people, etc., etc. If such action were undertaken spontaneously then again we must afford it every possible aid.)

But as yet with our limited forces we must seek to concentrate on political issues of key importance. The fundamental struggle we must undertake at the present time is the public stand against revisionism: to win the militant workers. This is a political struggle.

CRITICISM

Some "militant" ex-C.P.G.Bers and anti-revisionists accuse us of sectarianism, of failing to act, to pull our weight in the broad movement (what they confuse with the "mass line"). They say that we insist on making a sectarian, "ideologically pure" stand (a handsome insult!).

Why are these comrades so concerned with getting active in the broad organisations? Why are they so keen on C.N.D.? On S.A.C.U.? On M.C.F.? On C.A.R.D.? etc., etc. Like moles they tunnel blindly away in the broad movements by-passing the most vital task facing Marxist-Leninists and anti-revisionists, the reconstitution of the genuine Communist Party in these islands. They shelve this main issue and try futilely to make up for the deficiencies of the revisionists: they try and undo the harm the revisionists are doing in these broad movements. Without a firm footing in a Marxist-Leninist organisation they are adrift in the broad movement invariably tailing behind the petty bourgeois left-social democratic leaders of these movements. Let us be clear—there is no harm and some good in working in the broad movements for the purpose of rallying the militants to the need for reconstituting a Marxist-Leninist Party. But to put the broad movement above all else, as an end in itself is bowing to spontaneity, is submitting to left social democratic leadership.

Of course the C.P.G.B. leadership is to blame here, for it has fallen down on the broad mass issues of peace, of solidarity with the national liberation movements, etc. The C.P.G.B. has failed to initiate mass struggle on the broad issues, to form mass movements under Communist leadership. Instead it has been guilty of tail-ism and spontaneity, of tagging behind the leadership of left social democratic humanists—Brockway, Collins etc. excusing their tail-ism as "left unity" and excusing their lack of real leadership as "united front tactics." But always the Leninist concept of a united front or broad movement has hinged on the Marxist-Leninists retaining their independent ideological position and taking the leadership, as far as possible in given circumstances and the (objective) revolutionary initiative at all times.

Certainly we can unite with petty bourgeois left social democrats and other secondary enemies at certain times in the struggle against the main enemy. But we must unite on our terms for the advance of the political struggle of the working class and oppressed people.

The C.P.G.B. leadership has been consistent in only one thing and that is in consistently failing to give leadership to mass struggles and broad movements along correct, popular Marxist-Leninist line.

All around we see the results of this defaulting, of the surrender to left social democracy. There is a general downturn in the tempo of militancy out of keeping with the significance of events.

So ex-C.P.G.Bers and militants see how the Party leadership defaults on the Peace Movement, the Youth Movement, the Racial Issue, the Colonial Freedom Movements, on the Vietnamese People's armed struggle and frustrated with this blatant capitulation they rush into each new broad movement as it is thrown up, into each petition and demonstration which has a whiff of militancy about it and try and ginger things up. They applaud these spontaneous manifestations of discontent—not realising that they are strengthening left social democracy which leads these broad movements in this present phase. They condemn us for not rushing with them: they condemn us for patiently putting a "purist" Marxist-Leninist analysis and propaganda to the militants, for wanting to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist cadre party as a prime task and for only indulging in broad movement work at this stage for this very purpose (to rally and organise militants engaged in practical political activity for this end—the reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Party). These critics are guilty of tail-ism too: in their united front with left social democracy they get a comfortable feeling of organised working class strength which is illusory. Moreover the broad movements at present do not by and large appeal and attract support from the masses of the working class—as broad movements organised and led by a Marxist-Leninist Party would. And we must have a Marxist-Leninist Party organised and disciplined in all leading urban centres of England, Scotland and Wales before such Marxist-Leninist led broad movements could be formed and take action successfully.

Have no illusions, we shall not steal C.N.D. or C.A.R.D. from their petty bourgeois leaders—nor do we want to! In time we will organise our own broad movements for Peace, for colonial freedom, for fighting racism, etc. to appeal to the masses of the working people and to organise them for effective action.

Our main aim at present is to rally militants and raise their political level so that we can reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Party we need so badly in England, Scotland and Wales. In all our work, theoretical and practical in all fields we must bear this fact in mind.

At present this is the chief objective need of the working class in these islands. Moreover economic and political conditions (with the collapse of British imperialism; the successes of the colonial liberation movements; the self-exposure of social democracy as the handmaiden of the ruling class to the working people), both locally and internationally are ripe for such a development.

What sort of a Party is it that we must reconstitute? How will it differ from the revisionist dominated C.P.G.B.? Comrade McCreery gave us the main features in a succinct and correct form in "The Way Forward."

1. The Party will be based on proletarian internationalism with the working class and oppressed peoples of all countries. Our relationship will be based on genuine equality and mutual respect.
2. The Party will fight to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which involves smashing the capitalist state machine in a socialist revolution.
3. Struggles on all immediate issues (wages, rents, etc.) will be related to the above strategy. We must use the immediate struggles to raise the class-political consciousness of the workers.
4. The Party will carry a mass line to mobilise the mass of the working people which means that the Party will have to be organised at the places of work of the people.
5. The Party will fight inside the trade union movement, co-ops, parliament, etc. for progressive policies and even positions but in order to expose legalism and reformism in all their guises.
6. Democratic (and not bureaucratic) centralism will be the basis of the organisation of the Party.

With such a Party the Marxist-Leninist cause will go from strength to strength in these islands. Powerful support will be given to our brothers in the front line of the struggle against imperialism in the colonies and neo-colonies. Speed the day of the reconstitution of the Marxist-Leninist Party in England, Scotland and Wales! Long live Marxism-Leninism!

PAUL NOONE.

THE EVE OF THE CONGRESS OF THE C.P.G.B.

by the Editorial Board of Vanguard

TWO AND A HALF YEARS have gone by since the last Party Congress. In this period, both at home and abroad, important and even historic events have come to pass. Events which have put to test the line and programme of Communist Parties everywhere. Events which have pre-occupied the minds and practical activities of Communists, militants and progressive people all over the world.

As the 1960 MOSCOW STATEMENT, endorsed by 81 Parties, vividly pointed out. "It is the world Socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a Socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. The complete triumph of Socialism is inevitable." And again: "The superiority of the forces of Socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena."

Comrade Mao tse Tung has put it this way: "The East wind prevails over the West wind." "All imperialists, reactionaries, apologists and renegades are paper tigers. It is the common people who are strong and growing stronger." These theses are absolutely valid, no serious-minded Marxist-Leninist can deny them.

And so, 5 years after the Moscow Statement and 2½ years after the last C.P.G.B. Congress, all Communists, all honest militants for the cause of world peace, anti-imperialism, national liberation and Socialism, must have a say. The C.D.R.C.U. and "Vanguard" also exercise the right to make some points and in particular, put some questions to the leaders of the C.P.G.B.

Everyone knows that we have publically criticised the policies and behaviour of the C.P.G.B. leaders since November 1963. The C.P.G.B. leaders have never directly replied to our criticisms. They expelled some and compelled others' resignations. They closed the Party Press to our views. They slyly encouraged vicious slanders against us. They regarded us as enemies and devoutly hoped that we would forever be reduced to impotent silence. Nevertheless, we are still here, growing stronger and consider that this is a good time to put some essential questions.

Before we do so, we wish to make a general point on public polemics.

Firstly, we regard the top leaders of the C.P.G.B. as incorrigible modern revisionists of all the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Secondly, although this has a negative aspect, it also has a distinctly positive aspect.

Since 1848, Marxism has always had to join in combat with alien trends and currents of various descriptions. Proceeding from principle, Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of working class power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the victory of national liberation over imperialism and neo-colonialism, of staunch proletarian internationalism—has always grown stronger through these battles and has both influenced and reflected the growing invincibility of the exploited peoples. It follows from this that the phenomenon of modern revisionism, since it is with us, is nothing to be afraid of. That in taking it to task and defeating it, all Marxist-Leninists perform a vital service to the working peoples of the world. And so, we will proceed.

LEADERS OF THE C.P.G.B.

In February 1956, N. S. Krushchov put before the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. a whole number of proposals. You admitted afterwards that none of these proposals were known to you beforehand. One of these proposals was "that the breach between Communist Parties and the Social Democrats must be healed the world over." This was the first Krushchovian shot—a sort of "range-finder"—for the liquidation of Communist Parties as the vanguards of revolutionary working class economic, political and State power—the very essence of V. I. Lenin's concept of a Party of a new type.

You could have rejected this revisionist proposal or, at least, criticised it or questioned it but you swallowed this like mother's milk.

Events since, have proved up to the hilt, that modern revisionist leaders everywhere have chained their Parties to this liquidationist anti-Leninist concept caused serious splits, blunted the proletarian spirit of the rank and file, reduced their numbers and debased themselves in the eyes of the working class. It so turns out, that this renegade, Krushchovite concept suited quite well your own Programme, the "British Road to Socialism," first published in 1951 and which maps out the road to Social-

ism essentially through Parliament.

Do you still consider that Parliament can be "transformed" in order to legislate imperialism out of existence and transfer the economic, political and State power "peacefully" from the ruling class to the working class or do you consider that Parliament has qualitatively become itself a vital instrument of capitalist State power over the working people?

STALIN and KRUSHCHOV

Twelve years have gone by since J. V. Stalin died. Nine years since Krushchov seized the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and Soviet State. It is only a few months since he was "turned out to grass" by his erstwhile collaborators, whose policies are, in essence, just the same as his.

If we consider the merits or demerits of Stalin and Krushchov, this is not an academic exercise but a necessary estimation from the point of view of politics and Marxism-Leninism.

Communists and serious militants consider that Stalin was a great and worthy continuer of Lenin's cause. That he adhered firmly to the Leninist line both on international and domestic issues; that his long and arduous struggles against opportunism and "left" adventurism formed the ideological basis for the victory of the C.P.S.U. after Lenin died; that he did great work in welding the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; that he remained a staunch friend of the working peoples of the world and a champion of the Leninist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus both rallying support for the U.S.S.R. from other lands and defending the Soviet State against internal enemies.

WHAT OF KRUSHCHOV?

Communists and serious militants consider that Krushchov is a renegade of Lenin's cause; that he has betrayed the Leninist line, both internationally and in the Soviet Union itself; that his revisionist line encouraged opportunism in the C.P.S.U. and other parties and revived hitherto moribund Trotskyite elements; that his unprincipled attitude to some other Parties and Socialist countries, not only caused serious damage to those countries but caused a serious disorientation of the world Communist movement; that his subjective, arrogant attitude caused serious

Continued on Page 5

Continued from Page 4

damage to the Soviet economy and agriculture; that he contemptuously spurned Leninist ideology and Lenin's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus opening the floodgates in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to all kinds of anti-Communist elements. That by his desertion of the Leninist outlook in all fields, he objectively helped U.S. imperialism and hindered the National Liberation movement. This is but a brief indictment of Krushchov but it is sufficient to bring to account the activities of the C.P.G.B. leaders, who, regarded him as some great world leader, hung on his words and deeds, defended them and raised them to the only acceptable norm of Communist activity. It seems that the C.P.G.B. leaders have some explaining to do and should be compelled to do it.

THE MOSCOW STATEMENT AND TITO

"The C.P.'s have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern-revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the L.C.Y. opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957: they set the L.C.Y. against the international Communist movement as a whole—and made (Yugoslav) dependant on so-called aid from U.S. and other imperialists—the Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the Socialist camp and world Communist movement. Further exposure of the leaders of the Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revision-

ists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties." (MOSCOW STATEMENT, 1960).

There is nothing ambiguous here. It is as clear as daylight.

One needs ask John Gollan & Co. "When and where did you carry out this vital duty?" You have attacked the Albanian comrades and slandered the Chinese comrades. You look with a baleful eye on the British Communists who are exposing the Titoist servants of the U.S.A. and thereby adhering to the Moscow Declaration and Statement. Are you silent because you fear upsetting Bhreznev-Kosygin & Co.? Or do you, also, regard Tito as a "staunch world Communist leader"? What similarity is there between the Yugoslav socio-economic set-up and Lenin's views on a Socialist State?

Say what you think regarding Tito—your silence won't forever save your faces.

INDIA AND SOVIET ARMS

The C.D.R.C.U. and "Vanguard" have often criticised the Soviet leaders for pouring arms into India. The Indian Congress leaders are thorough-going reactionaries, reflecting the interests of the Indian capitalists and landlords. They are buttoned up in the pockets of U.S. imperialism. Indian reaction has been given the job by its masters of being the bastion of counter-revolution in Asia. That is why the Indian Marxists-Leninists are in gaol. Since India's leaders oppose the tides of historical development in Asia, they must inevitably become aggressive and expansionist.

Hence its hostility against People's China and its assault on Kashmir and Pakistan. This has laid bare the machinations of the unholy trinity of U.S. and British imperialism and the renegade Soviet leaders—all of whom

vigorously armed India and encouraged her aims.

The Soviet leaders have always been staunchly defended by the C.P.G.B. leaders vis-a-vis this treacherous action. They held that the Soviet arms were intended to reinforce India's "independence" and "neutrality." Who can now believe that India is either "independent" or "neutral"? Or, that, judging by her policy towards Kashmir, she is anything but bellicose and expansionist? The C.P.G.B. leaders, have, in fact, obscured the line between just and unjust, obstructed the exposure of facts to the light of day and thereby objectively helped India's aggressions against her neighbours.

One must ask, how do you propose to defend your position here?

COMMUNISTS AND THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT SELL-OUT

The recently concluded T.U.C. Conference was the greatest disaster that befell British Trade Unionists, in living memory. A glance at the Resolutions adopted will testify to that. Wilson & Co. intend to outlaw "unofficial" strikes and demands for wage increases which are not approved by the T.U.C. and Prices and Incomes Board.

We hold that the Labour Government, the T.U.C. and P.I.B. are all tools of the State and since this is a capitalist State, this means that strikes and wage claims may now take place, only by kind permission of the class enemy.

Nonetheless, events do not materialise precisely as the exploiters envisage them. "There is many a slip between cup and lip." Things create their own opposites. The above measures will certainly result not in less wage claims and "unofficial" strikes but more. The workers will, without doubt, react accordingly to fascist measures, which-

ever particular capitalist agent introduces them. But since the publication of "The British Road to Socialism," with its revisionist line of Socialism through Parliament and Labour Government, the C.P.G.B. leaders have disarmed the Party.

There exists no longer a theoretical basis within the Party to deal with the above situation. It is indeed a case of "practice without theory being blind." The leaders have long shifted the emphasis on mass extra-Parliamentary struggle to struggle within Parliament; within the Labour Party and within the Trade Unions. Hence, we hold that the C.P.G.B. is quite disorientated from the necessary mass-line—the line of struggle outside the aegis of capitalist State organs of suppression and confusion of the working class. A line of struggle to "change" the T.U.'s from within, to "change" the Labour Party from within, has long been, especially in the context of modern British conditions, a line of opportunism cum Trotskyism.

After all, 20 years have elapsed since the C.P.G.B. leaders dismantled the factory Branches because a Labour Government occupied Westminster. 14 years have elapsed since the launching of the "British Road—" and 2½ years since the last C.P.G.B. Congress and still we have the most disastrous T.U.C. in living memory. Still we have stagnation of votes for C.P.G.B. candidates. Still we have a deterioration of Communist influence in industry and the T.U. in both quantitative and qualitative senses. Still we have the blatant sell-out of the working peoples' interests by the Labour Party stalwarts—"left" and right alike and with all this, still we await one word of principled self-criticism by the leaders of the C.P.G.B.

Is it not time that this, also, was put on the agenda?

CONTRADICTIONS AND REVISIONISM

by V. G. WILCOX (From "The New Zealand Communist.")

TODAY many Communists and others who look towards a world without imperialism, a world of peace, a socialist world, give full support to the struggle of the oppressed people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

They welcome the many victories of the national liberation movement in many former imperialist colonies over imperialism headed by the United States imperialists. They are fully aware of the dangers of neo-colonialism as imperialism's way of coming back in the back-door after being driven out the front, but they totally fail to see the vital connection between the victories of the national liberation movement over imperialism and the question of the victory of the masses in the imperialist countries themselves led by the working class. They fail to see that national liberation victories on a world scale, the defeat of all their neo-colonialist attempts and the carrying-forward of the national liberation revolution to the socialist revolution, as Lenin so clearly indicated was essential, creates, by its very economic and political weakening of the main capitalist countries, the conditions that place on the agenda the question of revolution in the imperialist strongholds of to-day.

In this they are consciously or unconsciously following the lead of modern revisionism. How do the present-day revisers of Marxism-Leninism approach this subject? First, they do not see the full significance of the victory of the national revolution on a world scale, nor do they see the need to assist in carrying that victorious revolution forward to the socialist revolution. They, therefore, give lip-service to the struggles of the oppressed peoples, they give insufficient practical aid, particularly when faced with firm opposition from U.S. imperialism.

Has not this situation emerged in South-East Asia? Is it not a fact that the present position there, the extent of the U.S. actions, the escalating across the border into socialist North Vietnam, would never have occurred if essential practical aid had been given at an earlier period instead of a lot of talk? And is it not a fact that the revisionists do not see the need for the people under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party carrying forward from national liberation to Socialism?

By in practice allowing the concept of national liberation, no matter how progressive the leadership, to be the end, by accepting in those countries what is, in fact, petty-bourgeois socialism, or, shall I put it, a new form of social-democratic socialism, accepting a one-party system not based on proletarian state power and a party of Marxism-Leninism, they create the conditions for the rise of a strong native bour-

geoisie in the newly-liberated countries and open the door to imperialism through neo-colonialism.

This, in fact, has happened. It has happened in India; it could happen elsewhere.

REVISIONISM UNDERMINES NATIONAL LIBERATION

Marxist-Leninists can, and should, welcome and support, for example, the anti-imperialist stand of Nasser in Egypt, but they cannot ignore the complete suppression and torture by his regime of those suspected of Communist leanings; yet the revisionists, in practice, do just that. The revisionists speak glibly of the key role of the working class in imperialist strongholds and of the advance to Socialism in those strongholds, but they ignore or call dogmatists those who say, for the advance to revolution in the imperialist strongholds to become a practical possibility, further and complete victories must be achieved in what are to-day the storm-centres of world revolution, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

They even have the impudence to speak of those who do not agree with their negative non-revolutionary position as just "agrarian revolutionaries," not Communists. As glibly as Kautsky of old, they speak of proletarian victory in the capitalist world but fail to help create the conditions that will make that victory possible. In other words, they are but talkers. Precisely what they accuse those who they say are

dogmatists of doing they do. In fact, it is obviously a well-used trick of modern revisionism to accuse others of their own worst sins. In practice, they attempt, by over-emphasis on negotiation with imperialism and by lack of effective assistance, to hold back the struggle in the revolutionary storm-centres of to-day. It is there where people are fighting imperialism with guns in their hands, mainly captured from the imperialists, dying in the struggle, but delivering heavy blows against imperialism.

It is the duty of all Marxist-Leninists to understand the position in the countries of the imperialist strongholds. It is our proletarian duty to do so in New Zealand. We must not listen to glib talk of peaceful co-existence. Peaceful co-existence not in Lenin's sense but in the concept of possible long-term peace with imperialism, to over-emphasis of the possibilities of peaceful transition to Socialism on a world scale, to ideas of the possibility of total disarmament shortly while imperialism exists and fights.

We must, in ordinary every-day language, explain our position to our masses and we must explain our policy based on a Marxist-Leninist approach and not on revisionist idealistic illusions. Only in that way can we move forward in the countries of imperialism, not just in words, not just by waving a little red flag, but by actually doing something.

Recently in some countries we have seen, including New Zealand, considerable activity, demonstrations against the United States imperialists following the bombing of North Vietnam, and support for the struggle of the people of South Vietnam and of South-East Asia against U.S. imperialism. This has been on a fairly wide basis.

REVISIONISTS IGNORE MAIN CONTRADICTIONS

The Communist Party of New Zealand itself has quite proud record over recent months in regard to this, both in the demonstrations outside U.S. Consular offices and the poster-parade activity of Party branches, the national leaflets, special branch bulletins, public meetings and so on. But it has not only been the Communist Party quite a considerable section of the people in other organisations have been well and truly on the job carrying out anti-imperialist activity.

But let us look at this on a world scale. Did the revisionists like these kind of actions? Judging by the speed with which demonstrators outside the U.S. Embassy in Moscow recently were crudely suppressed, the answer is "No." In fact, the speed of apologising to the U.S. imperialists was almost like greased lighting.

This raises the question of what is the basic cause of the modern revisionists getting into this position? Is it not that on many questions they have revised Marxism to such a point that on essential aspects of understanding the nature of the contradictions in the world to-day they are totally astray? Consistently they make it plain that for them they see the contradiction between Socialism and imperialism, not just as the major contradiction but as the only one of any importance. They merely give lip-service to other contradictions in our world.

What do they, in fact, ignore by doing this? They ignore such main contradictions as those between imperialism and the proletariat of the imperialist world, the growing contradictions between the various imperialist powers themselves, and finally and most important, the contradiction between the imperialists and the people of the oppressed colonial world and the newly-liberated world.

They fail to see or deliberately ignore the primary importance from a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist approach of the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed people of the colonial world and the newly-liberated areas at this stage of history. They ignore the fact that to-day, in 1965, it is the merging of the contradictions between the imperialists and the old colonial world — the oppressed people of Asia, Africa and Latin America — that is the storm-centre of revolutionary struggle against imperialism, and therefore, for Marxist-Leninists both in the socialist countries and outside, the forwarding of this struggle in those areas is the core of successful anti-imperialist struggle. They fail to see that its success is a step nearer to the final defeat of imperialism, its death on a world scale.

Our struggle against international and internal monopoly will never reach its final success internally in New Zealand or Australia without those other victories. For us in New Zealand to fully grasp this and its significance is not just a matter of being correct on theory; it is not even just a matter of giving every possible practical aid to the national liberation struggle against imperialism as an international proletarian duty. No, it is a matter that we can, only from this, fully understand and see the correct road forward, clearly see that the victory over imperialism in the present revolutionary storm-centres places on the agenda the possibility of defeat of a then-weakened imperialism in the strongholds of imperialism, in the old capitalist world of which we are part. For us in New Zealand it would then be an immediate task to advance and put into practical activity our policy. New Zealand's Road to Socialism, not, as at present, preparing the way for the future, but by direct assault on the citadels of Capitalism.

— INDIA —

A NEW MARXIST-LENINIST WEEKLY

IT is with the greatest of pleasure that we inform our readers that we have received in our office the Special Inauguration Number, Vol. 1: No. 1, of the new weekly entitled "People's Democracy." This is the English language organ of the real Communist Party of India, recently reconstituted on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This genuine Communist Party has registered one success after another in spite of the fact that under the iniquitous Defence of India Regulations, over a thousand of its leading cadres are held in prison without charge. In Kerala it won 40 seats in the state elections, in spite of the fact that 29 of its parliamentary representatives were detained, while the Dange revisionists obtained only three seats. Now the appearance of this new weekly paper, in spite of all the difficulties, is another great victory for our Indian comrades.

REVISIONISTS EXPOSED

The paper is full of informative articles about the situation in India and, for the first time, we can read the objective truth about the origins of the split inside the Indian Communist Party and how the Dange revisionists completely abandoned Marxism-Leninism. On Page 2, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad deals with this very question:

"Despite handicaps, the cause which the Marxist-Leninists represented—struggle against revisionism—has registered success after success. The reason for this lies in the fact that they represent truth, while their opponents are the champions of falsehood.

"It must now have become clear to all truthful observers that the majority of those who belonged to the once-United Communist Party of India are with what is termed in the daily press as the 'left wing' of the CPI. All the claims made by the revisionists in their 'Organisational Report,' presented to their Congress, held in Bombay, have been proved to be nothing but outright lies. The right revisionist leaders themselves have had to admit in their review of the recent election in Kerala that the bulk of the Party members and the masses loyal to the Party had shifted their loyalty to the 'Left'."

That this is not an exceptional position in Kerala but is indicative of the general trend will be clear to all who objectively examine the position in such strong centres of the Communist movement as Andhra, West Bengal, Tamilnad and Punjab. The right revisionists can, at best, claim the support of one fifth of the total members who at one time belonged to the United Communist Party of India.

It is, nevertheless, this minority in the Communist movement of India who claim to represent the entire movement and who through their "official organs," claim to be giving their interpretations of current developments in India and abroad from the point of view of India's Communist movement.

Many of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties had believed the lies and slanders spread by this small minority to be the real voice of India's Communist movement. Many of them must have done some re-thinking after they heard about the brilliant electoral victory of the real CPI in Kerala. They, however, have even now no means of familiarising themselves with the genuine views of those who represent the majority of India's Communist movement. The same is true of those non-Communist democrats inside India who want to familiarise themselves with the standpoint of India's genuine Communist movement. They, too, had to take whatever is written and spoken by the right revisionists in their "official organs," as the voice of India's Communist movement."

PERSECUTION

On the same page there is another article about the comrades detained under the Defence of India Regulations: "The government is demonstrating its iniquitous attitude by not releasing even those who are seriously ill and need to be treated in a free atmosphere among friends and relations. The health conditions of quite a few detainees, such as Comrades Muzaffar Ahmad, Mohit Moitra and some others are causing great anxiety. But the representations to the government have so far not met with any response. It should be remembered that Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad is over 75 years old and had to undergo a serious

operation last year when he was released. Now again his condition is fast deteriorating. Comrade Mohit Moitra has been attacked with cancer twice and is a diabetic patient with high blood pressure; Comrade Subodh Chowdhury has to be confined to hospital very often due to high blood pressure; Comrade Satish Pakrashi is suffering from low blood pressure; Comrade Bijoy Paul is unable to move due to illness; Comrades Naren Sen, Manik Jha, Juran Ganguly are serious heart patients.

"Only two detainees, Comrade Saibal Mitra, a student leader who was seriously ill with cardiac trouble and Dr. Haimi Bose, who was elected to the Calcutta Corporation from jail and had lost 33 pounds and was vomiting blood, were released."

MARXIST/LENINISTS

On the next page there is an interesting article tracing the origins of the split in the Indian Communist Party.

"From August 1963 to April 1964," the article says, "all our efforts were directed towards reaching acceptable decisions on immediate problems, deferring decisions on questions on which there were vital differences and discussing them soberly, dispassionately and in an organised manner in the Party as a whole to reach certain conclusions.

"The story of how all these efforts were thwarted and we had to walk out of the April 1964 session of the National Council and call on the Party to repudiate the Dange group is now too well known to be repeated here.

"This became necessary because the revisionists in the CPI abandoned Marxism-Leninism and adopted a non-class approach to Indian problems and developments. To them the outmoded and bankrupt capitalist path which the Indian government is pursuing is 'nation building.' According to them this government is building and strengthening an independent national economy in an essentially anti-imperialist, anti-feudal direction, while every day the press reports more facts and figures to show that our dependence on foreign finance capital is growing. To them, the concentration of wealth in a few hands and the constant impoverishment of the mass of the people are minor evils.

"Despite the evidence of 18 years of independence, which demonstrates that the government's policies are formulated in the interests of enriching and strengthening the big bourgeois sections, they refuse to recognise that the big bourgeoisie is the leader of the bourgeois-landlord state. They do not even think that the landlords have any share of power in the state. According to them, the strongest section of the bourgeoisie is not the leader but is content to be the follower. And feudal landlordism is being liquidated by this government.

"They refuse to recognise all this because only by such refusal can they justify the line of class collaboration they have worked out. This line is that it is the national bourgeoisie which is in the leadership of the Indian state, the national bourgeoisie is developing an independent economy in an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal direction, it is already taking steps to restrict the monopolists. All that is necessary now, according to them, is to give a further push to this development and then the democratic revolution in India will be completed.

"Such Marxist-Leninist ideas as working class leadership of the democratic front and the new state are outmoded for them; in the new state the revisionists envisage the bourgeoisie will not only share power but will also be in the leadership of the state along with the working class."

Then further on, dealing with the question of unity in the mass movement, the article declares:

"The revisionist leaders are betraying the economic struggles of the workers also. And when the workers revolt and remove them from leading positions, they disaffiliate these unions or set up parallel bodies or refuse membership to militant workers. This has happened in Delhi, Coimbatore, Kerala and many other places. Their motto seems to be: let the unions shrink into nothing, but their property and resources should be under our control. In Assam, in U.P., in Punjab and now in Maharashtra, taking advantage of the fact that our leading comrades working in the Kisan Sabhas are in jail, they have set up parallel bodies. A different picture is seen in Kerala. There also the revisionist leaders planned to hold a meeting of the Executive when our comrades were in jail.

"Due to the initiative of our Party, this certain path of split was avoided and because of our efforts, a convention of the Kisan Sabha was held, a united leadership was elected and agreed decisions taken."

APPEAL

The paper concludes thus with an appeal for funds by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP of India:

"Friends and Comrades, "We are making this appeal to you, the members of our Party, our friends and sympathisers, at a time when the Congress government has launched a severe attack upon our Party, imprisoned without trial about a thousand of our leading Party members and taken recourse to lies and slanders against us in order to destroy our Party.

"Although the mass base of our Party remains with us and the vast majority of our Party members have repudiated the political line of the Dange group of converting our Party into an appendage of the ruling party and the bourgeoisie and rejected their anti-Party organisational methods, we are seriously handicapped due to lack of finance and a weekly paper.

"We have fixed a target of 50,000 Rupees to be collected by October 1965. This target is very modest and we are sure that it can be overfulfilled if the drive is undertaken seriously and immediately by our comrades and sympathisers."

ADEN

The Labour Government, faithfully serving monopoly-capitalism, the ruthless robber of the working people at home and abroad, has declared a British Military dictatorship in Aden.

Last December, the Vanguard Editorial forecasted how things would turn out in that area and how Colonial Secretary Anthony Greenwood would run true to form, in the service of British oil-interests. This analysis was 100% correct.

In spite of all the fine talk by Greenwood, about Arab independence in South Arabia, so shallow and hypocritical was his "offer" to the Arab political parties, that even the most moderate of them turned him down flat. In last month's Vanguard we wrote that "so far from pouring oil on troubled waters... troubled waters are coming to the oil and Mr. Greenwood's engaging smile is rather forced these days." Now it has vanished altogether to be replaced by the vicious snarl of the cornered animal. The life of a lackey to the imperialists is apparently no bed of roses.

Labour has suspended the constitution (for what it was worth!) and placed all power in the hands of the Governor. The Arab legislature has been summarily dismissed and the British troops are besieged by millions of actual and potential enemies. VIETNAM, KASHMIR, DOMINICA, CONGO (L), MALAYSIA and now SOUTH ARABIA. These names toll like death-knells for U.S. and British imperialism alike.

It is certain that Wilson, Greenwood & Co. have sown the whirlwind in Aden and reap the tornado, which will strip their "democratic" pretensions to the bone.

The Arab peoples' struggle for economic and political independence is a just one and therefore invincible.

It merges with the tempests which are sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America and which are speeding the day of imperialism's doom and ensuring lasting world peace.

It deserves the full support of all the working peoples all over the world.

INDO-CHINA

By CHANG CHIEN

U.S. ruling circles used to make a point of avoiding a land war in Asia. Now they are bent on it.

A Korean-type war is looming over Indo-China as the United States throws more and more troops into South Vietnam.

France had to admit defeat and pack up and go after throwing hundreds of thousands of expeditionary troops into Indo-China and fighting for eight long years. The United States is not able to learn from the experience of others, nor has it drawn the lesson of its own experience in Korea.

White House and Pentagon strategists are trying to convince people that the United States is in every respect in a more favourable position now than it was at the time of the Korean War.

The contrary is true. In the early fifties, the anti-U.S. struggle was not so widespread. The United States is today in a state of unprecedented isolation. An extensive anti-U.S. imperialism front is taking shape on a world scale and growing.

U.S. troops and bases are scattered in hundreds of places over the world at present. The United States is hard-pressed to man such far-flung battle posts. During the Korean War, U.S. troops were not deployed so thinly.

In the Korean War, the United States was able to line up more than a dozen allies to throw into the field under the signboard of "United Nations Forces." Now the United States finds itself virtually without friends, and must send in growing numbers of American youth to die.

The belligerents in the Korean War crossed swords on a narrow strip of peninsula. The theatre of operations in Vietnam and Indo-China today is a vast jungle region with sufficient room for manoeuvring—terrain highly favourable for waging a people's war and unfavourable for the anti-popular U.S. aggressive war.

The Korean people, though experienced in armed resistance against the Japanese aggressors, did not fight directly against the U.S. troops until the outbreak of the Korean War. The Vietnamese people had not only fifteen years of armed resistance to the Japanese and French invaders from 1941 to 1954, but have been steeled in nearly 10 years of armed struggle against the U.S. aggressors. They have defeated the U.S. "special warfare."

There was no powerful movement of people's guerrillas in South Korea and the puppet regime under Syngman Rhee was relatively stable. In South Vietnam today, there are consolidated liberated areas and a powerful Liberation Army, reinforced by the guerrillas and local forces under the leadership of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front. The Saigon puppets are in utter confusion. There have been 11 coups d'etat since November 1963.

The Chinese people launched the resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea movement just one year after the People's Republic was founded. Today, behind the Vietnamese people stand the 650 million people of China, who are more powerful than ever after 16 years of socialist construction and revolution.

Thousands of letters are pouring into the White House and the U.S. Congress from distraught mothers and wives of American soldiers or draft-age men. The movement against American aggression in Vietnam is mounting in every corner of the United States. Mass demonstrations reflect the growing opposition.

Still and all, there are similarities between the Korean War and the Vietnam War.

Policy makers in Washington reluctantly admitted later that the war of aggression against Korea was "the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." Even while conducting the war in Indo-China, John F. Kennedy said: "To pour money, material, and men into the jungles of Indo-China without at least a remote prospect of victory would be dangerously futile and self-destructive."

But imperialists cannot heed sound advice even when it comes from their own lips. Lyndon B. Johnson is "escalating" the Vietnam War at a perilous pace.

The United States was trounced in Korea. The people of Vietnam are determined to fight on for decades, if necessary, to rid their land of the U.S. aggressors. World-wide support for Vietnam grows daily.

If the Americans do not get out of Vietnam, they will be thrown out.

U.S. PUPPET ARMY COLLAPSING IN VIETNAM

by Teh Kao

SOMETHING rare in military history took place in Saigon recently when the pagodas in the city were ransacked, and 400 Buddhist monks dragged into the puppet army.

The drafted monks, reported the South Vietnam Liberation Press Agency, refused to put on army uniforms. Some smashed their rifles in open resistance.

This is an "outrageous infringement upon religion," commented the Cambodian paper Meatuphum on June 14.

United Press International reported that puppet military and civilian police roved Saigon, checking identification papers and rounding up "draft dodgers." "The present system of roving patrols," added UPI, "had proven unsatisfactory" because "the patrols also proved easy to evade since Saigon youths could usually spot the approaching police and slip away before being spotted themselves."

The pressgangs became very active in Saigon and other places still under the control of the puppet army soon after U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara made public Washington's decision on April 21 to allocate an additional sum of 123 million dollars to draft 160,000 South Vietnamese into the puppet army, now melting away before the powerful onslaughts of the Liberation forces.

Washington has spent billions of dollars to create and arm a 600,000 strong puppet army in South Vietnam. The Liberation Army has now liberated four-fifths of all the territory of South Vietnam, with a total population of over 10 million. The area controlled by the Saigon puppets has dwindled, and it has now only a population of about 4 million—too small for making good the mounting losses in the puppet army. That is why monks are not spared.

The Liberation forces put out of action a total of 360,000 puppet troops in the period between 1961, the year Washington started its special war in South Vietnam, to the end of March this year. The Liberation Press Agency reported that 105,000 puppet and U.S. troops were put out of action in the first half of 1965.

Desertion rate in the puppet army is growing. At least 100,000 puppet troops deserted between 1961 and the end of 1964. Another 12,400 puppet troops deserted to the liberated areas in the first quarter of 1965, according to the Liberation Press Agency.

Another big headache for the war planners in Washington is that large numbers of the men in the regular as well as the irregular units of the puppet army are mutinying and crossing over to the Liberation Army, bringing their U.S.-made equipment. While operating in Quang Nam Province on April 21, several battalions of puppet troops refused to carry out the orders of the American "advisers." They withdrew, leaving 40 "advisers" exposed to the gunfire of the liberation forces.

Officers and men of the puppet army guarding Pleiku helped the Liberation forces in a lightning raid on this U.S. air base on February 7, disclosed the Vietnamese paper "People's Army." Shell fire of the Liberation forces wrecked 42 American aircraft and killed or wounded 350 U.S. troops in the operation lasting only nine minutes.

Writing in an article in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch" on March 22, which has been filed in the Congressional Record of United States, Richard Dudman said, "In Binh Dinh, the popular forces (irregular troops of the puppet army—editor) proved disastrously unreliable. Five full platoons defected with their weapons last November in Hoai Nhon district on the coast. Three of them set up an ambush and tried to trap an American adviser and a group of Vietnamese regulars sent to investigate the trouble."

Richard Dudman went on, "About 1,100 popular force troops have gone over to the Vietcong in that district in the last six months, three fourths of them with their weapons."

"Some are known to work for the government in the daytime and fight for the Vietcong at night."

To avoid committing American troops in South Vietnam, the rulers in Washington started their "special war" there in 1961 when they raised and equipped a puppet army, officered by American advisers, to fight Uncle Sam's neo-colonial war in South Vietnam. This strategy has now failed completely with the puppet army disintegrating away before the powerful offensives of the Liberation forces. Washington has no other choice but to send American boys to fight and die in the jungles of South-East Asia. President Johnson announced on July 28 the sending of 50,000 troops to bring the total of American troops in South Vietnam to 125,000. "Additional forces will be needed later, and they will be sent as requested," he said.

The late John Kennedy had said, "To pour your money, material, and men into the jungles of Indo-China without at least a remote prospect of victory would be dangerously futile and self-destructive." Defeats compel Johnson to do what his predecessor had tried to avoid.

Anti-U.S. feelings are snowballing in South Vietnam with the influx of American GIs. The puppet troops are sensing more and more that the "war is becoming increasingly an American show" and are reluctant to fight for the United States, reported the British paper, "Guardian," in a Saigon dispatch recently. The Japanese Kyodo News Service predicted that the United States "will become still more isolated among the South Vietnamese people" and in the end, "will be left alone fighting the war in South Vietnam."

A million Japanese troops invaded China and were defeated during the last war. Hitler's hordes, several million strong, mounted their blitzkrieg attacks against the Soviet Union and met with catastrophic defeat. Could Johnson fare better than Tojo and Hitler in a land war against 31 million Vietnamese determined to fight to the end to safeguard their national independence, and backed by the 650 million people in China and by millions more in the other socialist countries and by the peace-loving people the world over?



Loss of American lives, which Washington had been trying to avoid, is mounting in S. Vietnam as more American troops are arriving there.



Morale of S. Vietnamese liberation fighters is sky-high, as this photo shows. Most of these men are armed with U.S.-made weapons captured in battle, and they are shod in sandals with soles made out of U.S. military lorry tyres.



Demoralised men of the S. Vietnam puppet army. No American gold or guns can make these Vietnamese conscripts enthusiastic in a war to enslave their own people.

STEADY ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN ALBANIA

Interview:— Petro Dode, Vice-President of the State Planning Committee

FURTHER successes were achieved in 1964 towards the development of our people's economy.

During 1964 the plan target for total industrial production was realised 100.7% with a 7.4% increase over that of 1963. Total agricultural production in 1964 was greater than in 1963 which was a year of favourable conditions for agriculture. The area of land planted to field crops during the 1963-64 period was 2.4% larger than during the 1962-63 period and yielded more grains, vegetables, potatoes, sugar beet, fruits, milk, wool and so on. In transportation the tasks were successfully fulfilled in all principal indices. Investments made during 1964 were 31% above those made in 1963. Work was carried on during this year in a number of important industrial projects in drainage and irrigation, social and cultural purposes. The copper metallurgical plant in Kukes, the factory to produce reinforced centrifugal tubes in Tirana, the yarn spinning and dyeing department in the Korca factory, the tile producing plant at Kozare, the Shëmria aqueduct, the bread baking factory in Tirana and other plants were all completed and turned over for use. Circulation of commodities in retail trade was accomplished 101.2% as planned and 7% more than in 1963. Further successes were recorded in foreign trade, in education, in culture, sanitation and so on.

To attain these achievements our people have had to battle against odds, but, as usual, they have managed to come through and forge ahead towards socialist construction. These results have strengthened the basis of the economy of our country which is now embarking on 1965, the last year of the 3rd five-year plan.

The 1965 plan prescribes major tasks for all sectors of our economy and culture. It is a mobilizing and real plan based on the material and technical basis of our economy set so far and on the resoluteness and unbreakable unity of our people. Total industrial production for 1965 is foreseen to be 4.7% above that of 1964. In certain principal branches of industry production is envisaged to increase as follows: in the naphtha industry 11%, in chromium 7%, in copper 110%, in coal mining 13%, in electric energy 7% in the mechanical industry 14%, in the lumber industry 14% and so on.

Total agricultural production is set at 5% above that of 1964 and more grains, industrial plants, vegetables, potatoes, fruits, meat, milk and so on will be produced.

Investments are set at 10% above that of 1964. Work will continue in a number of important schemes like the superphosphate plant at Lac, at the nitrate plant in Fieri, at the Fieri power-plant, at the Bistrica hydro-electric power plant, at the copper refining plant at Rubik, at the copper wire plant in Shkodra, at the plant to produce spare parts for tractors in Tirana, at the silicate-tile factory in Tirana, at the metallurgic plant in Elbasan, at the two cement factories at Fush Kruja and El-

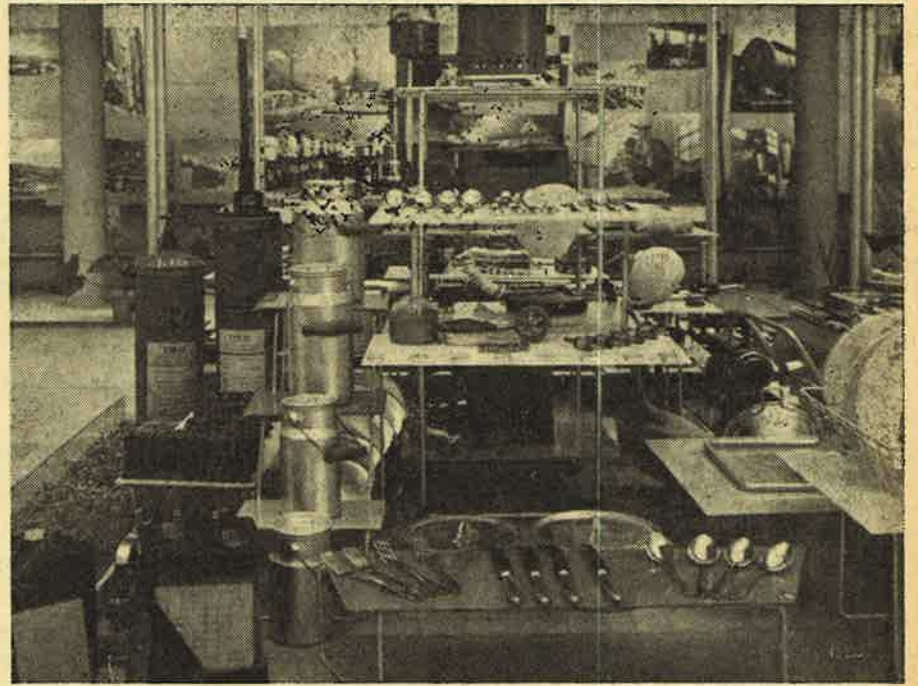
basan, at the factory to produce fibre slabs in Shkodra, at the "Mao Tse-tung" textile mills in Berat, at the Brick and Tile press in Vora, at the paper mills in Kavaja, Lushnja and Shkodra etc, at the drainage schemes in the Durres lagoon, in the Lezha-Mati, Divjak-Karavasta, Hoxhare and other marches. Some of these schemes will be completed during this year.

The volume of transportation work by motor vehicles will be 10% above that of 1964, by rail 13%, by sea 9%. Circulation of goods in trade will be 5.2% above that of 1964 and an improvement will be made in supplying more commodities of consumption to the people. Parallel with the development of our people's economy it is planned to raise the indices which characterize the progress of education, culture and sanitation.

The state budget for 1965 will mark a rise of 4.7% in income and 5.2% in expenditure over those of 1964. The state budget for 1965, like for other preceding years, is planned to have a surplus of income over expenditure. The budget finances the development of the people's economy, the measures for social and cultural purpose and for other sectors.

The targets set for 1965 are higher but they are within reach. plastic material, in the industry of furniture and cabinet making, of ceramic and porcelain goods, in the glass-making and other industries.

The food-processing industry has also made considerable progress, especially in canning vegetables and fruits, in preparing foods for babies, in producing liquors and wines, maccaroni and sweet beverages, sugar products, sausages, canned meats and fish and so on.



New Home-made metal articles have recently been put on the market.

Query: What is the technical basis of our socialist trade?

Answer: The technical basis of trade has expanded and has been strengthened from year to year. There is a wide network of stores all over the country from which the people are regularly furnished with consumer goods in cities and in the countryside. Keeping pace with the increase of production, the expansion of assortments, the purchasing power of the population, the network of trade centres has increased four-fold during the last ten years alone. Important changes have been made in the structure of these trade centres; department stores have been set up. More than 80% of the trade in industrial products is handled by specialised shops while the degree of specialisation is higher in trading foodstuffs.

Important progress has been made in equipping our trade centres with diverse machines and appliances, especially refrigerators. In addition to

large cold-storage magazines at the principal centres of production and trade; the network of socialist retail trade centres which handle easily perishable goods are equipped with refrigerators. Today 100% of shops handling sausages, 90% of shops handling fish, 76% of meat shops, most of shops handling dairy products and about 90% of restaurants are equipped with refrigerators and cold-storage rooms.

The central workshop of the department of trade has not only supplied cold-storage equipment and appliances but it has also produced for the first time in the country compressors of the "Tirana" brand of 450/k/calories, of the "Korabi" brand of 6,000 K/calories and of the "Dajti" brand of 1,000 K/calories. All the needs of our socialist trade for cold-storage equipment, which were formerly imported from abroad are now fulfilled with home-made equipment and appliances.



A network of stores for consumer goods has increased four-fold over the last ten years.

An Urgent Appeal

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Our movement since its organised formation in November 1963 has ceaselessly carried on its work.

This work has consisted of :-

1. The active struggles against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism.
 2. The exposure of the betrayal by the "Labour" government and its henchmen, of all the fundamental interests of the British people and particularly the working class.
 3. The relentless exposure of and struggle against the *renegade trend of modern revisionism* both on a world scale and that of the leaders of the C.P.G.B. — a trend which betrays Marxism-Leninism, betrays the international working class, betrays the mighty national liberation movements and objectively serves the vile interests of imperialism and capitalism.
 4. The struggle for the *genuine unity* of the world Communist Movement based upon the immortal teachings of the great Marx and Lenin — as distinct from the sham "unity" of the exploited peoples with imperialism and neo-colonialism as preached by the modern revisionists, who still faithfully serve Krushchev and Tito.
 5. The fight for the day-to-day economic and political interests of the British working people and the enhancing of their ideological level and consciousness of the necessity to establish *Socialism* based on the *dictatorship of the proletariat*.
 6. The consolidation of fraternal links with Marxist-Leninist Parties, Groups and individuals abroad.
 7. The struggle for world peace and the prevention of a nuclear world war, founded upon the defeat of imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists, the unity of the international proletariat with the national liberation movement and all genuine progressive forces and the total and comprehensive banning of nuclear weapons.
 8. The fight against *all and every* form of racialism and for the militant unity of all people of every colour in order to vanquish our common mortal foe—imperialism and its puppets.
- Such is the content of our work as a Marxist-Leninist organisation.

ECONOMIES AND BUILDING OUR FIGHTING FUND RESERVE

We have, in the main discharged our responsibilities with credit (we are told by our thousands of friends and supporters) despite slanders and attacks against us from opportunists and adventurers of various hues and despite the illness and tragic untimely death of our Secretary Michael McCreery in April of this year.

We therefore do not hesitate to inform you of our difficulties and to call on you for your help so that we can carry on these arduous but absolutely vital tasks.

It is impossible to discharge these tasks without money, which means in essence, without your gratefully appreciated help. This is self-evident. The regular publication of Vanguard, many thousands of leaflets (11,500 on Vietnam alone), the convening of public meetings, the essential upkeep of a centre, telephone, postages etc., etc., all these have reduced our fighting fund reserve considerably.

TARGETS

We have introduced a number of economics and at the same time a drive for bigger circulation and sale of Vanguard, more sales of literature and more guarantors, Why? (i) because we want to develop our movement in the interest of the British Working Class and the international working class movements . . . (ii) because our Fighting Fund Reserve has been sharply reduced and need rebuilding to a good level as well as at the same time putting Vanguard on an economic basis with its sale price at a minimum.

We have therefore set up the following targets and we need all your support during the next few vital months for success in our work against imperialism, betrayal and modern revisionism. Every thing will depend on how much our comrades, friends and supporters are prepared to give to our common cause.

THE SUCCESS OF OUR ENDEAVOURS WILL DEPEND ON YOU!

TARGETS for 6 months October 1965 to March 1966

To increase actual Vanguard Sales *Cash and Subscribers* by 1,000 and to keep its price at 1/- per copy.

To increase our Guarantors' contribution from its present figure to £100 per month and we estimate that what is required is another 100 to 150 persons guaranteeing varying amounts from 2/6 upwards to £1 or more, *monthly*.

To increase our income from various sources i.e. Sales of Literature, Raffles, Socials, etc., to £30 per month.

New Ideas A number of new ideas and suggestions have been put forward by our comrades, friends and supporters among them:

To publish Vanguard at fortnightly intervals or produce a supplement.

The victory of the common people, of liberation, of Marxism-Leninism cannot be won without some sacrifice.

We call on you, our comrades, friends and supporters for your all round support in achieving our targets.

We ask you for as generous a sum of money as you can possibly give — on a regular monthly basis and we further ask you to give whatever you can give today! now!

In the past you have given us your wholehearted support and we trust to your steadfast support and understanding for the future.

Send your crossed cheques, postal orders etc, made out to:

"VANGUARD,"
Flat 3, 33 Anson Road,
London. N.7.

Your guarantor card receipted will be sent to you by return post.

EDITORIAL BOARD—VANGUARD,
Committee to defeat Revisionism for
Communist Unity.

DEFEND the right to organise and to strike in defence of living standards! Reject the attacks of employers and the Labour government!

Committee for Communist Unity.

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

Committee for Communist Unity.

ANNOUNCEMENT

WE WISH IT TO BE GENERALLY KNOWN THAT A GROUP CALLING ITSELF THE ACTION CENTRE for MARXIST-LENINIST UNITY (A.C.M./L.U.) HAS NO CONNECTION WHATSOEVER WITH VANGUARD.

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

GREETINGS

TO

CHINA

Dear Chairman Liu Shao Chi,

On the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, we send our cordial greetings to the Chinese Peoples' Government; the Communist Party of China and the entire Chinese People.

The 650 million Chinese People have since 1949 always upheld with principled staunchness and valour the cause of Socialism, proletarianism, anti-imperialism and world peace.

They have fought in the Vanguard of the genuine progressive peoples of the world against the main enemy of world peace and the independence of the peoples—U.S. imperialism.

We are certain that under the leadership of the C.P.C. and Peoples Government headed by Comrade Mao-tse-tung and your esteemed self, the Chinese people will forge ahead from strength to strength in the years to come.

We wish you every success.

Yours sincerely,
Central Committee,
C.D.R.C.U.

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

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

FIRST broadcasts:

from 12 midnight till 12.30 a.m. G.M.T. on 41 metres

SECOND broadcast:

from 6.30 a.m. till 7 a.m. G.M.T. on 41, 31 and 95 metres

THIRD broadcast:

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

FOURTH broadcast:

from 10 p.m. till 10.30 p.m. G.M.T. on 41, 31 and 95 metres

To allow for British Summer Time one hour should be added to the above times.

Comments on broadcasts should be sent to:— English Broadcasts, Radio Tirana, Albania

Comments are also welcome with interest by Vanguard at our address

Some Aspects Of Modern Revisionism

By BENEDICT GRAHAM

THE PLACE of theory in the Communist movement has always been bound to practice and the old dictum "practice without theory is blind and theory without practice is sterile" remains valid today. But judging by the line taken by certain apologists for the revisionist programme of the C.P.G.B. we should absolutely abandon all pretense to scientific theory, and trust rather, in our own subjective daydreams as canonized in the "British road to Socialism." In recent party meetings held to popularize "peaceful transition" in opposition to revolutionary Marxism, the official party Henchmen have avoided any mention of theory like the plague, especially the theory of the State. In its place they substitute "sound common sense" (that beloved product of England — the homeland of common sense. "Even higher than "commonsense" is the scientific materialist-dialectical method" (Engels). "The realities of the bomb" "the new era," etc. etc. Should any member be bold enough to raise awkward questions or even dare to quote something from Lenin (let alone Marx or Engels!) That luckless comrade is placed under a curse right away, by the cry of dogmatist! "Dogmatist" shrielled from the platform! These antics are of course nothing but a cover for the barren absence of any Marxist understanding among the party functionaries themselves. When the central leadership of the party, Palme Dutt, accept uncritically every tortuous twist and turn of the Moscow "line," as they have done for the last 30 years and more, we cannot be surprised at the deplorable state of Marxist education in the party. One such concrete instance comes to mind: a local party branch with paper membership of 50 odd was being prodded out of the stupor which afflicts so many, by the calling of a special meeting to elect new branch officials. Two functionaries from the district committee arrived to "guide" the proceedings. To keep out the "Chinese faction" they pushed the nomination of a new member as secretary who it turned out was a Salvation Army Officer! He was quite sincere in his communism but had decided views against the atheism of Karl Marx. St. Luke it transpired was the real founder of communism and from now on he was to be our guiding light! Branch life took a curious turn. We were never quite sure from then on whether the salvationist had joined the party to become a communist or we were expected to become salvationists! An extreme situation no doubt, but no different in essence from that confronting every sincere Marxist left in the C.P.G.B. for the simple fact is that the party has renounced Marxism altogether and blindly play to the revisionist baton waved in Moscow.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Marxism as the science of society, cannot be developed without a theoretical basis, without recognition of the fundamental laws which operate independently of human will, no more than the natural sciences, or technological advance. In reference to the great classic works of Marxism, the modern revisionists raise a hue and cry about dogmatic interpretation, but only as a ruse to withdraw attention from their own mechanical applications of bourgeois sociology. It is self evident, from the very nature of Marxism as a science, that neither Marx nor Engels could formulate the solution of every problem which would beset the communist movement through history. It is their great merit that they were the first to put the movement on a scientific foundation; their immortal contribution is to have provided "the guide to action." In each historical epoch as in other sciences, Marxism has been further developed by great scientific minds, principally by Lenin, Stalin, and Mao tse Tung. At the same time from the very foundations of Marxism there have always existed trends hostile to scientific socialism which at times, like the present, try to undermine Marxism from within. Whilst this opportunist enemy will always be routed ultimately by scientific truth, its existence will persist as long as class divisions and bourgeois ideology: for this opportunism and revisionism is nothing more nor less than a reflection of Bourgeois ideology in the working class movement. There is no essential difference between the revisionist distortions of Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky, Bucharin, etc. and the modern revisionists hitherto headed by Krushchev. It is true that the latter have a far less sophisticated approach with their revisionism. Krushchev himself made no pretence whatsoever to any consistent or principled stand. Like a true opportunist he acted on the first thing that entered his mind which seemed to fit the situation, no matter how much he had to retract later. In matters of theory he preferred to leave things to his lieutenants. Among the main "theorists" of modern revisionism mention must be made of Edward Kardelj the chief engineer of Titoism. The history of this pernicious sect demonstrates most clearly the treacherous role played by modern revisionism in the International Communist movement. The revolutionary gains made by the heroic Yugoslav people have been thrown away: the communist party broken: the Titoist clique has constructed a bureaucratic state power which is nothing less than a holding force which holds the country on trust as it were, for the foreign Bourgeoisie, the incipient domestic capitalists and the privileged stratum which supports it. And yet these are the people whom Krushchev held up as paragons of "true" Marxists, and whom he had accepted as his teachers. Not to be outdone, the late Togliatti came up with his own "theory of structural re-

form." A cursory examination by any ordinary worker is enough to convince him that this "theory" owes nothing to Marxism, but is merely a rehash of the old Fabian thesis of Gradualism: that every piffling reform and piece of state ownership is a step on the road to "Socialism." Engels foresaw long ago that the ruling classes would resort more and more to state ownership in order to run their economy. As he said "one sly dog in the service of Freidrich Wilhelm I even suggested public ownership of the brothels!"

It is not the volume of nationalisation in a given country which determines its progress toward socialism, but the class nature of the state power. If there is any constant thought at all in revisionism it is the practical denial of the class basis of the state apparatus, leading to a virtual denial of the class struggle itself. The belief that when the people of the socialist countries have become saturated with all the shined new gadgets of the age, the people of capitalist countries will automatically "choose" socialism as a better "alternative." Such is the theme constantly played by Krushchev and others, and is based on the erroneous anti-dialectical notion that the main motive force for socialism comes not from the masses but from outside.

The social-democratic parties have of course abandoned all claim to socialism and try desperately to shake off any taint of "working class," in Britain they are capitalist parties. Their role is essential to continue the face of Bourgeois democracy. And yet these are the people with whom we are urged to "unite," by revisionists everywhere not least by Messrs. Gollan and Palme Dutt. Every member of the C.P.G.B. should ponder this situation carefully: that it can be only because the "socialism" of Gollan and Co. has degenerated to that of Wilson and George Brown "lefts" and "rights" of all kinds.

The basic crime of the modern revisionists is that they have spurned the philosophical foundation of Marxism, namely dialectical and historical materialism. In its place they have substituted vulgar materialism, idealism, and all kinds of discredited rubbish from Bourgeois schools. This has led them into all and every political disaster, apart from those who are motivated consciously by open treachery. It has to be admitted that the hold of revisionism in parties which wield state power has been a severe blow, not only to the countries concerned but to the International Communist movement as a whole. It has led to actual hostility and sabotage against those parties and countries which have remained true to Marxism-Leninism.

ATTACK ON MARXISM/LENINISM

It is a well known fact that the Krushchev clique did every thing in their power to harm the economy of the Chinese people's republic by withdrawal of fraternal aid and direct sabotage. They denied modern weapons to China

which they freely distributed to bourgeois governments including the reactionary ruling caste of India. At the same time they engage in shameful collusion with imperialism to brand China as a mutual enemy.

The situation in the U.S.S.R. itself is hardly less edifying: revisionist policies have rent havoc with the Soviet economy. Krushchev had tried to bolster his position by a series of "crash" programmes in this, that, and every field. It is ironical and just that it is particularly in agriculture (Krushchev's own domain of self proclaimed personal expertise) that disastrous results have obtained from the virgin lands fiasco. Great tracts of land have been turned into dust bowls reminiscent of the American mid west in the early years of the century. And still there remains a "dearth of grains!" Krushchev has in fact reduced the world's first socialist country, a foremost grain producer at that, to buy its daily bread in capitalist America! The "bread basket of Europe" has gone shopping in the U.S.A. This can explain to some extent the fawning obsequiousness lavished on the millionaires who sequentially occupy the post of American president.

Apart from the numerous relations and personal friends of Krushchev, there has emerged a complete stratum of the especially privileged, spewed forth by the dominant revisionist ideology. This stratum drawn mainly from "management and the professions" draw their inspiration from their petty bourgeois counterparts in the "West." (Witness the fact that every little personality let loose abroad never lets go of the chance to expound the "new thinking" on politics and what have you).

This situation must of course cause concern to all Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, but it would be wrong to over estimate the power of the revisionist usurpers. The C.P.S.U., the party founded by the great Lenin, is a party used to Marxist struggle and we can be sure, although it may take a long time and protracted intricate methods, The Revisionist clique which was headed by Krushchev will be overthrown, and Marxism-Leninism will triumph.

The opening shot in the revisionist attack on Marxism-Leninism in the U.S.S.R., was fired by Krushchev at the 20th. party congress in his vicious slanderous obloquy of the late comrade Stalin, under the guise of combating the so called cult of personality. It is interesting to note, in passing, that the text of this speech was in the hands of the imperialist leaders before it was communicated to the fraternal parties. This contribution by Krushchev, far from being an objective scientific Marxist analysis of Stalin's place in history, lacked even common honesty in approach. It amounted to a lying diatribe designed to consolidate his own position. The description given by bourgeois critics of Stalin and of Soviet life, resemble that of a saint in heaven compared with Krushchev's ranting blood-curdling damnation. No wonder the anti-communist jackals howled with glee at Krushchev's "revelations." It provided them with ammunition they dared not use before. His attack on Stalin was an attack on Communism, for to millions of people throughout the world, Stalin was Communism. It cannot but be otherwise that Stalin made mistakes, some very serious but the positive achievements resulting from his leadership far outweigh the shortcomings, viewed from a period of history. Krushchev made much of "the cult of personality" as an excuse for his revisionist stand and his denial of the need for the revolutionary dictatorship of the Proletariat.

CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

He has however confused and conflated "the force of personality" with the "cult of the individual." This latter cult of the individual was criticised by no less a person than Stalin himself. Vanity and arrogance on one hand and servility on the other are characteristics of this cult, at various levels, both inside and outside the working class movement. Certain leaders at both local and national level sometimes with talent (and sometimes with none!) gather around them a group of admirers whose only wish is the master's command. Collective leadership with thorough discussion on a Marxist basis goes by the board. It is obvious that in collective leadership

"the force of personality" of certain individuals will make itself felt owing to natural inequality and differentiation of individual ability; but this does not necessarily lead to a cult of the individual providing that individual is motivated by conscious application to Marxist-Leninist science and not by a vindication of his own subjective ego.

In the contemporary world, who can deny for instance the "force of personality of Fidel Castro Cruz?" or calculate the immense contribution made by Mao-tse-Tung? In the history of communism towering personalities have stood out head and shoulders above the rest. Remember Engel's assessment of Marx himself: "Marx was a genius." "Mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head at that!" "No cult of the individual here, for Marx was truly great, combining his tremendous intellectual capacity with humility in the face of scientific truth. The proponents of the "cult" on the contrary, are concerned only with the subjective wishes of their own imaginations, and will ruthlessly smother any opinion opposing their own, even though they be damned before the verdict of history. In this latter category we must place unhesitatingly and fairly, Nikita Krushchev. He conducted himself more like a latter day Czar than first secretary of the party. Old and honoured comrades were wiped from the political scene in order to consolidate his personal power. (The manner of his appointment has never been satisfactory explained. One authoritative source hints at a lurid and melodramatic scene, in the Central Committee with Krushchev seizing the fatal gun in Beria's briefcase!) Yet this is the man who defiled Stalin by accusing him of every crime possible to maintain personal power!

If the so-called "cult of personality" was the opening shot in the modern Revisionist campaign, peaceful co-existence and the resulting theory of "peaceful transition" has become the body of the main attack on Marxism-Leninism. In some respects, peaceful co-existence is the most plausible of the revisionist wares, and one which hoodwinks many party members who fall for the revisionist line. The American atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima demonstrated to the world the immense power of destruction made available to mankind. A thermal nuclear war would now be likely to kill millions of people and ruin large tracts of land. It is upon the natural abhorrence and fear of this happening that the modern revisionists have been able to concoct their case for peaceful transition and their new "creative Marxism."

"OPPRESSED PEOPLES REVOLUTION WILL LEAD TO NUCLEAR WAR"

The gist of their argument runs that revolutionary action by the oppressed peoples for their liberation will inevitably lead to a thermal nuclear war between the Socialist and Imperialist camps and their mutual destruction. To avoid this the oppressed peoples must suffer on and trust to the sagacity of Nikita Krushchev and Co. and the "reasonability" of the imperialist leaders. Thus the "great man theory" and the reliance on "summit meetings." The pitiful results of all this, from a proletarian point of view, have been only too obvious. It is in keeping with their metaphysical reasoning and great nation chauvinistic outlook that they have equated class struggle with thermal-nuclear war. That they have disavowed the role of the masses in achieving their own emancipation. It is incredible to them that people with primitive arms should dare to challenge imperialism armed as it is with powerful modern weapons and the all conquering atom bomb. They have lost faith in the strength of the masses and have allowed themselves to become mesmerised by nuclear power. No where does the anti-dialectical thinking of the modern revisionists show itself more clearly than in their attitude to the role of weapons in society and the class struggle. It is their contention that the atom bomb has wrought a qualitative change in the nature of the class struggle: but this contention does not stand up to the events of recent history in the nuclear age. The atom bomb has undoubtedly enormously increased the destructive capacity of modern arms, but the ob-

Continued on Page 13

We should be grateful for the speech of the Liberal Party leader, Jo Grimond, on September 25 at the Scarborough Conference. It was near Marxist in its objectivity on some issues, and in that way helpful to the progressive elements within the Labour movement.

Referring to the Labour Party, he stated that "the left wing is now a myth, and a myth which does great damage to his (Wilson's) party. It is composed of a few very old pets whom everyone likes and of whom no one takes the slightest notice." Here is an observation which the C.P.G.B. leaders would do well to ponder on.

Then again, Mr. Grimond informs us that "the Labour Party has abandoned Socialism without finding anything else to put in its place." This is not strictly true as for a very long time indeed, the Labour Party's "socialism" was only there in order to convince the working class that it was still "their" party, but as Labour's "socialism" was just a cloak for deception, there was never anything much to abandon. The events of the last ten months have proven that the Labour Government is carrying out a policy which is nothing but the continuation of British imperialist policy almost identical to that of the previous Conservative administration.

Let us fully understand that the well known Clause 4 relating to nationalisation has only been kept in the Labour Party constitution in order to keep alive the illusion that one day in the unforeseeable future, it would be implemented. The cynical Harold Wilson once privately admitted that this was the reason he supported its retention, and that it would never be operated.

Later in his oration, the Liberal leader says this:

"The main criticism of the Liberals against the Labour Government is not that it is too revolutionary but that it is too conservative."

What a telling indictment of the fake Socialist Party! History has played a little joke, and the openly capitalist party of Jo Grimond is more radical than Labour in its attitude on many questions.

But this "left" manoeuvring by the Liberals should not be taken too seriously as it is only part of the oolitical game of securing jobs in parliament.

P.T.,
Walton-on-Thames,
Surrey.

VIETNAM

Open Letter to the Prime Minister Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

The 11th Anniversary of the July, 1954 Geneva Agreements could and should have been celebrated all over the world as a triumph for peace, human justice and international law. Instead it sees the Vietnamese people assailed by an invasion even more implacable than the one ended in July, 1954. Everywhere people are alarmed at United States policy to enlarge the war, regardless of where such enlargement can lead. The American people are becoming increasingly aware of their growing isolation amidst world condemnation of the actions of their government.

You, Mr. Prime Minister, on several occasions have spoken of your desire to initiate moves to restore peace in Vietnam. You may therefore have been surprised that your announcements have been received with scepticism by the people against whom the war is being waged. Is that surprising when you couple your "peace initiatives" with repetitions of the allegation that the war is the fault of the Vietnamese people themselves? When your accusation was not against the United States which has transported to South Vietnam nearly 100,000 military personnel, massive armaments of every type which is used for daily assaults on the people, the towns and villages, the crops and industrial centres, schools and hospitals in South Vietnam and North Vietnam alike? When your government, whose Foreign Secretary is Co-chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference, does not denounce all these violations of the Agreements by the United States, but supports and excuses them?

Is it not clear that peace cannot be achieved while this war machine remains on Vietnamese soil? No one can seriously believe that its presence and activities there are designed for peace, rather than for war. Nor can anyone accept as a serious statement of intent President Johnson's offers of "unconditional negotiations" which he accompanies with threats to extend the war and the demand that the illegal and unjust division of Vietnam shall be permanently maintained and the refusal to negotiate with the genuine representa-

tives of the South Vietnamese people—the South Vietnam Liberation National Front.

Mr. Prime Minister, it is still not too late for Britain to assume her rightful role as a co-custodian of the terms of the Geneva Agreements. We would remind you that these agreements guaranteed the independence, territorial integrity and unity of Vietnam and freedom from foreign military intervention and occupation. These are the inalienable rights of any nation.

We ask that you and your government now act to establish and maintain these rights. This necessitates the cessation by the United States of its aggression against South Vietnam and its attacks on the Democratic Republic in the North, and the withdrawal of all its military personnel and armament. The Vietnamese people must be allowed to settle their own affairs free from foreign intervention.

If you follow such a policy you will be supported by the great majority of the British people and will make a notable contribution to the cause of peace, justice and democracy.

Yours sincerely,

William Ash
Ralph Bond
Reginald Bridgeman, C.M.G., M.V.O.
Olive Cox (Clr.)
George Crump
Maurice Hussey
E. L. Murfitt
D. M. Needham, F.R.S.
Joseph Needham, F.R.S.
Ben Rubner
Bertrand Russell, O.M., F.R.S.
R. S. Saxton (Dr.)
George Thomson, M.A.
Hilda Vernon
T. W. Vernon (Clr.)
William Zak



Dear Comrades,

I was pleased to see such solid criticism of my letter in the June/July Vanguard as that which now appears in the August/September issue, under the names of "Two Surrey Trade Unionists." On re-reading my letter I can see that (a) I did not express myself clearly enough on some points, and (b) even allowing for this, my general analysis was too optimistic.

If I can deal with (a) first of all. The Surrey Comrades can rest assured that I am quite aware that we are "not dealing now with a Party which contains 35,000 highly politically conscious members." Right at the beginning of my letter I tried to make it clear that I was talking about active members, probably no more than 10% of the total Party membership. (The other 90% "hear now't, say now't and see now't.") It was about this active 10% I was talking when I said that "there is much drastic re-thinking going on by many Party members." In other words I had already totally dismissed the 90% token cardholders from consideration.

But the fact remains that amongst the 10% active members there has been a considerable amount of re-thinking. The August/September Vanguard editorial correctly says:

"Certainly great and growing numbers of the rank and file C.P.G.B. are critical of the revisionist leadership, etc. . . ."

I presume, like me, the Editorial takes for granted that we start off by entirely ignoring the 90%, and that we are talking about active "rank and file" members.

Of the active 10% of the Party, the ratio of "position" holders (from full time Party workers to Branch Committee members), and "rank and filers" is probably half and half, i.e. each about 5% of the total membership. The Vanguard editorial mentions only rank and file members, but in fact there is also growing criticism amongst the "position" holders, especially at Branch level.

I hope I have now made it quite clear that I am not so naive as to suppose that the C.P.G.B. has "35,000 highly politically conscious members."

To come on to point (b), I hope that the foregoing explanation will cause the Surrey comrades to moderate their remarks about "a hopelessly exaggerated and highly idealistic picture of the internal situation of the Party." I do concede a degree of "subjective wishes" influencing my original letter, and if this is caused by "petty bourgeois idealist" thinking, I hope I shall be able to correct it. I think rather that it was caused by a determination on my part to get comrades to make a start on some sort of co-ordinated activity in the anti-revisionist ranks towards a policy of utilising all forces to obtain the maximum benefits for us from the November Congress. This hadn't even been mentioned in Vanguard before the June/July issue, but I'm glad that the problem is now being dealt with.

Finally, the Surrey comrades write:

"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."

O.K.! Point taken! But I'm sure that our Surrey Comrades will not take the attitude of doing nothing to help the pushing forward of anti-revisionist names for delegates just to prove that point.

All best wishes,

Paul Rivers

YOUNG SOCIALISTS EXPOSES

LABOUR PARTY REACTIONARYISM

THE fact that the Young Socialists, the youth movement of the Labour Party, openly show disagreement with the Labour Party's policy, vis a vis, Vietnam and Immigration, etc indicates that these young people some who claim to be Marxists, others Social democrats Leninists, and even Trotskyites and what have you, are engaged in an open confrontation with their parent body with the objective of exposing the Party as reactionary and furthermore, as conservative. The imperialist dictatorship attitude of the Labour Party in posing as the custodian of its young by initiating and consolidating the agenda of the Young Socialists conference, so that questions attributing embarrassment to party policy could not be asked and the imposition of a new constitution to suit their own interest, establishes the fact that the Labour party is getting desperate and intends to suppress any "Left" criticism from within the parent and the youth faction.

Already the parent body has accelerated its suppressive machinery by expelling militant activists and disbanding some youth branches resulting that Young Socialists have formed a counter movement and are now engaged in an arduous campaign to combat the reactionary machinery of Transport House.

Although there are ideological differences within the youth groups, the mere fact that an alliance is formed to counteract the party, conveys the willingness of the Young Socialists to expose the British Labour Party as the imperialist party that it is, but they must also look out for the trotskyite wreckers.

J.R.A.
London, N.7.

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.

Dear Comrades,

You may perhaps interested in the enclosed advertisement by the Ministry of Overseas Development which appeared in the Observer 5.9.65.

"SOUTH VIETNAM

Manager, Tea Factory

To take charge of a large Tea Factory, about to be built in the Bao-Loc Province of South Vietnam. It is hoped, ultimately, to build a further 3 Factories in the same District, when the successful candidate will be expected to be in charge of all four Factories, and be responsible for training suitable Vietnamese to managerial level. He should possess at least 10 years' practical experience in the orthodox method of tea manufacture. Preference will be given to those with a working knowledge of French. Salary £3,000 p.a. subject to U.K. income tax, plus a variable non-taxable overseas allowance of £515 (single), £950 (married unaccompanied) and £1,165 (married accompanied) p.a. Two-year contract." Which shows the hypocrisy of the "Labour" Government.

R.H.
London, N.W.10.

Editorial Comment: This shows up Wilson's "sham" Commonwealth Peace Mission and presents before the eyes of the British Working People the betrayal by the "Labour Party." While the U.S. imperialist gangsters with Wilson's "Labour" government support are murdering the Vietnamese people on their own soil, Wilson and his British capitalist friends are still making every effort to continue exploitation of the Vietnamese people.

WE WOULD WELCOME READERS COMMENTS.

SOME QUESTIONS FOR TOM KELLY from JACK ANGEL

"AGAIN this week, I read in the Daily Worker that we have failed to reach the monthly target of £3,750 for the Fighting Fund.

For a long time now I have been concerned about this failure month after month, for to me it indicates a complete lack of appreciation of the need and value of the Daily Worker."

Thus starts a letter from Tom Kelly of Rochdale, published in the issue of Thursday, September 9, 1965. He then complains that the old stalwarts are retiring and cannot subscribe as much as they formally did, and that the other readers take the paper for granted. He directs the spearhead of his attack against the hapless "thousands of readers who never subscribe a single penny to the fund." To find out the reason why they don't, Tom Kelly ought to ask himself some questions instead of leading off against the poor readers. Why should the working class support a paper which has no working class line, and which merely tails after and grovels to the bourgeois and petty bourgeois politicians at the head of the Labour Party? Why should they support a lead-

continued from page 11

jective laws of class society still operate. The oppressed people still fight for liberation, atom bomb or no atom bomb! And they can still win! The Chinese people were not panicked to defeat in their revolution because their enemies had the atom bomb and they had not. The Cuban people did not cower before the American atom colossus, but raised the standard of revolution and fought on to a victorious end! Likewise the people of Vietnam, the Congo, Venezuela, Malaya despite the nuclear power of imperialism, together with oppressed classes the world over.

Now according to our modern revisionists, these peoples should have disappeared long ago, in a cloud of radio active dust! But history has not lived up to their pessimistic views and "creative" new theories. Why? "The atom bomb is a paper tiger." This celebrated remark made by comrade Mao-tse-Tung in an interview with the American journalist Anna Louise Strong, in 1946, has certainly been vindicated by subsequent events. Yet probably it has come in for more criticism and lying distortion by the modern revisionists than any other. From this they have made the assertion that the Chinese party would actually welcome an atomic war to establish socialism throughout the world. That the Chinese comrades do not understand the full destructive power of nuclear weapons etc. ect. Nothing is further from the truth! They have on the contrary time and time again expressed their belief that the peoples of the world can prevent the imperialists from unleashing such suffering. In conformity with their muddled thinking, the modern revisionists have deliberately distorted comrade Mao's remarks to mean that the atom bomb is a paper tiger in terms of explosive power; which of course he certainly did not say; but that it was a paper tiger when it came to preventing the victory of the national liberation struggle and the proletarian revolution.

"But the paper tiger has nuclear teeth," wailed Krushchev. Quite so, but Krushchev, who reduces every revolutionary campaign to a possible world wide thermal nuclear war, has failed to realise that one does not have to hit the tiger in the teeth! Only those who have lost faith in the capacity and ingenuity of the masses for revolutionary struggle, equate the victory of the world revolution with world wide nuclear war. In fact the use of nuclear weapons is very limited and unlikely. Those who would like to use them, are like the one "who would hurl a rock, but suc-

ceeds only in crushing his own toes!" Bows and arrows, as the Congolese people have shewn, can sometimes and in certain circumstances be more effective than all the nuclear weapons of the Imperialists!

Further evidence of the revisionist confusion about the role of weapons, and the question of war and peace, is demonstrated by the rapturous embrace of the hypocritical test ban treaty, Betraying their metaphysical views, the modern revisionists have concluded that the fewer countries which possess atomic weapons, the brighter the prospects for world peace. They of course totally ignore the class nature of the governments of these countries, and base their view on the mere numbers and explosive power of atomic weapons themselves. Atom bombs are quite inanimate! They display no vicious streak! It is the people behind them! We have thus the ludicrous conclusion that for the Chinese people's republic to acquire the atom bomb poses a threat to world peace, whilst we should meekly acquiesce to Imperialist America's ever growing stockpile of nuclear weapons! The fact the Chinese people should have to construct from scratch their own atomic weapons, is a reflection on the chauvinistic attitude taken by the revisionist leaders of the U.S.S.R. towards other socialist countries.

It follows quite naturally on the basis of their false views on the role of weapons in modern warfare, that the modern revisionists should have elevated in a one sided way, peaceful co-existence to be the general line of the International Communist movement. Peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems, as expounded earlier by Lenin, is of course beneficial to the proletarian cause. War is not to the benefit of the working people, and we should thus do all we can to frustrate Imperialist war plans. But as Marx said "it is the bourgeoisie who put the bayonet on the agenda!" And the proletariat are not afraid to answer the challenge. It is none the less the oppressed classes and peoples themselves who will achieve their own emancipation, within the framework of their own particular country. The Soviet Union and the Socialist countries must be, as Lenin said, "the arsenal of the world revolution," giving fraternal aid where and when necessary. It is their duty, right and privilege to do so. But this does not entail threatening the capitalist countries with atomic rockets as Krushchev wanted to do. For the Socialist countries a world war can only result from imperialist aggression.

SOME DISTURBING TRENDS IN SOVIET AGRICULTURE

As readers will know, earlier this year a Soviet agronomist named Zhulin proposed a return to private ownership of state and collective farm lands in the Soviet Union. The following article is abridged from the New Zealand weekly Peoples Voice organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

The newspaper in which this "trial balloon" was floated was Komsomolskaya Pravda. According to the report, Mr. Zhulin said that the scheme is already being tested in the virgin lands of the Kazakstan Republic.

Of course, it may be said that the scheme is only one person's idea, and that the press report is not reliable. Many people also thought the same thing when it was reported that there were moves towards restoration of the profit motive in Soviet industry following proposals for this by Professor Liebermann, of Kharkov University.

PROPOSALS REALISED

But in July of this year the Russian Federal Republic went over to a system of gearing industrial production to the market and making profit the criterion of success in factories.

In the light of this and other recent developments, only the wilfully blind could reject the report about Mr. Zhulin out of hand.

Many people who have up till now shut their eyes to what is taking place in Soviet economics and politics must now ask: Is this the road to Communism? And be forced to recognise that it is, in fact, the road back to Capitalism.

LOGICAL NEXT STEP

The truth of the matter is that Mr. Zhulin's proposals are a logical next step from earlier decisions of the Soviet Government and Communist Party. These include a decision during this July to lift price controls on privately-grown

farm products sold on the open market.

This decision is a continuation of the policy of enlarging the "material incentives" of the peasantry which is being pursued by the Soviet leadership. It means a drastic step towards encouraging the private property outlook at the expense of Socialism.

In view of the existing shortages in agricultural products, this decision means that the sky will be the limit for open market prices, and the incentive maximum amount of his time producing on his private plot rather than on the socially-owned land.

At the same time, the city workers will be forced to pay more and more for their food, as fewer products find their way into the state shops selling at controlled prices.

CONSISTENT TREND

The recent measures are all striking examples of a consistent trend which is being joyfully welcomed in the capitalist west. It is a trend of stage by stage reversion towards capitalism via the road of Tito's Yugoslavia. It is a trend which acutely distresses all people with the interests of world Socialism at heart.

Nor is it due to any inherent weakness of Socialism as a system, but rather to the shameful abandonment of socialist principles in the face of imperialist pressure.

TRANSITION ECONOMY

Socialists have always held that the transition from Capitalism to Communism would be accomplished by the steady narrowing and eventual elimination of the sphere of commodity production. THIS used to be the view of Soviet communists before revisionism took over.

Critics of the Soviet Communist Party leadership (including the Communist

PEACEFUL TRANSITION

Although the revisionist ideas of peaceful co-existence have hovered between military adventurism (as in Cuba) and outright collusive capitulationism (as also in Cuba) this has not prevented the revisionists from trying to force on the fraternal parties in capitalist countries peaceful co-existence between the contending classes in society. Whilst not having the face to openly admit this, they wrap it up somewhat untidily as the "theory of peaceful transition," of which the parliamentary road is the star attraction. This course is also forced on countries where a parliamentary democracy does not even exist! and has already resulted in tragedy for the parties concerned, such as in Iraq and Brazil. Comrade Adil, together with thousands of party members paid with their lives in Iraq. In Brazil, Prestes, the chief exponent of the parliamentary road, ended up in jail rather than in parliament: dragging thousands of his deluded followers with him. Revisionist theories have had a particularly baneful effect in the semi-colonial countries and in the national liberation struggle. Krushchev and his revisionist disciples are fond of asserting that the Chinese party set the national liberation struggle in conflict with the working class struggle for socialism. In doing so they impute the most outrageous calumnies about racialism and so forth. It is Krushchev who should answer to any charge of racialism. It is the modern revisionists who have set the working class struggle for socialism against the national liberation movement. They have failed to see that the national liberation movement of the oppressed countries is an integral part of the international proletarian revolution. It is precisely in the semi-colonial areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, that the main blows against the rule of capital over labour are being handed out. These countries are the weak links in the imperialist chain. No one can seriously contend that capitalist rule is crumbling in West Europe or North America, at the present time. We know that John Gollan talked glibly of a "Communist and Labour majority" in the British election, but the spreading of such unfounded rumours amounts to "making dishonest propaganda," as Marx puts it.

The Communist parties of Britain and France in particular have taken a paternalistic attitude toward their comrades in the colonial countries. Apparently they cannot quite rid themselves of the bourgeois ideas of "superiority" toward their dark skinned brothers.

To be continued.

Party of New Zealand) declared that revisionism inevitably led back to Capitalism, and that the course of the CPSU was directed towards this outcome.

FACTS COMPEL

Some people in the Communist movement who had blind faith in the U.S.S.R. refused to even consider the possibility. And yet, today, if they look at the facts, they must be compelled to the conclusion that all the evidence of revisionism in the policies of the C.P.S.U. is linked up with the movement back to Capitalism that today is showing itself beyond doubt in the Soviet Union.

This movement is based on the emergence of a stratum of highly-paid bureaucrats, managers and professional people as a force whose representatives have manoeuvred themselves into leading positions. It is a non-proletarian force interested primarily in enlarging and protecting its own privileged position in Soviet society.

ERNIE HUNT.

TO: VANGUARD

Flat 3
33 Anson Road
LONDON N7

I wish to subscribe to VANGUARD. Enclosed please find my 15/- subscription for the next 12 issues (outside Europe, Ground Mail 15/-, Air Mail 30/-) 7/6 for 6 issues, 3/9 for 3 issues (post paid).

NAME:

ADDRESS:

VANGUARD, the organ of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity, is published by ALF CROSS, Flat 3, 33 Anson Road, LONDON, N.7, and printed by GOODWIN PRESS LTD. (T.U.), 135 Fonthill Road, Finsbury Park London, N.4. All editorial and business correspondence to Flat 3, 33 Anson Road, London, N.7. Editors: D. Volpe, J. James, P. Noone, E. Hunt.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES:

SIX SHILLINGS per single column inch. Quotation for larger advertisements on application.

TOM FLINT COLUMN

THE Daily Worker, again on September 6, front paged its real line on Vietnam as distinct from its sham line.

It carried a picture of a Brighton Youth C.N.D. democratic with a prominently displayed placard, showing the slogan "... Vietnam peace talks now." Its caption informs us that there were pacifist Quakers, U.N. Association members and supporters of Lord Brockway's Peace in Vietnam Committee in attendance. This pacifist capitulationist line is the Johnson-Wilson-Kosygin-Brockway line. It runs directly counter to the just demands of the Vietnamese people and the South Vietnam Front of Liberation. It is expressly designed to rescue U.S. imperialism from the abyss which awaits it in Indo-China. It is essentially a line betraying world peace, national liberation and the just cause of the exploited peoples of the world including Britain. This perfidious line and its peddlers of various hues must be exposed opposed and defeated.

* * *

One-time "leftist" Bevanite, now Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, is proving the thesis that "folly feeds upon itself." His Napoleonic ambitions somewhat bruised, East of Suez — he has discarded the homely pipe and is now breathing fire and slaughter on the British workers. "Submit to my and Brother Brown's wage freeze or we will pass legislation in the Commons to compel you." Such is his intent. If ever there was an English paper tiger, this man is it. Bonaparte finished in the Isle of Elbe. For Wilson, it will be the Scilly Isles — the aptness of the name is almost poetic.

* * *

We are indebted to the Sunday Telegraph (September 5, 1965) for the following gem Commenting on a broadcast by "left-wing" K. Zilliacus over Moscow Radio, it quotes a disgruntled "Labour" Government member as saying "they (the Soviet leaders) present him to their own people, as the spearhead of the British Socialist Movement." Not much consideration for Dutt, Matthews, Gollan and Company here!

* * *

September was a time of noisy threats to the British industrial workers, of legislation and compulsion aimed at reducing their living standards. Remember, we're supposed to have "Labour" in power at Westminster. It was also a time for this news in the world of high finance. "I.C.I. catches the fancy." "High hopes for 'Shell' Transport" (Britain's two top companies). "The Financial Times index ended with 4.6 increase" etc., etc. We wont embellish the point here — except to rightly ask "What's the difference between a Tory or "Labour" Government in capitalist Britain? We promise to eagerly scan the Daily Worker for the answer.

* * *

We read with interest that the Duke of Rutland has declined to join the "Union of Historic House Owners." A pity really. He would have made an interesting Chairman of the next T.U.C.

* * *

So Krushchev is recovering from his recent physical ailments (not to be confused with his political ones). Have a care, Mr. K. We warned you last year, of the dangers of too much goulash!

RACIALISM AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

BY COLIN HARDSTAFF

AS JACQUES GRIPPA said, in "Theory' And Practice of the Modern Revisionists," 'For us, Marxist-Leninists, a nation which oppresses others cannot itself be free.' This is very true and has great pertinence for us Marxist-Leninists in Britain.

British Imperialism is declining rapidly; it has been ousted to a large extent from Latin America and Africa, from Asia Oceania by U.S. Imperialism; it is being challenged increasingly by German, French and Japanese Imperialism. U.S. Imperialism is even moving into Britain itself on an increasing scale (e.g. the motor car industry.)

CENTURIES OF PLUNDER

Britain is a country built up on the ruthless, calculated exploitation of other peoples. The industrial revolution was largely financed from the spoils of the slave trade and the plunder of the wealthy Indian civilisation. The British ruling class have looted four continents and even today are still active in India, the Middle East, the African continent (including South Africa and Rhodesia), "Malaysia" and the Caribbean especially. Not only do the great British monopolies still rake in huge profits and cheap raw materials but also have captive markets for their industrial products. On top of all this the British Government through its taxation of the profits of these monopolies is able to maintain a huge arms industry and armed forces to "protect" British colonial and neo-colonial investments and is also able to hand out some "fringe" benefits for the British people such as the National Health Service. But as British Imperialism declines and the profits get harder to come by, the distorted British economy runs into increasing difficulties and the fringe benefits for the British people get more threadbare. The Health Service poises on the brink of total collapse.

DEGENERATION AND CHAUVINISM

British Imperialism is declining rapidly and the corruption of its society increases proportionately. Its economy distorted; its ruling class, once ruthless, cunning and powerful, grown effete, flabby and desperate; its culture degenerating - ranging from enervating pornography, the cult of crime and violence and sentimental triviality to equally enervating intellectual nihilism. Underneath it all there is a growing violence as social antagonisms increase.

Over centuries a deep sense of chauvinism and racialism has been bred; Imperialist ideology has affected the broad sections of the population. Racial and national arrogance are commonplace even amongst the petty bourgeois "critics of the establishment" - the left social democrats and revisionists are at heart "little Englanders."

Imperialist ideology can only be combated by uncompromising proletarian ideology: the fruits of imperialist ideology - fascism, colour prejudice and in "communists," lack of true solidarity with brother workers of other nations - these fruits of imperialist corruption among the working people can only be combated by resolute application of proletarian ideology (Marxism-Leninism) to British conditions. And in this struggle we shall be successful, provided we are honest and objective and unflinching in our efforts. In a longer or shorter period, given correct leadership, the mass of the working people of this country will respond to Marxist-Leninism and follow the lead given by a Marxist-Leninist Party. Why is this said with such confidence? Because Marxism-Leninism is objectively in the interests of the working class and will be increasingly recognised as such by the masses of the working class. Moreover, the working class, of all the classes in this country, is the one least affected by imperialist ideology (although as a class it is affected).

A LENINIST LEAD

At present the working class struggle in Britain is largely spontaneous and economist in outlook, dominated by a petty bourgeois analysis of Britain and the world. It is our aim and resolve to give the working class struggle a dominant Marxist-Leninist political philosophy. We must lead the struggle and not tail behind it like the revisionists do. We can only do that with a Marxist Leninist analysis of Britain.

One of our chief concerns at present is to root out racialism from the working class movement, to strive for and achieve the unity of all sections of the working class in Britain in the struggle against the British ruling class and their state - our common enemy. Alongside this we will continue to build up fraternal solidarity with our working class and oppressed brothers and sisters of all nations, especially those oppressed by British Imperialism. We must never forget that when we fight Imperialism abroad and capitalism (fascist, conservative or social democratic varieties) and revisionism at home we are engaged in the same essential struggle.

DIVIDE AND RULE

It is the tactics of the ruling class to divide the working class of the metropolitan nation against the working class and oppressed people of the colonial (and neo-colonial) nations. Moreover it is their tactic to divide the working class against itself in both the metro-

politan and colonial nations by the use of racial, colour and religious "issues" (e.g. colour prejudice and anti-semitism in Britain; catholic vs. protestant in Ulster; Greek vs. Turk in Cyprus; Hindu vs. Moslem in India and Pakistan; Malay vs. Chinese in Malaya and Singapore; the use of tribalism in Kenya and Nigeria; those of East Indian origin vs. those of African origin in Guyana etc etc . . .) The collective strength and unity of the working class in action (under Marxist-Leninist leadership) is its greatest asset in the struggle for final emancipation and (revolutionary) socialism. And the ruling class are well aware of this fact.

We Marxist-Leninists even at this early stage of the development of our movement must start to work towards this unity of the working class. Already our achievements are considerable and our fruitful unity with Caribbean comrades in particular - in action, propaganda and Marxist-Leninist education - is a foretaste of further successes. We must extend this unity as soon as possible with other comrades from Malaya, India, Pakistan, the African countries etc. This unity will be and can only be on the basis of genuine equality, fraternity and mutual respect.

REVISIONIST BETRAYAL

What is the attitude of the revisionists of King Street to comrades from the colonies and neo-colonies? What is their attitude to the National Liberation Struggles? What is their attitude to immigrant workers in this country? Without a doubt they are in objective fact racials! They have the impertinence to try and patronise colonial comrades. They idiotically suggest that armed struggle is unnecessary comrades. They stupidly suggest that armed struggle is unnecessary for national liberation in the colonies and neo-colonies but that what is needed is a Communist-Labour majority in parliament here which will "grant" independence to the colonies etc and give "development" "aid" to the colonies - a revisionist line in neo-colonialism! This attempt to dampen the N.L. Struggle is reflected in the revisionist publications. When recently have the revisionists reported the successes of the National Liberation movement in Latin America, to name one glaring example?

As Gripa says (Op.Cit.) "In pretending that colonialism is practically liquidated and in wilfully feigning ignorance of the role of neo-colonialism, the modern revisionists hope to negate the contradiction between the oppressed nations and Imperialism.

The revisionists want to drain this contradiction of all revolutionary content and reduce it to a gap in level of development between 'advanced' and 'underdeveloped' countries, a gap which can be filled by so-called material 'aid' within the framework of alround co-operation with imperialism."

And in another place: "In these circumstances the revisionists are acting as auxiliaries of imperialism . . . They want to smother the revolutionary movement for national liberation . . . They want to disarm the working class in the capitalist countries, and drag them into the quagmire of neo-reformism . . .

They try to smash proletarian internationalism. They especially want

U.N.O. - U.S. Tool for foul deeds

(Hsinhua News-Edited)

The Security Council adopted, through the conspiracy of the U.S. and Soviet representatives, a resolution which brought pressure to bear on Pakistan to effect a ceasefire with the aggressor—India. This adds a new chapter to the disgraceful record of the United Nations.

The U.N. has committed numerous evils in the twenty years since its founding under U.S. control. It has become a tool of the United States to facilitate its policies of aggression and war.

To cover up the black marks of the United Nations, before the opening of the current session of general assembly, the Johnson administration praised the United Nations to the skies, presenting it as an institution which "keeps peace," "checks aggression," "gives greater security to the small powers" and "an alliance for man."

The modern Revisionists have also chimed in with the United States in singing praises to the United Nations in a fond dream of dominating the world by the two hegemonies.

In an article in the 36th issue of the weekly new times (1965), Nikilai Fedorenko, USSR permanent representative at the United Nations, said, "the Soviet Union is anxious to strengthen the peace and security" and to "convert it into an effective instrument." He said, "at the coming 20th General Assembly it (the Soviet Union) will renew its efforts on behalf of International peace and co-operation."

The U.S.-Soviet duet can in no way cover up the evil-doings of the United Nations. It has always been a tool of the United States to bully the weaker nations and to push ahead with the U.S. policies of aggression and war.

The disgraceful record of the United Nations created by the United States and its followers manifests itself in the fact that the United States uses the United Nations wantonly to commit aggression against the Asian, African and Latin American countries, suppress the national-democratic movements in these countries, grossly interfere in their internal affairs and trample under foot their sovereignty. The U.S. aggression against the Congo (Leopoldville) under the signboard of the United Nations, its subversion of the legally constituted government of the Congo and its suppression of the Congolese revolutionary forces in 1960 is a case in point.

The U.S. intervention in the Anti-U.S. patriotic struggle of the people of the Dominican Republic in the name of the

to place the working class in capitalist countries in opposition to the revolutionary struggle for liberation of the oppressed peoples and nations and make them collaborate with imperialism, first of all, with US Imperialism, the main bulwark of colonialism today.

This is how they have slid down the slippery slope of class collaboration into racism!"

DEEPENING CRISIS

We cannot expect the revisionists to take a leading or principled role in the fight against racism in this country. At best we can expect petitions and legalism and pacifist propaganda which disarms the people.

The British economy is running into serious difficulties which will lead to increased social antagonisms. The ruling class will intensify racial tensions by all the means at their disposal: they will try to use the immigrant workers ever more blatantly as scapegoats to deflect and turn in on itself the working peoples' wrath. The Wilson "White" Paper is just the first in a series of racially provocative measures. As has been truly remarked, "Social democracy paves the way for fascism."

This is no time for us to be complacent about time and to say, "there won't be any revolutionary situation in Britain for decades." There is always need for a strong Marxist-Leninist Party in a capitalist country. In the forthcoming months of deepening economic crisis in Britain there is going to be an increasing need for a Marxist-Leninist Party here. We must start to build working class unity NOW as rapidly as possible to meet the stepping up of fascist provocation by the ruling class and their stooges.

United Nations this year is a recent example of the evil-doing of the United Nations.

In Asia, there are many instances of U.S. intervention and aggression through the United Nations. At present the Johnson administration is plotting to interfere in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people through the United Nations though the Vietnamese question has nothing whatsoever to do with the U.N. which has absolutely no right to intervene.

To side with the aggressor and prevent the victim from waging a struggle against aggression or even to turn the facts upside down and slander the victim of aggression is a usual practice of the United Nations under the control of the United States and its partners.

The United States and other Imperialist countries have created or helped foster certain tools of aggression to threaten the Afro-Asian countries. The United Nations has hastened the birth of "Malaysia," a neo-Colonialist product of U.S. and British imperialism. The United States also thrust "Malaysia" into security council so as to make it serve the U.S.-British policy of opposing Indonesia.

Through the instrumentality of the United Nations, the United States has not only conducted political and military intervention but also economic and cultural penetration in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. The Johnson administration has shown keen interest in the "International co-operation year" (1965) of the United Nations because in the name of "International co-operation" the United States can also penetrate still deeper into the less developed countries in these continents.

In the United Nations itself, the United States has often overcome or even insulted the delegates of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. Though these countries form the majority in that organisation, they cannot fully exercise their rights, and their demands are usually ignored or perfunctorily dismissed. Even if resolutions against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism can be adopted at their insistence, their drafts have to be amended by the United States and its partners before they can be approved. Anti-colonialist resolutions adopted as a result of their hard struggle are invariably shelved. For all the U.N. resolutions on South Africa, South-west Africa, Rhodesia and Portuguese colonies, the oppressed nations and peoples in these areas have fared no better. The resolutions on Kashmir calling for a plebiscite have not been put into effect. Now that India has clamped down on the people of Kashmir and started aggression against Pakistan, the United Nations openly throws these resolutions overboard and sides with the Indian aggressor to betray the interests of the people of Kashmir.

The United States has made use of the United Nations as a tool of aggression not only against the National Independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America but also against the Socialist countries. The three years of war of aggression against the democratic people's republic of Korea was unleashed by the United States in 1950 under the banner of the United Nations. After the Hungarian people frustrated the U.S.-instigated counter-revolutionary rioting in 1956, the United States has time and again manipulated the United Nations into discussing the "Hungary question" and adopted a series of illegal resolutions to interfere with the internal affairs of Hungary and slander the socialist countries.

The United States has been sparing no efforts to prevent the restoration of the rightful place in the United Nations to the People's Republic of China which holds high the anti-Imperialist, anti-Colonialist banner. It has always tried to realise its "two Chinas" scheme. In 1951, it forced the United Nations to adopt an illegal resolution slandering China as an "aggressor," and another illegal resolution to enforce an "embargo" upon China and the democratic people's republic of Korea. On Tibet and many other questions, the United States and its followers have repeatedly slandered and attacked China and tried to stir up anti-China hysteria.

LITERATURE and ART

FOLK SONG REVIVAL

by David Wilson

ONE consequence of the crisis of capitalism in the world of popular music is the famous folk song revival. Some 18 months ago, I wrote an article about this, but since that time, new stars have arisen on the horizon including Sonny and Cher, Joan Baez, Bob Dylan and Donovan. All the big record companies have taken them into their arms, making a good thing out of these "new wave" artists, and the artists themselves are not doing too badly, either.

What is the essence of this folk song revival? Why are the big record companies giving these people their full backing? Is it purely and simply because of their commercial value? We would be naive, indeed, if we thought this. One thing common to all these folk singers is that they deal mainly in abstractions. They make no honest attempt to analyse the system of society in which we live and to find out the cause of all its injustices. They make no attempt to separate right from wrong, to support what is right and to condemn what is wrong.

The latest phenomenal success in this field is the couple, Sonny and Cher. They are the latest representatives of the beatnik cut. It is only when the people under working class leadership, start organising against capitalism and imperialism that the ruling class gets really worried. They are not very worried about people who grow their hair long, have beards and wear weird clothes. Rather, it gives them something to laugh about and adds a bit of spice to their otherwise drab and empty lives. As a reaction to this attitude, one of the duo sings a song which is an impassioned appeal on behalf of non-conformist youth to intolerant society pleading for understanding instead of mockery, or in the words of the song SAY "HI" INSTEAD OF WHY. But progress does not come about by way of whining appeals to bourgeois sentiment.

Then there is the dark-haired, 24-year-old, American folk singer, Joan Baez, who currently has a best-seller in the charts called THERE BUT FOR FORTUNE. Isn't it strange that the capitalist press attitude to her is very sympathetic? Such sympathy is in marked contrast to their attitude towards those who they really consider a threat to their interests. But they bolster her up designating her a folk singer having very strong political views (anti-war, anti-segregation, pro-humanity). The U.S. aggressors are making war on suffering people everywhere. Would the capitalist press be so sympathetic towards Joan Baez if she made a forthright denunciation of U.S. imperialism instead of futilely denouncing war in the abstract?

Bob Dylan is another new figure who has recently become popular and who has been taken over by the big record companies. His songs, too, are noteworthy for their abstractness and unclarity. It is as though a cloud of smog has been placed over the truth, making it more difficult for people to find out the real truth about the world we live in. "The world is rapidly ageing," he sings, "and the times they are a changing." As we know, these are abstractions that can mean anything or nothing. They do not clarify issues—they only create confusion.

Of course, some subjects are safer than others for the Bob Dylans to deal in, and providing they deal with them in the right way from the point of view of the capitalist class, they will be given every encouragement. They are permitted to denounce segregation. If Martin Luther King and other middle class negroes win the right to live in houses where they like and dine in restaurants where they like, this is no threat to the American capitalist class as a whole.

But when it comes to the question of war, they are permitted to denounce it in general terms only, telling us how brutal and futile war is, how stupid "we" are, and asking when "they" will ever learn. We are not told, however, who this obscure "we" and "they" are.

Abstruse humanitarian sentiments are also permitted. Let us stop hurting one another. Let us do good. Let us all be nice. Who is causing the hurt? This we are not told. The capitalists and imperialists are never singled out for blame. "We" and "they" are blamed in totality, and this amorphous mass is continually exhorted to stop doing harm, to turn over a new leaf and to start being good.

Donovan is the latest British star in the firmament. In his latest EP, he directs the spearhead of his attack

against the UNIVERSAL SOLDIER. All soldiers are placed on the same level, those who are fighting for imperialism and those who are fighting against, those who are attacking other countries and those who are defending their own, the U.S. soldiers who were murdering people in the Dominican Republic and the soldiers of the Rebel Army heroically defending Socialist Cuba against another possible attack from the north. It may be said that as the majority of today's soldiers are volunteers and mercenaries, then there is some justification for condemning them. But apart from his indiscriminate attack on all soldiers, Donovan denounces those who get the orders, but lets those who give the orders go scot free. This is on a par with the discredited anti-H Bomb campaign which the U.S. imperialists did not mind at all, as it was the weapon itself mainly composed of iron that was being denounced, and not the class responsible for using it to dominate the entire world.

It is very significant that these folk singer successes are welcomed with open arms by the modern revisionists. The reason is not far to seek. At a time of political upheaval and revolution in the world today, many people and especially, the youth, are not accepting the standards and habits of the older generation. In various ways, they are making their little gestures of revolt against society. In this situation, by dealing with the problem in the abstract, blurring issues and presenting ready-made, easy answers, the modern revisionists are carrying out their historical role of creating confusion, thus leading people up blind alleys. Such is the role of the modern revisionists in the political field. The new folk singer successes play the same role among the youth in their chosen field.

However, the time is not too far distant when events will overtake them. With an increasing class and political consciousness among the youth, they will be more on their guard against the efforts of the deceivers and confusion mongers. New folk singers will arise with their roots sunk deep in working class ideology. They will endeavour to achieve clarity and through their art, to develop a higher political consciousness among the masses. They will call a spade a spade. They will denounce imperialism, headed by the U.S.A. They will support all revolutionary and national liberation struggles. They will expose the real warmongers. They will oppose the exploiting class. Wherever the working class is struggling to improve its conditions, wherever people are fighting for freedom, wherever there is resistance to the exploiters and their agents within our ranks, there they will be, encouraging and urging the people to unite and fight against the system that breeds war and unemployment. One thing, however, is certain. They will get neither encouragement, sympathy nor contracts from the big record companies.

continued from page 12

ership which only looks after its own miserable petty bourgeois interests, by trying to gain electoral support in the vain hope of winning a few seats in parliament? Why should they give money to pay the salaries and advance the interests of a bunch of opportunist hacks who run the Communist Party and Daily Worker?

Of course, the Daily Worker readers have not consciously worked this out—perception of an idea always precedes its conception. But they do perceive that something is rotten up there, and this

LAST TEST DOCTOR VERWOERD!

Here's a present, Doctor Verwoerd,
Sent from us across the sea:
Your beloved all-white Springboks
Beaten twenty points to three.
There are no excuses, Doctor,
For the ground was fast and dry;
Just the ground your players wanted,
Yet they couldn't score a try.
We scored five against them, Doctor;
And this surely was a sin,
When you come to think upon the
Pigmentation of our skin.
Three of us were Maoris, Doctor.
Men whose colour would deny
In your land their simple right to
Play the game or score a try.
Now the time has come to tell you
That we will not meet again,
Either here or in your country,
While you take from coloured men.
Their birthright to live as equals
With the favoured master race;
While you bully and enslave them,
Hold them in degraded place.
While you say to us that we can
send a team to play with you,
Only if we choose our players
Of the very whitest hue.
In this land we play together,
Work and eat and drink together,
Love and laugh and sing together,
Brown and white.
Who are you to criticise us?
Who are you to catechise us?
Who are you that would prevent
Our Maori brothers being sent
To play a game within your shores
When we have gone together in two wars
To fight?
Hear a word in season, Doctor;
Take a warning while you may.
Liberate the coloured millions,
Throw the whip and gun away.
Give them equal pay and status,
Treat them as you do the whites;
Give them back their ancient birthright—
Dignity and human rights.
If you do not do it quickly,
You will play another test,
Played in fear and blood and sorrow,
Ruling class against the rest.
Doctor, in that grim encounter,
Plain for all the world to see,
You will take a bigger hiding
Than by twenty points to three.

—DON McRAE.
(N.Z.)

perception is reflected as yet not in organised opposition and mass defections, but in apathetic resignation and the occasional discontented rumblings. It also seems to have affected the Fighting Fund.

When a party which calls itself Communist loses the enthusiasm of the youth and is left with a load of time-served old codgers, is that not a sign of degeneration? The superficial answers to problems that the Daily Worker tries to pass off as analysis, is an insult to any thinking young worker's intelligence. No wonder that there is no enthusiasm for the paper among the youth.

Tom Kelly concludes by asking readers this question:

"I ask readers who have so far never contributed to the Fighting Fund if they are fulfilling their duties to the fight for Peace and Socialism."

Our answer is an unequivocal "Yes." Having got that off our chests, may we now ask Tom Kelly some more questions? How can you be fulfilling your duty to the working class cause by raising money for a paper which has for a long time stifled all news about the polemics in the international Communist movement and which wilfully withholds important news and information from its readers? How are you fulfilling your duty by financing a paper which makes no attempt to clarify the issues but merely creates confusion?

We know that there are many old stalwarts who have given a life time

of service to the CPGB and its organ. Naturally, they do not want to admit that the paper they have kept going all these years has degenerated into the organ of a baton-following, revisionist group, which nauseatingly grovels to the Labour Party all the time because it will not expose its bourgeois class nature. But this is what Communists have to do, like or don't like. They must be objective. To continue to support a so-called Communist Party which is no longer revolutionary but is reformist like the Labour Party, is just like continuing to back up a strike leader after the boss has bought him off. To Tom Kelly, we say:

"One cannot vindicate oneself by boasting of one's revolutionary tradition while deviating from the revolutionary stand at present."

"Rodong Shinmoon," organ of the C.C. of the Korean Workers' Party, 19/4/64.

Tom Kelly pleads:

"In these days and the coming days of great working class struggles, the Daily Worker is needed more than ever."

Yes, but who needs it, Tom? Maybe the capitalist class needs it in order to create more confusion within the ranks of the working class. Hell. It is already doing that. But of what use is such a paper to us, Tom Kelly? That is our last question, and our last answer is, "none at all."

REVISIONISM SEEKS UNITY WITH CATHOLICISM

BY JOHN BLAKE

WITH breathtaking audacity and incredible banality the revisionists have begun to accommodate religious idealism with their perverted interpretation of dialectical materialism. This marks a new phase in their ideological degeneration and political opportunism. Even their figleaf of "Marxism" is becoming transparent. It is an ugly and ludicrous spectacle. Nevertheless it speeds the process of their alienation from the politically conscious and active members of the working class and from all revolutionary intellectuals.

In "World Marxist Review No. 6" of this year an important article was published, "Towards an Alliance of Communists and Catholics" by Santiago Alvarez. This is a first step in attempting the "integration" of Marxism and Catholicism. How do the revisionists go about this impossible task? Why should they even attempt it or deem it necessary?

Alvarez sets about it in this way.

1. GROWING PROTEST

There is a growing movement of protest against the Fascist Government of Spain. Nonproletarian parts of the population are involved too, including some of the clergy, some catholic intellectuals and businessmen — even some of the catholic hierarchy (e.g. Bishop Guerra Campos). Why are such elements protesting? Alvarez makes no analysis. However one could venture the suggestion that the Catholic Church in Spain, fearful of the growing protest against Fascism, is seeking to dissociate itself from Fascism while at the same time infiltrating the growing movement of protest so as to pervert it and distract it from its revolutionary course. Thus the two "wings" of the church, left and right supplement one another tactically: while the right wing remains firmly attached to Franco and the Falangist government, the left wing creeps into the working class and antifascist movement. Strategically both wings have the same aim — the consolidation of and expansion of the Catholic Church and its idealist philosophy amongst the people. "Comrade" Alvarez does not see it this way. He serenely concludes that there "is unity of action between catholics and communists." He further adds that, "the catholics are our main allies today in the struggle against Franco. This is a fact. It is perhaps the most characteristic and encouraging feature of the Spanish scene today."

2. CLERGY ACTIVE

What is the evidence for this unity of action between catholics and "Communists"? Alvarez enthusiastically points out the Workers' Brotherhood of Catholic Action has supported some strikes! (Which strikes and why, and for what political ends Alvarez does not say.) Many members of Catholic "Labour" organisations, Alvarez avers, are on Joint Committees of "action" with communists, as he puts it so well, "leading the working class movement" (Whither? He does not say.) More evidence of this "unity of action" is cited including instances of the way the catholic clergy is engaged in sterling work: thus a priest gave defence evidence on behalf of an Asturian miner recently; other priests have helped the Joint Action Committees and allow their premises to be used for meetings etc etc!! This apparently is evidence of a "new line" by catholic priests and it moves Alvarez to say, "The priests are continuing to act side by side with commu-

nists." This is no doubt true but it says little for the priests and less for the clergy so much that he is moved to attack the anarcho-syndicalists and social-democrats for "anti-clericalism"! He asserts in italic emphasis that, "Today the Communist Party — the embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the champion of the interests of the working class and democracy — is the guarantee that the revolution will not be diverted from its path into anti-clerical channels." (This is such an outrageous piece of revisionism that one has to laugh!)

Summing up on the question "unity of action" Alvarez states, "There is an alliance of communist and catholic workers . . . this alliance is the cornerstone of the unity of the new (sic!) working class movement." Revelation of revelations! Alvarez sees the working class as composed of two separate categories — catholic workers and communist workers! No question of part of the working class being under the influence of reactionary, anti-working class ideology! Moreover it appears that to Alvarez that "catholic workers" are just as useful and progressive in the working class political movement as "communist" workers!

3. THEORETICAL UNITY

Catholic intellectuals and theoreticians are approaching a theoretical and political unity with "communist" theoreticians. They are "voicing their views on . . . freedom and democracy." "In a recent lecture Professor Aranguren, catholic philosopher, made an impassioned plea for democratic liberties." "Various catholic journals . . . favour the idea of a dialogue with communists, uphold trade union freedom, the right to strike, stress the need for structural reforms (how that must warm the revisionist cockles! J.B.) and primarily for a profound agrarian reform." (In fact they are putting forward the same programme as the revisionists and are going about implementing it with the same tactics! The revisionists see this unity as a progressive development on the part of the catholic labour organisations and petty-bourgeoisie rather than as a retrogressive degeneration on their own part!)

Alvarez is thrilled by these developments and by the fact that the "eminent" catholics, Professor Fernandez and Bishop Guerra Campos are strongly in favour of a dialogue with Marxists. Moreover he cites how Professor Ruiz Gimenez said the "truly symbolic" words: "If communism is an historical fact it means that God choses it to be

so." It must be a great comfort to the revisionists to know that they have God's approval.

The upshot of this nonsense is that Alvarez thinks it shows a general "anti-communist retreat" in Spain by the forces of capitalism and oppression. Has he forgotten the fate of Grimau so soon? Do the Asturian miners share his naive opinion? Perhaps the forces of capitalism in Spain (including the established, catholic church) are just becoming more crafty in the face of mounting working class struggle.

For Alvarez the turning point in this rapprochement between catholicism and "Marxism" was the reign of Pope John XXIII, who will no doubt be canonised by the Kremlin ere long — if not by the Vatican. To Alvarez, Pope John's encyclical, "In Pacem Terris," is of paramount importance. Why? Because it was the first Vatican Encyclical which did not "explicitly condemn socialism as evil." (I ask you!) For Alvarez this represented a breakthrough by the "left forces" in the catholic church. For the revisionists the class struggle takes place *inside* the church (as it does in Washington) with right and left forces (and even "centrist" forces!) battling for supremacy. The left forces, he claims, wish to *renovate* the church and put an end to its increasing alienation from the masses of working and oppressed people — hence the increasing participation of priests and catholic intellectuals in the working class movement.

We Marxist-Leninists say "Good. Let the Church be alienated from the working masses. Let us resist the infiltration of its agents into the working class movement. Let the church's "increasing alienation from the masses of working and oppressed people" continue, until it is completely alienated from the masses of working and oppressed people. But Alvarez and the revisionists really do want the church to be renovated and "transformed" into a working class institution! (Talk about miracles!)

A MAN REMOTE FROM REALITY

The crux of the matter is that Alvarez believes that socialism grows spontaneously throughout society affecting not only the working class but also — spontaneity of spontaneity — the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie! To quote: "The changes in the Catholic movement are not only prompting the church to "modernise" itself; they are also prompting Catholics to speak about socialism. What in the past was comprehensible only to some outstanding minds and later to progressives is now becoming a more or less conscious mass phenomenon. "This is about the vilest piece of revisionism ever expressed. It follows that one "catches" socialism the way one catches a cold. Perhaps one sunny morning General Franco will wake up to find himself "more or less" a socialist. Alvarez wades on in the mire saying, "Marxists have never said that socialism is incompatible with the existence of religion among the broad sections of the population. Everyday life in the socialist countries is the proof of

this." "Spanish communists . . . (will guarantee) freedom of conscience and performance of religious rites; aid to catholicism by the state (!!); the possibility of the revolutionary transformation of society without resort to violence; the Party's support of a multi-party system, including catholic parties in the period of building socialism." (Even Tito hasn't got this far!) Alvarez gaily adds: "As Lenin foresaw, the concept of the specific features associated with building a new society is being amplified and enriched" (You're not kidding!) What happens to the dictatorship of the proletariat? ". . . in a socialist Spain there will be no coercion, no administrative measures against religious beliefs, against catholicism." (Ideology apart, what happens to the land and capital owned by the Spanish Church?)

Alvarez foresees the "new society" in existence with catholicism and Marxism peacefully competing for the minds of the working people. To quote again: "Thus, logic tells us that the way to test the two positions — the Marxist and the catholic — is to begin right now joint actions to reconstruct society and to advance, through successive stages (no details!), to the creation of a society where both ideologies will be put to the test. So why not make the experiment?"

When he speaks of logic in this way you know that here is a metaphysician — a man remote from reality. Only a philosophical idealist could so stupidly and ignorantly spurn collective experience (i.e. history).

CAPITALIST CLASS INSTRUMENTS

Where is it that these revisionists make their fundamental mistake so that they can go flying off at these ludicrous tangents? Basically it is their failure to see that the state and all existing state institutions in capitalist society are the instruments of the capitalist class in their oppression of the working people. The state apparatus is never a neutral body refereeing the class conflict or which can simply change hands from one class to the other. Thus socialism cannot come creeping into being bit by bit in a capitalist society. Capitalist society can only become socialist society through a qualitative (revolutionary) change in society — a change brought about by the working class organised under the leadership of its vanguard party which necessitates the smashing of the capitalist state and its apparatus.

Alvarez patently does not see things this way: thus he can say, ". . . At this stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the basic socialist alternative stemming from the dialectics of development is increasingly taken for granted also by non-communists." Remember this man is talking of fascist Spain!

The revisionists are degenerating at an incredible rate when they can seriously suggest that the way forward for the working class in Spain (or anywhere else for that matter) is via a peaceful road of structural reform in alliance with the catholic church. Amen!

A BRIEF REPORT OF OUR WORK SINCE DECEMBER 1964

1. December 1964 witnessed the serious deterioration of the health of our late Secretary Michael McCreery and his inability to continue to discharge his secretarial duties, on strict doctor's orders. His death took place on April 10, 1965.
2. Despite the serious loss to our ranks since December 1964, we have striven to consistently uphold the cause of Marxism-Leninism in Britain and struggled to alert and unite the people against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism; the betrayal of the national interests of the working-class by the "Labour" Government and the renegade modern-revisionist trend and activities on the part of the leaders of the C.P.G.B. We have fought hard against racialism and for the militant unity of all workers and genuine progressives against the main enemy — monopoly capitalism and its lackeys and apologists of every description.
3. Since December 1964, the Editorial Board has produced five issues of our 16 page periodical Vanguard and have increased its circulation by 200 both here and abroad. We have produced an circulated 11,500 leaflets, four issues, in support of the South Vietnamese National Front of Liberation and opposing U.S. aggression against North and South Vietnam. We have circulated more than 1,000 leaflets explaining the position of our movement and further our periodical Vanguard — August/September issue, the whole centre spread highlights support for the Vietnamese people.
4. We have convened four public meetings including a Commemoration Meeting for Michael McCreery attended by 100 people.
5. We have established a very good Library of Politics, Economics and Culture which is called the Michael McCreery Memorial Library to perpetuate his pioneer Leninist work and do honour to his memory.
6. We have convened Marxist-Leninist Study Groups on a regular basis and strengthened our fraternal links with workers from Commonwealth and Colonial countries residents in Britain.

7. We have conducted several discussions with anti-revisionist groups and individuals, both within and outside the C.P.G.B., with a perspective of united activities.
8. We have maintained our Centre and held regular Secretariat and C.C. meetings, thus consolidating the democratic nature of our methods of leadership.
9. We have distributed our printed material and put our points of view at several gatherings of other organisations, including those of the broad democratic Peace Movement and also the revisionist C.P.G.B.
10. Despite some adventurist deviations, slanderous and disruptive actions on the part of a few former members, we have maintained our organisation, our public stand and have increased our level of practical activity. This we intend to continue in the face of all difficulties — which we realise are inevitable in the objective situation of Britain and which we expect will continue for some time.

The C.D.R.C.U. intends to extend in quality and scope its vital work for the triumphant cause of Marxism-Leninism. We maintain our revolutionary optimism for the future and will continue to endeavour to work correctly — combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions that exist in our country.

DAVE VOLPE/Chairman.
C.D.R.C.U.

read

VANGUARD

every month

see page 13 for Order form