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A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

RE-ESTABLISH THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

ONE hundred years ago this month the International Working Men's Association, the 1st International, was established in London. The inaugural address, which Karl Marx wrote, contained these words:

"To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy and France there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political reorganisation of the working men's party."

"One element of success they possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge. Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastened by the common discomfort of their incoherent efforts. This thought prompted the working men of different countries assembled on September 28th, 1864, in public meeting at St. Martin's Hall to found the International Association."

Since that time the working class has fulfilled this "great duty" in many countries. Today, over one-third of the world it has conquered political power, and has begun to construct a Socialist society. An essential task now is to hold on to that political power. The fight against modern Revisionism within the Socialist countries is the fight to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat against world imperialism, led by United States imperialism, and all its allies and agents.

But in two-thirds of the world the working class has not yet won political power. The fight against Revisionism and against Social-Democracy in all countries within the capitalist world is the fight against those who seek to divert the working class from its great duty, the conquest of political power through the overthrow of the exploiting class.

Today in Britain, as in all the countries of Western Europe, efforts are once again being made to reorganise the party of the working class. For the

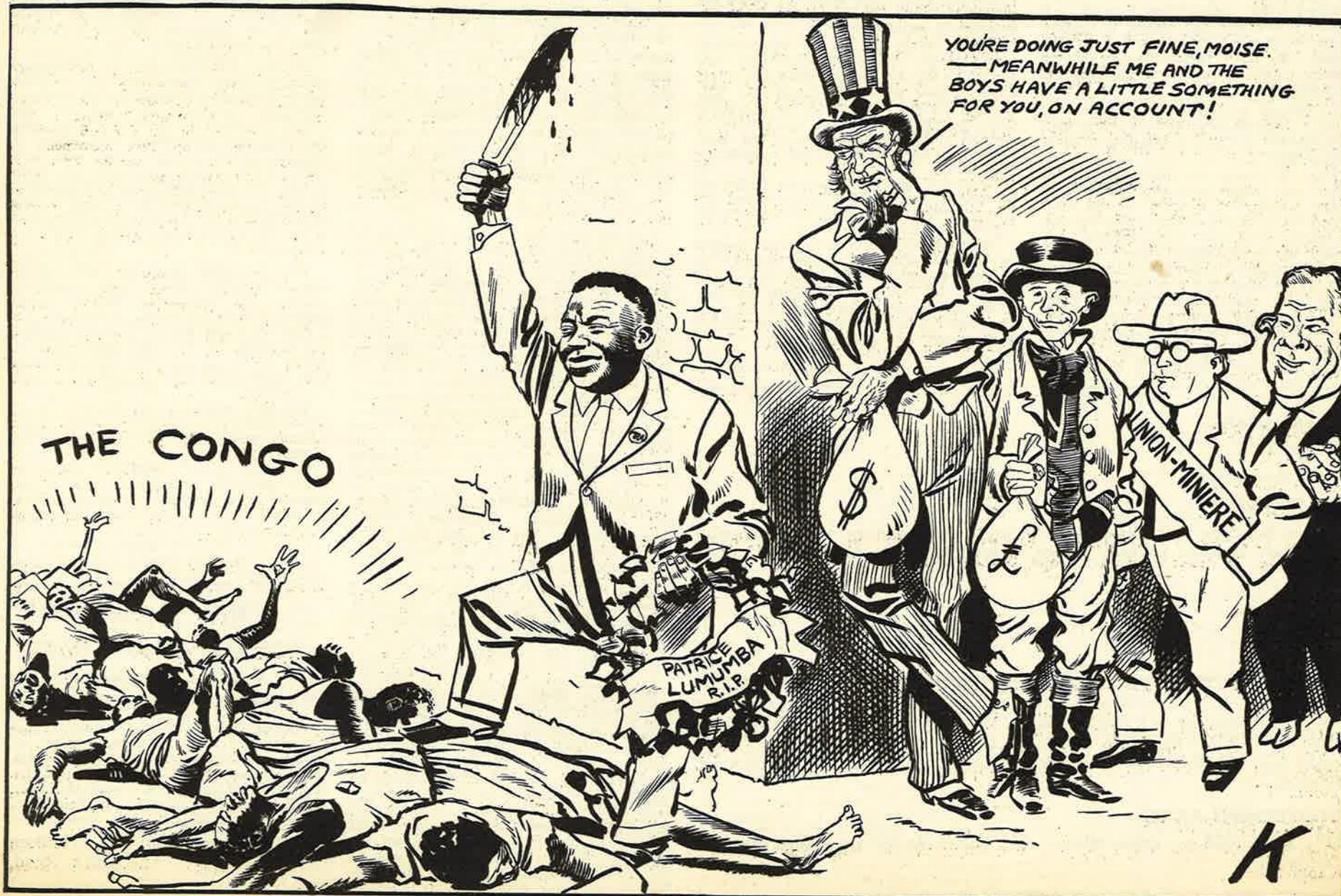
Communist Party has been captured by those who seek to revise Marxist-Leninist principles out of existence, and has been converted into a party which stands opposed to revolution; stands opposed to the need for unity with the workers of all lands.

It is essential to re-establish a genuine Communist Party in Britain as soon as possible. This party is needed to reunite British workers with the international working class movement. It is needed to coordinate and lead the struggles of British workers against all the attacks of the capitalists; against their drive towards unemployment and war. It is needed to prepare for the Socialist revolution, the conquest of political power.

It was to achieve the re-establishment of the Communist Party that the Committee to defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity was formed in November, 1963. For the Communist Party of Great Britain cannot be reorganised from within. For some while yet struggle against the policies of the revisionist leadership will continue within the C.P.G.B.—and even develop. But because the Revisionists tightly control the organisation of the party this struggle can never win the party for Marxist-Leninist policies. It can only lead, sooner or later, to the expulsion of those who persist in fighting for the basic interests of the working class. It is essential, therefore, to establish, in all the main industrial centres of Britain, Committees which can encourage the struggle within the Revisionist party, whilst themselves advancing the correct Marxist-Leninist line in open challenge to the Revisionist C.P.G.B., and to the Social-Democratic Labour Party. These Committees must gather around them all those, from within and without the C.P.G.B., who are honestly concerned with the need to defeat Revisionism, and re-establish a genuine Communist Party in Britain. They must co-ordinate their efforts around a common line of struggle. They must present a united front to the Revisionists, the Social-Democrats, and to the class enemy.

Marxist-Leninists, unite to defeat Revisionism!

Forward to the re-establishment of the Communist Party, in England, in Scotland, and in Wales!



SPEED UP AND HEALTH

Are the strains and hazards of driving buses on London's congested roads causing drivers to resort to drug-taking? This very serious question is prompted by a warning from Dr. L. G. Norman published last month in London Transport's magazine.

Dr. Norman is Chief Medical Officer for London Transport. By the very nature of his job he should know what he is talking about. He says:

"Ordinary drugs in common use are potentially hazardous and drivers must remain constantly alert if they are to drive skilfully through London's congested streets."

Common examples of drugs which can be hazardous to a bus driver he lists as insulin, sleeping tablets, sedatives and tranquillisers. Drugs which induce drowsiness, such as those prescribed for hay-fever and asthma are warned against. Bus drivers taking these should abstain from driving for a day or two, Dr. Norman suggests.

As might be expected, London busmen were much concerned at the publication of Dr. Norman's warning in the official L.T.B. magazine, which is distributed to the men in the garages. At their union delegate conference on 26th August, they passed a resolution in the following terms:

"This conference is seriously concerned at the public warning issued and published in the press by Dr. L. G. Norman on the subject of drug-taking by London bus drivers.

"As Chief Medical Officer of London Transport, we consider that such a warning from Dr. Norman carries a direct implication that such cases of drug-taking by London bus drivers are known to him. It is our view that, if this be the case, full details should be provided for the responsible officers of our union to take immediate and necessary action.

"We recall that, giving evidence before the recent Phelps Brown Inquiry, Dr. Norman said:

"In some instances at present, bus crews work 13 days out of 14, this is undesirable from the health and safety points of view. The aim should be to reduce rest-day and unscheduled overtime so that individual busmen would only undertake this work occasionally."

"It is our view that London Transport should publicly indicate what steps they are taking to implement the advice of Dr. Norman in this field."

In this statement, the London busmen very clearly indicate their view that, drugs or no drugs, the intensification of labour produced by modern road conditions and the ceaseless drive to speed up transport, with its accompanying massive OVERTIME working, is the most serious threat both to the health of the bus crews and to the safety of the travelling public. Indeed, if stress and strain leads certain bus drivers to resort to the use of drugs—tranquillisers and various "pep-pills," then the practice of systematic overtime working in itself becomes a major inducement to use such drugs.

Indeed, the relationship between systematic overtime and fatigue is stressed by yet another authority, as well as Dr. Norman. No less a person than Sir George Barnett, Chief Inspector of Factories, is on record as saying:

"Fatigue is the cause of many accidents, and overtime, when workers tend to become careless, is certainly a cause of fatigue."

When it comes to intensification of labour, and fatigue naturally arising from it, few sections of workers are so hard-pressed as the London bus crews. Within the memory of still living busmen, the London bus has developed from a 34-seater vehicle, limited to a speed of 12 miles per hour, to the latest new "routemaster" containing 72 seats (plus five standing) travelling at 30-40 miles per hour, in conditions of road congestion recognised to be the very worst in the world.

With its much publicised scheme of

"technical developments" London Transport intends to use even bigger types of vehicles on the crowded roads. The "standee" bus, scornfully described as a "cattle truck" by bus crews, will carry 88 passengers (30 seated and 58 standing). This vehicle will carry no conductor—entrance will be through a "turnstile" operated by pressing a coin into a slot.

Another type of "one-man" bus will require the driver to collect fares, issue tickets, and give change—as well as driving the bus. Just how much stress and strain will be involved in carrying out these multifarious duties—while driving carefully and "keeping death off the roads"? What sort of effect such vehicles may have both upon the incidence of drug-taking and the mounting figures of road deaths, might well engage the attention of the Minister of Transport (Ernest Marples) but we doubt it.

As these new buses appear on the roads of London (some of the vehicles will be 36ft. long and 8ft. 2in. wide), bus crews must operate them in conditions where, on a total establishment of 32,000, they are more than 4,000 short of staff.

In addition to a scheduled week's work of 42 hours, bus crews are expected to work 16 hours a week overtime—which gives them a longer working week than obtained when Victoria sat on the throne of England.

Last winter, when for three weeks the busmen banned all overtime, the immediate effect was to take 1,000 buses off the roads each day (out of a total of 7,000). Thus, every seventh bus seen on London's roads today, is there only because of systematic overtime operated by the crew.

It is useless for Dr. Norman and Sir George Barnett to attempt to save their professional consciences with pompous warnings that make no real attempt to get at the root cause—and CURE for the problems with which they are dealing.

Every day of the week bus drivers sit at the wheels of their vehicles who are in no condition to drive because of extreme fatigue produced by excessive overtime. In turn, the working of such overtime is prompted and encouraged by the totally inadequate basic wage levels for which the so-called "nationalised sector" of the economy is notorious.

Equally, every day in the week, scores of bus drivers who should report sick, dare not do so because of the disastrous effect it would have upon their family life. The 57s. 6d. sick pay (nothing for the first three days) granted to the sick worker by a grateful "welfare state" makes a few days' sickness a major calamity for a working-class family.

These are the real underlying causes of the problems which Dr. Norman and Sir George Barnett merely sniff at without even dimly understanding.

Not stupid addiction to "purple hearts" or "pep pills"—but the results of ruthless capitalist exploitation are what confront Dr. Norman. The cure lies—not in his medical text-books, but by ceaseless working-class activity at garage and factory level to end the capitalist system.

GEORGE SHAW

EARNING A LIVING

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEAT REVISIONISM FOR COMMUNIST UNITY

A MEETING of representatives and members of the Committees in London, Manchester, Yorkshire, and Scotland, took place on August 29th and 30th in London. This meeting made certain recommendations, for approval by the local Committees, and approved the September Vanguard, since A. H. Evans and R. Jones have left the Committee. A fuller report will be made in the October Vanguard.

MICHAEL McCREERY, Secretary
Committee to Revisionism, for Communist Unity

The Co-op and South African Goods

WHAT is the anti-imperialist issue on which the greatest amount of formal unity has been achieved? Without doubt the opposition to the hated apartheid regime in South Africa.

Marxist-Leninists recognize that the smashing of this regime would be a major blow, not only against the white supremacists in South Africa itself but also against U.S. and British imperialism who have so much invested there—£1,000 million in the case of British capitalists. We know that a blow against imperialism anywhere weakens our capitalists and brings Britain nearer to Socialism.

But not only Marxist-Leninists, Humanitarians, liberals, all manner of people are shocked by the treatment of non-Europeans and freedom-fighters of all races in South Africa. Even the Tories haven't the face openly to approve Sharpeville, the 90-day no-trial law, the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela, the death sentences, the degradation of low wages, Bantustans and lack of rights for 10 million Africans.

Approaching this matter from another angle, what is the organization in London in which the greatest unity of "progressives" has been "won." Again there is no doubt—the London Co-operative Society. For years the Communist Party of Great Britain struggled away to get its representatives on the Management, Education and Political Committees—largely without success. The complete boycott of South African goods was at that time a major item of C.P.G.B. policy.

Then the 1960 Committee was formed from C.P.G.B. activists, Left Labourites and various "progressive" organisations as diverse as the Co-op Guilds and the Union of Funeral and Cemetery Workers. A united front was put at the elections and the quarterly meetings and since 1961 the "Left" has held control of the London Co-operative Society.

Not only has the "Left" held control. It has consistently increased its support, a positive model of the British Road to Socialism! It is, however, becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish its policy from that of the Right-wing. In particular, no attempt has been made to take South African goods off the shelves. Even the head of the international department of the C.P.G.B.'s London District, Miss Kay Beauchamp, grew impatient with this state

of affairs. In November, 1963, an amended resolution in her name urged the Management Committee to give a lead "to speedily create the conditions for a complete boycott" and "to propose to the Labour party and Trades Union Congress a national campaign for an effective boycott of all exports of arms to South Africa, and of all purchases of South African goods, by and in Britain."

Leading C.P.G.B. District Committee members were despatched to all the quarterly meetings to speak for the amended resolution. "Anonymous" material was widely circulated by the C.P.G.B. pointing out that the Co-operative movements in Norway, Denmark and Sweden were boycotting South African goods and that "even though it creates difficulties and problems, we are convinced that the London Society should take a principled stand and respond to the call of the South African people for a boycott."

The amended resolution was carried overwhelmingly. Since then, however, nothing has happened. Rather, things appear to have got worse. If anybody has a taste for South African Outspan oranges, for example, he will find them easier to obtain in his Co-op store than anywhere else. Don't take my word, have a look for yourself.

We give notice to the London Co-op Management Committee. Get those South African goods out of your shops by November.

Otherwise, your deceitful brand of "progress" will be exposed. It is no use claiming to be progressive in Britain, if one, in effect, supports the worst imperialist elements abroad.

IVOR KENNA
Finsbury Communist Association

Felix Greene speaking on China

Author and TV broadcaster

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

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U.S. IMPERIALISTS VIOLATE GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON VIETNAM

JULY 20, 1954—JULY 20, 1964: Ten years have elapsed since the signing of the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. In completely liberated North Vietnam which is advancing towards socialism, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has made every effort to build a free and happy life for the people, and has respected and scrupulously implemented the Geneva Agreements while persistently struggling for the other parties concerned to do the same. On the contrary, in South Vietnam, due to U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and their reactionary agents' betrayal, the Geneva Agreements have been more and more seriously violated and sabotaged, and the undeclared war unleashed by the United States has been going on with increasing bitterness. As a result, Vietnam is not reunified, and the peace and security of the Indo-Chinese and South-East Asian peoples are still seriously threatened.

For the sake of peace and security in this part of the world, the peace-, freedom-, and justice-loving peoples are demanding with increasing concern and urgency that the U.S. imperialists put an end to their war of aggression, respect and strictly implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

I—The 1954 Geneva Agreements restore peace on the basis of the recognition of the Vietnamese Peoples' National Rights.

The 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam stipulate the cessation of hostilities between the belligerents, recognize Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, draw a provisional military demarcation line between the two zones at the 17th parallel, and at the same time lay down specific measures for the reunification of the country. For the maintenance and consolidation of peace, they stipulate that "the introduction into Vietnam of any troop reinforcements and additional military personnel, and of any reinforcements in the form of all types of arms, munitions and other war material, is prohibited, that no military base under the control of a foreign State may be established in the regrouping zone of either party, and that the two parties shall ensure that the zones assigned to them do not adhere to any military alliance and are not used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy."

The 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China further declares that:

"So far as Vietnam is concerned, the settlement of political problems, effected on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, unity and territorial integrity, shall permit the Vietnamese people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms, guaranteed by democratic institutions established as a result of free general elections by secret ballot. In order to ensure that sufficient progress in the restoration of peace has been made and that all the necessary conditions obtain for free expression of the national will, general elections shall be held in July, 1956, under the supervision of an international commission composed of representatives of the Member States of the International Supervisory Commission, referred to in the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities. Consultations will be held on this subject between the competent representative authorities of the two zones from July 20, 1955, onwards."

(Point 7, Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference.)

The Conference also stipulates:

"The provisions of the Agreements on the cessation of hostilities intended to ensure the protection of individuals and of property must be most strictly applied."

(Point 8, Final Declaration.)

"The competent representative authorities of the Northern and Southern zones of Vietnam must not permit any individual or collective reprisals against persons who have collaborated in any way with one of the parties during the war, or against members of such persons' families."

(Point 9, Final Declaration.)

And "Each party undertakes to guarantee their democratic liberties."

(Article 14c of the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam.)

Through its representative's declaration made on July 21, 1954, in Geneva, the United States recognized the aforesaid principles and provisions, and solemnly undertook "to refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them" (that is the Geneva Agreements, EDITOR).

II—The Vietnam Democratic Republic Government and People consistently respect and strictly implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam earnestly love peace. For peace's sake, the Vietnamese people have made untold sacrifices to check the U.S. imperialists and their clique's manoeuvres to protract and expand the Indo-China war, thereby seriously manning peace in South-East Asia. At the same time, they have made positive contributions to the easing of international tension. The struggle for the consolidation of peace being closely connected with the fight for national reunification, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has unwaveringly pursued the policy

of respecting and strictly implementing the Geneva Agreements.

The ceasefire was correctly observed by the entire Vietnamese army, by the main forces as well as local troops, militia and guerilla forces on all fronts, including the Vietnamese volunteers in Cambodia and Laos. The regroupment of troops to north of the 17th parallel was completed within the prescribed time-limits. The transfer of the zones under the Resistance power to the other party was fully carried out.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people have correctly implemented the provisions of the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities about refraining from discrimination and reprisal against, and guaranteeing Democratic liberties to, the persons who have collaborated with the other party, as well as those regarding the people's freedom to choose their zone of residence. They have also fully carried out the handing over of prisoners of war and civilian internees.

Moreover, far from confining themselves to scrupulously implementing all provisions of the Geneva Agreements, they have endeavoured to bring about a favourable climate for their implementation.

For instance, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam took the initiative in unilaterally reducing military strength: 80,000 army men were demobilized in 1956-1957; a great number of army units were transferred to production and economic and cultural development work; defence appropriations were cut down from 22 per cent of the total budget in 1956 to 17.5 per cent in 1959. At the same time, practical and constructive proposals were persistently made for a bilateral reduction of military strength and defence appropriations, for a pledge by both parties not to join any military alliances with foreign countries, etc.

For the sake of a solution to the political problems in Vietnam in conformity with the Geneva Agreements, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has sent many notes to the South Vietnam Administration proposing the holding of the consultative conference on the general election to reunify the country. It has also repeatedly put forward proposals for the re-establishment of normal relations between the two zones, including exchanges of correspondence, possibility of visits across the demarcation line, exchanges of cultural, scientific, sport delegations, economic exchanges, etc., pending reunification.

In spite of persistent sabotage attempts by the Saigon authorities acting on U.S. orders, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, while time and again requesting the intervention of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, has persevered in correctly implementing the Geneva Agreements. At the same time, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people have unceasingly denounced the U.S. imperialists and their agents' infringements on Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity, their wrecking of the Geneva Agreements, and torpedoing of the peaceful reunification of Vietnam and have resolutely struggled for the ending of the United States and its agents' aggressive war in South Vietnam, and for their respect and correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam firmly believe that with the unity and struggle of the entire people both in North and South Vietnam, and the world peoples' ever stronger support, the U.S. imperialists and their agents' schemes of aggression and betrayal are doomed to failure, peace will be restored throughout the country, and reunification achieved in Vietnam.

III—The U.S. Imperialists and their agents betraying the Geneva Agreements embark on a war of aggression in South Vietnam and sabotage peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

After their defeats in China and Korea, the U.S. imperialists set about colluding with the French colonialists in an attempt to protract and expand the Indo-China war. Their purpose was to oust the French, monopolize Indo-China and turn it into a new-type colony and military base with a view to encircling the socialist camp, and curbing the national liberation movement in South-East Asia. In the period from 1950 to 1954 alone, they poured in 2,600 million dollars, hundreds of thousands of tons of arms, and dispatched a military mission of 200 "advisers" to help the

French army of aggression step up the war.

But because of their defeats in Indo-China, especially the pitiful defeat at Dien Bien Phu, and of their strong condemnation by world public opinion and of the powerful support extended by it to the just struggle of the Indo-Chinese peoples, the French and U.S. imperialists were compelled to attend the Geneva Conference.

Under the Geneva Agreements, the reunification of Vietnam through nationwide free general election to be held in July, 1956, is the fundamental and most important question related to the history, geography, culture and feelings of the whole Vietnamese people and having a close bearing on peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

Nevertheless the U.S. imperialists and their South Vietnamese agents have deliberately kept Vietnam partitioned, turned the provisional military demarcation line into a political and territorial boundary, a frontier separating two hostile countries. The Ngo Dinh Diem Administration acting on U.S. orders stubbornly rejected the well-meaning and reasonable proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for peaceful reunification of the country. Speaking in the United States in 1957, Ngo Dinh Diem himself blatantly declared that "the frontier of the United States extends to the 17th parallel." Normal relations between the two zones including movements across the demarcation line, postal, cultural and economic relations... have not been carried out.

In South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists and their agents held a "referendum" and faked elections, set up a sham "independent state," staged the farce of "deposition" of Bao Dai, made Ngo Dinh Diem "President of the Republic," and established an infamous reactionary fascist dictatorship. Under the signboard of "aid" the U.S. imperialists have poured into South Vietnam over four thousand million U.S. dollars, partly in arms and war materials and partly in unsold U.S. goods, with a view not only to establishing a tight grip over the entire economy of South Vietnam but also to fostering the repressive machine and building up military bases.

The Ngo Dinh Diem Administration made "anti-communism" a "State policy."

It carried out bloody suppression of all aspirations for democratic liberties, a better life, the implementation of the Geneva Agreements and peaceful reunification of the country; first and foremost, it put into practice a ferocious policy of terror and reprisal against former resistance members and patriots. These are gross violations of Article 14(c) of the Geneva Agreements. The Vietnamese people will never forget the monstrous crimes perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique against the people of South Vietnam ever since the restoration of peace: let us mention only the massacre of 47 former Resistance members in a single night in Duy Xuyen (Quang Nam province), the destruction of the whole Huong Dien village causing 92 casualties including 31 children and 32 women, the large-scale terroristic raids launched in Bien Hoa, Thu Dau Mot, Quang Ngai, the mass-poisoning of over 6,000 political detainees in the Phu Loi concentration camp which aroused world-wide condemnation. The U.S.—Diem Administration did not shrink from savagely torturing and secretly murdering former resistance members and patriots in South Vietnam, striking even at those who, simply, were not to its liking, such as the Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, Binh Xuyen sects. It applied medieval forms: gouging out of the eyes, disembowelling, cutting off the ears, burning of the limbs, beating of pregnant women into abortion; it also dragged the guillotine everywhere from cities to the countryside to behead patriots, and even went to the length of using poisons.

The fascist character of the regime instituted by the United States and its stooges, both old and new, is also revealed in the promulgation of fascist laws, such as Law No. 10/59 under Ngo Dinh Diem and Decree Law No. 93 under Nguyen Khanh—Nguyen Ton Hoan, the carrying out of the so-called "policy regarding former resistance members," the setting up of a network of prisons and concentration camps labelled "political re-education centres," "prosperity zones," "resettlement camps," "strategic hamlets," etc.

The policy of terror and reprisal against former resistance members and patriots has been carried out in the past ten years in an increasingly serious and frenzied manner, from Ngo Dinh Diem's "anti-communist" policy to Nguyen Khanh's "anti-neutralist and anti-communist" one. As a result, the people of South Vietnam have been denied the possibility of a quiet and peaceful existence, their lives have been under constant menace, elementary democratic freedoms trampled underfoot, and a most tense and critical situation has arisen.

In furtherance of the U.S. policy of war and aggression in Indo-China and South-East Asia, the U.S. imperialists and its stooges, formerly Ngo Dinh Diem, and now Nguyen Khanh—Nguyen Ton Hoan have ceaselessly striven to strengthen their military potential and to build military bases,

and have unleashed a new war in South Vietnam.

169 airfields have been built: 1,800 of them, seven have runways from 1,800 to over 3,000 metres in length (Tan Son Nhut, Bien Hoa, Cap St. Jacques, Tourane, Nha Trang, Phu Bai and Pleiku), a number are accessible to heavy aircraft and some others even to jet planes. The other airfields constitute a communication network for use in "mopping up" operations and strafing raids. It is worth recalling that in 1954, when peace was restored, there were only six military airfields in South Vietnam.

11 military ports have been repaired or newly built with modern installations, including big ones such as Nha Be, Qui Nhon, Cam Ranh, Nha Trang, Vung Ro, Dayot Port, St. Jacques Cape. The United States and the South Vietnam Administration are pushing ahead with the construction of many naval bases which are to form, together with those in the Philippines and Thailand, a network of U.S. naval bases in South-East Asia and the Pacific with the Seventh Fleet as the main force. The Nha Be military port formerly accessible only to ships up to 8,000 tons, is now accessible to over 10,000-ton naval craft, and its warehouses have a total capacity of 60,000 tons. It is also a U.S. fuel-supplying centre in South Vietnam.

A network of strategic roads has been established linking various towns and airbases of military ports and the High Plateaux of South Central Vietnam. It is also connected with important highways leading to Thailand via southern Laos.

In addition, a complete network of telecommunications has been set up, linking the U.S. Military Command in Saigon to the various localities of South Vietnam and to the U.S. Military Commands in Thailand, in the Pacific and in Washington.

For the sake of increased mobility and combat efficiency, frantic efforts have been made to build and strengthen the puppet army in the fields of effectiveness, equipment, military technique and tactics. From an insignificant number of defeated "local" battalions incorporated into the French Expeditionary Corps as existed when peace was restored, a 300,000-strong army was set up in 1961, whose strength was brought to 460,000 in 1963, including 270,000 regular soldiers, 100,000 civilian guards and 90,000 armed police.

In addition to this 460,000-strong standing army, para-military forces have been built up, including 100,000 militiamen and 200,000 combat youths. Since early 1964, after receiving a further U.S. grant of 50 million dollars, Nguyen Khanh has increased the strength of the regular army by 50,000, has incorporated the whole 100,000-strong civil guard into the regular forces, and has turned the combat youth force into militia and renamed it self-defence corps. The U.S. stooges' armed forces have thus reached the figure of over 600,000 men. It is to be recalled that during the Indo-China war, the French colonialists had at their command only 470,000 men for the whole peninsula.

However, this figure of over 600,000 is still considered insufficient, and recently Nguyen Khanh decreed compulsory military service for, and arming of all civil servants and private employees from the central down to regional levels.

In regard to the air force, the United States has so far brought into South Vietnam over 700 aircraft of various kinds from jet helicopters to supersonic bombers. (During the Indo-China war, the French colonialists commissioned only about 500 aircraft for the whole peninsula.)

The United States also sent in 350 naval craft of various kinds, 500 motor-launches, 450 armoured vehicles, especially amphibious vehicles M. 113, M. 114, M. 118.

A part of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Pacific has been sent cruising off South Vietnam's coasts.

In addition, the South Vietnam army has been equipped with modern weapons such as flame-throwers, self-propelled guns, napalm bombs, phosphorus bombs and shells, and noxious chemicals regarded as a means of war.

The strength of U.S. personnel in South Vietnam has been raised from 200 (strength of M.A.A.G.—Military Aid Advisory Group—set up in 1950 and illegally maintained in existence after the signing of the Geneva Agreements) to 3,500 at the end of 1961 and then to 25,000 at the end of 1963. Of this, over 5,000 are military advisers while the others have been organized into separate units belonging to various services, which engage in both combat and logistics duties, and have their own bases.

The puppet army and the U.S. "advisers" who from 1954 to 1961 were under the overall command of M.A.A.G., have been placed since February, 1962, under the U.S. Military Command in Saigon (M.A.C.) headed by General Harkins. This military command is working under the guidance of the U.S. Pacific Command and the U.S. Supreme War Council. The latter has held regular meetings in Honolulu (Headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Command) with a view to closely conducting the aggressive war in South Vietnam. To help it in this task,

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the U.S. Government has set up early this year an "Inter-Departmental Task Force for South Vietnam" headed by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Sullivan, and entrusted with studying and following the situation in South Vietnam.

Although no U.S. infantry unit has been formally committed so far, U.S. troops and Special Force and Air Force units have, as a matter of fact, taken a direct part in the operations not only in the field of tactical direction and fire support, but also in actual fighting. In addition, U.S. "military advisers" have been posted down to company and district levels to have a firm grip over the stooges and to command the fighting.

Since mid-1961, after the signing of the Johnson-Diem bilateral military treaty (May, 1961), the U.S. imperialists have formally unleashed a "special war" in South Vietnam, regarding that battlefield as a testing ground to draw experiences for the repression of the national liberation movement in other places. In the first stage of this "special war," they worked out a Staley-Taylor plan of strategic counter-offensive for "pacifying" South Vietnam in the main within 18 months ending December, 1962. Among others, the plan provided for the following concrete measures: increasing the mobility and combat power of the puppet army, stepping up terroristic operations, herding the people into "strategic hamlets," cutting off the guerrillas from the population, so as to defeat the patriotic forces, wresting back the lost initiative, passing on to the "pacification" of South Vietnam, and bringing about the required conditions for an eventual "attack" against North Vietnam.

With the commitment of 25,000 U.S. troops and a puppet army over half a million strong along with the introduction of considerable quantities of war materials, the "special war" unleashed by the United States in South Vietnam has reached large proportions for its kind, and is the only hot war going on in the world since the end of the war in Algeria.

According to still incomplete statistics, from July, 1961, to May, 1964, the U.S. imperialists and their stooges launched throughout South Vietnam more than 90,000 "mopping up" operations of various sizes lasting from one week to two or three months, and having as targets not only one province but even three or five provinces at a time. Their purpose was to gnaw at the liberated zone, and to encircle and wipe out the people's armed forces. To this end, they stuck at nothing and committed all kinds of crimes: napalm-bombing, use of rockets, phosphorus bombs and shells, destruction of many villages, as was the case at Ap Bac, That Son, noxious chemicals-spraying as in the High Plateaux and in the Nam Bo Plain, mixing up of poisons with foodstuffs as in Quang Tri, Kontum, Tay Ninh, use of hounds, guns, gas and acids to disperse unarmed demonstrators as in the anti-Buddhist repression in Hue and Saigon. Since July, 1954, the policy of aggression and war, of repression, terror and reprisal carried out by the U.S. imperialists and their agents: Ngo Dinh Diem, Nguyen Khanh-Nguyen Ton Hoan has resulted in the following casualties: over 160,000 killed, over 680,000 invalidated by torture, over 37,000 detained; the victims include many old persons, women and children. The Vietnamese people are highly indignant at the crimes perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, which have aroused severe condemnation all over the progressive world. Lord Bertrand Russell, the outstanding British scientist, has called the aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam a "war of annihilation" like that of the Hitlerites in Eastern Europe and of the Japanese Militarists during World War II.

Scarcely had ink dried on the Geneva Agreements when contrary to Article 19, the U.S. imperialists enticed a number of countries to sign the Manila Treaty, setting up the S.E.A.T.O. aggressive bloc and overtly placing South Vietnam within its "protection area." Recently, they have openly called on member-countries of S.E.A.T.O. and N.A.T.O. as well as a number of others, viz., the United Kingdom, West Germany, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, the Philippines, Malaya, the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan—to help them in their aggression in South Vietnam and their sabotage of peace in South-East Asia. Under the traditional "anti-communist" signboard, they are trying to get out of their isolation, to associate their allies or satellites with their unavoidable defeats, and at the same time to deceive the U.S. and world peoples who are ever more strongly condemning the dirty war in South Vietnam.

In regard to the Kingdom of Laos, they have used local agents to foment a civil war, to sabotage the 1954 and then the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. Recently, they have engineered a "coup d'etat" and stepped up their attempts to wreck the tripartite National Union Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, and to oust the Neo Lao Haksat therefrom. Their purpose is to secure a tighter control over the situation, to change the neutrality status of Laos, and to rekindle the civil war in that country by way of support of their plans for expanded war in South Vietnam.

With regard to the Kingdom of Cambodia, on the one hand, the U.S. imperialists and their South Vietnamese agents have fostered the traitorous Khmer Serei clique of Son Ngoc Thanh with a view to using them to overthrow Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's Head of State, and to wreck the policy of peace and neutrality

persistently followed and defended by him. On the other hand, South Vietnamese troops under U.S. command have repeatedly launched intimidating attacks against the Cambodian territory, committing numerous bloody crimes against the Khmer people in the border areas, and undermining in a vicious manner the age-old solidarity between the Vietnamese and Khmer peoples living along the border between the two countries.

Vis-a-vis the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists and their agents have indulged in ceaseless provocations: frequent intrusions into its airspace and territorial waters, smuggling of spy-commando groups for sabotage activities against the peaceful labour of its people.

While continuously clamouring for "a March to the North" and attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, they have slanderously charged North Vietnam with "aggression" against South Vietnam, thus resorting to the trick of "the thief shouting: stop thief" in an attempt to conceal their sabotage of the Geneva Agreements and their aggression in South Vietnam, and mislead public opinion in the United States and in the world.

It is to be noted that the Nguyen Khanh clique in South Vietnam has recently entered into secret collusion with the Lao-tian agents of the United States to use Laos as a springboard for provocation and subversion against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and to create tension on the Vietnam-Laos border.

IV—The U.S. Imperialists have failed in the First Stage of the "Special War"—the Patriotic Movement in South Vietnam is steadily Developing and Consolidating.

It is no accident that the U.S. ruling circles, from Lyndon Johnson to Dean Rusk and McNamara, have often complained that the U.S. war of aggression in South Vietnam is a "long," "bitter" and "frustrating" one.

As a matter of fact, in their "special war" the U.S. imperialists have been encountering a fierce and valiant resistance from the people. The Staley-Taylor plan has gone bankrupt, and since early 1963, the United States and its agents have repeatedly sustained still heavier defeats. The failure of the Staley-Taylor plan marks the failure of the first and very important stage of the U.S. "special war." The strategy of lightning war and lightning victory, and that of herding millions of people into "strategic hamlets" in the hope of wiping out the patriotic forces have turned out to be incapable of withstanding the South Vietnamese people's strategy of protracted fight and all-sided political and armed people's struggle.

The defeats suffered by the U.S. imperialists at Ap Bac (January 2, 1963) and other places since the beginning of 1963 mark the failure of a whole tactics—that of lightning commando actions involving the use of helicopters and amphibious tanks. The new U.S. tactics relying on the use of "armoured vehicles" and "helicopters" have proved more and more ineffective, in view of the great number of helicopters shot down, and also of the fact that it is no easy task for amphibious vehicles to break into the positions of the guerrillas expert in "hit-and-run" attacks.

The military defeats have increased the confusion and disarray in the ranks of the puppets whose internal contradictions have sharpened and whose regime totters and weakens further. The U.S. imperialists tried to solve this political crisis in order to avert the military one. To this end, they engineered two coups d'etat in succession within three months. In overthrowing Ngo Dinh Diem on November 1, 1963, by the hands of Duong Van Minh and his military junta, they had hoped that the new agents would be able to rally more forces, and to step up the war of aggression. But after Ngo Dinh Diem was overthrown and killed, the situation far from being stabilized, further deteriorated. The bickerings and rivalries among the new agents engaged in fierce squabbles about their respective merits and an acute scramble for power further sharpened their contradictions.

The "anti-communist" forces built up by the United States and Ngo Dinh Diem over the last nine years, were torn to shreds by the people. The "special war" went from bad to worse. This led the United States to have Duong Van Minh hurriedly toppled by the Nguyen Khanh clique on January 30, 1964. But this resulted in further aggravating the instability of the situation. The stooge administration at district and village levels grew increasingly paralyzed. The puppet army showed signs of lowering morale and increasing weariness. The trends to peace and neutrality, and against war developed day by day. On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists' internal contradictions also increased because of their repeated defeats in South Vietnam, and also because the reticence initially shown by their allies in regard to the South Vietnam war had grown into actual indifference and coolness. Meanwhile, the American masses are more and more strongly opposed to this war which has been squandering away American lives and resources and has seriously damaged the prestige and honour of the United States. The U.S. imperialists have been driven into grave isolation. That is the reason why at the S.E.A.T.O. and N.A.T.O. Conference held on April 13, and May 12, 1964, respectively, they ceaselessly called on their Eastern and Western allies to support their policy of aggression in South Vietnam; however, the responses they got were not very eager.

The endless crises and defeats suffered by the U.S. imperialists and their agents con-

stitute the inevitable all-round crisis and failure of their neo-colonialist policy in South Vietnam.

Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists have not given up their aggressive designs in South Vietnam. In the statement made by Kennedy on October 2, 1963, after McNamara's third inspection tour of South Vietnam, they still contemplated to defeat the people's patriotic movement in South Vietnam within two years. Immediately after his assumption of office as President of the United States, L. Johnson, Kennedy's successor, bluntly stated: "This nation will keep its commitments from South Vietnam to West Berlin." And the recent moves by the United States to secure the participation of its allies in the South Vietnam war are clear expression of its dark designs to step up and expand it.

As far as they are concerned, the people of South Vietnam along with the people all over the country, fought during long years against the French colonialists for independence and democracy. At present, in the face of the U.S. imperialists' acts of aggression and their agents' betrayal, they have risen up in struggle for their own life, for independence, freedom and peace. With their intense hatred for the U.S. aggressors, their ardent patriotism, and their traditions of unity and unbending struggle, workers, peasants and other labouring people, intellectuals and students, business and industrial circles, religious sects and nationalities in South Vietnam have, in spite of ruthless repression, developed a mass patriotic upsurge. A broad national united front against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their agents has come into being: the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation. Born on December 20, 1960, it has soon become a rallying centre and an inspiring banner for the 14 million South Vietnamese. The Front has carried aloft the banner of independence and democracy, and has worked out a correct programme of struggle for the overthrow of the disguised colonial regime of the U.S. imperialists and its puppet administration, the establishment of a broad national democratic coalition government, the achieving of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, and subsequently, the peaceful reunification of the country.

Under its banner, the people of South Vietnam have engaged in both political and armed struggle, closely combining the two forms. After a test of strength of nearly three years with the U.S. "special war," the movement of political and armed struggle, the political and armed forces, far from being wiped out, have been steadily developed and consolidated. The Staley-Taylor plan—that is, the first stage of the U.S. "special war"—has been foiled and the United States and its agents have been driven into a passive and awkward position, and a serious military and political crisis.

According to still incomplete statistics, since 1960, the armed forces and people of South Vietnam have put out of action over 250,000 enemy troops—comprising those killed, wounded, taken prisoner, and those who had crossed over to the people's side, and including more than 1,500 U.S. officers and men; they shot down or damaged nearly 1,000 aircraft of various denominations, blew up nearly 100 trains, destroyed over 2,000 amphibious armoured cars and military trucks, and a big quantity of enemy weapons, burnt down many important petrol dumps, annihilated a great number of enemy posts, expanded the areas under the control of the Front, and captured tens of thousands of weapons for their own equipment. Another major achievement is the foiling in the main of the U.S. policy of herding the population into "strategic hamlets." So far, out of 8,000 "strategic hamlets" set up, 80 per cent have been destroyed by the population.

Along with the successes won in the field of armed struggle, big successes have been recorded in the political field. The struggles staged have drawn a total attendance of over 100 million. In the countryside and in the highlands, the movement has centred around the demands for democratic liberties and a better life and against the concentration of the people into "strategic hamlets and blocks," the movement has been directed against the press-gang of manpower and soldiers, the dissemination of slavish culture; demands have also been put forward for freedom of the press, for the development of national industries, etc. In many places, the people sometimes launched open struggles against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, and for their withdrawal. If, until 1962, the United States and its agents had only to face the movement in the countryside, since 1963, the struggle has extended to towns and cities, involving in particular labouring people, youth, students, intellectuals, and Buddhist believers, and the U.S. imperialists have thus grown still more embarrassed. Many demonstrations have been staged with the participation of hundreds of thousands of people such as those held in protest against the anti-Buddhist repressions, and particularly the mammoth demonstration of over 700,000 inhabitants of Saigon-Cholon. This has evidenced the new upsurge of political struggle in towns and cities, so far considered as "secure" by the U.S. aggressors.

Along with victories in the field of armed and political struggle, the Front has also won many successes in the expansion and consolidation of the liberated areas. This constitutes a basic factor which has brought about an unprecedented development of the

guerilla movement. As a result, there is now neither rear nor frontline for the enemy which may be surprise-attacked and inflicted heavy losses at any time and place in South Vietnam. The artillery shelling of Soc Trang airfield resulting in the destruction of over 50 U.S. aircraft, the mine and grenade attacks by guerrillas causing many casualties among U.S. officers in the heart of Saigon and other cities, the sinking of the aircraft carrier "CARD" in the military harbour of Saigon, these are evidence of the vigorous growth of the guerilla movement in South Vietnam.

At present, the front has secured complete control over two-thirds of the territory with a population of over seven million (out of South Vietnam's 14 million inhabitants). The basic question of any national democratic revolution, i.e. that of land, land rents, and interest rates is being tackled step by step. Over 1.5 million hectares of land have been temporarily distributed to landless and landhungry peasants. Members of the South Vietnam Administration and Armed forces also received their shares which are given to their families. The problems of education, culture, public health and the social evils left over by the old regime are being gradually dealt with. The Front's policy with regard to the question of unity among the various nationalities and religions has been successfully implemented.

All this has resulted in a steady swelling of the Front's ranks and a continuous increase of its prestige and influence. 23 patriotic organisations and political parties representing various social strata and classes, nationalities, religions and political tendencies from rural and mountainous areas to towns and cities have rallied and struggled under its banner. In this connection, mention must also be made of the Liberation Army and the people's self-defence armed forces, which, animated by genuine patriotism, have steadily developed into an invincible force. The people of South Vietnam are proud of the self-denying and valiant fighting spirit of their armed forces.

The prestige and influence of the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation in the world are also on the increase. Progressive mankind, including the American people, has unceasingly expressed its active sympathy and support for the Front and the holy patriotic struggle of the people of South Vietnam—while condemning the U.S. imperialists' violation of the Geneva Agreements, and demanding that they withdraw from South Vietnam, put an end to the war of aggression there, that a peaceful solution be found to the South Vietnam question, and that the South Vietnam affairs be settled by the people of South Vietnam themselves.

Particular mention must be made of the courageous struggle of the American people, U.S. intellectuals, personalities, clergymen, youth, students, women and Congressmen against the U.S. Government's policy of war and aggression. The emergence in the United States of such organisations as the "Committee for an end to U.S. intervention in South Vietnam," the "May 2nd Committee" set up by Haverford University students . . . shows that the people of South Vietnam are not alone in their struggle, and that justice and victory are on their side. At the same time, it is a manifestation of the joint action between the American people and the people of South Vietnam in the struggle against the common enemy, bellicose and aggressive U.S. imperialism which has inflicted calamities on the people not only of South Vietnam but also of the United States, and is endangering world peace.

Since December, 1961, the Front and its member-organisations have sent 32 delegations to visit 19 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. They have been admitted to ten international and regional organisations, and have attended in the capacity of full members 31 conferences of such organisations. Six of these have elected representatives of the Front to their Executive Committees.

Five international organisations have set up international committees to express solidarity and support for the people of South Vietnam. Permanent representations of the Front have been established in Cuba, Algeria, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic. At the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Congress meeting in Moshi (Tanganyika) in February, 1963, a representative of the Front was elected member of the Standing Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council stationed in Cairo (United Arab Republic).

In their international activities, the Delegations of the Liberation Front have on many occasions issued joint declarations and statements with other delegations, pledging increased unity and mutual support in the struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, for national liberation and world peace. Five international organisations and many countries have extended not only moral support, but also material aid to the people of South Vietnam in terms of money, medicines, medical equipment, school material, clothing, and have offered to take care of the wounded and sick armymen of the Front as well as the children of its officials and armymen.

As far as it is concerned, the Liberation Front, ever since its founding, has constantly voiced its sympathy and support for the world movements of struggle for national liberation, peace, democracy and social progress, for disarmament, and a ban on nuclear tests. Of the greatest practical significance is its action in leading the people of South Vietnam to wage a resolute fight against aggression to thwart the U.S. imperialists' test "special war" and frustrate their hopes of drawing experiences

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AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

ACT NOW AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

RECENT events in Vietnam aroused the people of Britain to consciousness of the role being played by the United States forces in South East Asia. Prime Minister Home in hastening to assure the Washington Government of support in its aggression has met with anger and realisation of the results of the close tie-up of Britain and American policies is being questioned.

Attempts to portray the activities of the United States forces in South East Asia as "defensive" fall to the ground as soon as facts are considered. Knowledge of the true situation must be widely publicised so that the broadest opposition is created to the Government's support for the aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

After nine years of bitter fighting, French Imperialism was defeated in Indo China and by the 1954 Geneva Agreements, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam were recognised as reborn independent, sovereign nations. The Agreements were reached after discussions under the co-chairmanship of Britain and the U.S.S.R. with representatives of 14 nations. We, in Britain, therefore, have a special responsibility to see that the decisions taken in 1954 are carried out. Washington refused to sign but pledged not to use force or threat of force to disturb them. In fact the United States imperialists from the very outset set out to divide Vietnam and with the use of hirelings such as Ngo Dinh Diem, supported with cash and violence, they succeeded in dividing the country and have set up a puppet controlled South Vietnam.

This fact has been buried under heaps of statements of "defending democracy," "looking after American interests," etc. The truth is that a demarcation line was set at the 17th parallel to enable the French to withdraw their forces in 1954 and I quote from the Agreements in relation to this:—"This military line shall in no way be considered a political or territorial boundary." It was to exist for two years only. Washington, as clearly shown, is the sole aggressor, and has brought about the division of Vietnam by armed force. The people of Vietnam demonstrate their hostility to this by organising themselves to fight for their liberation. That America stands alone condemned for her aggression in Vietnam is confirmed by such a statement as the following: In Washington on July 15th at a News Conference, Defence Secretary McNamara admitted that "he knows of no instance of infiltration of organised North Vietnam troops into the South" and this in spite of continuous provocation to infiltrate North Vietnam and the Chinese mainland. The entry into the Gulf of Tonkin is just one recent example of these provocations and a glance at the map will prove more than words can do just how adventurous such actions are.

In spite of untold violence and slaughter of the population (estimates are that already 1 million have died), the United States imperialists cannot win this war.

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for the suppression of other nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, for an expansion of the war and the wrecking of world peace. Therefore, ever closer ties have developed between the *South Vietnam National Front of Liberation* and the peoples of the world in the common cause of national independence, peace, democracy and socialism.

V—The only correct way to Peaceful Settlement of the South Vietnam Question: the U.S. Imperialists and the South Vietnam Administration must respect and strictly implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

Public opinion in the United States and the world has raised strong protest against the U.S. war of aggression in South Vietnam which constitutes a serious act of sabotage of the 1954 Geneva Agreements as well as a menace to peace in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the world, and it has shown constant concern in the peaceful settlement of the South Vietnam question.

In this connection, as President Ho Chi Minh solemnly stated in the Special Political Conference held in Hanoi on March 27, 1964, the consistent stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people is as follows:

The only correct solution to the South Vietnam question lies in the respect and correct implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. The participants

Washington's allies draw back and even in the United States itself where the burden of taxation for the war in Vietnam grows ever larger, there is disquiet. We must draw the lessons from this unjust war so that we can learn to combat the lies and distortions and win honest people to protest against the involvement of our country in the United States aggressions.

1. The fact emerges clearly . . . there are no "reasonable" or "wild" men in the Washington Government. Each President continues to carry out the policy of U.S. Imperialism. If you consider Johnson a "reasonable" man how about this . . . Daily Express, 18th August, 1964 . . . Paris. "President Johnson in a message to the French today said he is convinced America is 'on the right track' in pushing forward the war against the Communists in South Vietnam."

2. Another fact . . . The Test Ban Treaty which was supposed to be a first step towards disarmament has in no way stopped aggression but in fact since its signing, arms expenditure and the up-keep of "advisers" has soared.

3. Marxists state that those called upon to fight wars of liberation are entitled to the support of the whole Socialist camp for their struggle is against those who seek to conquer the world to exploit the people and open up markets so that they may live on the super profits thus won. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is part of the fight of peace loving forces throughout the world.

Again and again the forces of United States imperialism suffer set-backs. They cannot win in Vietnam nor in South East Asia. To shorten the ordeal of those who fight for the independence of their countries from the yoke of imperialism, we must arouse the people of Britain to force our Government to disengage itself from support in whatever form it is given to Washington.

This we can do by passing resolutions in trade union branches and other organisations of the people. Sending telegrams to U Thant, Prime Minister Home, the U.S. President, demanding that the war must cease.

Calling for the reconvening of the 14 Nations Conference to reinforce the decisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

A little has been done along the above lines. We can do much more to bring the victory of the Vietnamese people nearer.

PEGGY PINCKHEARD

in the Geneva Conference, especially the United States, must live up to their pledges to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, and to refrain from any interference in its internal affairs. Like the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the South Vietnam Administration must correctly implement the most essential provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements about not entering into any military alliance with foreign countries, not allowing any foreign country to establish military bases, not admitting foreign troops, military personnel, arms and war materials into its territory.

The South Vietnam question must be solved by the people of South Vietnam themselves on the basis of national independence, democracy, peace, and neutrality as put forth by the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation; as a prerequisite, the U.S. Government must put an immediate end to its war of aggression, withdraw from South Vietnam all its troops and military personnel along with its weapons and other war materials.

With regard to the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has on many occasions made clear its stand and views in keeping with the spirit of the Programme of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, namely: "We must take into account the real situation in the two zones, the interests and legitimate aspirations of all sections of the population. At the same time, we must

IN THE August Vanguard the editorial "Isolate the main enemy," stated "It is good that several national bourgeois governments in Asia, Africa and Latin America are resisting, in varying degrees, the aggression of United States, and also British, imperialism, and are willing to lean, to a degree, and for a time, on the forces of Socialism, in this struggle against imperialism. For we must seek to win vacillating classes for the anti-imperialist struggle. We must never drive them into the arms of the enemy. The supreme tactical task at the present time is to develop the struggle against imperialism, and in particular United States imperialism, the main bulwark of reaction."

This is only to restate what is agreed by Marxist-Leninists in this present period. Thus, in a *Proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement*, published by the Communist Party of China, we read, p.4, "The general line of the international communist movement at the present stage [my italics, M.McC.] . . . is one of forming a broad united front, with the Socialist camp and the international proletariat as its nucleus, to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries headed by the United States; it is a line of *boldly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces, and isolating the reactionary forces* [my italics, M.McC]."

It is clear that the *main* contradiction in Africa today, is "the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism" [A proposal, p.6], and that, in "the nationalistic countries which have recently won political independence . . . generally speaking [my italics M.McC] . . . the bourgeoisie have a dual character. When a united front is formed with the bourgeoisie, the policy of the proletarian party should be one of both unity and struggle. The policy should be to unite with the bourgeoisie, in so far as they tend to be progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but to struggle against their reactionary tendencies to compromise and collaborate with imperialism and the forces of feudalism [A proposal, pages 16 & 17]."

However, if we re-examine some of the articles on Africa published in recent months in Vanguard, we find some passages in them which reflect a left-sectarian line of argument. Thus, in the March issue there is *Events in East Africa*. This concludes, "The African workers and peasants will resist, even as they resisted and broke the chains of the imperialists—a far stronger enemy than these traitors [Nyerere, Mboya, etc.]. There is one road, and only one road, for the African people: the road to Socialism. To carry forward the best that was in their tribal society, the closeness of each man to his brother, their readiness to share their bread to the last crumb. Long live the struggle of Africans for Socialism! Down with imperialism, neo-imperialism and all traitors!"

But the African workers and peasants have *not yet* broken "the chains of the imperialists," and for this reason alone it is completely premature to call on them to struggle for Socialism at the present time. A moment's thought makes it clear that until the chains of imperialism have been broken, and the national democratic tasks completed [e.g. the land to the peasants] that Socialism cannot be built in any African country. To call for the introduction of Socialism *now* is to drive all vacillating classes into the arms of the imperialists—and that would include wide sections of the peasantry as well as the national bourgeoisie. The final concluding appeal, "long live the struggle of Africans for Socialism! Down with imperialism, neo-imperialism and all traitors!" by what it omits reveals a sectarian line. For we must appeal at all times to all vacillating classes to join us in the struggle against imperialism, and expose them when they fail to do this. But we cannot class as "traitor" everyone who does not fight for Socialism in this present period.

This is not to argue that the working class and its Party must not persistently conduct its general propaganda for socialism, persistently point out that only in a Socialist society can the needs of working people be met. Such propaganda, the constant reiteration of the full and final

conduct negotiations to arrange the holding of free general elections in order to achieve national unity without either side trying to exert pressure on, or trying to annex the other."

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unreservedly supports the four emergency policies proclaimed by the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation on the occasion of July 20, 1962, the six urgent demands put forward in its statement of November 7, 1963, and Point 9 of the programme of action it made public at the time of its founding.

The Vietnamese people are constantly desirous of entertaining friendly and fraternal relations with the American people, a people known for their traditions of independence, freedom, peace, democracy and social justice, for whom the war" of aggression, the U.S. imperialists have not only brought sufferings and people of South Vietnam have great respect

goal, Socialism, the first stage of Communism, must continue at all times. And, of course, when the working class joins with the poor peasants in winning leadership of all sections of the people who are struggling against imperialism, and they establish their national democratic dictatorship against the imperialists and their agents, then it will be possible to move comparatively quickly from the completion of the struggle for national liberation, to the completion of the national democratic tasks, and on to the building of Socialism. This has been the way forward in Albania, in China, in Korea, in Vietnam, in Cuba, and this, in essentials, will be the way forward in Africa.

Right opportunism tends always to play down the *continuity* of the revolution. Left sectarianism tends always to ignore the stages through which the revolution must develop. Both right opportunism and Left sectarianism, if unchecked, lead to disaster. The fact that right opportunism, developing into outright revisionism of Marxist-Leninist principles, is the main danger within the international communist movement at the present time must not blind us to the dangers of Left-sectarianism. Both play into the hands of the imperialists and harm the cause of the working class.

Take one more example, the article headed "No third road for Africa," in the April issue. We read, "But of more evil, of greater villainy, are the actions of these black traitors [Kenyatta, Mboya, etc.] to their own people. These men are taking no steps whatsoever to introduce socialism into their countries . . . Let us have no illusions, Africans can take the capitalist road or the socialist road . . . The African petty-bourgeoisie can greatly aid the people in the struggle forward towards Socialism, and in the necessary task of unmasking traitors, in fighting the swindle of small land-ownership . . . Let [Kenyatta and other stooges of imperialism] take warning before it is too late; the African people are on the march towards Socialism; the people who drove out imperialism will not have too much trouble in dealing with those who would hinder the march or turn it aside. Long live the struggle of our African brothers for Socialism!"

But once again Marxists can only reply that the Africans have *not yet* driven out imperialism, and therefore to talk of "introducing socialism" at the present time, before imperialism has been ousted, and the national democratic tasks completed, is both completely unrealistic and drives all vacillating classes into the arms of imperialism. Those who do not stand for socialism in Africa today are not, repeat not, all "traitors." The very small African working class would completely alienate itself from broad masses of the people if it advanced this line at the present time. It is a pernicious line which must be rejected. It directly challenges the general line of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and Groups throughout the world, which is "to form a broad united front," with the Socialist camp and the international proletariat as its nucleus, to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries . . . boldly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces, and isolating the reactionary forces." Only by implementing this general line correctly can we move forward to victory against imperialism, to the completion of the national democratic tasks, and then to the building of socialism, which alone can satisfy the needs of the oppressed masses throughout the world.

MICHAEL MCCREERY, Secretary
Committee to defeat Revisionism
for Communist Unity

and esteem. By unleashing the "undeclared mourning to the people of South Vietnam, and created a menace to world peace, but have also squandered away American blood and money, and besmeared the prestige and honour of the United States. The Vietnamese people are grateful to the peoples of the socialist countries, the freedom, peace and justice-loving peoples the world over and hail the American people, intellectuals, personalities, clergymen, youths, students, women and workers, and warmly appreciate their struggle for: the ending of the South Vietnam war, the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops, arms and other war materials, a peaceful settlement of the South Vietnam question, and respect for the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam on the part of the U.S. Government which must let the people of South Vietnam settle themselves their own affairs.

[Reprinted from the Vietnam Courier]

MEETING IN MILAN

ON the 7th June, 1964, "Nuova Unità" promoted a meeting for all Italian Marxist-Leninists based on adherence to the "Proposals for a Platform for the Marxist-Leninists of Italy," and of work around our journal for the victory of Marxism-Leninism which is developing in all the regions. Present were 62 delegates from groups in addition to 15 others, including the platform and comrades invited to the meeting. Groups unable to send a representative sent messages of support from Calabria, Lucania, Trapani, Messina, Naples, Avellino, Portosangiorgio and Rovigo, while several elderly comrades like Comrades Orzali and Moraghi whose lives have been devoted to the revolutionary struggle, also sent warm and moving letters of encouragement for the struggle which we are conducting.

The first person to speak was **Comrade Mario Geymonat**, who was given the task by the Editorial Board of "Nuova Unità" of organising the meeting. First, he proposed to call to the platform all the members of the Editorial Board, and then he proposed as Chairman of the meeting, Comrade Franco Molfese. Comrade Geymonat then gave a list of groups represented at the meeting including among others, from the province of Piedmont the Turin group; from the province of Lombardy the Milan, Pavia, Sondrio, Cremona and Brescia groups; from the province of Emilia, the Bologna, Ravenna, Rimini and Reggio groups; from the province of Tuscany the Florence, Prato, Pisa, Leghorn and Castelfiorentino groups; and other groups from Fermo, Rome, Frosinone, Salerno, Bari, Foggia, Palermo and Gagliari. After a brief report related to the expenses of the meeting, he announced that the journal had reached a circulation of 30,000 copies and 850 subscriptions. He then quoted the example of the comrades of Sesto Fiorentino who obtained a further 50 subscriptions to our journal, as a reply to the disciplinary provisions that the revisionists are taking against them. It is of the utmost importance to spread ever wider the diffusion of the journal, and this aim requires the creation and strengthening of an ever-increasing number of regional and provincial offices of "Nuova Unità." The tasks of the local offices will be above all, to develop and co-ordinate the Marxist-Leninist movement in the various provinces and regions. Letters, articles, etc., will be sent to the journal and when published, they will constitute the patrimony and common experience of all the Italian comrades. The strengthening of the journal and the possibility of soon turning it into a fortnightly and then a weekly is bound up with the development of a more efficient network of organisation, diffusion and collaboration.

Comrade Franco Molfese was then unanimously elected Chairman of the meeting. He thanked all the comrades in attendance, some of them having come long distances and having made great sacrifices in terms of money and labour.

He then introduced **Comrade Ugo Duse**, editor of "Nuova Unità," to give the report. Born in 1926, joined the party in 1944, he was a partisan fighter and Assistant Secretary of the Federation of Rovigo from 1946 to 1953. He has also been a member of the National Organisation Commission (1951) and of the Regional Committee of Lombardy (1953-4) and has undergone numerous trials for his revolutionary activity. In the past few years he took part in the formation of the "Viva il Leninismo" group, and was expelled from the P.C.I. in November, 1962, for serious political disagreements with the revisionist leadership.

Comrade Duse explained how the editorial office of the journal came to organise the meeting. He examined the situation existing inside the Party several years ago after the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. There were many attitudes of open criticism of the revisionist line of the P.C.I. which just after the 22nd Congress threw off the mask stating precisely its position with the document of the Secretariat of 27-11-61. At the same time, there was a revival of the Trotskyist movement, aided and borne up by the same P.C.I.

There were many delusions inside the Party at that time. There was a sense of expectancy, that those comrades with long revolutionary training would become promoters of a radical criticism of the social democratic line of the P.C.I. They did not. It was in this situation that the "Viva il Leninismo" group at Padua and almost at the same time, the "Lenin Centre" at Milan, came into existence. With the support of other groups with which they soon established close links of collaboration, was

born a new journal as a centre of political organisation and orientation.

Comrade Ugo Duse went on to relate what were the reactions produced by the issue of the journal, pointing out the importance assumed by the organisational network created by "Edizioni Oriente" in their meritorious action of the circulation of the positions of the Chinese comrades. The many points raised, helped us in the formulation of that political-organisational line, which on the basis of the "Platform," must orientate us in the following political actions soon to be undertaken:

- Development of the journal with the collaboration of all Marxist-Leninist groups, so that it may, as soon as possible, become a fortnightly.
- Constitution of Marxist groups inside the factories. The demobilisation of the P.C.I. took place with the acceptance of the suppression of factory cells. These groups must intervene in all workers' struggles taking place, making autonomous political-T.U. contributions.
- Constitution of regional committees linked with "Nuova Unità."

After a brief interval, Comrade Molfese read out some messages of support, among which was a letter from **Comrade Golias** of Monza, member of the Party since 1936, ex-inmate of Buchenwald concentration camp, who wrote:

"I send my unconditional support for all decisions which the Italian Marxist-Leninists render opportune and necessary, including the support of a group of comrades in Monza. Long live the glorious struggle of Marxist-Leninists all over the world."

Comrade Oliviero Graneri of Siderno Marittima (Reggio Calabria), ex-political prisoner in concentration camps in Germany, wrote:

"It is with profound sadness that because of my state of health I cannot be present, to have the joy of meeting comrades from the other parts of Italy. The struggle will be long and difficult, but as on a foggy day, the irrepressible wind disperses the unbreatheable air, so the fog of revision and opportunism will likewise be cleared away by the fresh wind of Marxism-Leninism."

The Chairman then announced the delegate of the Genoa group, **Comrade Fernando Pucci**, who joined the Party in 1940, was a member of the Genoa Federal Committee and of the National Council of the A.N.P.I. (National Association of Italian Partisans).

Comrade Pucci told the meeting how the first Marxist Leninist groups were formed in Genoa, recording the principal stages of their development, from the foundation of groups of friends of China, to adherence to the platform of "Nuova Unità," then on to struggle conducted inside and outside the revisionist party.

Next speaker was **Comrade Salvatore Piombo**, delegate from Palermo, Assistant Secretary of the Lenin Branch of the P.C.I., who recalled the experiences of struggle in Palermo on 8-7-60, the pusillanimity and sell-out of the revisionists and the heroic struggles and deaths of generous comrades.

Comrade Marino Gambi, who spoke on behalf of the comrades of Bologna and Ravenna, examined various aspects of the anti-capitalist and anti-revisionist struggle in the context of the present economic and political situation in the Province of Emilia.

The deepening of the economic crisis brought about an embitterment of the struggle of the working masses.

In Bologna, following a massive series of sackings at the Scarnie foundry, the workers occupied the plant for over a month. However, the courage of the workers was not matched by a corresponding courage on the part of the T.U. leaders, continually caught by surprise by the turn of events. These signs of weakness were responsible for a notable pre-occupation of the working masses. But the open struggle inside Scarnie is just one visible aspect of the continuous, plodding, consuming class struggle taking place inside individual enterprises. In Ravenna, inside the public and private industrial complexes, nobody bothers to count any more the cases of warnings, punishments and dismissals of Marxist workers. And such repressive operations nearly always succeed due to the weakness of local T.U. organisations. These facts are not just typical of Ravenna and Bologna, because the same thing applies all over

Italy and indicates how hard and without quarter the struggle against capitalism is.

But with what force does the proletariat go into this very hard struggle? Nearly always with its strength disorganised and split, with no effective support from the P.C.I. or the T.U.s. In fact, in the hands of Togliatti, the P.C.I. is being transformed into a huge church, into an electoral organisation with nothing truly revolutionary left in it. This phenomenon is very evident in Bologna, where through inter-class manoeuvres, the P.C.I. has even obtained the support of traditionally conservative sections. The most visible consequence of these manoeuvres to keep the trappings of office at any cost, is the internal struggle between various factions at the top to decide the successor to Mayor Dozza. Such intriguing is worthy of a conservative party like the Christian Democrats, but certainly not of a Marxist party.

The next speaker was **Comrade Tullio Magnani** of the Pavia group. After examining our strength among the comrades of the Necchi and other major factories of Pavia, and underlining the sympathy which our movement has among the University students, Comrade Magnani spoke of the possibility of developing our actions in the Province of Pavia, and in particular, in Lomellina, very rich in revolutionary, peasant tradition. Unfortunately, after revisionist attempts to eliminate from the political struggle just those comrades who have fought and suffered the most, many comrades are now in a state of apathetic resignation and profound demoralisation.

The next speaker was **Comrade Franco Cascavilla** of the Foggia group, a young comrade recently expelled from the Party for his Marxist-Leninist position. Bringing the greetings of the comrades of Capitanata, Comrade Cascavilla read out the resolution of the recently constituted Marxist-Leninist centre of Capitanata.

The next speaker was **Comrade Manlio Donati** of the Marx-Lenin-Stalin Circle of Rome, a P.C.I. member as far back as 1923. Comrade Donati examined the actual political situation, showing the necessity for speeding up to the maximum the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against the capitalists and revisionists. For Marxist-Leninists, revolution and socialism is not a problem of tomorrow to be resolved through the sweet "Italian Road" of Togliatti, but is an immediate objective. T.U. struggles, strikes, occupations of factories and demonstrations must have a clear Marxist-Leninist political objective. If they are only limited to support for a reformist parliamentary policy, these struggles will be altogether sterile and unproductive.

Next was **Comrade Dino Meoni** of Prato, joined P.C.I. in 1929, persecuted anti-fascist, partisan fighter and ex-Secretary of the "Camera del Lavoro" of Avellino. Comrade Meoni examined the position of many comrades still in the P.C.I. at Prato, the numerous difficulties that it is necessary to overcome for the constitution of a new party above all in relation to the great tradition of struggle in the P.C.I. and of the aspirations of all the workers for unity. He emphasised the necessity of working both inside and outside the revisionist party, forming outside the P.C.I. a committee to co-ordinate and support struggle inside the Party. He then appealed for an intensification of the work of clarification which "Nuova Unità" must apply to problems of class struggle. The revisionists search for the most shameful compromises in order to have the possibility of inserting themselves in the left-centre coalition. Thus, very often, also within the experience of Prato comrades, strikes and T.U. actions go ahead outside the radius of revisionist slogans. Finally, he dealt with the continuous loss of moral prestige of the revisionist apparatus, also due to the lies they tell about the policy of the Chinese comrades and other Marxist-Leninists. Several revisionists of Prato even went as far as to condemn the partisan war of Laos, saying that "the Chinese want war." But just these lies they tell, induce more and more comrades to re-form in groups faithful to Marxism-Leninism, and to take up again themselves the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Italian proletariat.

Next speaker was **Comrade Bressan**, ex-Secretary of the Camera del Lavoro of Trieste, and delegate of the Lenin Centre of Milan. He described the framework of contradiction within the working class between its enormous and explicit potential for struggle and power, and the subjective incapacity of its official organisations to unify and utilize this potential, even on the plane of their immediate and particular interests and struggles. Reformism and revisionism are in fact incapable either of resolving contradictions between bourgeoisie and proletariat or of defending the immediate interests of the masses.

The working class is alienating itself more and more from its political and T.U. organisations and at the same time, tends to organise itself in new political class forms.

In effect, as much as the revisionist and reformist leaders become corrupt integrating themselves in the system of exploitation, so much do they tend to dissolve and disintegrate the strength of the

working class. The famous "articulations of struggle" are nothing more than the reduction of their objectives to dimensions acceptable to the capitalist system.

Following the falling apart of the P.C.I. factory groups, the only forms of working class organisation remaining in the factories are the Works Councils and T.U.s, incapable by their nature and leadership of unifying working class struggles and of utilizing these struggles in accordance with a revolutionary line against the bourgeois structure. The failure or the ephemeral success of the workers' struggles in the last years, has demonstrated and demonstrates all the more the impotence of the actual structure of working class struggle. While, on the one hand, the revisionist line has caused numerous groups of workers to become passive and discouraged, on the other hand, it has made more acute the contradictions between the desire for united struggle by the most advanced groups of workers and the capitulationist line of the official leadership. It is exactly in these contradictions where we must insert ourselves because it is precisely on this level that is born from the tough experience of struggles, the necessity, objective and subjective, historical and immediate, particular and general, of a new Marxist-Leninist organisation. Thus, our strategy and tactics come to coincide with our capacity to unify, organise and lead politically the working masses and their struggles.

Regarding our attitude towards the Works Councils, the T.U.s and the C.G.I.L. we have to appreciate that such organisations are still the only ones today which, in spite of their profoundly erroneous line, the working class recognises. Because of this, at the present moment, we must not fight against these organisations themselves, but inside them, we must denounce the capitulationist line, point out the errors made in the course of the struggles and show up their limits and functions, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. But that is not enough. We also need to propose, wherever we are, general lines and forms of struggle, more efficient, more advanced, more militant and above all, in the framework of a general revolutionary strategy. It will be by the dialectics of this our insertion, that there will be born in the midst of the masses the need for a new political guide, for a new party, and for new political factory organisations basing themselves on the scientific class analysis of Marxism-Leninism. Working class unity is not a unity at the top of T.U.s, nor is it a popular, democratic, anti-fascist unity, but a unity which the workers are compelled to realise, irrespective of their political, T.U. or religious allegiances, as a necessary condition for the success of any struggle.

Another speaker was **Comrade Montezani**, Secretary of the "Proletarian Group, July '60" of Milan and member of the delegation from "Edizioni Oriente" which recently visited People's China. He recorded the experiences of struggle against revisionism in the Lorenteggio and other Milan Branches of the P.C.I., where the most acute struggles are taking place now and will take place in the next few months.

The revolutionary push which comes from the whole country through T.U. and political struggles and the great experiences of the past, must be gathered together by the Marxist-Leninists who must enter decisively in the class struggle and take over the leadership.

Finally, he addressed a special greeting to the first 2 youth brigades "July '60," which were formed in the Lorenteggio district of Milan.

Another speaker was **Comrade Arturo Balestri**, delegate of Pisa, who joined the Party in 1943, was a member of the Federal Committee of the P.C.I. of Pisa, responsible member of the Agrarian Commission and editor of "Il Lavoratore," weekly of the Federation. He has recently been suspended for his Marxist-Leninist activity in the Porta Nuova (Pisa) Branch.

He said that those who put the accent on the need for a new party take into account the necessity to create the objective conditions for this step. Similarly, those who put the accent on inner-party struggle, also take into account the need for the creation of external poles in order to carry it forward. The internal struggle tends to blow itself out if it is not encouraged and directed by Marxist-Leninist groups who act as external poles. The unity created at this meeting in Milan which has brought together these two lines of struggle, constitutes an overcoming of a series of questions which have concerned us in our movement in these months.

He then spoke about the struggle conducted by Marxist-Leninists in Tuscany. Here the struggle inside the revisionist party has been carried forward to the extreme limits. The reaction of the revisionists has not been the same in all cases and has varied according to the particular situation. In Leghorn, for example, they tried to minimize the importance of the fact that a Marxist-Leninist comrade from that city has been to People's China at the head of the delegation from "Edizioni Oriente." They also put pressure on comrades and tried to intimidate them. In

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INNER PARTY STRUGGLE

EXTRACTS FROM "ON INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE"
by LIU-SHAO-CHI

"INNER-PARTY struggles are a reflection of the class struggles outside the Party . . . Therefore, such inner-Party struggle is absolutely necessary and cannot be avoided . . . Inner-Party struggles consist principally of ideological struggles . . . Our inner-Party struggle must be directed simultaneously against both Right-opportunism and 'Left'-opportunism, against their two aspects so that our Party can preserve its definite proletarian character . . . It is in the course of ceaseless inner-Party struggle on two fronts that our Party consolidates and develops itself.

"There exist three kinds of deviations . . . on the question of inner-Party struggle with the Chinese Party. The first is Liberalism and conciliationism within the Party; the second is mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle and 'Left'-opportunism in organisational matters in inner-Party struggle; the third is unprincipled disputes and struggles within the Party. These three kinds of deviation do not differ very much as far as their substance is concerned, because unprincipled disputes and struggles, excessive struggles and Liberalism within the Party are not Marxist-Leninist. They are all manifestations of opposition to Marxist-Leninism."

"What are the manifestations of mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle? Firstly . . . instead of conducting first of all a struggle over the 'points at issue,' the struggle is directed 'against the person' . . . such 'struggle meetings' are a concrete manifestation within the Party of sectarianism and of the erroneous policy of attacking cadres and comrades . . . They are chiefly for the purpose of struggle against the person while divergence and antagonism in ideology are overlooked [our italics, Ed.]. Secondly . . . some comrades hold the view that the more bitter the inner-Party struggle the better. To them, the more seriously the problem is brought up the better; the more fault-finding the better; the more name-calling the better; the more severe and the more rude the manner and the attitude, the better; . . . In acting in this way they regard themselves as 'revolutionary as revolutionary could be.' . . . They conduct the struggle without any restraint. Quite obviously that is entirely incorrect.

"Thirdly, some comrades still do not understand that inner-Party struggle is essentially an ideological struggle. They consider inner-Party struggle as a kind of

contradiction in organisation or in form, or they consider it as fighting, causing quarrelling or wrangling. They do not look for real unity and do not solve problems on the basis of principle and ideology. Quite obviously, that is entirely incorrect . . .

"These comrades purposely look for 'targets of struggle' (comrades inside the Party) and conduct the struggle against them as representatives of opportunism . . . They magnify the individual shortcomings and mistakes of this comrade and develop these into a system of opportunism, create an extremely unfavourable impression about this comrade among comrades in the Party and incite their hatred for opportunism in struggling against this comrade . . . The psychology of revenge on the part of some persons begins to gain ground and they expose all the shortcomings and mistakes of this comrade and arbitrarily raise these shortcomings and mistakes to the level of principle. They even fabricate some story and on the basis of subjective suspicion and completely groundless rumours, accuse the comrade of various crimes . . ."

Fourthly, the methods of struggle inside the Party are mixed up . . . with the methods of struggle outside the Party . . . Some comrades employ the methods of struggle outside the Party and the methods of struggle against the enemy and against alien elements in conducting struggle against comrades inside the Party . . . They employ all kinds of provocation, estrangement and conspiracy . . . For example, the 'Left' mistake committed by some comrades in the hunting down of traitors is largely due to the fact that they have not drawn a strict line between the struggle inside the Party and the struggle outside the Party and that they have mixed up the ideological struggle inside the Party with the campaign to hunt down traitors. Often there are enemy spies hiding inside the Party. But we must rely upon

facts in conducting struggle against these hidden spies, expose them and expel them from the Party. But that is entirely different from the struggle waged for the purpose of educating Party members who have committed mistakes. A clear line of demarcation ought to be drawn between these two . . .

There are still some comrades (in fact they can no longer be called comrades) who openly rely on and make use of the forces outside the Party to conduct inner-Party struggle and to blackmail and intimidate the Party . . . They compel the higher organisation and the Party to accept their demands and opinions. They adopt an independent attitude towards the Party and declare their independence of the Party. Or they avail themselves of the newspapers, magazines and various conferences outside the Party and even those of the bourgeoisie and the enemy to criticise the Party and to conduct a struggle against the higher Party organisations and certain comrades and cadres . . . These persons conduct struggles against the Party from a non-Party standpoint. Therefore although they are Communists in name, they have completely departed from the standpoint of the Party and have become enemies of the Party. . . .

The above are some important manifestations of mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle . . . What results have these incorrect and inappropriate forms of inner-Party struggle produced inside the Party? They have produced the following bad results.

First, they have given encouragement to the patriarchy inside the Party. Under such forms of inner-Party struggle, individual leaders and leading bodies oppress many Party members to such an extent that the latter dare not speak up or criticise, thus contributing to the arbitrary manner of an individual or a few persons inside the Party.

Secondly, on the other hand, they have given encouragement to the tendency of ultra-democracy and the development of Liberalism inside the Party. Many Party members in ordinary times dare not speak up or criticize and superficially peace and unity prevail inside the Party. But when the contradictions can no longer be concealed and when the situation has become serious and mistakes are exposed, then they begin to engage in wild criticism and struggle, resulting in antagonism, splits and

organisational chaos inside the Party which are almost beyond remedy. This is the opposite side of patriarchy inside the Party.

Thirdly, they have prevented the correct establishment of Party life based on democratic centralism with the result that democratic life inside the Party is irregular, abnormal or extremely lacking.

Fourthly, they have impeded the development of Party members' enthusiasm, initiative and creative power and weakened their sense of responsibility towards the Party and their work, with the result that some comrades dare not assume responsibility with enthusiasm, or work or create with a free hand. They have led comrades not to bother to consider and study problems and situations carefully, but have encouraged their working style of attending to their work perfunctorily and merely echoing others' words.

Fifthly, they have helped the development of sectarianism and unprincipled factional struggle inside the Party. They have given rise to the psychology of fearing criticism and struggle inside the Party and cultivated the conservative psychology of "minding one's own business" among some comrades, the psychology of "the less work, the better."

Sixthly, they have afforded more opportunities for the Trotskyite spies and counter-revolutionary elements to undermine our Party and have furnished more pretexts for counter-revolution to attack our Party. The Trotskyite spies particularly take advantage of contradictions inside the Party and any not too correct inner-Party struggles to carry on their work of undermining the Party and to win over those elements who have been attacked and who are dissatisfied with the Party. The counter-revolution takes advantage of the struggle against opportunism to conduct propaganda and provocation, and to influence sympathisers outside the Party and unreliable elements inside the Party in order to carry out a policy of estrangement and to undermine the solidarity and unity inside the Party.

Such mechanical and excessive forms of inner-Party struggle have created abnormal conditions in Party life for a considerable length of time and have caused great losses to the Party. Therefore, we must call serious attention to this deviation so that we may thoroughly eliminate it from our organisation and so that our comrades may not repeat these mistakes and may correctly and steadily conduct the ideological struggle inside the Party and advance the Party.

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another Branch in the Pisa province which unanimously condemned the intimidatory line of the Federation when it tried to impose disciplinary provisions, the revisionists apparently renounced their line of maintaining formal unity and compelled the most advanced part of the proletariat to follow their line of submission and compromise. In my Branch, however, where the revisionists have the majority, they suspended a comrade. Their preoccupation is that of maintaining their links with the rank and file in some way or another, so that they can go on deceiving them. Fearful of the reaction of the comrades, sometimes they are disposed to apparently renounce their ideas of capitulation and compromise. They accept "discussion," but as soon as the real battle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism gets underway, they try to use the force of the apparatus against us.

In Tuscany, the struggle inside the Party continues, is developing and the number of comrades conducting it forward is increasing, reinforced ideologically and organisationally from the experiences and examples of these months. But we are convinced that now this struggle can proceed only if encouraged and guided by external poles. This does not mean renouncing our positions of struggle inside the Party, but we do realise that we need groups who elaborate a Marxist-Leninist political line independently of the revisionist party. This unites us all the more with comrades who put the accent on the constitution of a new party, and makes clearer to all of us the need for the programme of work inside and outside the revisionist party (in accordance with the 25 points of the Chinese comrades) so as to create as rapidly as possible, the objective conditions for the foundation and growth of the Marxist-Leninist Communist party.

The next speaker was Comrade Sergio Quandomatteo of Rimini, who said that comrades must carry forward their struggle for Marxism-Leninism inside the Party as far as possible. But this work must mean no sacrifice of Marxist-Leninist principles, so that when the revisionists attempt to get rid of single comrades, they will have with them and will be followed by the maximum number possible of Party comrades.

Then Comrade Franco Molfese spoke. He was Secretary of the cell of the Chamber of Deputies, and was expelled from the P.C.I. last July for his battle against modern revisionism, and is now a member of the Marx-Lenin-Stalin (Rome) circle.

He said that if a train goes off the rails, the most urgent task is not to keep it going, but to put it back on the rails. Today, the train is the Italian workers' movement and the rails are the strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Alberto Mazzei of Florence brought to the meeting an interesting report of the anti-capitalist and anti-revisionist struggle among Italian workers at the Volkswagen Works in Germany.

The next speaker was the delegate from Bari. The Marxist-Leninists of Bari and province, he said, act as a collective, they are for the most part still inside the P.C.I., but they are preparing also to fight outside when the corrupt revisionist apparatus decides to get rid of them.

He underlined the importance of maintaining links with the masses, who in the industrial zones in the South, are more convinced of the correctness of our position. He noted in particular the struggle which our comrades are conducting inside the "Camera del Lavoro" in Bari and the situation among the textile workers.

Next was Comrade Salvatore of Ruscio, who brought greetings from the new Marxist-Leninist group which is being formed in Fermo. He reported several positive results of the work conducted in the last few months by the Fermo group around "Nuova Unità" and the publications of "Edizioni Oriente."

In the name of the Marxist-Leninist group of Reggio Emilia, Comrade Giuseppe Artoni brought greetings. Comrade Artoni spoke of the sacrifices of comrades in the days of July, 1960, and of the revolutionary traditions of all the people of Reggio Emilia, who will certainly give great support to all our actions. Today in Reggio Emilia, our comrades are carrying out an interesting experiment inside the Party, of struggle against the factiousness and attempts at misinformation of the Federal revisionist organs. But here also, we are preparing to create a first nucleus outside the Party, so as to be better able to co-ordinate our work, both in city and province.

He was followed by Comrade Mario Quaranta, who after having taken part in the creation of the "Viva il Leninismo" group, was expelled from the P.C.I. and is now sub-editor of "Nuova Unità." He said that the fighting spirit of the masses today becomes dissipated in great struggles, because there exists no revolutionary political guide. As the last years demonstrate, mass industrial struggles are not able to produce consequent political

results, when they are directed only to obtain immediate and limited ends. The revisionist leaders of the P.S.I., P.S.I.U.P. and P.C.I. do not want to utilize the mobilisation of the masses for other ends, holding that the masses are never mature enough for the conquest of power, but that they themselves are always mature enough to become deputies and ministers representing the working class in bourgeois parliamentary regimes.

The concluding speech was made by Comrade Giuseppe Regis, P.C.I. member since 1944, ex-member of the Central Economic Commission of the P.C.I. and now member of the Lenin Centre of Milan.

He said: This first meeting of Marxist-Leninists of Italy promoted by "Nuova Unità," has been an important step forward in the clarification and unification of the experiences and perspectives of various groups, and in the construction of our organisation.

He affirmed that while the actual forces of the movement are still limited, its prospects are extremely favourable. We have the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideological position, and the spontaneous support and enthusiasm which that arouses from the proletariat of our country.

At the centre of the debate during the meeting, has been the question of mobilising, directing and organising this support and enthusiasm, in the struggle against the class enemy, in the most effective way possible. In this perspective, there are several tasks which have been indicated by the introduction of Comrade Duse and by the remarks of the other comrades. These are:

- (1) Extension, co-ordination and strengthening of the movement, through:
 - (a) The constitution of Marxist-Leninist groups in all localities where they do not yet exist.
 - (b) Their co-ordination on a regional basis with the formation of strong Regional Committees.
 - (c) The preparation of a National Conference of Regional Committees.
 - (d) Strengthening the industrial links of the local groups through the formation of Communist factory groups.
 - (e) The development of supporting mass organisations and the advancement of a Marxist-Leninist line in those already existing.
- (2) Reinforcement of the instruments of the press for the ideological clarification and political direction of the movement, through:

- (a) Increasing the power of "Nuova Unità" by the elevation of its political level, so improving its capacity for analysing the Italian situation and directing the workers' struggles, and by the increase of sales and subscriptions.

- (b) The number of contributions of articles by comrades to be increased and their level raised, and the political direction of the paper strengthened with the enlargement of the Editorial Board. We also hope to produce more literature as soon as possible.

- (c) The development of the initiatives of local press, and above all, of those of factories.

- (d) The increase in circulation of the political material of fraternal Marxist-Leninist C.P.s, published by "Edizioni Oriente."

- (3) The insertion of Marxist-Leninist groups in class struggles taking place in factory and countryside, through:

- (a) More profound study and analysis of the situation in factory and countryside and of the concrete terms of the workers' and peasants' struggles.

- (b) The elaboration of slogans of agitation and of methods of struggle which express the full potential of the revolutionary will of the proletariat, and opposition to revisionist and reformist policies in Works Councils and T.U.s.

- (c) Taking up the most advanced posts of combat in the fight against exploitation and oppression.

Comrade Regis concluded thus:

It is thanks to the unshakable determination and will of our best comrades, to their total dedication to our cause, to the support of the finest cadres of the working class both inside and outside the ranks of the C.P. and other left wing parties, that with this meeting we can gather the first success. If we can continue along this road, in fraternal unity with the best cadres of the working class and in close links with the masses, and if we know how to maintain the highest standard of vigilance towards the class enemies and their agents and provocateurs, then more rapid and greater successes there most certainly will be. These successes, in their turn, will enable us to contribute towards completing the historic task which today lies in front of the working class and our country.

Long live "Nuova Unità" and its struggle for Marxism-Leninism, and the victory of socialism in Italy.

VIETNAM — I



STOP U.S. AGGRESSION

The United States imperialists, led by President Johnson, have launched an unprovoked attack against the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam. They have for many years been waging war against the people of South Vietnam and Laos. They have now widened this war, and the danger of a major war is now imminent.

But if the United States imperialists can be isolated, if they realise that they will obtain no support from the rest of the world, and even from their own allies, such as the British Government, in their attempts to launch a general war, then they will be compelled to draw back from the brink.

We must make clear to the United States Government that the British people condemn their aggression against the peoples of South-East Asia, and their drive towards a major war.

We must make clear to the British Government that its support for this United States aggression is utterly rejected by the British people.

We must make clear that the British people will never support such a war.

PROTEST NOW TO THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY

PROTEST NOW TO 10 DOWNING STREET

This leaflet was distributed in London by The Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity in August 1964

Above: A National L in 1955

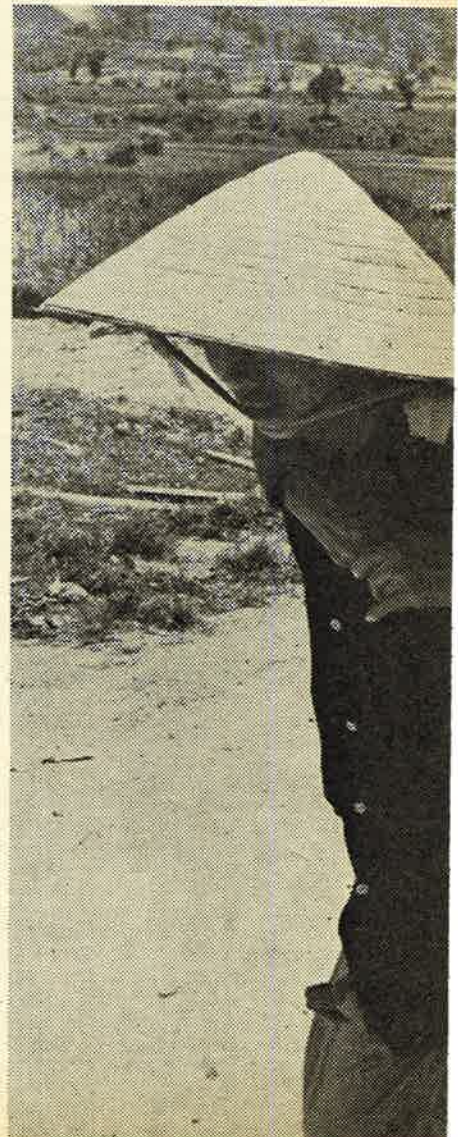
Left: Vietnamese Ranger — U.S. "advised" and equipped — threatens a Vietnamese patriot

Below left: French imperialism — 1953

Below right border of



The suffering of the p



LIBERATION STRUGGLE



French gendarme turns away as the Liberation Forces occupy Haiphong

U.S. imperialism — troops on the Thailand and Laos — 1964



People — An Hoa, 1962



GUYANA — UNITED FRONT

IN Guyana today regrettably, the people, particularly the workers, are more divided than at any time in the history of the liberation struggle.

On the one hand, ANARCHY has been unleashed on the people by the fanatics of the Jagans, Burnham and D'Aguir triumvirate and it is gradually becoming clear that British and American agents are giving every assistance to certain of their lackeys to keep the pot boiling. On the other hand, the imperialist enemy who created and exacerbated the divisions among the people, succeeded by intrigues in achieving the capitulation of the workers' leaders Jagans and Burnham, which meant the betrayal of the Guyanese People and their national liberation movement. There is no betrayal on the part of D'Aguir as he is the British and American Imperialist agent in Guyana. The enemy have further "imposed," on written request from the leaders, the iniquitous Sandys' proposals and have now completely handed over control to their agent, the Colonial Governor Richard Luyt, who have promptly arrested and put in detention camp some 40 Guyanese, the majority of whom are P.P.P. members including the deputy Prime Minister Benn and seven P.N.C. members. *Guyanese and all freedom loving people are demanding the release of those detainees.*

COLONIALISM, IRRESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP AND ANARCHY

The loss of life by violence since February, 1964, is now over 170 but the total from 1962 to date is over 200 and gradually approaching 300 and the total damage, loss of revenue, etc., is estimated at over £25 million (\$120 million Caribbean dollars). This represents the cumulative result of imperialism, irresponsible leadership and anarchy, which is deprecated by all freedom-loving people.

GUYANESE PROPOSALS FOR DISCUSSION TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE NATIONAL CRISIS

Guyanese patriots in August, 1963, put forward proposals as a basis for discussion among the people to find a solution. The five points declaration and demands called for a National Conference of all the Guyanese people to discuss and agree upon:

- (1) the establishment of a national "crisis" government for a period at least up to the 1965 general elections or longer;
- (2) a national independence constitution drawn up by Guyanese reflecting the minimum demands they will accept;
- (3) the fixing of a definite date for national independence;
- (4) a formula for the safeguarding of internal peace; smooth running of the national "crisis" government and a minimum national programme;
- (5) the creation of a large Guyanese People's Volunteer Force, the nucleus of the Guyanese People's National Army and the quickest withdrawal from our country of the imperialist enemy's troops called in by the P.P.P. government.

These proposals were put forward after careful consideration and analysis of the Guyanese historical background and the present factual political, social and economic conditions:—

HISTORY, BACKGROUND, THE SOCIETY AND RELEVANT FACTS

Guyana is 83,000 square miles in area (larger than England, Scotland and Wales taken together), divided into three main counties, Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo and is situated on the north-east coast of South America. It is sandwiched between Venezuela and Surinam, with Brazil on its backside, it has a 270-mile long Atlantic seaboard, and is the only English-speaking country on the continent of South America; its nearest English-speaking neighbour is the independent commonwealth country of Trinidad and Tobago, an island 365 miles distance away in the Atlantic Ocean.

Ninety per cent (90%) of the Guyanese population live on the coastal plains, which cover an area of only twenty per cent (20%) of the territory. The inland plateau occupying 80% of the territory is covered with

dense equatorial forest containing large untapped mineral and other resources in economic quantity and quality. The climate is tropical, at its hottest about 90°-95°, its coolest 75°-85°; this is made pleasant by cool Atlantic breezes, and there is rainfall for specific periods during the year. There are to be found in abundance many rivers and waterfalls, and the name Guyana in the language of the indigenous peoples of this whole area means "land of many waters." Since this is so, there are possibilities for the development of hydro-electric power for domestic and industrial purposes. The highest single drop waterfall in the world, the Kaieteur (747 feet) has been acclaimed by many Guyanese and tourists as a sight of unrivalled power and splendour.

LAND UTILISATION AND OWNERSHIP

The total area of land under cultivation is 0.5%-280,000 acres. There are some 6,000 square miles of rough pastureland in the Rupununi Savannas, but the quality of grazing land is poor due to mineral deficiencies.

Unalienated Crown Lands comprise 90% of the whole country, which may be alienated only by the Colonial Governor acting on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen. 6,000 square miles of Crown Land have been declared Amerindian Reservations free from all rates and taxes.

Freehold Land owned by the inhabitants of the country (non-indigenous) falls into two categories; land alienated by the Dutch prior to 1803 and land alienated by the Crown subsequent to 1831. The total area of land falling into these categories is approximately 1,178 square miles. (Land alienated by the Crown subsequent to 1831 is about 777 square miles disposed of in the form of absolute grants and conditional purchase grants).

Freehold land also includes "Colony Land" which was either purchased by the Colony of Guyana or granted to the Colony's Government by the Crown. This covers an area of 26,000 acres of which 6,917 acres are held under lease by the U.S. Government.

Under the Crown Lands Ordinance the mineral rights are reserved to the Crown.

POPULATION (1961 FIGURES) OF AND STRUCTURE OF GUYANESE SOCIETY

		%
Guyanese		
Amerindian origin	23,600	4.00
East Indian origin	289,790	49.10
African origin	192,660	32.65
Mixed Race	68,420	11.60
Chinese origin	3,520	.59
European origin		
Portuguese	7,390	1.26
Other European	4,760	.80
	590,140	100.00

NOTE—the 1963/64 population estimate is just over 630,000.

It will be observed that six peoples comprise the Guyanese Society today, how did this happen and what is the class structure of the society?

As briefly as it is possible to put it to make any sense, here are the facts:—

Amerindians are the indigenous peoples of this country and in fact this whole area. They are of Carib, Arawak, Warrau and other stock and generally are to be found living in reservations and other parts of the country situated in the upper regions of rivers and in the interior, driven there by the early colonists.

Europeans. British, French, Dutch and others have fought over these territories in the early days and Guyana changed hands many times. They came to Guyana as pirates, settlers, colonisers and so-called gentlemen-adventurers. Some were the recalcitrant sons of Europeans "sent out to the colonies to be taught their lesson," others were shipped out here and to other neighbouring territories as bond-servants, etc., but the European refused to accept that they must cultivate the land if they wanted to produce and succeed as settlers and colonisers, they could not demean themselves to this, but must have the power to compel the inhabitants to work for them. They failed to enslave the Amerindians because of the brave Caribs and because generally the characteristic of the Amerindian is one of utter abhorrence of and impatience with control, or anything like coercion.

The Amerindians struggled against the intruders, they never gave in or capitulated. The decimation of the Amerindians is estimated by some historians as 1½ to 3 million for Guyana and the Caribbean area. The early Europeans exploited the tribal wars between the Caribs and the other tribes and were able to develop friendly relationship with some tribes eventually pitting one against the other, but generally, all the indigenous peoples were relegated to the interior and upper regions of rivers.

1580/1834 Chattel Slavery—Africans. Then began the importation of Africans as slaves, first from Spain, where the Portuguese had sold a fair number during the previous century and then direct from Africa via the Caribbean slave markets. Slaves were not permitted to speak their own language or practice their own culture, were not permitted to take a wife/husband; at certain times were bred like horses to produce a better and stronger breed of slaves; young girls were used as desired by masters producing mulatto offsprings; loyal household and guard slaves were treated a little better and used as a buffer against plantation slaves. There were perpetual slave revolts and when these were successful the slaves formed communities deep in the forests. Amerindian tribes friendly with the Europeans and loyal household and guard slaves were used to track down and kill "rebel" runaway slaves. Late 1700 early 1800 missionaries were brought in "to civilise the savages, to reduce the heathen to manageable proportions, to make them docile and faithful servants (slaves) to their masters" but this did not have any immediate effect in this direction.

Slavery was abolished in 1834, the slaves had fought continuously in Guyana, the Caribbean and elsewhere against the evil masters, they never capitulated. This, in addition to the economic changes and the anti-slavery movement, was responsible for the abolition of slavery.

The freed person's only identity then was that of a black skin or mulatto imitation of their former European master, trying as best they could to embrace their masters' religion and way of life, having no commercial acumen and a deep and unhealthy abhorrence for the type of work which reminded them of the immediate past. They left the plantations and formed communities in the developing towns, cities and villages away from the plantations in pursuit of education and craft skills.

1835/1853 Chinese and Portuguese

Labour was then brought in to replace the labour shortage caused by the abolition of slavery. They came from China and Madeira, were found unsuitable for plantation labour and siphoned off into establishing small businesses. The Chinese undertaking laundries, eating shops, poultry rearing, etc., etc., the Portuguese undertaking shopkeeping, eventually pawn-broking and moneylending and at the same time establishing their Roman Catholic Church. Like the Africans, they soon left the plantations and lived in the towns, cities and villages and soon lost their mother tongue to English.

1838 East Indians—Hindus/Muslims. The plantation owners and colonisers brought these people in as indentured labour and set out from the very beginning to ensure that they were tied down on the plantations and encouraged child labour. The East Indians arrived with their Agent (crooked in most cases), their culture and language intact, their priests, their small group of businessmen and shopkeepers to supply them with their special needs, foods, clothes, etc., and because they were tied to the plantations, and because they had their own language and culture including their Hindu and Muslim religions, they naturally developed as a clannish community, in and just around the sugar plantations. Child labour retarded their early educational pursuits, they were some 3-4 decades later in this field than other groups. Life for the early East Indians was semi-slavery, genuine hell, and they rebelled for better conditions. They fought continuously against the plantation owners, they never gave in, they never capitulated, even when some crooked "agents" sold them out. East Indians in this country and in this part of the world are known for their thrift and frugal way of life, they are good businessmen by character; as the plantation workers progressed their businessmen flourished and today in any assessment of the local capitalists and developing national bourgeoisie, the Guyanese of East Indian origin, small and large businessmen form 60%, the biggest group numerically directly connected to the Guyanese consumer public. The clannish distinctness of the Guyanese of East Indian origin or the "community within a community" appearance is generally known in Guyana, i.e., apart from English, the only other language directly related to an ethnic group taught in schools in Hindi and Urdu: Films—from Indian Festivals—special ones like Pagwah: Radio—special East Indian programmes: Press—some special editions in some Sunday newspapers using Hindi and Urdu symbols: Religion—apart from English speaking Christian and Roman Catholic churches there are East Indian temples and mosques.

They were last to move into the towns and cities, last to be educated in the academic and other fields, and rightly have seized the opportunities with both hands and are in a better economic position to do so. Regrettably, this is seen as a "clannish community" steamrolling into spheres of the society that hitherto were occupied by other people. While more and more of these people are giving up their language, and more and more their culture is being interwoven into the society as a whole, their "clannish community tendencies" are not dissolving in a revolutionary manner.

Guyanese of Mixed Race are the result of the early slave-master—slave girl relationships and general interracial relationships. Inter-marriage within recent years has also played a big part in producing

The British Government's Robertson Commission report of 1954 set out to whitewash the British Imperial Government's ignominy and to further divide the workers and people; to make the base for Neo-Colonialism. They labelled some P.P.P. leaders as Moderates which included Burnham and others, and Extremists which included the Jagans and the Marxist-Leninists in the Party.

these people, who if a proper check was

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ESSENTIAL READING FOR ALL COMMUNISTS

PHILOSOPHY:

ON CONTRADICTION
ON PRACTICE

Mao Tse-Tung

DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Stalin

HISTORY:

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Marx & Engels

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC

Engels

ECONOMICS:

WAGE, LABOUR & CAPITAL

Marx

VALUE, PRICE & PROFIT

Marx

POLITICS:

AGAINST REVISIONISM

Lenin

A Selection from Lenin's main political writings
STATE & REVOLUTION

Lenin

LEFT WING COMMUNISM

An Infantile Disorder

Lenin

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A. Cross, Flat 3, 33 Anson Road, LONDON, N.7.

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M. Baker, 29 Lingholm Crescent, Scarborough, YORKS.

C. Roberts, 14 Caerau Park Road, Ely, Cardiff, SOUTH WALES.

continued from page 10

ever made would be more than 15% of the population instead of the 11.60% estimated. They are mainly residents in the cities, towns and villages.

The present structure of the Guyanese society therefore can be set down thus:—

RULING CLASS

The Agents of the British Imperial Government and H.M. the Queen, in the person of the Colonial Governor, other colonial officials, the Commissioner of Police and heads of the Military Force. U.S. Imperialism represented by the U.S. Consulate which has a representative on the local Chamber of Commerce. Aided and abetted by the Directors and Executives of the big Foreign Monopoly firms, i.e., Bookers Bros., Aluminium Co. of Canada and U.S. Aluminium Co., Barclays Bank and Royal Bank of Canada. There are also various C.I.A.-U.S. agents and British agents, etc., mainly foreign Europeans.

LOCAL UPPER CLASS

A developing national bourgeoisie

In most cases closely co-operating with the ruling class. Divided into two main sections. (i) *Local big capitalists* (some who are millionaires), drawn mainly from the European, Portuguese, Chinese and Mixed Race sections of the society = 40% numerically but wealthier than their East Indian counterpart = 60% numerically. These people apart from their investments, own land and property, etc., (ii) *Professional Bourgeois types*, who are heads of the civil service, judiciary, senior officers of the police force, church leaders, successful doctors, lawyers, etc., these are drawn from all sections of the society and operate the oppressive state machinery in the interest of their own class and the ruling class, among them are to be found many of the members of the present legislative assembly.

MIDDLE CLASS

Graded and junior civil servants, mediocre professional types, lawyers, doctors, white collar workers, teachers, self-employed persons, small businessmen and small property-owners, small rice planters and peasant-type farmers, small building contractors; these people are drawn from all sections of the society but numerically the Guyanese of African origin and Mixed Race predominates, while the Guyanese of East Indian origin is the minority but is economically predominant.

WORKING CLASS

Industrial, Mining, transport, minor industries, etc. workers—URBAN—mainly Guyanese of African and Mixed Race origin in the cities, towns and certain villages (the proletariat).

Agricultural and Sugar-Plantation workers—RURAL—mainly Guyanese of East Indian origin on and around the sugar estates (proletariat and semi-proletariat).

Forest dwellers and workers—INTERIOR—mainly Amerindians—who are not easily classified, and Guyanese of African Origin and some Guyanese of East Indian origin (proletariat and semi-proletariat).

A general statement is necessary regarding the relationship between the two major groups, Guyanese of African and East Indian origin. These two groups have lived together in the past as well as can be expected, and can do so again if the workers can be made to understand and recognise their class position, the common enemy and the class struggle.

Examination of our people's historical background confirms the fact that over 300 years ago the seeds of division were sown by the predecessors of what is today world imperialism, when they brought together from all parts of the world—hundreds of thousands of various people—as slaves and semi-slaves (indentured labour) to serve their own political, economic and social interests, with absolutely no consideration for the interest and the future of those people—our foreparents. And no serious attempt was ever made by the past or present imperialists to alter this position.

In point of fact, we know that the continuation of division, the continuation and encouraging of the sharpening of contradictions among our people, is an inherent part of the nature of imperialism, it suits the philosophy and policy of all imperialists and imperialist governments which hold or control dependent colonies and the people that live therein.

The big, but soluble, problem is to weld all the workers and the people generally together without coercing any one group away from their particular mode of life; BUT BRINGING TO THE FORE, BY EXAMPLE, WHAT MUST BE THE GUYANESE IDENTITY, IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST. This is what must be done and it can be done.

WAGES, UNEMPLOYMENT, HEALTH, EDUCATION, ETC. (1961 figures)

Unemployment is about 20% of the total force available for work, plus a 9% under-employment figure which makes for a gloomy situation. It is estimated that approximately 50% of the total unemployed is to be found in and around the capital city and its immediate environs (population of which is over 145,000) made up mainly of Guyanese of African and mixed-race origin. The Average Wage of an unskilled worker is £3 15s. 0d. per week of 40-44 hours' work. Loans for industrial development have been blocked by "constitutional strangulation" and the forbidding attitude of H.M. Government. Such little progress that has been made has come from the agricultural sector (rural areas) of the economy—Rice, etc., which makes the

Local Capitalists, Guyanese of East Indian origin wealthier, put the country's economy in a little healthier position, but makes it very difficult to explain away to the unemployed in the Urban areas.

Added to this is the question of trade and help from Socialist countries, which has not been conducted through the established Credit Corporation or some such other created quasi-governmental or public corporation, but is conducted and controlled by a private Guyanese of East Indian origin million dollar capitalist firm—GUYANA IMPORT EXPORT CORPORATION under the directorship of Mohammed Kassim. G.I.M.P.E.X. as it is called, without any doubt is helping the Guyanese economy, and it has been alleged that "40% of its profits finds its way into the P.P.P. coffers" which leaves the government party wide open to the "corruption label." Scholarships given by certain socialist countries have been monopolised and used only for P.P.P. members and supporters and have become to be regarded as "Perks" by left and right opportunists. Much more serious, however, is the fact, that government has given no lead whatsoever in the establishment of workers' consumer co-operatives, etc., and the G.I.M.P.E.X. fiasco is no example to set as a norm for the Guyanese workers and people to emulate.

Education: Schools—Primary: 337 for 129,378 children with 3,181 teachers = approximately 41 pupils to 1 teacher.

Secondary: 42 for 10,720 children (included are 3 government-run and 14 government aided).

University of Guyana, the nucleus of this has just been established and enrolled are 180 students out of 750 applicants.

Overseas for Higher Education: 800 students in U.K.; 161 in Caribbean; 198 in U.S.A. and 60 in Canada.

There is a Government Training College for Teachers, enrolled are just over 150 students; and a Government Technical Institute and three Vocational Institutions with 737 students and 38 teachers/lecturers. There are 5 handicraft centres (16 full-time departments and 17 part-time departments).

Health: There are 25 institutions (government, general and private hospitals) with 3,330 beds. There are 24 dispensaries (including mobile dispensaries), 116 Maternity and Child Clinics. Twenty-three Health centres have been recently built.

There are:—

Registered Medical Practitioners	141
Registered Dentists	31
Registered Nurses	1,223
Registered Midwives	929
Registered Student Nurses	532
Health Visitor Students	12
Public Health Inspector Students	12

Expenditure for health represented 11.5% of the total expenditure for the government during 1960-61 = \$12.00 or £2 10s. 0d. per head of population.

RESOURCES AND ECONOMY

The economy is typical of colonial exploitation with big foreign monopolies such as Booker Bros. McConnell & Co., Aluminium Co. of Canada (Dem. Bauxite Co.) Reynolds Metals, Manganese Mines Ltd. (U.S.) in control. There has also developed a fairly large local capitalist class spear-headed by Guyanese of European, Portuguese, Chinese Mixed Race and East Indian origin, some of whom are Millionaires.

Sugar and its by-products, Rice, Coconuts, Timber, Bauxite, Manganese, Gold and Diamonds account for 80% of the total value of industrial production.

Other industries include the manufacture of poultry and animal feeds, processing and packaging of shrimps and the manufacture of cigarettes, matches, drugs, patent medicines, toilet waters, mineral waters, beer, lard substitutes, margarine, soap, glycerine, biscuits, jams, jellies, preserves, baking powder, garments, drinking straws, packing crates, and boxes, oxygen, acetylene and carbon-dioxide gas, building blocks, particle board, aluminium venetian blinds, aluminium steel and cane furniture. Construction and repair of small ships and barges, manufacturing of small engineering products such as electric fans and traffic signals, printing and lithography are also done.

Offshore oil products are very promising indeed and copper indications have been encountered in the Cuyuni area.

BALANCING THE BUDGET

Under Colonial Constitutions within periods during the last decade and prior to this when representatives of the proletariat, semi-proletariat and middle class had some little control of the government, the colony have nearly always balanced its budget and in some instances have had a small surplus.

THE CRUX OF THE SITUATION

From all the above facts therefore you can get some understanding of what represent the imperialist contradictions among the people; you can realise how easily these contradictions can be and are exploited by the common enemy of the workers and the people as a whole, you can realise the kind of serious, deep thinking and correct ideological leadership that is necessary to handle correctly these contradictions among the people, to gain enough national unity from the mobilisation of the workers and people as a whole, so as undertake the all out struggle against imperialism; to prevent the laying of the foundations of neo-colonialism, for the achievement of National Independence, Sovereignty and the ultimate establishment of the Guyanese Socialist Republic.

THE VIOLENT/PEACEFUL GUYANESE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Historically, violence has always been the weapon used by the colonialists, capitalists

and now the imperialists against the Guyanese People and indeed the people of the whole Caribbean Area and the world.

"There was, as the saying went in Europe at the time, 'no peace below the line.' This doctrine was written into the Treaty of Cateau-Combrisis in, 1559:—*West of the prime meridian and south of the Tropic of Cancer . . . violence done by either party to the other side shall not be regarded as in contravention of the treaties.*"

Imagine this being the rule among the oppressors and you can realise the horrors and hell being suffered by the oppressed, i.e. the attempt to enslave the indigenous peoples; the transportation of chattel slaves from Africa; indentured and contract labour from China, Madeira, India. Thus in Guyana like other Caribbean and Latin-American countries the peoples fought against this violence and oppression. In Guyana there were the struggles of the Caribs and Arawaks against the intruders. There were many slave revolts against the slave owners. There were the struggles of the indentured labourers. Over and over again the young and vigorous Guyanese People have fought the VIOLENCE OF THE OPPRESSORS with courage and determination, never capitulating, until at the turn of the 20th century certain constitutional and trade unions rights were won, but still the weapon of violence being an inherent part of the nature of imperialism is used against our people.

In the early 1960's the trade union movement was born in Guyana and there obtained a constitution which provided for a qualified franchise; i.e. certain educational, earning and property qualifications, which meant only the local upper and certain middle class type representation of the workers and people. This class was in the leadership. And because Trade Union leaders like Hubert N. Critchlow and others, on the one hand and the united leaders in the Combined Court (parliament) on the other, were pressing for changes in the interest of the workers and people at that time, the people witnessed the intimidation and imprisonment of the early trade unionists and leaders and the rape of the constitution that followed in 1928 for the first time. Guyana was then turned into a crown colony. The Leaders at that time united, attacked and exposed the hated imperialists; among those leaders were men like Woolford, Crane, Eleazer (Guyanese of African and Mixed Race origin), Gonsalves (Guyanese of Portuguese origin), Seeram and Luckoo (Guyanese of East Indian origin), Weber and Canon (Guyanese of European (British) origin), Evan Wong (Guyanese of Chinese origin), NONE OF THESE LEADERS CLAIMED TO BE SOCIALISTS but it would be an interesting lesson to note the sentiments expressed in their attacks against the common enemy of the Guyanese Workers and People as a whole.

Referring to H.M. Government 1928 Commission, whose recommendations were instrumental in bringing about the rape of the constitution and referring to H.M. Government, this is what these leaders then had to say:—

ABOUT THE FOREIGN RULING CLASS

"The commissioners have quoted with evident approval the observations of the West India Royal Commission of 1897 on the baneful influence exercised by a plantocracy on the government and on the general progress of the colony, yet . . . by such recommendations as they have suggested, again consign the colony's destinies to the keeping of such a plantocracy . . . the small but extremely important European Class which still controls the principal agricultural and commercial activities of the colony . . . which still has the means of influencing . . . and of putting pressure on the Home Government to secure attention to their views and wishes, save where such control may be modified by effective representation of the proletariat in the legislature . . . those who have made large sums of money from their investments in the colony reside in Great Britain. These absentee proprietors continue to draw their profits year after year from the colony, taking no practical interest whatsoever in the educational advancement of the people of British Guiana . . . A sufficiency of local patriotism will be excited only when the government . . . is transferred from Downing Street to Georgetown. . ."

ABOUT THE COMMON ENEMY OF THE GUYANESE WORKERS AND PEOPLE

" . . . The Colonial Office, we regret to say, never has had, does not have now, and never will have, a true perspective of the needs of the colony, and should not, we consider, be endowed with the sole deciding voice in our development. . ."

Let us also consider the sentiments expressed by the father of Guyanese Trade Unionism the late H. N. Critchlow "the boss will not give you a cent, if you don't fight for it and then he will bring his police to shoot us down and lock us up, BUT WE MUST FIGHT FOR OUR RIGHTS NO MATTER WHAT HE DOES," Critchlow was imprisoned for his militant trade union struggles, he was branded a "Red" on his return from a Trade Union Conference in Moscow, 1932. He strongly condemned racialism and did so forcibly at the 1945 W.F.T.U. conference. Along with Critchlow there were other trade union leaders who helped in the organisation and running of the early trade unions, such leaders like Ayube Edun and M. Shakoor, A. A. Thorne; they all made mistakes, but never did they sell the people out to imper-

ialism. Critchlow, however, was the most outstanding and will always have an honoured place in the hearts of Guyanese workers and people as a whole.

IMPERIALIST TRICKERY IRRESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP AND ANARCHY

Whatever can be said of the leadership of the working class and the people generally, prior to the present ones, one fact is outstanding THAT THEY NEVER CAPITULATED TO IMPERIALISM.

But the present leadership has capitulated to imperialism to such a startling degree that Anarchy has resulted, the Guyanese National Liberation Movement has been betrayed and Neo-Colonialism is laying its foundations. To give you an idea of how this came about, here is a brief explanation.

Between the years 1928 to 1953 the imperialist devised tactic and intrigue was to "constitutionalise" the struggle of the workers and people. On the one hand while dealing with the militant trade unionists and politicians by VIOLENCE—the shooting down of striking workers on the wharves on the sugar plantations, etc., arresting, charging, imprisoning those politicians who were advocating radical changes—who were advocating the vote and other rights for more and more people and the workers. On the other hand they were levelling their VIOLENCE at all sections of the society, except of course naturally their own Foreign Ruling Class clique and certain local lackeys who were to do their bidding. It is important to note here that there exist serious contradictions among the people who make up the Local Upper Class—developing national bourgeoisie, there are those who can be won over in the struggle against the Foreign Ruling Class and Imperialism and there are those who are the confirmed lackeys of the Foreign Ruling Class and World Imperialism.

Having thus constitutionalised the struggle they proceeded to penetrate certain trade unions especially the Sugar Workers' Union but also others; and they began to impose the peaceful parliamentary road in the minds of the workers, the people and their leaders but the violent nature of imperialism has not changed, will not change, it remains always the same.

The world war 1939-1945 meant social intercourse between many young Guyanese—who had left home to serve in the armed forces, to work, study, and travel—and people abroad, because of economic and other reasons. This naturally broadened the outlook of many young Guyanese.

At the end of the war 1945 and between that time and 1950 many of these young men and women returned home, among them were some young men and women who were dedicated marxist-leninists and others who were left-wing progressive thinkers. Cheddi Jagan, his wife Janet and Forbes Burnham were among those who returned to their homeland in the 40's, Cheddi Jagan was successful in the 1947 elections and entered the Legislative Council (parliament) while Burnham was involved in some trade union activities. Around 1947 a Political Affairs Committee was formed and by 1950 the People Progressive Party was formed. This workers' movement, 1950-1953, was not really united ideologically but represented a coming together of various workers and other classes of people as followers of two main personalities Cheddi Jagan and Forbes Burnham, left-wing progressives and a small group of young men and women who were dedicated marxist-leninists. The party's policy and campaign was popular, (i) universal adult suffrage or the vote for all at 21, (ii) a constitution for independence. The imperialists were forced to give universal adult suffrage but denied the workers and people the independence constitution, instead they devised and imposed a colonial type, internal, self-governing constitution under which the Foreign Ruling Class retained real power and H.M. Government had full control of all external matters and defence. It is important to state here that the followers of Jagan were in the main Guyanese of East Indian origin from the Rural areas; and the followers of Burnham were in the main Guyanese of African and Mixed Race origin from the Urban and mining areas. The Marxist-Leninist group within the party helped to bring in general support from nearly all sections of the society, this is a fact that no one can deny.

The 1953 General Elections in Guyana, the first under universal adult suffrage resulted in victory for the P.P.P. under the leadership of Cheddi Jagan including as deputy leader and Chairman of the P.P.P., Forbes Burnham, and composed of a group of dedicated marxist-leninists. 75%—or 18 out of 24 seats were won by the P.P.P.

APAAN JHAAT

There developed during this election a racist-Guyanese of East Indian Origin-Party which called itself the Farmers' and Workers' Party and peddled the evil slogan "Apaan Jhaat" (vote for your own people). There developed just before the victory of the P.P.P. (i) an internal struggle for power between Jagan and Burnham, (ii) a demand for a principled discussion and decision on the question of W.I. federation, vis-a-vis Guyana's entry.

These matters were not settled but held in abeyance, so that when the P.P.P. government was sacked by the imperialists, the constitution suspended, for the second time in 25 years, and troops rushed to Guyana in October, 1953, after only 133 days of P.P.P. government, DISUNITY had already set in and this made matters worse.

To be continued

STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

A. IMPERIALISM IN 1916

What are the main features of the Imperialist stage of capitalist development, in which we now live? Lenin outlined them in 1916 when he wrote "Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism," and for present purposes we might list them as follows:

1. Industrial monopoly

Under pressure of intense competition, in the last quarter of the 19th century, between the capitalists of Britain, long established in world markets, and those of America, Germany, France, etc., the productive forces had been developed at an hitherto unparalleled rate, particularly in heavy industry, concerned with the production of raw materials and capital goods. (For example the new Bessemer and Open-Hearth steel-making processes, machine tools, shipbuilding and engineering techniques, coal-cutting machinery, chemicals, etc.).

Only those firms capable of introducing the latest techniques of production could prosper and expand at the expense of their rivals, but this required ever increasing quantities of capital.

Thus in most branches of heavy industry a few giant firms or monopolies emerged, to dominate the market, and in a position to limit competition among themselves through cartel agreements fixing output or price, so as to earn more than average profits.

2. Banking monopoly

The banks also, originally established in large numbers to marry the demand for money capital with the supply of money capital, to create credit for industry, were increased in size and reduced in number (until in Britain, for example, the "big five" already dominated joint-stock banking by 1914.)

This enabled them to emerge as an independent force, exercising a growing control over industry, based upon their power to grant or withhold credit.

3. Finance-Capital

A fusion took place between the industrial monopolies and the banking monopolies. Industrial capital and money capital interpenetrated, and Finance-capital was born, with leading monopolists sitting on the boards both of the big banks and of the giant industrial companies, and holding controlling interests in both.

This Financial-oligarchy dominates the economic life of the country. In Lenin's words it "subjugates all strata of the propertied classes."

4. Export of Capital—economic and political division of the world

The monopolies, having divided up the home market, turn outward in search of the higher profits available in lands where labour and raw materials are cheap and capital is scarce. The export of capital is greatly increased. The export of capital takes precedence over the export of goods; the export of goods is encouraged in order to make possible the export of capital.

For this overseas investment is directed towards producing cheap and abundant raw materials and foodstuffs for the home market, so as to reduce costs of production in industry, and strengthen the competitive position of the monopolies.

International competition between the monopolies hastens this process. Each seeks to monopolise the available supplies of raw materials. The process ends in the economic division of the world among the leading monopolies, and this is buttressed by direct political rule or the establishment of "spheres of influence." Much of the underdeveloped world is colonised by the imperialist states, although in some areas political conquest is averted through imperialist rivalry, and the great powers agree to "share out" a country while allowing it to retain nominal independence, e.g., Abyssinia, China, Persia.

5. Stagnation and decay

The Imperialist epoch is characterised by the tendency towards the stagnation and decay of capitalism. Not only are the imperial powers parasitic, living off the tribute which pours in from the rest of the world, but their economies are retarded, held back from full development by the growing contradiction between the socialisation of production and the private relations of property. As Lenin put it, in a famous passage in "Imperialism":

"Ownership of shares, and relations between owners of private property interlock in a haphazard way. But the underlying factor of this interlocking, its very base, is the changing social relations of production. When a big enterprise assumes gigantic proportions, and, on the basis of exact computation of mass data, organises according to plan the supply of primary raw materials to the extent of two-thirds, or three-fourths of all that is necessary for tens of millions of people; when the raw materials are transported to the most suitable place of production, sometimes hundreds or thousands of miles away, in a systematic and organised manner; when a single centre directs all the successive stages of work right up to the manufacture of numerous varieties of finished articles; when these products are distributed according to a single plan among tens and hundreds of millions of consumers . . . then it becomes evident that we have socialisation of production, and not mere "interlocking," that private economic relations and private property relations constitute a shell which is no longer suitable for its contents, a shell which must inevitably begin to decay if its destruction is delayed by artificial means; a shell which may continue in a state of decay for a fairly long period,

£3,000 million, the insurance companies with over £4,000 million, the investment trusts and the pension funds, each disposing of thousands of millions.

3. The financial oligarchy remains in power. Those who sit on the boards of the industrial and banking monopolies, and in the key positions of the state, are the children and grandchildren of those who dominated Britain in 1916. Only the size of their industrial and financial empire has grown.

4. The drive to export capital has been intensified. Witness the Chairman of British Petroleum in his 1960 report to shareholders.

"We must therefore be prepared to continue to find large sums for capital expenditure; since to attempt to stand still would result in going backwards. This would be detrimental to our competitive position as a major British interest in the international oil industry, and also inconsistent with the development responsibilities inherent in the extent of the resources of crude oil to which we have entitlement."

In other words if B.P. does not exploit its oil concessions, some more energetic rival will do a deal with the national bourgeois government concerned, and oust B.P.

According to "The Commonwealth and Europe," a book written by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 1960, total U.K. exports of capital over the five-year period 1954 to 1958 were "in the region of £2,000 million," but it points out that private capital movements are "generally understated, sometimes substantially" because of the veil of secrecy which surrounds everything to do with overseas investments. Today, as in 1916, roughly £1 in every £3 of British capitalist investment is overseas—and the monopolies account for nearly all this overseas investment. Dividends are immense, particularly from the exploitation of Middle Eastern oil. According to the "Financial Times" in January, 1959, 21 British oil firms, subsidiaries of the big oil trusts, made a total profit of £431 million. This was bigger than the total profits of 456 firms in the engineering, iron, steel and shipbuilding industries.

Thus although direct colonial rule over more than 750 million peoples has been ended by the national-liberation movements of Asia and Africa, neo-colonialism and "spheres of influence" remain.

Imperialist exploitation of the peoples in the underdeveloped lands within the capitalist world continues and has been intensified, but it now requires either the propping up of a government of the landed aristocracy or compradors, or the reaching of an uneasy compromise with a national-bourgeois government over the sharing of the loot. Persia illustrates the former, Egypt the latter.

5. There is no doubt that monopoly-capital is still parasitic in the highest degree, but can it be said still to be decaying, moribund capitalism? The evidence overwhelmingly suggests that it can. It is true that technical innovation has proceeded quite rapidly within a number of industries, but taking the economy as a whole the drag now exercised upon economic development by private ownership is more marked than ever.

One comparison helps to illustrate this. In Britain in 1959 expenditure on advertising was around £400 million, and only a little less than the total spent upon research and development, which was about £450 million. To quote Andrew Schonfield, from the "Observer" in 1960:

"The ability to do effective research over long periods has come to be recognised increasingly as a powerful engine for producing high profits by many of the biggest and most successful firms in British industry. But with research costs going up even some of the biggest firms have found the initial expense a strain on their finances. That has provided the motive for some of the recent mergers between companies . . . In some industries, like aircraft, even after all the recent mergers of companies, the resources available still do not suffice for the task in hand . . ."

Three industries, aircraft, electrical engineering and chemicals are responsible for 70 per cent of the country's industrial research and development. But outside these there are several industries where so little is done to keep in touch with any new advance in science and technology that it is a wonder they feel able to face international competition at all. Shipbuilding is the most striking case, where there are perhaps a total of 120 qualified men doing research and development in the whole industry. Machine tools are very little better, considering the urgent need for innovation in this industry."

6. This leads on to the sixth characteristic of Imperialism; because in this last field as in so many others finance-capital has been compelled to call in the state. The increased economic role played by the state can be attributed to two main causes.

Firstly there is the need to intervene directly in the economy in order to tackle the effects of the growing contradiction between the socialisation of production and private property relations, which tends to result in the decay of ever wider sections of the economy, and is harmful to the capitalists both because they must compete with their rivals, and because the con-

trast with Socialism can no longer be ignored.

Secondly there is the economic effect of the increased state expenditures needed to tackle the growing class contradictions which stem from the deepening of the basic economic contradiction and which raise a direct political threat to the whole system; a measure of Social welfare to fob off working people at home, and military expenditure to maintain Imperialism's political and economic position in the underdeveloped lands, and if possible to restore capitalism within the Socialist world.

The following two sections develop these points in more detail.

D. GROWTH OF DIRECT INTERVENTION BY THE STATE

1. State aid to the monopolies for scientific research is of growing importance. Of the total of £450 million already mentioned £300 million was spent by private industry, and of this just under one half was financed by the state. Of the remaining £150 million spent outside private industry nearly all was financed by the State.

2. Capitalist nationalisation

In Britain the railways, the airlines, and road transport, the electricity, gas and coal industries, were all in need of reorganisation and re-equipment in 1945, on a scale requiring huge quantities of capital, which was not forthcoming under private ownership.

Capitalist nationalisation enabled these industries to be modernised with the aid of state loans so that the monopolies could obtain abundant and cheap raw materials, power and transport.

It is true that political pressure by the working class was one immediate reason for nationalisation of some industries (e.g. coal) but as carried out this nationalisation was beneficial to the capitalists alone.

Nearly £800 million, for example, was spent by the National Coal Board between 1946 and 1959, and over £600 million by the British Transport Commission between 1954 and 1960. And in one year alone (1959-60) £300 million was spent by the Electricity Board in developing productive capacity in that key industry.

When the job is done then the industry will be denationalised if this is politically possible. Witness, in this country, denationalisation of road transport, growth of the private airlines, and recent moves to "decentralise" the mining and railway industries and make them more and more directly responsible to local boards of businessmen. Or in Italy, and I quote from the "Manchester Guardian" of September 21st, 1961:

"Italy is the most striking example of successful state capitalism in the free world . . . The state dominates the three leading commercial banks, the manufacture of steel, pipes, large sections of heavy engineering, electricity, petrochemicals, and almost the entire shipbuilding industry . . . The business objectives of State-owned industries have been legally defined. They must ensure industrial progress and development in all fields where private industry cannot provide either the money or the management. As soon as they are viable, State-owned businesses are to be sold to the private sector."

3. The concentration and centralisation of capital has received powerful pushes from the state in a number of ways.

Moves against restrictive trade practices and against price-fixing arrangements between firms help to push the weak to the wall and encourage amalgamation and merger and take-over bid.

A number of industries, though remaining in private hands, have been virtually compelled, by the state, to merge into larger productive units. In particular the textile industry was reorganised a few years ago, with the aid of £30 million from the state, and the aircraft industry was pushed into a number of mergers by Mr. Duncan Sandys, in 1960, who threatened to cut off Government "aid" and orders to those who did not co-operate.

4. In all, state loans to nationalised industries, private industry, colonial agencies, and export guarantors totalled £1,000 million in the 1961 budget. They are all, in effect, aid raised from the capitalist class as a whole to help particular sections of industry whose performance is tending to retard the turnover of capital.

5. Direct intervention in the economy reaches a peak during a war, or under Fascism, as preparation for war.

During the last war the financial oligarchy equipped the state with powers to control all sections of the economy in order to regulate consumption and investment for the war effort. But when no longer needed these controls were scrapped.

Today in Britain, rationing of consumer goods, price-fixing, and the Capital Issues Committee, which controlled investment, have all been abandoned. Even the exchange controls upon the international movement of capital have been largely scrapped.

The monopolists recognise that a greater degree of "planning" or co-ordination of industry, is required. I quote from one of Andrew Schonfield's articles in the "Observer" in 1961:

"What is missing in Britain is a

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WAKE UP! COMRADES

THIS appeal is to three long-standing members of the Communist Party of Great Britain. We will call them Bill Smith, Tim Jones and Joe Reed. These are not their real names although the comrades in question will know well enough who we mean. Bill Smith joined the C.P. as long ago as 1948 (maybe before), while the other two have had at least 24 years continuous membership. They are all long-standing members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Tim Jones is a Trade Union Branch Secretary, Bill Smith is a Shop Steward in a Surrey factory while Joe Reed is a leading Shop Steward at the British Aircraft Corporation Ltd. Works at Weybridge, Surrey.

Dear Comrades,

Your party held a meeting at the Co-op Hall, Addlestone, on Wednesday, 22/7/64, and there were 35 in attendance.

One thing stood out a mile and that was that C.P. speakers studiously, deliberately and calculatedly avoided like the plague any mention of the role of the state. They scratched all round it, talked about the need for working class action and working class power, yet somehow managed to dodge any analysis of the role of the state. This is no accident because if they did seriously discuss this crucial question, they would reveal for all to see the fact that they have completely and utterly abandoned Marxist-Leninist theory.

The speaker was asked whether it was possible under capitalism for a nationalised industry to be run in the interests of the mass of the people. He didn't say yes and he didn't say no as the song goes, but the speaker's answer revealed all too clearly the fact that Lenin's "State and Revolution" has been slung out of the window. He said that approximately 20% of all industry is nationalised—this is not enough. As a result of mass working class action, pressure must be brought to bear to increase this proportion. We must make inroads into the positions of monopoly capitalism and through socialist nationalisation, alter things in favour of the working class. Shorn of all window dressing, demagogic phrases and pious wishes, what does this mean? Is this something new—is this "creative" Marxism? Of course it isn't. It is the old reformist policy of socialism bit by bit—a rehash of what the Fabians have been saying for decades.

The C.P. is bashing for all its worth this slogan of nationalisation, and as a result of the crisis concerning B.A.C. Ltd. and the VC10 aircraft, they campaign for nationalisation of the aircraft industry. But is this a working class solution? As the speaker said, 20% of industry is already nationalised. But under capitalism, industries are not nationalised because of concern for the

working class and the general public, but only in order to make capitalism work more effectively. So the C.P. demands "socialist" nationalisation while the state is still in the hands of the capitalist class. The point is that, as Marx and Lenin repeatedly pointed out, the state is not neutral. It is the coercive apparatus of a certain class, and any measures that that class takes is always administered by that class in the interests of that class. Therefore, to put forward the slogan of "socialist nationalisation" while the state is in the hands of the bourgeoisie is pure deception, is an absolute sham and a fraud. A working class solution demands expropriation not nationalisation, in other words, a revolutionary solution not a reformist one. After the meeting, Tim Jones asked us why we were 50 years ahead of the working class. "We are a tactical party," he said, "we must put forward these demands as an immediate policy."

"Isn't that the classical social democratic formula for betrayal of the working class?" we replied, "in fact, on every occasion that we hear you, Tim, you sound more and more like a member of the Labour Party."

In actual practice, the C.P. has cast aside all revolutionary principles, yet it still claims to be a Marxist-Leninist party. Why are the revisionists such fakers, why are they so dishonest? The reason is not far to seek. There are still plenty of old stalwarts like Tim in the Party. They stay in, although they have had the spirit knocked out of them by the leadership. Only one thing keeps them in and that is their illusions. They will not face reality. They have an almost unlimited capacity for self-deception. In spite of everything, they cling to the idea that the C.P. is still essentially a revolutionary party. The revisionist leaders know that, apart from anything else, the subjective illusions of the old guard must not be shattered. Once they are, it is the beginning of the end for revisionism. That is why the C.P. leaders are so cagey, so hesitant, such "clever boxers." They cannot afford not to be. They mustn't give the game away.

The most characteristic feature of the present-day C.P. is its grovelling. It grovels to nearly everybody—to President Johnson, to the Liberals, to the right wing Labour and T.U. leaders, to bourgeois pacifists and

Church dignitaries and to the petty bourgeois intellectuals of the C.N.D. But most of all, it grovels to the left of the Labour Party which at any cost, must never be exposed. Why is this? Why does the C.P. refuse to make a class analysis of the nature of the Labour Party? Yes, they do make strong attacks on old-style right wingers like Woodrow Wyatt and George Brown as though they were devils incarnate who had "captured" the "good at heart" Labour Party. One would think that all you had to do was to replace them with "good" left wingers, then everything would be lovely. This is the C.P. substitute for objective class analysis. Reformism is a historical and ideological trend in the Labour movement which is deep-rooted. You do not alter this fact by removing Woodrow Wyatt and George Brown. The dominance of reformism is epitomised by the type of party the Labour Party is. It is, as Lenin said, essentially no different from other bourgeois parties—just a variant. It cannot be transformed or pushed to the left. Consequently, the whole strategy of the C.P., which is based on transforming the Labour Party by pushing it left, is nothing but a monumental deception of the working class. That is why the C.P. will not expose the class nature of the Labour Party, because by doing so, it would be exposing itself.

What of the petty bourgeois left? The left wing Labour and T.U. leaders are competing with the right wingers for all the plum jobs, positions and career opportunities, therefore they have to rely on rank and file political awareness to gain support. In reality, the petty bourgeois lefts are even bigger charlatans than the right—they exploit the aims and aspirations of the masses only to advance their own careers. But the revisionists dare not expose the class nature of the petty bourgeois lefts, because isn't that the very thing the C.P. leaders themselves are doing, using the rank and file to advance their own interests so as to carve out for themselves a petty bourgeois niche in capitalist society? They dare not expose the bourgeois nature of the Labour right wing and the petty bourgeois nature of the Labour left wing, so what do they do? They try to impress them—they plead with them—they grovel to them. The revisionists are vulnerable as hell, on the defensive all the time. No wonder the capitalists and their ideologues and lap-dogs, sometimes use them as whipping boys, sometimes arrogantly and disdainfully throw them crumbs, but always treat them with utter contempt. The capitalists treat the C.P. just like they treat their own lackeys—the difference is that the other lackeys demand a higher price, the revisionists sell their souls for nowt.

Comrades, like ostriches, you are burying your heads in the sand, expecting the fundamental ideological conflict between revisionism and revolution to "resolve

itself." Do not kid yourselves. Yes, the conflict will eventually be resolved, but only on the basis of the victory of Marxist-Leninist principles. There is no doubt whatever about the final outcome—revisionism will be completely and utterly shattered as an ideological force and with it the influence of the Dutts, Gollans, Klugmanns and their master, the biggest renegade of them all, Khrushchov. The fight for peace and socialism and against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, is inextricably bound up with the fight against revisionism. The revisionists will not be able to duck out of it—to find some safe hideaway. They will have to go. To the extent that Marxism-Leninism defeats revisionism, to that extent will the proletarian vanguard be able to fortify itself, to re-group and re-unite on a new basis, stronger morally, ideologically and in every other way. Sorry, comrades, that is the only way the conflict can and will be resolved.

The C.P. is not only irrelevant in the struggle against capitalism—it has actually gone over to the enemy, it is a renegade party. Strong words, maybe, but that is the inexorable logic of the situation. When a Marxist-Leninist party ceases to be revolutionary, in effect, it offers itself for hire to capitalism to do its dirty work. At the moment, the British capitalists have very little use for the C.P. as the Labour Party has always performed this function very effectively. So the capitalists still use the C.P. as a convenient scapegoat, while at the same time treating it with tolerant contempt. But the situation may well change. Imperialism is on the decline. The imperialists are getting noticeably weaker and weaker. Anyway, they are all paper tigers. But social democratic reformism derives its strength from imperialism and the super-profits it extracts from its colonies and former colonies. These sources of revenue are drying up. The crisis of imperialism is also the crisis of reformism in the Labour movement. At this particular stage in world history, just when the proletariat is turning away from social democratic reformism, the C.P. steps forward to propose a new kind of reformism, i.e., revisionism, thus offering the bourgeoisie an extra lease of life. What a disgrace! For how long will you allow yourselves to be used by the revisionist leaders, to do the donkey work for them, to be soaked by them, to pay their salaries, so that at some undisclosed date in the future, they may get a few seats in parliament? You are deceiving yourselves if you think that in the C.P., you are effectively working for socialism. The awful truth is that by lending your support to revisionism, you are bolstering up capitalism. Is it not time to stop hibernating, to ruthlessly cast aside your illusions and to face reality? Wake up, comrades, wake up!

JACK ANGEL

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target. At any rate that is the view of a growing body of industrialists, who have lately become disturbed by the fact that the pace of economic progress here lags steadily behind our competitors on the continent of Europe. . . . Last autumn this new mood of the industrialists was brought right out into the open for the first time, with a formal proposal from a Committee of the Federation of British Industries. . . . that the Government should lay down a clear production plan covering a number of years—and then give it priority over everything else. . . . It is, for instance, impossible to decide what steel output will be needed by the middle of the 1960s without taking a view on how many cars the British motor industry will then be producing for home and for export, or about the likely size of the order books of the machine makers, who are in turn dependent on the amount of industrial investment that will be undertaken in 1965."

"Planning" has almost attained respectability. But this new recognition by the ruling class of the need to draw up a national plan or target for the economy as a whole must not be misinterpreted as a move towards socialism! The plan produced by the new National Economic Development Council's "permanent office," the executive body of officials (which will include no trade unionists), will not be forced upon individual monopolies. Mr. S. P. Chambers, Chairman of I.C.I., summarised the views of the monopolies when he spoke to the annual conference of the Institute of Directors in November, 1961: "We are more likely to avoid an unhealthy build-up of misdirected capital expenditure if we have proper information about the economy as a whole than if we go on with our own rather blind individual guesses.

Co-operation, forecasting, and planning in this sense would be healthy for British industry, but detailed controls should be resisted at all costs.

However this increased preoccupation with the need to "plan" does reflect the fact that as the processes of production become increasingly social, and interlock more and more closely, anarchic production increasingly hinders the monopoly-capitalist class as a whole from maximising profits by making the most efficient use of available resources and the latest techniques, and thus hold their own in the bitterly competitive capitalist world of the 1960s.

6. The state also plays its part in the field of capital exports.

State loans and grants to underdeveloped countries have been growing in importance in recent years. They can be viewed as investment by the monopolists as a class, via the state, in lands where the national bourgeoisie will no longer permit private capital to enter on the old terms, and to create favourable conditions for subsequent exploitation by individual monopolies and international combines, e.g. development of electric power, transport and communications.

According to the National Institute Economic Review, May, 1961, between 1956 and 1959 the underdeveloped countries received from the "industrial" (that is imperialist) nations "aid" (note the term) averaging 6½ billion dollars each year. Of this private capital provided only 38 per cent. (Military aid is excluded).

As the Report puts it, "countries subject to Communist pressure received a very big share of public aid," and much of this was interest free. But Mr. Eugene Black, then President of the American-dominated World Bank, said at a meeting in Vienna ("Manchester Guardian" of September 20th, 1961):

"Until a few years ago, more than half the flow of official capital to the under-developed countries had gone as outright grants. Since then the ratio being advanced on conventional credit had

changed for the worse, with more aid terms. The outstanding hard debts of many countries had risen rapidly and in too many cases debt repayments were piling up in the early years. The machinery of economic development could become overloaded with a foreign debt until it spluttered to a halt amid half-built projects and mountains of discarded plans."

Could there be a more damning exposure of the cannibalistic nature of this so-called "aid" from imperialist powers?

E. INCREASED WELFARE AND MILITARY EXPENDITURE

1. It is the developing class struggle which necessitates the increased state expenditure upon welfare and arms. The latter has increased at a considerably more rapid rate than the former, but together they have increased the proportion of the national income spent by the Government, in Britain, appreciably as compared with the 1930's.

2. Military and welfare expenditure are directed towards maintaining the capitalist "order" beyond and within the national frontiers. The direct economic benefit accrues to the monopolists, for most of the orders for equipment (military and welfare), are placed with the monopolies, with such firms as Vickers Ltd., the great iron, steel, engineering and shipbuilding combine. As Lord Weeks, the Chairman, remarked complacently in his 1960 annual report to shareholders, "Our profits compare not unfavourably with those in other large industries."

3. It must never be forgotten that such "welfare" concessions as have been won from the state by the working class in Britain have only been made possible because Britain is an imperial power. The loot which flows into Britain from half the world goes not to the British people but to the financial oligarchy. However, it has enabled this oligarchy to concede more to the working class in Britain than would have been possible did the British monopolists not loot half the world, and thus to

foster the spread of illusions about the true nature of capitalism (we will return to this question in a later article).

F. CONCLUSION

1. In all these fields, the state's role fluctuates in accordance with the degree of tension prevailing at any particular time.

If private industry can find its own capital the state need not be called in. If controls are unnecessary they are scrapped. If the conditions exist for private capital exports then state capital exports decline.

If the working-class relaxes its pressure, social welfare is cut. If the former colonial peoples can be hoodwinked into permitting imperialist exploitation to continue by agreement, then direct military suppression can be ended. (In 1955, for example, 40 British battalions were holding down colonial peoples; today the number is reduced.)

2. In 1938 the state accounted for 30.6 per cent of "gross fixed capital investment," e.g. buildings, plant, machinery, etc. (That includes spending by the central government, local governments, and the nationalised industries.) In 1953 the proportion was 55 per cent and in 1958, 42 per cent.

3. In 1938 the annual budget totalled about 20 per cent of the national income; in 1949 rather over 40 per cent; and in 1959 rather over 30 per cent. The bulk of budget expenditure is accounted for by military and welfare items.

4. We can conclude that, as the general crisis of capitalism deepens, state intervention tends to become more and more necessary for the monopolists, but that within this long-term trend considerable fluctuations occur. We can also conclude that such intervention is at best a palliative, which tackles the symptoms of capitalist decay only to deepen the basic contradiction in our society and advance the day when the working class will finally take power into their own hands and remove this capitalist "shell."

MICHAEL McCREERY

NEW VICTORIES IN THE CONGO

IN 1960-61, the cause of liberation in the former Belgian colony, the Congo, had received serious setbacks. After heroically struggling against the traditional Belgian colonialists, the Congolese workers and peasants saw U.N.O. forces occupy their country, under the joint auspices of the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists, treacherously shouting "peaceful co-existence." These U.N. forces, objectively serving the interests of U.S.—European finance—capital, which for so long has shovelled the loot from the rich Katanga mines into their own pockets, stifled the resistance of the Congo's patriots.

Patrice Lumumba, immortal patriot leader, was taken and murdered under the noses of the "neutral" U.N. forces.

Kennedy, Rusk & Co. rejoiced—a bit too soon!

"The Congo crisis is over"—"Foundations have been laid for political stability"—. What they truly meant was that "our investments and loot are safer"—"We have found Congolese lackeys to do our dirty work and we can forever exploit the workers' labour power, so as we can wax even richer."

All imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists are quite unable or unwilling to observe, the objective and irrevocable laws governing national liberation struggle. Exploiters create their opposite—the exploited. Bloody tyrants create their opposites—fighting patriots. Capitalist looters create their opposites—a militant working-class who refuse any longer to be robbed.

Thus, even the murder of Lumumba and the incarceration of his successor, Gizenga (trapped into a prison by the revisionist slogan of "a Congolese parliamentary road"), has failed to put imperialism out of its misery.

Today, just three years after the Kennedy-Rusk "cackle of triumph," the Congolese patriotic forces, led by the Congolese National Council of Liberation (Leopoldville), has gained one heroic victory after another and imperialism is shrieking with anguish. It has begun, in fact, to dig its own grave in the very heart of the vast African Continent.

The Congolese under Lumumba were experienced and good at combating the Belgian colonialists, whom they well knew by grim experience.

When U.S. imperialism, under the U.N. flag and vigorously aided and abetted by modern revisionism, "entered through the back door," it was inevitable that the patriot forces should make some mistakes.

This was the first time on the African

continent that the Americans were using the bayonet to enforce their neo-colonialism—a tactic even more cunning and pernicious than open colonialism.

Revolutionary struggle at all times and everywhere experiences triumphs and mistakes. This appears inevitable, especially under new, untried conditions. The important thing is to learn creatively from both triumph and mistake.

Comrade Mao-tse-tung has pointed out that "the primary question in revolution is to distinguish enemy from friend, but this takes some time and cannot be done at a glance." More than three years of persistent and armed struggle has now taught our Congolese brothers to correctly do this. Hence their utter rejection of the "courtship" of the traitor, Tshombe. A "courtship" inspired by the U.S. robbers under the slogan of "national unity." Tshombe was recently hauled back from exile as the hopeful "strong man." His immediate "tactic" was to proclaim himself "Premier," release some political prisoners, including Gizenga, and offer the "kiss of death" to the Congolese fighting patriots. However, all exploiters and their lackeys use two tactics, often simultaneously. The generous hug with one benevolent arm and the vicious dagger stab, with all the force of the other.

On 20th July, 1964, Luvila, speaking for the National Council of Congolese Liberation (Leopoldville), stated:

"Like the Vietnamese people, we have fully understood how to fight against the common enemy which oppresses our peoples. We know the disease: imperialist exploitation; we have discovered the germs: the Yankees and their agents; we have chosen the remedy: in spite of the advice of some talkative quacks who have suggested to us to take sedative, we have decided to have an operation, imperialist violence should be opposed by revolutionary violence," he said.

Singama Luvila condemned U.S. imperialism for trampling on the sovereignty of the Congolese people under the cover of the hypocritical U.N. flag.

"Our institutions, our economy have been reduced to no more than an appendix to Washington.

"The finest sons of our people are being arrested, tortured and killed.

"The U.S. Ambassador and all the fauna of the American offices organise, intervene and participate openly in repression against our people.

"Recently, they have taken from the museum of horrors the filthy, disgraceful and infamous men who belong to the same family as Chiang Kai-Shek and Ngo Dinh Diem, the sinister Tshombe and his followers, in order to put them into power," he said.

"U.S. Imperialism in the Congo changes the rider while keeping the same horse," he added.

"Under the leadership of the National Council of Liberation, the Congolese people will never fall into the trap again.

"Listen, Harriman, Goldwater and Johnson, there is no reconciliation between the patriots and your Congolese lackeys, traitors to the cause of the Asian, Latin American and African peoples. Revolutionary armed struggle is the victorious road of the Vietnamese people led by the national front for Liberation. Revolutionary armed struggle is also the triumphant road of the Congolese people led by the National Council of Liberation.

"Our guns point resolutely at the ugly face of the biggest enemy of all peoples of the world, U.S. Imperialism.

"The National Council of Liberation of Congo supports the struggle of the brothers-in-arms of the national front for liberation of South Vietnam."

Now Tshombe is recruiting fascist-minded European mercenaries from racist South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, etc., to fight the dirty war. He cannot even rely on his own paid troops. Washington, London, Brussels, etc., look on, no doubt "hoping for the best." This lesson will not be lost on the peoples of Africa and elsewhere.

The Congolese patriots began their armed struggle with the most primitive of weapons against puppet troops armed with modern weapons. They fight against heavy odds but, sure of the support of the mass

of working peoples, nationally and internationally, they are certain of victory. Despising the enemy strategically yet taking full account of him tactically, the Congo patriots are proceeding from the classic Marxist-Leninist concept of anti-imperialist struggle. Yet once again it is confirmed that it is not this or that modern weapon which is decisive in the long run, but people—masses and millions of people, whose basic interests run directly counter to that of imperialism and its apologists, the modern revisionists. Experience in the history of national-liberation struggle proves that the "small and weak" defeat the "big and strong." That the "nobodies of today" defeat the "big shots" of today and become the tried, tested and beloved leaders of their respective nations. Here is yet another objective law of historical development which imperialism and modern revisionism are unable or unwilling to accept. Already, our Congolese comrades have occupied thousands of square miles of their native soil. The vital centres of Bolobo and Mushie; Kindu, capital of Maniema Province, and Albertville, capital of Northern Katanga Province are theirs. Thousands of workers and peasants are mobilising to the victorious banner.

Without doubt there will be ups and downs. Rightist and "Leftist" errors have appeared in all revolutionary struggles. The U.S. robbers are preparing to openly intervene militarily as they are doing in S.E. Asia. This, so far from being a sign of strength is precisely a sign of their hysterical panic and as in S.E. Asia, will only dig them an even deeper grave. They tremble as they see mortal peril to their loot. Whatever happens, no power on earth can deprive the Congolese people of utter and ultimate triumph. This epic struggle will influence and raise to a new level the entire liberation struggle of all Africa until colonialism and neo-colonialism is vanquished in a very few years.

Let every British worker and progressive give all support to the Congolese hero-Patriots!

Long live the rich and fertile land of the Congolese!

Down and out with all imperialists and their servants!

Long live the liberation struggles of our African brothers and sisters!

DAVE VOLPE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The following letter was sent to the Manchester Area Committee

Dear Comrades,

I joined the C.P.G.B. in 1961 with only the vaguest knowledge of Communism. Since then I have sought to familiarise myself with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. I have come a long way in those three years or so, though, of course, there is still much to be learned.

The dispute in the International Communist Movement was on during this time, but I wasn't aware of it then. Not until I assumed the present dimensions did I know of any differences at all—internationally or here in Britain! And it is clear now why. The Party Press and other organs were closed to opponents of King Street's and Moscow's policies!

Oh yes! I know that individual comrades like Joe Dix were allowed to voice their opinions at branch meetings. But what is this? A few words before a handful of people (even then crowded in with the usual business). What is this when the Party Press and other channels for addressing big gatherings of comrades is completely monopolised by the "official line?" I saw for myself this "democracy" in action at Charlton Public Hall last autumn at a special meeting called by the District Committee following upon the anti-China statement of the Executive Committee.

The best part of the evening was taken up by Sid Foster attacking the C.P.C. and defending the C.P.S.U. The rest of the time was given to individual members in the audience to speak five minutes each!

If that is Democratic Centralism then I'm disgusted. And to think it had me fooled at the time! That was because I hadn't had experience of this sort of thing. This was sheer guillotining! Forcing a vote! There must be a great many sincere comrades who were taken in by this; who did not know the real facts about the C.P.C.'s thesis.

And so it was that I accepted "The British Road to Socialism" under the illusion that it was based upon Marxism-Leninism; so it was that I knew nothing of the revisionist danger flooding the World Communist Movement. Only now thanks to "Vanguard" and "Peking Review" have I seen the truth. I have come to know the tricks employed by revisionism, such as seizing one side of a question and classifying it as everything (e.g. the question of Stalin); equating one historical period with another entirely different (e.g. Palme Dutt on a letter sent by Marx to Johnson, Labour Monthly, January, 1964); taking something out of class context and placing it in abstraction (e.g. the Bourgeois and Proletarian State and nuclear weapons).

The Party is pleading for "unity"; unity in abstraction, as though it was some magic weapon. The question is: Unity on what basis? Obviously there can never be unity on pseudo-Marxism-Leninism. After all, who is splitting the Party? When the leaders operate its apparatus like the BBC they leave Marxist-Leninists no choice but to come out into the open with their own apparatus. Oh no! It is not China who is responsible for factionalism. The oft-quoted words, "If the leading group in any Party adopt a non-revolutionary line and convert it into a reformist Party, then Marxist-Leninists inside and outside the Party will replace them and lead the people in making revolution," are a self-evident truth. The latter half of the sentence is the logical outcome of the other half. It follows then that if the C.P.C. is creating factionalism and splittism it must be persuading leading groups to adopt non-revolutionary policies.

It is the leading group in the C.P.G.B. who have sealed themselves off within a bureaucratic shell! They cannot openly face their critics!

Anyone who upholds truth and exposes those who tamper with Marxism-Leninism has my support. The C.D.R. . . . C.U. comes into this category and that is why I have no guilty conscience in linking up with it. We may be a minority at present, but we are a growing minority.

"The British Road . . . mentality is on the way out! Fraternally,

R. Alderson, Gorton Branch, 27.7.64

Bombay, 25th July, 1964

The Editor, "Vanguard"

Dear Sir,

Kindly publish the following in the columns of your esteemed journal:

"The following resolution was adopted at a meeting held under auspices of the Indo-Cuban Society on Saturday, 25th July, 1964, at the BUJ HALL, prospect Chambers Annex. Speakers included Mrs. Dellsch Chari, of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, Shri S. Y. Kolhatkar, Trade Union leader, Shri T. S. Hedge, Shri K. L. Bajaj, Secretary of the Society, Shri R. R. Singh and Advocate Malkani.

"This meeting of the citizens of Bombay held under the auspices of the Indo-Cuban Society, sends its fraternal greetings to the people of Cuba on the occasion of their historic Revolution Day and expresses their solidarity with them, in their determination to defend their inherent right to shape their destiny according to their own genius and build a social order of their own choice, without any outside interference.

"The Cuban people under the inspiring leadership of Fidel Castro have not only liberated themselves from foreign domination by overthrowing the dictatorial Batista regime which subserved imperialist interests on their soil, but are also engaged in the heroic task of rebuilding their economy on socialist lines under extremely difficult conditions.

"The people of India cannot but have

admiration for the indomitable courage of the Cuban people, who are threatened with foreign intervention at every step.

The aggressive designs of the U.S. Administration aimed at Organising a counter-revolutionary overthrow of the present socialist regime, by means of unclear blackmail and invasion of the Cuban territory by armed mercenaries must be unreservedly condemned by all the freedom loving people in the world.

"This meeting appeals to the various mass organisations and political parties in India to mobilise public opinion in the country in defence of the gains of the Cuban Revolution."

Yours faithfully,

K. L. Bajaj, Secretary

Dear Comrades,

It has long been evident that the C.P.G.B. leadership are merely marionettes, with the imperialist running-dog N. S. Khrushchov pulling the strings. The C.P.G.B. revisionists under the directions of their master have abandoned the class struggle and are now only concerned with carving a niche for themselves with petty bourgeois circles. The "achievements" of the Italian C.P. under the leadership of one of their high priests, Togliatti, are looked on with reverence and this has resulted in the C.P.G.B. revisionists pursuing a "stop at nothing" policy in a bid to gain respectability. Their efforts will bear fruit this October with the election of no Communist M.P.s and a miserable total vote of around 35,000.

Approximately 60,000 Daily Workers are sold during the week and 80,000 on Saturday and these figures have remained remarkably steady for several years even though the influence and membership of the C.P.G.B. is supposed to have increased. On the face of it this may appear strange but is it really? Apart from public libraries the only people who buy the paper are C.P.G.B. members and a handful of supporters; nobody else will look at it more than once and why? Surely it's ridiculous to pay 3d. for a four-page Daily Worker when for the same price one can buy a 16-page Daily Mirror which peddles much the same line.

Marxist-Leninists should consider the Young Communist League a complete write off. Because of the political ignorance of so many YCL members, the Trotskyists and other rats from the sewers can be found here, there and everywhere pumping out their trash, which, of course, lands on fertile ground.

There are many comrades who, though still C.P.G.B. members after seeing Marxism-Leninism adulterated daily by the revisionists would like to take a stand against them. Some believe that the only way it can be achieved is by waging a resolute inner party struggle. In a number of parties it would certainly be possible to oust the revisionist elements from power through inner party struggle but this could not be achieved in the C.P.G.B. at the present time. The revisionists in the C.P.G.B. are more firmly entrenched than

these comrades realise, so firmly in fact that little less than an atom-bomb could shift them. The E.C.'s puppets throughout the country—Area Organisers, Branch Secretaries, etc., ensure that whatever filth the leadership foists on the rank and file is accepted without the slightest difficulty. Any comrade daring to voice correct Marxist-Leninist theories is immediately combed out and tipped off to the local area office as being "dangerous."

Marxist-Leninists should have no truck with men like Khrushchov, Suslov, Gollan, Matthews and Coy, who praise the likes of Kennedy and Nehru to the skies yet with their next breath hurl vicious slander at such heroic leaders of the working class as Stalin, Hodja and Mao Tse Tung. The crying need in Britain is for a new Communist Party which will hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Within a short time this party will come to be respected by the working class in Britain and this will be very different from the present situation, where the C.P.G.B.-ites are looked on with utter contempt.

Ian McEwen

Dear Comrades,

The conclusions I drew from my Branch meeting, July 13th, held to discuss future Branch activity and to elect a new Branch Committee, was disappointing to say the least, and seem to confirm much of what many ex-Party members have been saying about Revisionism and deviations from Marxism.

Lacking in theoretical knowledge and confining my activities to a small circle of Comrades I was easily led into believing that the split in the C.P. concerned only a tiny minority whose ambition was to disrupt the Party.

In the past few weeks, however, I have had the opportunity to discuss with these Comrades the differences that led them to abandon the Party and form the various Communist Associations. I have also commenced studying Marxist-Leninist literature and am now of the opinion that the majority of those who have been expelled or have left the Party are a fine bunch of Communists who have remained loyal to the principles of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

There must be hundreds like myself who have doubts about the "British Road to Socialism" and have remained silent on this issue, for fear of being labelled an "anti-Party element" or a "Trotskyist."

I now know that I have been a fool not to have seen through King Street sooner and not to have had the courage to admit my errors instead of sitting on the fence daydreaming of things that could not be.

The present Party line is both treacherous and Dangerous and I hope world events will see the Communist Parties rising from their orange-coloured horizons for the old Russian proverb, "go after two wolves and you will not catch one" is very true: we cannot have the Bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Yours fraternally,
L. SWANN, West Ham

AN ALBANIAN DIARY

IT was late on Sunday morning (April 26th), that we touched down at Le Bourget. Waiting for us were two disarmingly friendly young men from the Albanian Legation. Michael McCreery soon found himself in the unsolicited role of interpreter because my French is virtually non-existent. Eventually we arrived at the Legation and were introduced to the Counsellor. In the evening we met, the Charge d' Affaires. Since virtually all the conversation was in French, Michael was only able occasionally to convert the odd sentence, it was a somewhat frustrating experience.

Came Monday morning and we were whisked off to Orly. Thence Rome, Bari and finally Tirana. We touched down at Tirana somewhere around a quarter to four in the afternoon. As we waited to disembark I could not overcome an immense swell of emotion at the thought that here, at last, I was on Socialist territory. On leaving the plane we were individually greeted by various Party officials. There was a warm hug and kiss from Party Secretary Hysni Kapo and the same from a little girl who presented me with a bunch of flowers. Words cannot express just how moving this ceremony was. It was a relief to be speaking English again, albeit through a very proficient interpreter. What stood out a mile was that we were meeting leading officials in the Government of a sovereign state and yet—how can I put it—they were ordinary people. Can one imagine the same situation in the "Free World"?

After some welcoming speeches, we were driven in small groups to Tirana.

References to Albania in the Western press had led me to expect that roads, as we know them, are non-existent. The best available would be mere cart tracks. I should have known better. The road from the airport was, I found, adequate and could be compared with some "B" class roads in, say, Cheshire. In Tirana itself the roads and pavements were very good. The population of Tirana is 160,000 and not 25,000 as given by my best available Western source. True, people are not as well dressed as in most Western countries but against this there is an inescapable feeling of enthusiasm which seems to pervade the very atmosphere. Of course, there is no guarantee that those Western journalists who have visited Albania have not immunised themselves against this dangerous air. There ensued an evening of excellent cuisine in excellent accommodation with excellent Albanian company.

Tuesday's itinerary began with a visit to a textile factory. Subsequent events can only be described as extraordinary. A large crowd awaited our arrival at this factory which employs about 5,000 people. It was the previous day's arrival all over again but on a larger scale. Flowers, hugs, kisses, open faces wreathed in smiles of genuine friendship. As can be imagined, the emotional effect was overwhelming. In the Committee room, more welcoming speeches and then our responses. Eventually we were guided through the factory. The machinery, Soviet made and installed in the pre-Khrushchev era, was very impressive indeed. Michael McCreery observed that it compared favourably with some he had seen in Manchester recently. This factory, one of the largest projects ever undertaken in Albania, was built within 2½ years on what had previously been swampland. For the statistically minded, the cloth output is currently 26 million metres annually. Wool textiles 1.2 million; velvet 1.2 million; and knitting fibres about 1,000 tons.

Spare parts have been a problem since Khrushchev's embargo but nowadays 95 per cent of spare parts are self-produced. The factory is complete with its own housing area, schools, including two high schools and a school for adults, hospital, ambulance and shops. Employed in this factory are more engineers than existed in the whole of pre-war Albania. Women take 60 per cent of the jobs including many leading administrative positions. The workers are imbued with a tremendous sense of purpose—a consequence of their correct national line. They are determined that nothing shall stop them in their will to overcome the difficulties placed in their way by the traitor, Khrushchev.

The University of Tirana

Here again, yet another rousing welcome which penetrated one's deepest emotions. The interior of the University contained some of the most modern electronic equipment and hydraulic apparatus that I have ever seen. High grade cathode ray oscilloscopes were at work alongside what appeared to be a computer. The hydraulic gear had me completely mystified. As in the textile factory, it was a story of tremendous progress in all fields and in spite of Khrushchev's tactics of trying to sabotage progress.

Museums have always occupied a place of special importance in my interests and the Tirana museum was no exception. It is a "must" for everybody who is interested in tracing the origins of Albanian culture. One emerges from the museum with the feeling of having been re-educated in one's whole conception of Albania.

In the evening we were treated to a

show of Albanian colour films. Apart from the programme excellence, what struck me in particular was the clarity of vision and the first rate sound quality.

On Thursday morning we had a discussion with Comrades Hysni Kapo and Rames Alia. In the evening we were invited to enjoy an opera which turned out to be of a remarkably high quality. The theme is based on the pearl fishers of Ceylon. It could well occupy some of the time at present taken up on our television screens by such gems as Mark Saber or the oceans of moth-eaten American old films.

I am writing these lines slightly intoxicated from first-class Albanian wines. The occasion was a social evening of the Tirana transport workers. We Marxist-Leninists from Britain, France and Belgium were feted in a manner that is reserved in the "Free" world for royalty. The main difference was that the people were gay, natural and relaxed. I found that I, too, was relaxed and this must have been one of the most enjoyable evenings of my life. As far as beauty is concerned, Albanian girls need concede nothing.

Earlier we had visited a collective farm. The depth of organisation, planning and applied theory was immense. Towards late afternoon we were shown the historic building where the Partise Punes Shqiperise (Albanian Party of Labour), was founded during the German occupation. These simple premises are kept in virtually identical conditions with those which obtained during the war.

May Day

May Day began with fairly heavy rain and we were all somewhat concerned about its effect on the parade which was due to start at 10 o'clock. As the strains of choral singing from some distant loud-speaker drifted into my room it seemed to set an appropriate tone to the forthcoming events. Fortunately, and curiously, the rain ceased at about 9.30 and some ten minutes later we were strolling across to take our places on the foreign visitors' section of the daiz. At ten o'clock sharp, Comrade Enver Hoxha appeared and the parade commenced. Young men and women proudly marched forward carrying flower bedecked slogans such as "Glory to Marxism-Leninism" "Long Live the Communist Party of China." The parade, which started with smart, identically clad groups marching in formation, continued with portraits of Hoxha, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao-tse-Tung and many others. Lorries carried models showing progress in agriculture and industry. Finally, it seemed to me that half the population of Albania was surging past gaily cheering, waving and shouting. These are the people, some Western correspondents would have us believe, who are living in slavery. It was past noon when the parade ended. Each of us was then introduced to Comrade Hoxha. We were then driven back to our hotel. Curiously, it was just starting to rain again.

The afternoon was taken up with a trip to Durres, the port which also serves as a resort with some fine natural beaches. Again, we were well entertained, this time by the Secretary of the Durres P.P.Sh. (Albanian Party of Labour) and his wife.

The Albanian Ballet "Halili dhe Hajrija (Brother and Sister), by Tish Daija is set in the background of the Turkish occupation of Albania, which ended incidentally in 1912. Ballet of course is international, and no interpreter was needed to guide us through the action. Tickets for the opera usually cost about 2/6. Cinema tickets 1/-.

On the subject of prices, comparisons are always difficult but the following examples may be useful as a guide. Cigarettes, 1/- for 20, brandy 6/- per bottle, shoes tended to be dear at from £3 to £6. Clothes, nylons, coffee, imported razor blades were dear, rent and electricity extremely cheap.

On the 2nd of May we had the opportunity of visiting the Marx and Engels power stations. These lie some distance to the north of Tirana. The equipment, of Czech and Austrian origin, is of a very high standard of engineering. There is a third power station, the Lenin, and two others will be completed shortly.

Our discussions with Comrade Hoxha ranged over many topics. Other members of the Central Committee of the P.P.Sh. present were Hysni Kapo, Rames Alia and Piro Biti. The conversations were frank and friendly. The prevailing impression that I brought away from the meeting was that the Albanians were filled with great optimism and confidence in Albania's future. They were equally happy about international prospects and were particularly interested in the struggle in Britain. The Albanian Party of Labour

MAO TSE-TUNG AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

MAO'S great contribution to the world revolution is that he integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Numerous are the problems during the Chinese revolution which he painstakingly solved in a brilliant manner by applying the science of Marxism-Leninism to Chinese conditions. For over 30 years Mao struggled against harmful ideological trends which existed both outside and inside the party. Trotskyism, Left adventurism Right opportunism, dogmatism, doctrinarism and empiricism were all harmful trends which at some time or another manifested themselves during the Chinese revolution, and against which Mao waged uncompromising struggles. During these struggles, which strengthened and consolidated the C.P.C., Mao proved himself a great master in applying and developing the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

By understanding the contradictions which existed between the various reactionary forces in China and by basing themselves on the creative power of the revolutionary masses, the C.P.C. headed by Mao Tse Tung finally led the Chinese people to victory. The victory of the Chinese people is a confirmation of the fact that the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are an all-powerful science and applicable everywhere, and a confirmation that Mao has applied this science to the particular conditions of China. Mao never regarded the Chinese revolution as an isolated problem but regarded it as part of the world proletarian revolution.

There is no doubt that it was the leadership of the proletariat and the alliance of workers and peasants, as insisted on by Mao Tse Tung, which made possible on the one hand the victory of the revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and on the other hand the possibility for the transition of the democratic revolution to a socialist revolution. Making a concrete analysis of the concrete conditions which existed in China in 1927 Mao put forward his idea that for a long period of time the main effort should be devoted to the establishment of rural base areas so as to use them to encircle the cities and to eventually win nation-wide victory. Many of the 'Left' adventurists during periods between 1927 and 1931, not understanding the uneven economic and political development of China, expected victory overnight. When this failed many defected to the right. After the setbacks of the revolution during these periods the right opportunists lost faith in the revolution and became liquidationists. Drawing the lesson from years of practical experience, however, many of the comrades who had committed errors realised and rectified their mistakes and followed the correct line of Mao Tse Tung.

Mao Tse Tung recognised the need to fight with the Kuomintang to defeat Japanese imperialism but at the same time insisted on the independence of the people's army. He called the mistake of Right opportunism "all alliance and no struggle," and "Left" opportunism as "all struggle and no alliance." Adhering to Mao's policy the C.P.C. in the united front adopted a dual revolutionary policy of both unity and struggle to deal with the double-dealing policy of the Kuomintang, which was to resist Japan and at the same time surrender, and to unite with the C.P. while at the same time trying to destroy it.

Without a doubt Mao Tse Tung applied Marxist-Leninist dialectics to the problems which arose during the revolutionary war with exceptional brilliance, and time has proved his analysis correct. It is clear for all to see that the Chinese comrades guided by Mao have drawn the lesson from history, have become steed by the many years of struggle against the internal and external class enemies, have further developed Marxism-Leninism by applying it to Chinese condition and have defeated both "Left" adventurism and Right opportunism in their own ranks. How then can the Khrushchovite revisionists claim that the Chinese comrades are Trotskyists, Left wing adventurists, Dogmatists, etc.? Surely the dogmatists are the ones who ignore the lessons of history, the revisionists!

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution is the victory of Marxism-Leninism in the most populous country in the world. It is a continuation of the world socialist revolution which won its first victory in October 1917 in Russia. In spite of the Titoists, Khrushchovites and their lackeys the world proletarian revolution will continue to develop and will win victory after victory until imperialism is finally buried.

RON OAKLEY

THE PATRIOT'S GRAVE

Lines suggested by seeing the rank grass with its apposite and imposing colour which covers the last resting-place on Tara-Hill, of those Irishmen who loved their country "not wisely, but too well."

THERE is blood on the earth—'tis the blood of the brave
Who have gone to their rest to the freeman's grave!
They are dead—but the spirit they kindled is here,
With the fire-breath of life, all unquenched and clear,
And strong in its might as the storm at night,
When it whirls the clouds o'er the moon so bright!

There is blood on the earth! all wild and red—
It cries to our God from the freeman's bed!
It will not fade, nor be washed away—
And the echoes are rife with this mournful lay.
"By gilt and wrong, both reckless and strong,
They were slain for the truth which they loved so long!"

There is blood on the earth—in vale and glen
It has water'd the flowers like dew—and men
Of the noblest heart and most fiery brain,
Have fallen, like Gods, immortal though slain;
For with death at their side, they have life for a bride,
Whose beauty shall flourish whilst time betide.

The Northern Star, September 9, 1843

fully approve of our action in forming the Committee. They referred to it as the "spark," and said it was a very important revolutionary step in Great Britain and a great contribution for the cause of Marxism-Leninism. Hoxha stressed that they were very well informed about our struggle in Britain and appreciated the important role served by "Vanguard" in propagating our common ideas. You have, said Hoxha, taken a correct stand against imperialism and revisionism, against enemies who obey Khrushchev. Around you, sound Party forces will rally. You are not adventurists. Those who have

labelled you as such are wrong. The same tag has been placed on us. Your logic is stronger than theirs (the doubters), and if they are sincere, honourable and have enough courage, they will come to you.

One way or another, I have been very fortunate in that I have been able to visit many different countries in every continent. Never have I seen anything to equal the national spirit of enthusiasm that permeates Albania.

May that spirit remain always in that valiant land!

A. G. MAJOR

STATEMENT FROM YORKSHIRE

THE world's Communist Parties, the working class the world over and their allies, the world wide movement for peace, democracy and Socialism, have developed in recent years to unprecedented proportions, are striking hammer blows at imperialism, colonialism an neo-colonialism and the war plans of the imperialists. The broad anti-imperialist front of all progressive humanity to defeat the feverish war preparations and nuclear blackmail of imperialism, to end forever the rapacious and blood soaked system of imperialist exploitation, aggression and war, and to win the world wide triumph of Socialism and Communism, is hourly and daily being forged anew in unbreakable unity through the resolute struggle and unflinching self sacrifice of the anti-imperialist fighters, led by the working class and toiling masses of the world, at whose head stands the invincible World Communist Movement. Imperialism, led by the most predatory and voracious power, U.S. imperialism that the long history of capitalist exploitation has ever seen, is more and more losing the historical initiative on a world scale, is losing its ability to harness the world's peoples behind its foul system of plunder and improvement. All the objective conditions exist for winning further mighty victories of the working people and toiling masses of the world in the struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the final triumph of socialism and Communism throughout the world.

The blood-soaked imperialists system is nearing its end; a whole third of humanity, comprising the peoples of the mighty Socialist Camp of Nations, have already removed themselves from the orbit of capitalism and imperialism, and are taking giant strides in peaceful Socialist construction, on the road towards the full freedom and creative emancipation of Communism; a further third of humanity, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, is locked in fierce, uncompromising revolutionary struggle against the last bastions of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the most vicious and determined enemy of all progressive humanity, U.S. Imperialism. It is against this background of this objective world situation as analysed and commonly agreed upon at the Moscow meetings of the world's Communist Parties, in 1957 and 1960, and defined in the Moscow Declaration and Statement, that the Great Debate in the International Communist Movement between the forces of Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism must be seen and understood. For Marxism-Leninism teaches, and the entire experience of the international working class and its Communist vanguard confirms, that it is precisely at moments of decisive historical change in the balance of class forces on a world scale that the forces of decaying and moribund capitalism and their reactionary political representatives of all hues most desperately need to find allies within the working class movement, amongst the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism, and particularly within their Communist Vanguard Parties, in order to create a last ditch support for their disintegrating and parasitical system, in the face of the ever-increasing exposure and isolation of imperialism before the peoples of the world, its ever-declining bases of economic and political power, its ever-windling ability to deceive the working people and to mobilise them behind its desperate schemes for aggression, colonial domination, impoverishment and war. The modern revisionists headed by Khrushchov and the leadership of the C.P.S.U. are actively seeking to nullify and reverse the revolutionary theses and agreed policy decisions of the Moscow Declaration and Statement; in open violation of these basic programme documents binding upon all Communist Parties of the world, they are feverishly seeking to rehabilitate the renegade Tito revisionist clique of Yugoslavia, and are openly adopting the Tito programme of class collaboration and appeasement of imperialism in all fields, internal and external. Within the mighty Soviet Union itself, the most powerful bulwark of Socialism and peace, the solid base and prime achievement to date of the working people and toiling masses of the world in their historic struggle against imperialism and capitalist exploitation, the economic base of Socialism is being actively undermined, particularly in the crucial sphere of agriculture; the proletarian dictatorship, indispensable political framework and vital weapon of the working people in the building of Socialism and for the transition to a full Communist society, is being liquidated and "peacefully transformed" into a "state of the whole people" and a "party of the whole people." The modern revisionists have abandoned proletarian internationalism and democratic centralism, and are seeking to impose their own revisionist line of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful economic competition" and "peaceful transition," i.e., all-round co-operation with imperialism, upon the Communist Parties of the world and to erect a colossal edifice of class collaboration upon the basis of the world Communist Movement.

Wherever their erroneous line and policies have won a foothold, the result has been the weakening and disunity of the Communist vanguard party and, in some instances, its actual immobilisation and dispersal, as in Iraq; all over the world they seek to hamper and restrict the revolutionary struggles of the people, and to contain those struggles within the framework of imperialism. By means of the fraudulent Test Ban Treaty, they seek to promote and perpetuate the nuclear arms race, the threat of nuclear world war, and imperialism's strategy of nuclear blackmail, and to prevent fraternal Socialist nations and peoples from acquiring the weapons they need for the defence of their Socialist Motherlands and Socialist construction.

In western Europe, and especially here in Britain, the struggle against modern revisionism is a prime necessity and basic responsibility of every true Communist.

Ever since capitalism began to develop into its imperialist stage, social democracy has been the main base and support of capitalist exploitation and the bourgeois dictatorship, seeking to permeate the broad working class movement with capitalist ideology, to harness the broad organisations of the working people, which were formed originally as organs of struggle against capitalism, into instruments for applying policies of "class peace" and class collaboration, for disarming the working people from struggle, for the creation of a reformist and parliamentary-constitutional base to form the main prop for the bourgeois dictatorship and its chief embellishment, parliament. The class-collaborationist teachings of modern revisionism on the international plane, emanating from the Tito clique and the Khrushchov leadership of the C.P.S.U., find a ready made base in these social-democratic and reformist traditions and ideas always present in the working class movements of the advanced monopoly capitalist countries, and forming an ever-constant source of surrender and betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working class. Here in Britain, the leadership of the C.P.G.B. began to fall back into social-democratic theory and policies with the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943. At the time of the 1945 general election campaign, for instance, the C.P.G.B. leadership adopted a policy of calling for "a coalition government of progressive Tories and Labour with Communist participation," this at a time when the broad popular movement for peace and fundamental social change was at its highest level since the general strike of 1926! Then again, in 1946, the E.C. of the C.P.G.B. adopted a resolution disbanding all factory branches of the Party, and ordering all industrial comrades to organise in their locality branches; this measure was taken because it was recognised by the right opportunist leadership that locality branches are better suited than factory branches for implementing their social-democratic theories of making "electoral struggle" the primary form of activity and leadership in industrial and other mass struggle the secondary form. In 1948, the leadership went so far as to order all industrial cadres in the Shop Stewards Movement, which the Party at that time controlled to 90 per cent, to join with representatives of the employers in forming "Joint Production Committees" to help the capitalist class raise production, and hence exploitation and profits, for the export drive. By means of this act of betrayal the powerful National Shops Stewards Committee was dealt its death blow, the Shops Stewards Movement as a whole deprived of its national leadership, and the task of tying and subordinating it to the reformist and right wing dominated Trade Union Movement prepared and facilitated. Then, in 1951, the revisionist leadership felt their position sufficiently consolidated and entrenched as to make possible the foisting upon the Party of an open and systematised revisionist programme, "The British Road to Socialism," they took the unprecedented step of releasing the full text to the public in pamphlet form a whole year prior to the Congress of 1951, thus presenting that Congress and the whole Party with a "fait accompli." Time and again, the revisionist leading clique has demonstrated its contempt for Marxism-Leninism and democratic-centralism. Ever since the adoption of an openly social-democratic programme, "The British Road to Socialism," in 1951, the degeneration of the C.P.G.B. has been steady and continuous, until today a situation prevails where almost the entire apparatus of the Party is given over to "electoral activity," leadership in mass struggle is almost completely abandoned, or at least subordinated to the parliamentary constitutional line and thus ultimately betrayed—witness the role of the C.P.G.B. leadership in the St. Pancras Tenants movement in 1962 and the Fords Shop Stewards strike against victimisation in 1963. With the adoption by the revisionist dominated E.C. of the notorious Resolution on the International Communist Movement of September 18th, 1963, in which the Marxist-Leninist line and policies of the Communist Party of China were publicly attacked and misrepresented, and after special Branch Meetings had been called in order to gather bogus votes, by purposely falsifying and suppressing the Marxist-Leninist line, democratic-centralism may be seen to have finally disappeared from the life and work of the Party. The Party press has now been closed to all opponents of modern revisionism, thus effectively isolating Marxist-Leninists within their respective branches, preventing the

Marxist-Leninist alternative from being placed before the whole Party membership, and thus rendering the domination of the clique of rightists and revisionists permanent and self-perpetuating. Democratic-centralism, indispensable norm of organisation and structure of all Communist Parties, has been finally transformed into bureaucratic-centralism, and the degeneration of the C.P.G.B. into a "left" social-democratic type of Party with a revisionist, parliamentary-reformist programme (The British Road to Socialism), and fully integrated into the official Labour movement and the parliamentary façade, is complete. It is now a Marxist-Leninist, a Communist Party in name only.

Within the situation outlined above, representing a crisis of unprecedented proportions and intensity within the International Communist Movement and within each Communist Party—a crisis engendered by the fact that revisionists, organisationally concealed but ideologically open agents of imperialism and monopoly, capital have penetrated into and gained control of a number of Communist Parties including the C.P.G.B., the basic class duty of all who stand firm by Marxism-Leninism and the struggle for Socialism is clear: the open attacks of the modern revisionists upon the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism, upon the world-wide struggle for Socialism and Communism, and upon the Programme of the International Communist Movement as expressed in the Moscow Declaration and Statement, must be repulsed and defeated. Only by means of an open and fearless struggle can both the concealed and open agents of the class enemy within our ranks be exposed and eradicated, the unity of our great World Communist Movement be

restored, and the final triumph of Socialism and Communism all over the world be ensured.

We, the undermentioned Communists of the Dewsbury Branch, therefore pledge our firm and consistent resolve to work in unity with the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity, for the final defeat of modern revisionism and for the formation of a new and genuine Communist Party in Britain, based on Marxism-Leninism and democratic-centralism. Only thus may the fundamental long- and short-term interests of the working class be promoted and the final victory of Socialism and Communism in Britain achieved.

We call upon all true Communists, all who stand firm by Marxism-Leninism, the class struggle, Socialist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, to break, in practice as well as in theory, with the revisionist and right-opportunist leadership of the C.P.G.B., and to unite with us and the nation-wide forces of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity.

Our Cause, the cause of victorious Socialism and Communism, is invincible, and will most surely triumph over all open and concealed traitors of the working class of the international Communist movement

Norman Stringer, joined C.P.G.B. 1953
Arthur Stringer, joined C.P.G.B. 1953
Edith Stringer, joined C.P.G.B. 1963
George Worthington, joined C.P.G.B. 1955
Jack Rayner, joined C.P.G.B. 1962

The above statement was passed unanimously as a resolution at a meeting of the Dewsbury Branch held on August 31st, 1964.

BREAK WITH REVISIONISM

The Khrushchevite renegades in the leadership of the so-called C.P.G.B. have claimed for themselves the right to spread the most preposterous revisionist views, to publicly martyr and slander the great revolutionary communists of China and Albania, to close their press to the free expression of Marxist opinion and to crudely violate even that small measure of democratic centralism which once existed in the Party. When Party members correctly object to such a criminal course of conduct, they are intimidated and threatened with expulsion. Those comrades who refuse to succumb to such outrageous arrogance, are subsequently expelled or excluded, and slandered as splitters. Under those circumstances every genuine communist is now faced with a responsibility of decisive significance for the future and destiny of the movement and the working class, either to oppose revisionism and defend Marxism-Leninism or to allow the revisionists to commit their criminal treachery with impunity. No amount of humbug and double talk about "unity" can obscure the fact that unity between revisionists and Marxist-Leninists is impossible. How can we have unity with such as the King Street clique who have publicly exposed themselves as ruthless and unscrupulous hypocrites and liars? How can we unite under the banner of communism with renegades who have flagrantly violated every code of communist morality? How can we be identified with those who jump with robot-like precision to the baton of a political prostitute like Khrushchev?

Some well-meaning comrades in the C.P.G.B. are under the illusion that it is possible to defeat the revisionist leadership and transform the Party from within. Such comrades overlook the fact that the organisational structure of the C.P.G.B. is such as to ensure that the leadership can always remain dominant. Plus the fact that the C.P.G.B. is willing and anxious to accept anyone who can fill in a recruiting slip and have even been known to accept those poor devils who cannot.

It should therefore come as no surprise

that for at least the last 20 years there has been an unrestricted influx into the Party of careerists—opportunist—Trotskyists and anti-Marxist elements of every variety. Many of these rotten elements have ended up in leading positions. The C.P.G.B. is a tragic and pathetic example of what happens to a communist party whose leadership has plunged from head to foot into the mire of revisionism.

The revisionists have best exposed themselves by the crude and clumsy way in which they trampled all over the teachings of Lenin, especially on such questions as War and Peace. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the State and Revolution. But to negate Lenin, the revisionists had to negate the great continuer of Lenin, comrade Joseph Stalin. They did this with the very same kind of lying calumnies that came in the first instance from the most odious rat holes of imperialism, Trotskyism, and fascism.

For reasons of expediency the Khrushchevites signed the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements of the 81 Communist Parties of the World. They have since torn these documents to pieces. How else can they explain their present stand on Yugoslav revisionism with the 81 Parties' statement? How do they reconcile their unilateral public attacks—first launched by Khrushchev himself at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U.—on the Albanian and Chinese Parties, with the 81 Parties' rules about inter-party relations?

How do they reconcile their confusion on the question of peaceful co-existence with the 81 parties and Marxist-Leninist thesis on just and unjust wars? How do they justify Soviet military assistance to semi-feudal India for aggression against Socialist China?

That revisionists prefer to ignore or obscure questions such as these, that they refuse to publish any of the replies of those whom they call "dogmatists" that they have resorted to barefaced lies, fabrication, and falsification all goes to indicate the depths of infamy to which these renegades have now sunk.

JOE DIX

MANCHESTER PUBLIC MEETING

"The struggle against modern revisionism and to re-establish a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party in Britain."

Speakers include:

Joe Dix, Arthur Major,
Mike Baker, Michael McCreery
Chairman: Angus Black

At
THE REGISTRAR, ALL SAINTS
Sunday, 6th September, 7.30 p.m.

Admission Free

Organised by the Manchester Committee to Defeat Revisionism,
for Communist Unity