

# VANGUARD

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## A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

# MR. WILSON'S VICTORY

THE long expected Labour victory has been achieved, but only by the narrowest of margins. With an overall majority in the House of Commons of only four seats the Government of Mr. Harold Wilson has no secure basis, and another General Election appears likely in the not too distant future. We should note the following facts about this election.

Firstly, the Labour Party polled fewer votes than in 1959. 12,197,456 as compared with 12,208,834. It was the fall in the Tory vote — from 13,734,276 to 11,989,130 — and the rise of the Liberal vote — from 1,636,291 to 3,086,609 — which led to the defeat of the Tories, and Labour's hollow victory. Disillusioned with the Tory Government's record, 1,745,146 of their former supporters did not vote for them. The great majority of the "deserters" voted for the Liberals. Some abstained from voting altogether. The total poll fell from 78.9 per cent of the electorate in 1959 to 77.0 per cent in 1964. Disillusionment, dissatisfaction, was the keynote of the 1964 General Election. Positive enthusiasm for the programmes of the main political parties was noticeably lacking.

### CAPITALIST PARTIES

Since all three main parties agree on all essential issues, and differ only marginally, this was scarcely surprising. They all accept the need to maintain the capitalist system of exploitation in Britain, and throughout the world. They all accept the need to maintain United States capitalist domination of Britain — economic, cultural and military — in order to buttress the position of the British capitalists. They are all determined to restore capitalist freedom within the socialist lands, to reconquer these lands for exploitation of the people by capital.

It was not therefore surprising to find on page 5 of the Tory election manifesto a large photograph of Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Butler, the former foreign secretary, holding hands over the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, that bogus contribution to world peace. It was not surprising to read in the Labour Party's manifesto that "the changes in the Communist world that followed Stalin's death... are gradually transforming the relations between the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China and rapidly changing the whole nature of East-West relationships." It was "Stalin's brutal intransigence," we read, that compelled "Labour's Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin," in the years after 1945 to take "the lead in facing the harsh realities of the cold war, and in creating the NATO alliance as the basis of Europe's military security."

### THE INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR DETERRENT

The only policy question which raised the slightest heat during this General Election was the degree to which our British capitalist rulers should subordinate themselves to the military domination of their United States allies. One section of the capitalist class, with the Tory Party and Lord Hume as their mouth-piece, advocated the retention of Britain's independent nuclear deterrent. Another section, speaking through the Labour and Liberal parties, advocated the scrapping of this independent deterrent, and sole reliance upon the American bomb, so that British capitalist resources could be switched into production of conventional arms, for the suppression of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. As the Labour Party Manifesto put it: —

"The Government bases its policy on the assumption that Britain must be prepared to go it alone without her allies in an all-out thermonuclear war with the Soviet Union, involving obliteration of our people. By constantly reiterating this appalling assumption the Government is undermining the alliance on which our security now depends."

"We are not prepared any longer to waste the country's resources on endless duplication of strategic nuclear weapons. We shall propose the re-negotiation of the Nassau agreement. Our stress will be on the strengthening of our conventional regular forces so that we can contribute our share to NATO defence and also fulfil our peace-keeping commitments to the Commonwealth and the United Nations."

This happy phrase refers, of course, to the British capitalist wars of aggression in South Arabia, and in North Kalimantan, and their naval, and military bases and troops throughout the world — from Guyana to Singapore, from Southern Rhodesia to Western Germany — defending British capitalist interests against the rising tide of national liberation.

Was it surprising that President Johnson, leader of United States imperialism, clearly favoured the return of a Labour Government. We read in the *Guardian* of October 2:

Nobody except his Republic opponents would accuse President Johnson of being soft on Socialism, let alone Communism. However, there is some evidence that the Administration is somewhat concerned at the effect of Senator Goldwater's campaign on the possible outcome of the British elections. Many officials believe that indications of Conservative gains in Britain are related to alarm over Mr. Goldwater's views on foreign policy.

It is felt that many people in Britain have come to believe because of the Goldwater phenomenon, that the Atlantic alliance is a weaker tool than they had imagined, with the United States a potentially unreliable ally, and that therefore a position more akin to that of General de Gaulle, with an independent nuclear deterrent at Britain's beck and call, may after all be an important factor in safeguarding Britain's defence.

It is probably for this reason that President Johnson is emphasising the United States commitment to the Western alliance, and his associates are privately assuring America's friends in Britain that Senator Goldwater has virtually no chance of winning the election.

Well, President Johnson and the United States capitalists have achieved their aim. Wilson has formed a Labour Government, and that Labour Government is committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament, within the framework of NATO, which will assist in consolidating the military domination of U.S. imperialism over Britain. That section of the British capitalist class which favours leaning still more heavily than in the past upon the United States alliance has gained a narrow victory over the British de Gaullists.

### FOR GENERAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

The attitude which British Communists must adopt is clear. As we stated in the *British Communist Appeal*, published in the *October Vanguard*:

"When two rival gangs are terrorising a neighbourhood the people aim to disarm both of them; they gain nothing if the weaker gang joins forces with the stronger, so that they can both jointly continue their attacks upon the people. The British working class and people demand general and complete nuclear disarmament, not "reliance" upon the military forces of the most reactionary and dangerous power in the world today. We must achieve the complete banning and destruction of all nuclear weapons.

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

### THE WILSON GOVERNMENT

The ruling class have obtained the government which they now require in order to implement their policies of aggression against the working class, at home and abroad. We have already noted that Wilson aims at greater subservience to United States imperialism, and a more aggressive policy towards the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in alliance with U.S. imperialism. He and his Labour Government have also made no secret of their intention to deal ruthlessly with all those workers who fight for higher living standards. Lord Gardiner, now the Lord Chancellor, made this clear, during the election, with these remarks:

"We usually seem to have strikes at election time, and then the floating voter thinks that a Conservative Government would be firmer with the strikers. In fact, of course, if you looked at their record, they are not. I am not blaming them; the problem is not an easy one. If you made strikes, or even unofficial strikes, illegal, and 5,000 men came out, you couldn't enforce it, because there isn't room for thousands more in all our prisons put together."

Mr. Gunter, the new Minister of Labour, has followed up this pre-election talk in no uncertain fashion, with a violent attack upon the dockers of Britain for pressing their pay claim with threats of strike action. We remember Mr. Gunter's recent remarks about the need to recognise the trade union movement — "or else." We recognise that this man, and the Government of which he is a member, so-called "Left-wingers" and all, is the bitter enemy of the working class, the willing tool of the capitalists. The *Daily Worker* joins in the vicious game of attempting to fool the workers by talking about Mr. Gunter's "Bad start," and asking as if it did not know the answer, "Why should Mr. Gunter, the new Minister of Labour, start his career by accusing London dockers of anarchy because they plan a one-day token strike?" It then pretends that Gunter can be pushed into serving the interests of the working class. "Surely, Mr. Gunter," we read, "will not argue that it is unreasonable for the dockers to ask for another 25/- a week?"

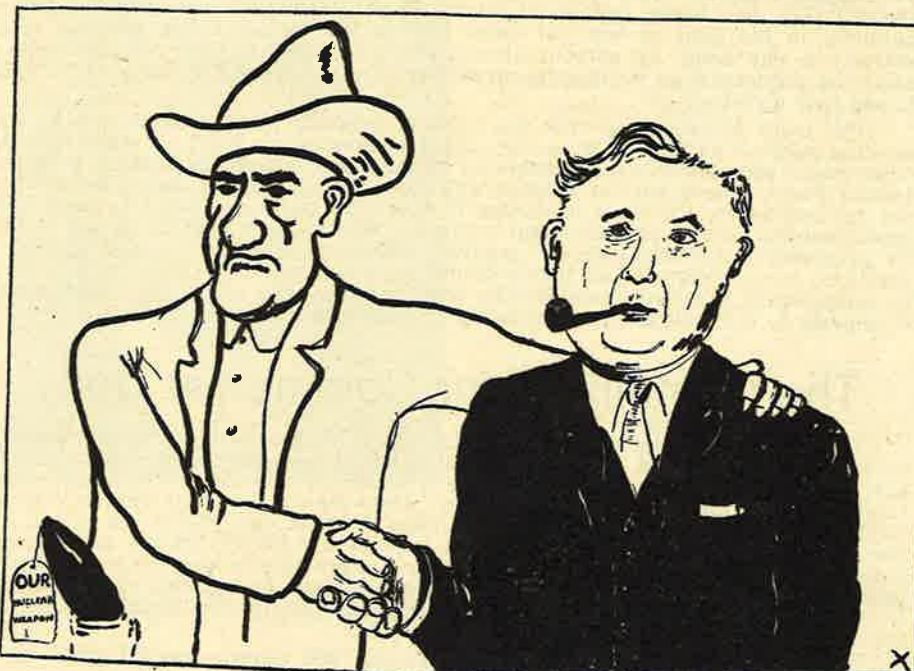
Yes, Mr. Gunter will argue that it is unreasonable, as the Editor of the *Daily Worker* knows full well, and he will act to prevent this pay increase being achieved. Why? Because Mr. Gunter, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Cousins, and every other member of this Labour Government is concerned with making capitalism work; he serves the interests of the ruling class. In pretending that these men can be "pushed to the Left" the *Daily Worker*, and the C.P.G.B. leadership who control this paper, are deliberately covering up for the Labour Government, and therefore for the capitalist class.

Notice incidentally, how this leader in the *Daily Worker* is concluded: "(The dockers) are entitled to demonstrate against the employers refusal to concede their modest demands. Such action will strengthen their negotiators, not lead to anarchy, and it should not be condemned." Note that last phrase, "should not be condemned." No firm support, only an absence of condemnation. This is revisionist in practice; damning mass struggle with faint praise, fudging and twisting the class issues, distorting the truth, covering up for the Labour Government with all the cunning derived from decades of practice.

### OUR TASKS

The arrival of Wilson, the departure of Khrushchev, the first Chinese atomic bomb; these developments must all be seen against the background of the continuing disintegration of capitalism on a world scale, and the continuing rise

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By order of the Old Pals Act



# Mr. Wilson's Victory

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and consolidation of the socialist world from the ruins of the old order. Communists and militant workers in Britain recognise that the central task in this present epoch is to unite against imperialism, and in particular United States imperialism, and for its defeat. Only in this way can we advance the cause of national liberation, peace, democracy and Socialism.

It is essential, therefore, for Communists and militant workers and intellectuals in Britain today, to give a lead to the people in isolating and exposing United States imperialism and its economic, military and cultural domination of our country.

This task involves the exposure of Mr. Wilson's government in its underwriting of the American alliance, and the NATO, CENTO, and SEATO pacts. It involves mobilising the people to struggle against every attempt by the Labour Government to maintain and extend the United States domination of Britain. Prime Minister Wilson is President Johnson's friend and ally. He must be exposed as a traitor to the working class and Labour movement.

A second, and closely related task, is to mobilise ever wider sections of the working people against British imperialism's attempt to maintain its economic and military domination of overseas peoples. From Guyana to Kalimantan, from South Africa to the Yemen, the British imperialists are only able to maintain their increasingly precarious positions, with the economic and military assistance of the United States. We must explain to the British people that every blow struck against British imperialism overseas assists us in our struggle to free ourselves from United States domination and exploitation.

The ending of United States capitalist domination of Britain, and the ending of British capitalist domination of Asian, African and Latin American countries are closely related tasks. Only the working class, led by a genuine Communist Party, can lead the people in mass struggle to achieve these tasks. We must establish a genuine unity of the Left—

- In defence of the living standards of the working class and all working people against the attacks of the employers and the Government.
- In defence of our trade union and democratic rights, which Mr. Gunter, Lord Gardiner, and other members of the Government have made quite clear they intend to attack.
- For the liberation of our country from the domination of United States imperialism, and the liberation of overseas lands from the domination of British and United States imperialism.
- For the defence of world peace, and the complete banning and destruction of all nuclear weapons.
- For the destruction of the capitalist machinery of state, and the establishment of working class power, which must rest upon the strength of the workers own organisations.
- For the expropriation without compensation of the giant monopolies which dominate the British capitalist economy, and the planning of production for social use, in all the main industries of Britain.

## MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE

The working class in Britain is large, but those with a clear understanding of what needs to be done are, at present, few. There is urgent need, therefore, for all those who are seriously concerned with advancing the interests of the working class in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism, to unite, whatever secondary differences they may have, in order to mobilise the militant workers and intellectuals in mass struggle for the achievement of these aims. This involves the defeat of social-democracy—as represented by Harold Wilson and his Government; and the defeat of modern revisionism—as represented by John Gollan and his crew; who seek only to cover up for capitalism, and divert the mass of the people from the path of advance, the path of mass struggle against all the attacks of the capitalists and their state. The C.D.R.C.U. has planned a heavy programme of public activity (meetings, sales of "Vanguard", posters, leaflets, etc.) to take our ideas to the militant workers and intellectuals in the coming months. We invite all comrades and friends to join with us in this work, and allow whatever secondary differences there may be among us to be ironed out in the course of struggle against our common enemies—monopoly capitalism, social democracy, and modern revisionism—and for our common goals—the liberation of our country and the liberation of our class.

## Communists and the elections

With the widespread feeling, among working people, of disillusionment with existing capitalist politics and capitalist parties, one might have expected a massive increase in the vote for the Communist Party of Great Britain. After all, this Party claims to represent working class interests, and to stand for the Socialist alternative to capitalism; as distinct from the other political parties. But in the event its 36 candidates did extremely badly. In West Fyfe and Rhondda East, the former once held by the Communist Party, the Communist vote fell heavily. In the former from 3,828 in 1959 to 3,273. In the latter from 4,580 in 1959 to 3,385. In nearly all seats contested the Communist Party obtained less than 3% of the votes cast, and in several less than 2%. To give some examples:

Hayes & Haslington ...	2.56%	Mitcham ...	1.22%
Swindon ...	2.11%	Luton ...	1.19%
Willesden ...	2.97%	Coventry ...	1.87%
Wigan ...	2.39%	Newcastle ...	1.83%
Liverpool (Scotland) ...	2.77%	West Lothian ...	1.23%
Nottingham ...	3.05%	Kinross ...	0.50%

In six out of seven seats previously contested in Scotland the Communist vote fell sharply. In only two of these seats were the Scottish Nationalists contesting. Thus in West Lothian the Communist vote fell from 1,511 in the 1962 by-election to 610; and in Dumbartonshire East from 2,200 in 1959 to 1,171.

Why this miserable performance? It can certainly not be attributed to hostile propaganda from the capitalist press, BBC and Television. In fact in this respect the C.P.G.B. has never had it so good. Hugh Macdiamid was given immense publicity in his fight to win 127 votes against the former Prime Minister; and scarcely a day went by without Henry Fairlie, Randolph Churchill, and other capitalist commentators writing favourable articles about the C.P.G.B.'s brave fight to win time on television.

The truth is, of course, that the C.P.G.B. presents no real alternative to the existing political parties. It is, as they are, a Parliamentary Party. It states that its "Socialist" programme can be achieved through Parliament, in alliance with the Labour Party, indeed only in alliance with the Labour Party. It stands for reform, not for revolution. In effect it joins with the other parties in arguing about how capitalism can best be reformed and improved. The militant workers do not find in its programme a sharp call for a break with capitalist policies and capitalist practices, for a break with all that is bound up in this rotten Parliamentary system. In consequence it fails to mobilise the votes of those who reject capitalist society. It appeals to the radicals, but not to the revolutionary working class.

## The Committee for Communist Unity

It will not have gone unnoticed by the capitalists, the social democrats, and the revisionist leadership of the C.P.G.B., all of whom have kept very quiet about it, that almost exactly 900 votes (899) were obtained by the C.D.R.C.U. candidate in Huyton, Lancashire—Wilson's constituency. This vote was achieved without years of electoral campaigning, such as lie behind the C.P.G.B. candidates; but simply on the strength of one address, delivered to most of the electors in the week before polling day, which presented a revolutionary alternative to the existing political parties, and a revolutionary programme of mass struggle for working class demands. In addition more than 40 posters were bill-posted outside the main factories in the constituencies.

It is impossible to deny that almost exactly 900 working people voted for a

revolutionary rejection of capitalist Parliamentary politics, voted against the capitalist system. This was 1.36% of the votes cast—a larger proportion than that obtained by several C.P.G.B. candidates.

## Khrushchev's dismissal

And so Mr. Khrushchev, this traitor, has now been removed. And genuine Communists throughout the world can only rejoice, for he symbolised all that is rotten within the ranks of the working class movement. His departure shakes the modern revisionists to the core in every country in the world. Desperately they protest to Moscow: "We demand a full explanation"; "Unconstitutional"; "Undemocratic!" The political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain states: "The explanation of the changes so far given does not remove the natural concern felt by Communists abroad about this development." For them it does not, for the one thing these men fear above all else is the reuniting of the two greatest socialist powers on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. And the removal of Khrushchev means that the disintegration of modern revisionism within the U.S.S.R. has begun, and that the great goal of international working class solidarity is now in sight.

The panic reaction of the revisionist leaderships of many Communist parties in Europe, East and West, is, objectively, the panic reaction of imperialism, whose interests the modern revisionists serve; whether they know it, and are paid for it, or not. For the paper tiger of imperialism has been desperately building up the revisionist network within the ranks of the world Communist movement in the hope of stemming the tide of victorious advance against imperialism. And now, in a moment, the man who has co-ordinated this revisionist campaign for a decade, has gone. Is it any wonder that the imperialists, and all their agents, are afraid of the future?

We British Communists welcome the dismissal of Khrushchev, and urge those who have replaced him to reunite the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with the international Communist movement with all possible speed.

## The developing struggle to defeat revisionism in Western Europe

IN this month's *Vanguard* we reprint the recent statement issued by the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, following the recent elections in Belgium. The reconstituted Communist Party, under the leadership of Jacques Grippa, has made immense progress in recent months in the struggle to win the militant workers and intellectuals for a Marxist-Leninist policy, in face of bitter opposition from the social democrats and the modern revisionists. Communists in Britain have derived immense encouragement from the firm and open challenge to revisionism which Belgian Communists have made during this last year. It is to their great honour that they have led the way in Western Europe in the struggle to re-establish Marxist-Leninist principles and practice.

But they no longer stand alone. The struggle against revisionism has now spread throughout Western Europe. In Italy, in Switzerland, in Denmark, in Austria, Marxist-Leninist journals are now being published. In Spain the Communist Party has been re-established this last month. Their communique has been reprinted on page 16. The Spanish comrades, working under exceptionally difficult conditions, under a Fascist government, who have now reconstructed their Party will undoubtedly achieve great successes in the near future in their struggle to free Spain from its vile, United States-backed Franco dictatorship.

In France, too, Marxist-Leninists are making headway in the struggle against a strongly entrenched revisionist leadership. We welcome, in particular, the information bulletins which we receive from the Secretariat of the Marxist-Leninist groups in the Paris region. Marxism-Leninism is invincible. Its principles are international. Even in Western Europe imperialism is incapable of preventing the truth being seized upon by ever more militants who have seen through the lies and deceptions of modern revisionism. Marxist-Leninists, unite!



"Malaysia" is the federation forced upon Singapore, Malaya and North Kalimantan [Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo] by British imperialism—see facing page



# MR. WILSON'S SOCIALISM

SINCE the formation of Mr. Harold Wilson's Labour Government the British wars of aggression against the people's of South Arabia and North Kalimantan continue. Indeed, recent reports indicate that they have been stepped up. Thus the National Liberation Front of occupied South Yemen (the Aden Protectorate) reported on October 20th that a British military vehicle was destroyed and four British soldiers were killed and several wounded in a recent engagement in South Yemen. On October 25th Omani commandos reported that three British soldiers were killed and several others wounded in a clash with British forces in the Daffar region. On October 25th the Indonesian Kalimantan military district reported that 18 British soldiers were killed when they intruded into Natukov, in Eastern Kalimantan, and attacked an Indonesian frontier post.

The British military occupation of South-East Asian and South Arabian countries, and the wars of aggression against their peoples, are intended to maintain the positions and the profits of the British monopoly capitalists (and in particular their oil, plantation, and mining interests). In Malaya, for example, British capitalists have at least £350 million invested in immensely profitable tin mines and rubber plantations. (Dunlops is perhaps the best-known of the giant monopolies that operates in Malaya.) In North Kalimantan there are rich oilfields controlled by Shell.

"Malaysia" is a desperate attempt to maintain military and political control over Singapore, Malaya, and North Kalimantan (Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo) by bringing them all under the Malayan Prince Abdul Rahman's government, which is itself tightly controlled from London. Under treaties dictated to this Prince the British ruling class station in these countries more than 60,000 Army, Navy and Air Force personnel. Nearly one-third of the whole Royal Navy is based in Singapore.

## Oil

Even more vital to the British monopoly capitalists are their oil interests in the Arab lands of West Asia, and particularly along the Persian Gulf; with Aden the main military base from which British forces operate against the Arab peoples who are fighting for the liberation of their homelands. Only the Directors of Shell and British Petroleum know exactly how many thousands of millions of pounds they have invested in oil production in Arabia, for the greater profit of the few thousand capitalists who own most of the shares in these giant companies. For a veil of secrecy conceals the extent to which British imperialism is looting the Arab peoples, in ever closer alliance with United States imperialism.

One fact may, however, be cited. The *Financial Times*, in January, 1959, revealed that 21 British oil firms (all of them subsidiaries of Shell and British Petroleum) made more profit in the preceding year than all 456 British engineering, iron, steel and shipbuilding firms put together. And the Persian Gulf area is the main field in which these companies operate. The overall position has not drastically changed in the intervening years.

British imperialism is using force, as it always has, to maintain its hold over South-East Asia and the Arab countries. But its aggression is meeting with growing resistance from the peoples of these lands. Since 1952 the amount actually spent overseas for military purposes has more than doubled to about £300 million each year. (The total military budget is, of course, much larger.) It is becoming more and more costly for the British ruling class to maintain their imperial bases. At the same time capital exports continue to increase, for the competition with rival imperial powers forces the British capitalists to search ever more feverishly for cheaper raw materials and for surplus profits within the economically under-developed lands. These capital exports are now running at record levels; between £300 million and £400 million, according to conservative estimates.

## Imperialist crisis

Taking overseas military spending and overseas investment together, perhaps £700 million is being spent overseas each year which must be paid for in foreign currency. This is imperialist expenditure pure and simple; and is, of course, over and above what is spent on importing goods for British industry and the British people. It is no coincidence that the gap in the balance of payments, about which Mr. Wilson is now talking, is somewhere around this same figure—£700 million.

British monopoly capital must invest for profit overseas, or it will be defeated by its foreign competitors. The "safeguarding" of its overseas investments in face of the rising national liberation movements in Asia and elsewhere requires ever greater military expenditure. The demand for foreign currency, therefore, steadily increases. How can this be obtained? Only by exporting more British goods than would be necessary to pay for British imports. How can these additional exports be obtained? Only by squeezing the living standards of the British people, by making sure that they buy fewer British goods. Alternatively, of course, if the demand for imported goods can be cut back then foreign currency is saved. But, either way, the standard of living of the British people must fall.

maintained. It is easier for a government which pretends to stand for Labour to get away with attacks upon the people than it would be for a Tory Government (which stands openly for the capitalist class).

In fact, Mr. Wilson's strategy involves two complementary lines of action; the forcing down of British living standards will be accompanied by a policy of still greater subservience to United States imperialism. He aims to cut down on a good deal of "unnecessary" British capitalist spending on nuclear arms, and other equipment, which United States capitalism can produce more efficiently, and therefore more cheaply.

How will Mr. Wilson reduce the amount of goods that we buy, to "release" them for export? Firstly, by implementing his "incomes policy." This high-sounding phrase means nothing other than the freezing of wages, so that, when prices rise, real wages (what we can buy with our money) fall. For this purpose Mr. Wilson must seek to carry the trade union movement with him. Most of the right-wing leaders of the big unions present no problem. The most powerful "Left-winger," Mr. Frank Cousins, of the T.G.W.U., has been

drawn into the Cabinet. (He might have been expected to cause some trouble if he had not been given one of the plums of office.) And since the leadership of the C.P.G.B. is pursuing its usual line of causing no more embarrassment to the Labour Government than is necessary for appearances sake, Mr. Wilson is likely to make fairly easy headway among official trade union leaders to his wage-freezing "incomes policy."

## Industrial action

The one thing that can disrupt the Labour Government's plans to force down real wages is mass action by the industrial working class—strike action. It is for this reason that our Trade Union rights are likely to come under sharpening attack. Mr. Gunter, the Minister of Labour, has already made this plain. The full force of the law will be used by this Labour Government against "unofficial" strikes—if the Government can get away with it. United action by the working class, linking industry with industry, will be needed to defeat their plans.

Another move against our living standards has already been announced; the 3/- in the pound levy on all imports, except for food, basic raw materials, and tobacco. A growing range of consumer goods has been imported in recent years, particularly from Western Europe; this measure will therefore mean sharp increases in the prices of many clothes, shoes, cars, cameras, wines, and other goods, bought by the housewife in every High Street. But the effects will not end there. The industrial capitalists of Western Europe can be expected to retaliate against our exports, in order to protect their own balances of payments. The result? Rising unemployment in several British export industries, and a further fall in the living standards of many British workers.

## Sell-out to U.S.A.

The reaction to Mr. Wilson's move, among West European governments, has been generally hostile. It further confirms their belief that the British capitalist class, whom the Labour Government represent, are becoming still more subservient to United States imperialism. The abandoning of Britain's independent nuclear bomb, and the projected scrapping of the Anglo-French Concorde airliner also point along the same road of servility to the United States ruling class. President Johnson has already made known his full approval of the measures which our "Socialist" Prime Minister Wilson has announced.

The "left-wingers" in this Labour Government can be under no illusions about the role which it is playing on behalf of British imperialism. Cousins, Barbara Castle, Antony Greenwood, together with all the members of the Government, will be held responsible to the working class for the death of every Asian patriot and every British soldier in these wars of aggression against South Arabia and South-East Asia. They will be held responsible, along with their colleagues, for every attack by this Government upon the living standards, and the Trade Union and democratic rights of the British working class and people. Whatever the superficial political complexion of any individual members this Labour Government is the instrument through which the British capitalist class now rules. All its members must be treated accordingly.

The only way forward for the British working class and people in this period of deepening crisis for British imperialism is through resolute struggle against all the attacks of the employers, and the Government. We must reject their policies of overseas aggression. We must fight to liberate our country from United States domination. To this end we must challenge the ruling class in the only way that it understands; by mass action, and in particular by industrial action.

MICHAEL McCREERY

## U.S. PRAISE BRITAIN'S "SPEEDY" STEPS

American reaction to Britain's new economic moves was generally favourable.

U.S. officials are said to have praised the speed and vigour shown by Mr. Wilson's Government.

And the Treasury in Washington gave their full official backing to the British moves.

This is an encouraging atmosphere for the talks which Mr. Gordon Walker, Britain's Foreign Secretary, is having with Mr. Dean Rusk, American Secretary of State, and Mr. Douglas Dillon, Treasury Secretary.

In Europe last night the general attitude was more critical.

## AND IT'S OK BY THE CITY

The City liked the Government's economic measures to deal with Britain's balance of payments difficulties.

The Sun, 27/10/64

This is where Mr. Harold Wilson's Labour Government comes in. For it has now taken over the direction of the British capitalist state precisely in order to force down the living standards of the British people so that British capital exports and overseas aggression can be



For British monopoly capital the Arab lands mean huge oil profits



COUSINS



WILSON

The Labour Government represents the interests of monopoly capital



# ELECTIONS IN BELGIUM—

## Statement by the Communist Party

Communists have cause to be satisfied with the results of the local elections.

We have conducted an electoral campaign on the line of the denunciation of the misdeeds of the Lefevre-Spaak Government and of the politics of the P.S.B. (The Belgian Socialist Party) in particular, calling the workers to action for a Popular United Front programme.

Despite the attempts of the Government parties to "depoliticise" the elections, the Lefevre-Spaak Government has been clearly rejected.

A considerable number of workers have turned away from the P.S.B. whose treacherous policy they have constantly condemned.

The Communist victory is indisputable. And the Diversion of the Revisionist Khrushchovites cannot conceal that fact.

They presented no programme. They took care to hide their real aims which resemble those of the P.S.B.

Their activity has been entirely directed against us, with the intention of reducing the votes of our supporters, of the workers who approve our programme.

The Khrushchovite Revisionists do not hold back from any provocation. They poured out the most ignoble slanders against us—with the help noticeably of the radio and television at the orders of the Government—presenting them with five programmes in ten days while we were not allowed to speak.

They made use of the most revolting pressure and blackmail against the electors who presented our lists. They tried to deceive the voters by sticking fraudulently their list numbers on our programmes.

Beyond any possible doubt, it is OUR PROGRAMME—and not the void of the Khrushchovite revisionists—the option the workers want to approve in criticising the policy of the P.S.B.

For our part, we have denounced the governmental policy, a policy of:—

- devaluation of the purchasing power of wages;
- application of the "Single Law";
- reinforcement of the unitary bourgeois State;
- the anti-strike laws;
- the war in the Congo;
- subservience to American politics.

We have affirmed our PROGRAMME:—

- the demand for work;

- for liberty;
- for federalism;
- for national independence;
- for internationalism.

We can be proud of the results obtained by our Party, reconstituted on the basis of Marxism-Leninism less than ten months ago.

The Political Bureau must congratulate all the militants of the Party and sympathisers who have made an immense effort with courage, tenacity and a great spirit of devotion.

A considerable number of workers have been alerted by the Party and have realised the necessity to fight for a POPULAR UNITED FRONT PROGRAMME.

And now, more than ever, let us intensify the struggle against this wretched P.S.C.-P.S.B. Government.

DOWN WITH THE LEFEVRE-SPAAK GOVERNMENT!!!

Workers, into action for the realisation of the immediate programme of the Communist Party:

1. Stop the War against the Congolese people!
2. National independence. Let us get out of NATO! Liberation from the yoke of the exploiting aggressor—American Imperialism!
3. Realisation of the comprehensive programme of demands for all workers. 10 per cent increase on wages and pensions without supplementary tax retentions. The 40-hour week. Lowering by five years of the retiring age; pension to be at 45,000 francs, while the cost of living index stands at 110.
4. Against the rising cost of living and the reactionary tax system.
5. For a National Health Service, to ensure free medical and pharmaceutical treatment.
6. Democratisation of education.
7. Defence of democratic liberties.
8. Self-determination by means of federalism.
9. Stop the aggression and blackmail of the Imperialists.
10. Solidarity with the classes, the peoples and nations in struggle against the exploitation, oppression, and aggression of the Imperialists.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium, 12th October, 1964.

# People's Republic of China

## — Government Statement

CHINA exploded an atom bomb at 15:00 hours on October 16, 1964, and thereby conducted successfully its first nuclear test. This is a major achievement of the Chinese people in their struggle to increase their national defence capability and oppose the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats.

To defend oneself is the inalienable right of every sovereign state. And to safeguard world peace is the common task of all peace-loving countries. China cannot remain idle and do nothing in the face of the ever increasing nuclear threat posed by the United States. China is forced to conduct nuclear tests and develop nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government has consistently advocated the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Should this have been realised, China need not develop the nuclear weapon. But this position of ours has met the stubborn resistance of the U.S. imperialists. The Chinese Government pointed out long ago that the treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests signed by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union in Moscow in July, 1963, was a big fraud to fool the people of the world, that it tried to consolidate the nuclear monopoly held by the three nuclear powers and tie up the hands and feet of all peace-loving countries, and that it not only did not decrease but had increased the nuclear threat of U.S. imperialism against the people of China and of the whole world. The U.S. Government declared undisguisedly even then that the conclusion of such a treaty does not at all mean that the United States would not conduct underground tests, or would not use, manufacture, stockpile, export or proliferate nuclear weapons. The facts of the past year and more fully proves this point.

During the past year and more, the United States has not stopped manufacturing various nuclear weapons on the basis of the nuclear tests which it had already conducted. Furthermore, seeking for ever greater perfection, the United States has during this same period conducted several dozen underground nuclear tests and thereby more perfecting the nuclear weapons it manufactures. In stationing nuclear submarines in Japan, the United States is posing a direct threat to the Japanese people, the Chinese people and the peoples of all other Asian countries. The United States is now putting nuclear weapons into the hands of the West German revanchists through the so-called multi-lateral nuclear force and thereby threatening the security of the German Democratic Republic and the other East European socialist countries. U.S. submarines carrying Polaris missiles with nuclear warheads are prowling the Taiwan Straits, the Tonkin Gulf, the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, threatening everywhere peace-loving countries and all peoples who are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Under such circumstances, how can it be considered that the U.S. nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat against the people of the world no longer exist just because of the false impression created by the temporary halting of atmospheric tests by the United States?

The atom bomb is a paper tiger. This famous saying by Chairman Mao Tse-tung is known to all. This was our view in the past and this is still our view at present. China is developing nuclear weapons not because we believe in the omnipotence of nuclear weapons and that China plans to use nuclear weapons. The truth is exactly to the contrary. In developing nuclear weapons, China's aim is to break the nuclear monopoly of the nuclear powers and to eliminate nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government is loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian inter-

nationalism. We believe in the people. It is the people who decide the outcome of a war, and not any weapon. The destiny of China is decided by the Chinese people, and the destiny of the world by the peoples of the world, and not by the nuclear weapon. The development of nuclear weapons by China is for defence and for protecting the Chinese people from the danger of the United States launching a nuclear war.

The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares that China will never at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Chinese people firmly support the struggles for liberation waged by all oppressed nations and people of the world. We are convinced that, by relying on their own struggles and also through mutual aid, the peoples of the world will certainly win victory. The mastering of the nuclear weapon by China is a great encouragement to the revolutionary peoples of the world in their struggles and a great contribution to the cause of defending world peace. On the question of nuclear weapons, China will neither commit the error of adventurism nor the error of capitulationism. The Chinese people can be trusted.

The Chinese Government fully understands the good wishes of peace-loving countries and people for the halting of all nuclear tests. But more and more countries are coming to realise that the more the U.S. imperialists and their partners hold on to their nuclear monopoly, the more is there danger of a nuclear war breaking out. They have it and you don't, and so they are very haughty. But once those who oppose them also have it, they would no longer be so haughty, their policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat would no longer be so effective, and the possibility for a complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons would increase. We sincerely hope that a nuclear war would never occur. We are convinced that, so long as all peace-loving countries and people of the world make common efforts and persist in the struggle, a nuclear war can be prevented.

The Chinese Government hereby formally proposes to the governments of the world that a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that as a first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which will soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, nor against each other.

If those countries in possession of huge quantities of nuclear weapons are not even willing to undertake not to use them, how can those countries not yet in possession of them be expected to believe in their sincerity for peace and not to adopt possible and necessary defensive measures?

The Chinese Government will, as always, exert every effort to promote the realisation of the noble aim of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons through international consultations. Before the advent of such a day, the Chinese Government and people will firmly and unswervingly march along their own road of strengthening their national defences, defending their motherland and safeguarding world peace.

We are convinced that nuclear weapons, which are after all created by man, certainly will be eliminated by man.

## From the Caribbean and Latin America

### NICARAGUA

#### U.S. Imposed Treaty Repudiated

The Nicaragua Congress (both houses) repudiated as unconstitutional the Bryan-Chamorro treaty of 1916 which gave U.S. imperialism the option in perpetuity of a route from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The Panama riots in January gave the project a further push. Nicaragua, generally regarded as a complacent ally of the U.S. has shaken the Yankees.

Nicaraguans described the treaty as repugnant to the national constitution... a treaty which would injure our sovereignty. Costa Rica and El Salvador have protested previously along similar lines.

### JAMAICA

#### Bustamante and the Chiang Kai-shek Formosa Gang

Some weeks ago when sailors from the 600 million strong People's Republic of China were among other nationals on a ship bound for Cuba which stopped at Jamaica, Bustamante's Government allowed all the other sailors to go ashore but prevented our Chinese brothers from landing.

Now the Bustamante Government is on the verge of establishing trade relationship with the Chiang Kai-shek Formosa Gang and have further sent congratulations to them on the so-called 53rd anniversary.

The Jamaica Gleaner of 14/10/64 says: "If the Republic of China has something to offer us and we have something to offer China in way of trade, then by all means serious talks should be held, and this holds good for other countries as well."

How farcical can Bustamante and the Imperialist Jamaican Press get. 1. the Chiang Kai-shek U.S. stooge gang oppresses 10 million Chinese who will eventually win their struggle and rejoin their brethren of 600 million representing the only China there is; 2. pure commonsense should tell Bustamante that there is more to be gained in trade and other relationships with the real China than with the U.S. backed Formosa gang.

THE FACT HOWEVER, IS THAT BUSTAMANTE IS A STOOGES OF U.S. IMPERIALISM AND MUST DO THEIR BIDDING. THE JAMAICAN WORKERS

AND PEOPLE WILL SOON SORT HIM AND HIS MASTERS OUT!

### CHILE

U.S. marines participating in the 5th joint manoeuvres in Latin America, which is usually intended to be a show of might to frighten our peoples, met with rebuffs by the Chilean people and especially the students.

At Talcahuano, Chile's biggest military base, the people demonstrated against the Gringos and in Santiago where they (the Yankee Gringos) had intended to hold a concert at the College of Philosophies, students drove them away amid shouts of "CHILE YES—YANKEES NO."

### TRINIDAD

#### Eric Williams's McCarthyite and Other Imperialist Committees and Commissions

For over a year now Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, has responded to the call of his U.S. masters and established a McCarthyite Committee to "investigate subversive activities," and their main job has been so far to try to drag before it militant politicians and trade unionists. Having brought some persons before the courts and having failed to get judgement against them, Eric's witch hunt continues, but will be doomed to failure just as McCarthy eventually failed in the U.S.A.

The doctor is well-known for his "we are with the West" (imperialists) statements and now it would appear that he is likely to be the chief spokesman for the continuation of the export of labour to England and elsewhere on a "selective basis," which is a stooge method of fighting the British Colour Bar Immigration Laws. Of course the exportation of the Caribbean's best sons and daughters to foreign lands is no solution to our colonial problems.

#### The Police and the Minister Fiasco

Recently ten senior officers and other members of the Trinidad Police force were suspended and a commission set up to examine their "gun and licence running" activities. During the investigation Pat Solomon, Minister of Internal Affairs (Security) it was alleged, had released one of his relatives from police custody in a dictator's fashion. He resigned from his position, but within weeks had got another ministerial position as Minister of External Affairs.

How about that for running a Caribbean Government in the interest of the people?

### (BRITISH) GUYANA

In Guyana a BOGUS IMPERIALIST IMPOSED AND DEvised GENERAL ELECTION will take place on December 7, whilst the country is still under military occupation by the British Imperialist enemy's troops called in by Dr. Jagan, a Socialist (sic), and the P.P.P. Government. Nominations have closed on October 26 last and it is expected that over 200 persons from about eight parties and groups will be putting up candidates.

The main parties which will be standing are: The People's Progressive Party (the present Government, a puppet without power); the People's National Congress (the main opposition party, whose fetish is to oppose in a stupid and

destructive manner); the United Force, with its "Highway to Happiness" programme—the local agent of British and U.S. imperialism. The election will be held under proportional representation—the whole country will be regarded as one constituency. 222,750 voters have registered; there are 53 seats; therefore a candidate must get approximately 4,203 votes. No date is fixed for Independence, no constitution is agreed and Dr. Jagan keeps harping on tying our country to the apron strings of a "treaty with the great (imperialist) powers to safeguard our sovereignty" as he claims.

Anarchy continues in the country. Recently British troops shot and killed an unarmed farmer and seriously wounded another. But yet the P.P.P. Government would not correct their blunder by demanding their withdrawal.

A united front of struggle against the main enemy is vitally necessary in Guyana.



# CUBA SI!—YANKEE NO!

THE STORY of the Cuban Revolution is well known. Between 1956 and 1959 the 26th July Movement carried out guerilla warfare in the mountains and underground struggle in the city and were able by New Year's Day 1959 to seize control of Cuba from the foreign imperialists and their local stooges. The entry of the rebel army, led by Fidel Castro, into Havana marked the handing over of control of their country to the Cuban people.

## History of the Revolution

The history of the Cuban people and their country bears many similarities to the history of many colonial lands.

Cuba was "discovered" by Columbus in 1492 at the very beginning of the conquest of overseas territories by the Europeans which was to lead eventually to the formation of vast empires. These early Spaniards found there the true people of the land, the Carib Indians, but over the years they have died out through disease and repression by the early colonialists. This is exactly what has happened in many other countries. Later in the 16th-18th centuries, Spaniards began to bring African slaves into the country. They treated the slaves in a way we know about—keeping them in compounds like cattle, working them like animals, breeding them to produce more and stronger slaves, and generally completely abusing their human dignity. The descendants of these form a large proportion of the Cuban people. Finally, many Europeans, particularly of Spanish origin, settled in Cuba from very early times. These are the main groups who have lived and worked together and intermarried to form the Cuban people as they are today.

Until 1898, Cuba remained a Spanish colony. But for the preceding 30 years the people had fought for their independence from Spain. Their fight had been led at first by wealthy liberals, later by those progressives who were able to rally the whole people—men such as the great patriot José Martí. Although successful in their battle against the Spanish Imperialists, the Cuban people were merely taken over by U.S. Imperialists, as Martí had foretold. Cuba became an American colony in all but name.

The people of Cuba were to learn between 1898 and 1959 about the kind of "democracy" they would be allowed by America, of the true nature of the ballot box and elections. Time and time again promises would be made, elections would be held, but the people would find themselves betrayed to U.S. Imperialism.

Batista was a clear example of the type of ruler they found themselves under. At the beginning of two terms of office in 1933 and 1940 he made concessions to the people but for the greater part of his total term of office he ruled as a brutal dictator, backed by a U.S. trained and equipped army, spending 22% of the budget on military expenditure. Batista was not only openly supported by the U.S. but also by the Catholic Church which was in a very corrupt state. The people were unable to protest effectively. U.S. capital controlled the Cuban economy. This control was finally broken by the people in arms led by Fidel Castro.

There were several aspects of the Rebel Army and of the later achievements of the "Rebel" People's Government which contributed forcefully to the success of the Revolution. The leaders and fighters in the Rebel army were from various backgrounds ranging from the urban unemployed and peasantry to student and professional types. But they were united towards a common goal—the ousting of foreign imperialists who were exploiting the masses of the Cuban people. The rebel army worked at first among the peasantry gaining their support. In the end these two forces could not be separated. As Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, "If the guerilla fighters are fish, the rural population which hides and sustains them is the water in which the fish swim and without which they cannot live."

Then when Batista had fled and control had passed to the People's Government, all the diverse groups of the exploited—the urban working class, the vast army of unemployed, the rural workers, the poor peasants, worked together and are still doing so—again united by a common aim: that of building a socialist society. Here there are no factions. All the previously oppressed classes have come together to work together; had this not happened the revolution could not have been successful and this is another lesson for us. All exploited peoples must see what they have in common—an enemy, the imperialists. Only in united action can we be successful.

## Measures of Reform—Agriculture

The Imperialists had run the Cuban economy purely for their own benefit and this was reflected in the one crop nature of it prior to the revolution. Imperialists are not concerned with building a working and self-sufficient

economy in their "possessions." They are concerned with how this land—for it is no more than land and a supply of cheap labour to them—can be best used to increase and safeguard the profits of the capitalists in the "mother" country. Before the revolution 92% of the farms only occupied 28% of the total area under cultivation. Moreover, the majority of those who worked these small farms were not even the owners but were tenants, sub-tenants, sharecroppers, squatters, etc.

Meanwhile, the best land was in the hands of U.S. companies, e.g. Cuban Atlantic Sugar Co., Cuban American Sugar Co., United Fruit Co., West Indies Sugar Co., etc. Most of their plantations were greater than 7,500 acres and some were greater than 12,000 acres in extent. However, U.S. capital was not confined to the sugar industry as this table reveals:

	Direct U.S. Ownership
Sugar Industry ... ..	40%
Non-Sugar ... ..	23%
Telephone & Electronic Services ... ..	90%
Railways ... ..	50%

Nevertheless this only gives an indication of U.S. domination, for the so-called Cuban firms were in reality American subsidiaries completely dependent on U.S. capital for their existence. Thus the U.S. capitalists drained the country's wealth. However, the problem was even greater than the outflow of profits from Cuba. It was utter distortion of Cuban agriculture to suit the Imperialists needs with the corresponding neglect of the people's needs. Thus, the land which was owned by U.S. big business for sugar cane cultivation was not all used—probably no more than 50% was in use at any one time, for it was necessary to keep the demand for sugar at such a level that high prices and fat profits could be gained. While this fertile land lay fallow Cuba was importing \$18 million worth of food-stuffs a year. What food was being grown in Cuba came from small farmers—tenants and sub-tenants mainly. The local large landowners devoted their vast farms to uneconomical cattle breeding. The imperialist distortion of agriculture was shown by the fact that in 1957, 44% of all land was devoted to pasture and only 22.5% to crops (and not all of that cultivated).

This situation necessitates the anti-imperialist basis of the Cuban agrarian revolution. Changes began in the rebel held Sierra Maestra in 1958 when a law was passed that all who worked less than 150 acres should become the owners of the land they worked. Then after the people's seizure of state power, in March 1959, the Agrarian Reform Law was passed. As a result the foreign and Cuban big landowners were eliminated. About 100,000 farm workers became the owners of the land they worked and about 40% of rural land became state farms.

It will be noticed that there remains a strong private sector in the economy. These small and middle private farmers are given state help, including the granting of low interest credits, the setting up of adequate prices for their produce, assistance in ploughing and other mechanical tasks: furnishing of insecticides, fertilisers, etc. Nevertheless, the presence of this private sector remains a serious drawback to the effective and methodical planning of crop production and this disadvantage will become all the more obvious as the state farms develop and become even more efficient and productive. Yet it is one of the most admirable features of the Cuban Revolution that both the small and middle farmers are being won over to the revolutionary cause. It is hoped that eventually they will voluntarily enter into the collective, co-operative forms of production.

Of course, the main problem for the revolution is to eliminate Cuba's dependence on one crop and to diversify agricultural production. As the President of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform commented: "The import of food is truly shameful in a country as fertile as ours." And this probably holds true for many of the Caribbean-Latin-American territories (e.g. Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad, etc.). In Cuba all under-utilised land has been brought into full production while swamps have been drained, and scrubland cleared for farming. As regards diversification the production of food crops has been stepped up, e.g., 1963 produced the big-

gest potato crop in the history of Cuba. New crops have been introduced, particularly industrial crops such as cotton.

In the field of livestock production there have been problems but the cattle industry, hog production, poultry and egg production all continue to progress. Some problems arose through lack of experience but the setting up of experimental stations will prevent the occurrence of serious mistakes in the future. *We can learn from the Cuban agriculturalists, and indeed from the Cuban people in the way they admit their mistakes, study them and are thus able to overcome them and prevent their recurrence.*

## Industry

A country is not economically independent until it possesses its own heavy industry (have we never wondered why no colony has developed heavy manufacturing and processing industries?). But this is difficult to achieve—it needs capital, resources, manpower and technical skill. At the moment the Cuban economists have wisely decided that—on the one hand the sugar industry is the main source of income; on the other, diversification of the economy must take place in a realistic way. Thus the emphasis at present is on the development of industries based on agriculture, e.g. textiles based on cotton, leather and spare parts manufacture, die-casting of non-ferrous metals, glass-ware, diesel electric plants and anti-biotics plants. In short in the last few years, \$203 million have been invested in 50 new factories. There are valuable mineral deposits in Cuba especially Nickel and the People's Government is undertaking their systematic exploitation: the U.S. Imperialists had owned these deposits but had never sought to use them, keeping them instead as a reserve!

## The Budget

In 1964 \$2,399 millions will be spent on the people of Cuba. This is not only Cuba's largest budget in history but also the largest national budget for all Latin American countries, \$342 per head of population compared with \$61 per head in Peru, \$114 in Puerto Rico, \$46 in the Dominican Republic and about \$92 in (British) Guyana (figures in U.S. dollars). Where is this money coming from? The biggest contribution of \$1,800 million comes from the surpluses (profits) of state enterprises. Colonial territories with one crop systems have to be content to get the major share of revenue from the taxes paid by the imperialists on the sugar industry, etc., on their immense profits, while the vast bulk of the money earned by the industry, etc., goes outside of the country. For example, in (British) Guyana Bookers made a trading profit of £15,988,209 in 1962. Only a small portion of this will remain in Guyana, as taxation levied by the Government.

It has been said that the budget of a country reflects the society, its priorities, its outlook for the future. When we examine the Cuban budget we see a nation concerned above all with human welfare and progress. The greatest part goes to developing the national economy. Thirty per cent is earmarked for increasing productive capacity, diversifying exports and expanding Cuba's foreign trade. Over a quarter of the budget is to be used for social services, research and cultural activity. Less than 10% needs to be spent on national defence and internal order as the people themselves are armed—an organised militia, ready to defend themselves against the Imperialist's mercenaries and those Cuban renegades expropriated by the revolution who are ceaselessly plotting against the Cuban people to no avail.

## Other Changes

Before 1959 Tourism was a very big industry in Cuba. Cuba was the playground of the rich U.S. capitalists with all the accompanying abuses. The most beautiful parts of the country were used for luxury hotels and private beaches, etc., while racial discrimination abounded. Brothels and gambling saloons lined Havana's streets. Again all this has been changed. Cuba has been restored to the people of Cuba—to all the people of Cuba whatever their physical appearance. And in this new Cuban society every Cuban is given his opportunity to work with his fellow Cubans for the greater good of all. No man or woman has to degrade himself or herself any more in the service of foreign tourists to earn his or her bread.

There are three fields in which the work of the Revolutionary Government has been rapidly and effectively successful—namely Education, Public Health and Housing. Prior to the revolution illiteracy was very high. Now it has been almost wiped out. Not only the children, but also previously illiterate adults have been taught to read and write. Much of the teaching during the 1961 Campaign Against Illiteracy was done by young men and women volunteers after they had finished their normal day's work. Compulsory free

education, including free books and materials, up to the third year of secondary school, is now given. Worker-Farmer education programmes have enrolled thousands more students than were expected. The present total of students in technical training is 5,200, many of them factory workers. In the field of other special education, progress continues; schools of Music, Modern Dancing, Fine Arts have been established and the training of specialists takes place in buildings which formerly housed Californian ranch-owners and wealthy Cuban families. The Batista Army barracks also have been turned into primary schools.

In the field of Public Health, the training of doctors, the building of hospitals, national campaigns of vaccinations against polio, have been organised. The doctors trained with the help of scholarships, must afterwards work for the state. Meanwhile, in auxiliary medical schools, nurses, technicians, radiologists, etc., are being trained to staff the new hospitals. The Cuban Revolution will not be defeated by the fact that the American Imperialists entice away their most highly trained technicians, including many doctors. Those who left for reasons of personal gain would not have had the aims of the Revolution at heart and their places will be taken by others who are revolutionary.

## U.S. Aggression

The Cuban people have not been able to build their society peacefully without outside interference. The U.S.—that large, rich imperialist country finds it impossible to ignore what is going on in Cuba, but must actively thwart the Revolution. Revolutions such as this strike at the very roots of the Imperialist system. They show to the world that it is evil, unnecessary. The means used by the U.S. state to interfere are diverse. The Guantanamo Base serves as a centre for subversive activities, sabotage, etc., within the country. They consider it their right to violate the Cuban air-space, to have their warships standing off Havana, even to inspect Cuba for missile bases. They do not hesitate before such acts as bombing Cuban sugar-plantations and schools. They shamelessly provide money and arms for invasions of Cuba—they cannot hide from the world the major role they played in the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba in April 1963, by mercenary forces. Their ignominious defeat forced the imperialists to use different tactics.

*They have collected together all the reactionary governments of Latin America into the Organisation of American states in order to try and isolate, on the one hand the Cuban people, on the other the oppressed masses of the Caribbean and Latin America. In their Alliance for Progress they put forward revolutionary sounding aims, which they do not mean. They are merely empty words and we must not be misled by them. American monopolists are not going to hand over money peacefully to the Caribbean and Latin American people whom they despise. As it says in the Bible: "By their deeds ye shall know them."*

The struggle against imperialism is not an easy one. We must be united, conscientious and selfless.

**Working people throughout the world hail the heroic achievements of our Cuban brothers and sisters.**

A. NOONE

## INDIA : 1964

Kamalesh Sen

*India is a country  
India is a bunch of sobs  
India is a calling river  
India is a man  
A woman.*

*India has a lot of men  
Many planets  
And stars  
India has a lot of betrayers  
Many traitors  
And murderers.*

*If there be a sincere heart  
In India  
Call it freedom  
If there be any love  
In India  
Call it red rose  
If there be a sacred day  
In India  
Call it  
Comrade Lenin  
Comrade Stalin.*

Translated from Bengali

by Mihir Bhattacharya.



## NEWS COMMENT

The London *Daily Sketch* (October 7), carried a picture of Mr. Maxwell-Hyslop, a Tory candidate, cordially shaking hands with Mr. Mitchard, Labour candidate, after a jolly game of ping-pong. In our opinion, the British General Election has never been summed up with such a scintillating (albeit unintended), cameo of candour.

"Socialism would ruin Britain. Russia really experimented with it. Having learnt their lesson, they are now galloping back to the system of enterprise and reward." (Sir Alec Douglas-Home, October 6.) We always understood that to "gallop back" from Socialism means to gallop on to the restoration of capitalism. What else could the Tory leader have meant? Any comments?

We are informed that the manufacturing output in South Rhodesia has increased by 8.6% and that the number of Africans in employment remained static, despite the ever increasing number of Africans on the labour market. This is indeed a novel way of describing plain unemployment. White colonialists run South Rhodesia. The African liberation leaders are jailed. Their Press banned. Africans without work in their own country. This adds up to only one thing. *The speedy defeat of colonialist rule in S. Rhodesia.*

The U.S. lackey, Tshombe, angry at the opposition of Mr. Kaunda, N. Rhodesian Premier to him, has claimed "that the majority of the population are anti-Kaunda." It is pertinent to ask Tshombe—"how many Congolese voted for you?" "Were you not installed as a paid puppet of U.S. imperialism?"

The dismissal of Khrushchev from the Soviet leadership brought forth this classic from John Gollan, General Secretary of the C.P.G.B.: "This will make no difference to British Communist policy." In the long run, Mr. Gollan, British Communist policy will be decided by thousands of British Marxist-Leninists and not by you and your anti-Leninist cronies.

"I shan't live much longer, but I hope to see the Labour Party in power, then I can depart fulfilled." (Earl Attlee, October 13.) Attlee headed a Labour Government in 1945 with a tremendous Commons majority. His Premiership was marked by serving capitalism and opposing the working-class at home and abroad. Now, presumably, his Lordship wants to look down on the "peaceful transition to Socialism" in Britain, from some Valhalla, no doubt specially reserved for "Social-Democrat" leaders who have died from exhaustion serving the working-class. Better a crust in this world, Earl Attlee, than a pie in the next!

So an Australian syndicate has offered Khrushchev £70,000 for a lecture tour of Australia and the U.S.A. ("politics barred and for pure entertainment"). We won't disagree with this. We are against unemployment on principle, and are sad at the thought of Mr. Khrushchev and his deposed son-in-law sharing one pair of trousers and eating cabbage soup from a common bowl.

MR. RAY GUNTER, new Minister of Labour, has described his job as "a bed of nails." A strong enough comment by a supposed "Socialist" in this particular position. British dockers, railwaymen, electricians and many others are demanding higher wages in order to at least maintain existing living standards. We warn British workers not to be fobbed off by some pseudo "incomes policy" which the Government has in mind, but to press with all their power for their just demands. Let Gunter's bed of nails get sharper—his ministerial salary will prove to be ample compensation for some physical discomfort. *TOM FLINT*

### CONCORD

The British Ambassador in Paris, Sir Pierson Dixon, saw the French Prime Minister, M. Pompidou, this morning, and told him that the British Government wished to re-examine with the French the Concord project as quickly as possible.

This was in the context of a general outline of Britain's balance of payments difficulties and how the British Government proposed to cope with it.

The news concerning the Concord was received calmly by M. Pompidou. In fact, the general reaction in French government circles and aeronautical circles is more of incredulity than dismay.

Politically the implications of British rejection of the Concord will be seen as an indication that the British Labour Government is prepared to recede more and more from Europe, more and more from any independent role that Britain itself might play, into a total dependence on the U.S.A.

*Evening Standard, 26/10/64.*

## Notes on the Election

MORALE in the Communist Party of Great Britain has never been so low, yet it is a sure sign of social democratic degeneration, that the Party only comes to life at election time. After the election, the C.P.G.B. returns to its somnolent torpor.

We know well enough that the Trotskyists are always exaggerating the militant mood of the proletariat, making out that we are on the verge of a revolutionary situation. That is left wing opportunism in the working class movement. But what about right wing opportunism, which is at the present time the more serious danger? The *Daily Worker* and the C.P. press paint an absolutely false picture of the mood of the electorate. They are supposed to be fighting mad, determined to get rid of the Tories at all costs. On October 10, Saturday's *Daily Worker* headlines screamed, "Tories Shaking in Shoes. Final push for a Labour and Communist Majority." Who did they think they were kidding? In Monday's editorial (12/10/64) we get this characteristic example of the subjective thinking of the revisionists:

"If Mr. Wilson were to say he will lead a campaign to prevent the M.L.F. coming into existence and to stop any schemes with the same aims, the tide against the Tories would turn into a raging torrent."

Apart from anything else, most people don't even know what the M.L.F. is. Where is the evidence to support such wishful thinking? We spoke to some Party members who had been out canvassing for Sid French in the Mitcham (Surrey) constituency, and they most certainly did not share the *Daily Worker's* absurd optimism. Obviously, then, the *Daily Worker* writers are stating as realistic facts what are merely idealistic hopes. They are dreaming. Like the notorious subjectivists they have become and in common with their brother opportunists, the Trotskyists, they are substituting subjective wishes for objective facts.

What is really the mood of the electorate? The plain fact is, and this was especially true among the youth, the General Election was a big bore. There was very little to choose between the three main parties, and the young voters knew that whoever got in, it was not going to make much difference to them. One paper claimed that only 25% of new voters would go to the polls. Another paper interviewed some women, who said that they would vote if it was a nice day and if somebody looked after the children, but that the household chores came first. The indisputable fact is that there was widespread cynicism about the election, in spite of all sorts of gimmicks which were dreamed up in order to put some life into it.

Nor was it true that the capitalists were shaking in their shoes at the thought of a Labour victory. This was utter nonsense. Actually, they were quite cool, calm and collected. My mate was reading the *Daily Express* (Monday, 12/10/64). After looking through it, he threw it down saying, "I always thought this was a Tory paper, but now it is difficult to tell who it favours. It is getting harder and harder to tell the difference between the various newspapers and parties." The *Economist* came out in favour of a Labour government, while *The Times* was non-committal until the very eve of the election, when it almost apologetically declared itself for the Tories. The oldest and craftiest capitalist class in the world are no mugs, and they knew they were on a winner, no matter who got in.

Let us, therefore, ask ourselves why the revisionists vie with the Trotskyists in painting such a false picture of the Tories shaking in their shoes, cowed and unhappy, with the working class ready for a left lead, and eager and anxious to defeat the Tories. The first answer which comes to mind is that they are trying to rally the troops, to boost the low morale of the activists. This is an old trick of the C.P.G.B. leadership. We remember how in one election after another they told us that if we worked our fingers to the bone, we could get Pollitt or some other candidate into Parliament, when there was not the remotest possibility that they would even save their deposit. But this is not the whole story. The fact is that the C.P.G.B. has completely lost faith in the working class. Therefore, they are no longer concerned about power; like other petty bourgeois elements in the

Labour Party, for example, they want to use their following to win them offices and positions, particularly in Parliament. They have no revolutionary perspective; the sum total of their ambition is to merge themselves in the Labour Party by becoming a left-wing ginger group. The only trouble is that, grovel as they might, the Labour Party doesn't want them or need them yet. In other words, the revisionists have degenerated into left-wing social democrats, and as such, they are behaving more and more like parliamentary cretins. All their criteria is social democratic criteria, so electoral success is now of supreme and overriding importance.

We are not saying anything new when we state that bourgeois ideology is the prevailing ideology—this is particularly so in this country. Revisionism is the contamination of proletarian ideology by bourgeois ideology. In these circumstances, it is not particularly difficult to achieve a measure of electoral success by submitting to bourgeois pressure, by abandoning one's principles, and by adapting oneself to the already deep-rooted bourgeois ideas and petty bourgeois illusions of the masses. This is success for a social democratic party, but it is not success from the standpoint of working class power, from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. The reformists and revisionists both get their votes by exploiting the subjective hopes and aspirations of the masses, by pretending to be what they are not and by sacrificing principles. But the reformists have most of the cake—the revisionists are left with the tiny crumbs. What they are after is a bigger slice of the cake, and so they vainly hope to get it by trying to push the reformists to the left. Right throughout the period of this election campaign, they have made grovelling appeals to the Labour Party. "Wilson must do this," screams the *Daily Worker* editorials, "Wilson must do that." He takes not a blind bit of notice of them, nor is he ever likely to except to rub their noses in the dirt, yet they stubbornly persist. They go in for wishful thinking in huge dollops. Dear Harold, if only you would adopt our policy, you would sweep into power. Dear Harold knows different. He doesn't live in fairy land. Harold knows where the votes are, and he can rake them in all right without the assistance of the revisionists.

Some of the C.P. canvassers with whom we spoke agreed with the nature of our criticism, but maintained that, with conditions as they are at present, a Marxist-Leninist policy would gather even less votes than a revisionist policy. This may be so. We do not behave in the unprincipled manner that the revisionists do. We do not say, "adopt our policy and everybody will vote for you, and you will make spectacular gains." What we do say, however, is that gains made by compromising principles are no gains from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, and such victories are only pyrrhic victories. But truth is invincible, even though it may take a long time for truth to triumph. Successes gained by abandoning principles are ephemeral successes—they will not endure. Hard-won successes gained by standing by principles are real successes—they will endure.

JACK ANGEL

### You can help to develop the struggle against monopoly capitalism, the Labour Government and modern revisionism

by

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## DOCKERS LEADER TO DIE

Vuyisile Mini, Secretary of the African Dock Workers' Union, of Port Elizabeth, South Africa, together with two others, Wilson Khayingo and Zimanile Mkaba, were sentenced to death in Port Alfred, South Africa, on March 17 of this year, as leaders in the struggle for freedom of the South African workers against their Fascist Government.

Their appeal was rejected on October 2, and only a world-wide campaign of protest can now force the South African Government to commute the death sentences on these three leaders of the African National Congress.

V. Mini is a well-loved figure in South Africa, who has been active in the fight against apartheid most of his life. A talented composer and singer, he was working for the local committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions at the time of his arrest, and active both among stevedores and dockers, and in general trade union work. In 1952 he was jailed for three months in the Defiance Campaign, and he was also one of the accused in the Treason Trial, which dragged on for four years before all were acquitted.

More than 1,200 people have been tried in South Africa in the last eighteen months on political charges in 97 trials, most of them under the Sabotage Act. The Government is determined to crush all opposition, and is attempting to break the Trade Union movement by its restrictions on African trade union officials, almost all of whom are in prison, exiled, or under banning or house-arrest orders. The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, now law, is designed to control all African labour rigidly, and ensure that it is only allowed outside the Reserves so long as its labour is needed by the mining and industrial companies and the capitalist farms.

The Fascist policies of the South African Government have aroused protests and boycott actions from working people throughout the world, and these undoubtedly played the decisive part in saving the lives of the accused in the recent Rivonia sabotage trial. They can play the same part again, to save the lives of Mini, Mkaba, and Khayingo.

We, the working people of Britain, have a vital part to play. British capitalism, with its investments of more than £1,000 million in South Africa, dominates the economy of South Africa. The profits of the British shareholders in the mining and industrial companies, and the banks, of South Africa flow back to Britain each year to strengthen the ability of these same shareholders, the ruling class, to exploit the working people of Britain. This flow of loot from South Africa to Britain is obtained at the cost of untold suffering among our African brothers. Their struggle for freedom is our struggle; we have a common enemy.

With Mr. Harold Wilson now heading a Labour Government for imperialist Britain, let us step up our pressure upon this Labour Government to implement the British vote at the United Nations for the release forthwith of all political prisoners in South Africa.

Let us step up action by the Trade Union movement to this same end. The A.E.U. National Committee has already passed an emergency resolution calling on the British Government to "implement a diplomatic, economic and arms boycott of South Africa in accordance with the decision of the U.N. General Assembly," and has called on the General Council of the T.U.C. "to use its influence to ensure that an international boycott be carried out by organised workers."

The T.U.C. and many individual trade unions have now protested at the death sentences to the South African president, along with protests from workers' organisations from many other lands.

We must give full support to the November campaign of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (89 Charlotte St., W.1. Telephone LAN 5311) designed to mobilise mass support for the freeing of the South African political prisoners, and to save the lives of Mini, Mkaba, and Khayingo. This will commence with a poster-parade and vigil outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square on October 31. It will continue throughout the month of November with similar demonstrations on succeeding Saturdays, and public meetings will be held on Sunday, 1 November, 2.30 p.m., at the N.U.R. Unity Hall, Euston Road, and on Monday, November 3, at the Central Hall, Westminster, at 7.30 p.m.



# Unite against U.S. Imperialism

FROM THE  
PRESS

UNITED STATES imperialism is the greatest menace to the peace and well-being of all peoples throughout the world.

Through the transparent facade of democracy—latest American style—at play in Congress and Senate, can be seen the monstrous figures of giant monopolies.

Last year, two of them—the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. and General Motors each made over 600 million pounds profit. Their annual turnover, running to about 10 times this amount, reaches a combined figure of no less than 12 thousand million pounds, greater than the national product of many countries. The finance houses of Rockefeller and Morgan alone control capital, at a conservative estimate, to the extent of some 150 thousand million dollars. To these enormous concerns must be added other combines such as Standard Oil, Westinghouse, U.S. Steel, Du Pont. Twenty-five to thirty of these monsters of capitalism form the nerves and muscles, indeed the very life-blood of the American economy.

Not even the most hypocritical defender of "private enterprise" could claim that these are "mere" industrial undertakings whose activities are confined to their own area of product manufacture. Their tentacles reach out to every vital point of the American scene. They have their own pet Congressmen and Senators; extra pressure by way of lobbies from such firms individually, or in unison, or through some supported organisation is an everyday occurrence in the passage of legislation.

The White House is their playground, the Pentagon is their strong-arm pen, and Wall Street is the register for their success.

They not only produce nuclear fissile material but dictate who it may be given to, and who to threaten with their hydrogen bomb missiles. They not only manufacture guns, tanks, TNT, napalm, but have already used them—at the cost of million of lives and untold suffering in Korea and Vietnam.

Not a single country in the vast South American sub-Continent is untouched by the maraudings of American capital; behind the investments of thousands of millions of dollars stands the American military machine; when threats and blackmail are insufficient, the open use of force and the participation of American military personnel have been quickly resorted to, as the suffering people of Guatemala and Panama in recent years can well testify. But the American Goliath is not invincible.

The people of North Korea, actively assisted by the Chinese, resisted the might of the American Colossus; they lost two million men, women and children, but their united strength and undying heroism forced the Americans back, behind the 49th parallel.

With a million of its inhabitants slaughtered in years of self-sacrificial struggle, South Vietnam continues to display untold courage in a war the American imperialists can never win.

The valiant Cuban nation, led by Fidel Castro, have made the first Socialist breach in the western imperialist hemisphere; they have withstood severe trials without retreat.

These countries, together with the countries of Socialism, are the outstanding examples of a broad world front of opposition to the plans of American imperialism. This opposition takes many forms; it has strength and weakness, and it has gaps in the most vital areas. It is our duty to examine the key area in the capitalist sector—Britain.

American capital investment has penetrated extremely wide branches of the British economy.

## DOMINATION OF BRITAIN

Vauxhall, Frigidaire (both controlled by General Motors), Ford, Hoover, Otis Elevator, Thos. Hedley, British Home Stores, Woolworth, Champion, Standard Oil (Esso)—these are names that give only a small indication of the American owned or American controlled firms whose area of activity can deeply affect the entire British economy.

Of course, British capitalism too, has large overseas investments including the United States itself, but the criterion of judgment is which is the dominant capital; which is extending further and faster; which is the major threat to the independence of countries throughout the world. The answer clearly, is that American imperialism, above all, menaces independence and peace everywhere.

The strident voice of aggression is heard in the highest ranks of the American oligarchy. Goldwater, in his book, *Conscience as a Conservative*, demanded that the "United States should refuse to recognise all the countries of the Socialist camp, that arms should be supplied to the underground anti-Communist organisations in those countries, and that armed forces supplied with atomic weapons should be held ready in the event of a rebellion breaking out."

These are not the ramblings of a lunatic in the wilderness. Both Goldwater and Johnson answer the needs of aggressive U.S. imperialism. The Central Intelligence Agency of Allen Dulles, himself a director of J. Henry Schroeder—American banking concern with Anglo-German links—and many other companies, has already used its liberally supplied U.S. Government funds for subversive and sabotage activities against the Socialist countries. Chang Kai Shek, thrown out of the mainland by the Chinese people, has for some time had "tactical" nuclear weapons in his possession.

Goldwater has been thrust forward to head the Republican candidature for the United States Presidency. Open advocate of racist and Fascist ideas, he has already secured the support of many Southern Democrats. President Johnson and his advocates endeavour to show by their policies of aggression throughout the world that the fate and interests of American imperialism are better served by the Democratic Party.

The servility of successive Labour and

Tory governments in Britain to Washington policy, has never before been matched in British history, and in the light of American designs, this constitutes an enormous danger to peace and independence for the British people.

Now that the General Election is over, now that a third post-war Labour Government has been returned, can we hope for better things to come?

George Brown, leading Cabinet Minister, has stated, "Far from leading us into war, NATO has been probably the most potent force in maintaining freedom from further aggression in Europe."

Patrick Gordon Walker, Labour Foreign Minister, has stated, almost before the ink was dry on his confirmation of office, that the cornerstone of British Foreign policy lay in its alliance with the United States.

We should thank these gentlemen for avoiding any confusion as to what we may expect from them or their colleagues.

For many years the objective needs of the people of Britain have demanded a mighty movement in this country against the exponents of hate propaganda against the Socialist countries; against the engineers of the cold war; against the self-styled "patriots" who would sell Britain for a minority shareholding.

The Peace Movement, headed by CND and Committee of 100, has an honourable place in Britain for awakening the desires of the common people, to live in a world secure from war. Many thousands of the best representatives of our youth in particular, have engaged in enthusiastic and courageous actions to back their ardent feelings for peace.

But the history of these last few years has demonstrated yet again that without the active participation of the organised working class, movements such as these must fail. Furthermore, without the inspiration and leadership of a Marxist Party, dedicated to its revolutionary tasks, the working class itself will not respond spontaneously to the needs and demands of peace.

The Communist Party of Great Britain has been faced with the greatest challenge of our time, and—thanks to its leadership—has failed to meet it.

Its parliamentary outlook—supposedly to be backed by mass struggle—has produced all outlook and no struggle. Its attitude is the complete antithesis of Lenin's concept of a Marxist Party designed to inspire lead and organise the masses.

The urgent task of the C.D.R.C.U. and its organ *Vanguard* is to help unite all the best revolutionary elements in the country, inside and outside the Communist Party around a common programme.

The dominant aspect of this programme must be the struggle against United States imperialism in all its forms and expressions—in its economic penetration of Britain, in its policy interference, in the military pacts, in the Polar and other bases in this country.

Continuous, persevering and tireless efforts to secure the involvement of the working class, above all, in militant struggle will be the keystone of success.

That this will not be achieved overnight is certain. It is equally certain that not to strive for this goal is to lose in advance the battle for peace and independence. To prepare for, and to win this battle will open the road for the final onslaught against capitalism.

JACK SEIFERT

## EAST AFRICA

A CORRESPONDENT from Mombasa, Kenya, points out that a part of the Editor's reply to him in the August *Vanguard* (see "Rose-coloured glasses") was based upon a misunderstanding, in that the Arab-dominated Nationalist Party was quite distinct from the Afro-Shirazi, which represented the majority of the African population. He also stresses that there is need to make a most careful examination of what in fact would be the alternative to any African nationalist leader, were he deposed, before rushing in with bitter attacks upon such leaders.

It is, indeed, obvious that the imperialists wish to see every African country run by men who will act as their agents. There are many Tshombes waiting in the wings. Thus unbridled attacks upon nationalist leaders who are still opposing imperialism in varying degrees may well assist the rise to power of outright reactionaries, rather than advance the cause of national liberation and socialism.

Our correspondent writes: "... it is necessary to have a politically conscious and mature leadership prior to, and during, the revolution. If the leadership is not important how has it come about that in a Socialist country like the Soviet Union a revisionist leader like Khrushchev has come to power representing the interests of, at most, ten per cent of the Soviet people?"

"(This) in a country devoted to building Socialism over the past four decades, where the population is given a thorough grounding in Marxism-Leninism. ..."

SUBJECT: HOW TO MAKE A SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTION.

SOURCE: *Peking Review*, 15/5/64.

The experience of a small number of advanced elements must be turned into the experience of the whole people. This takes time and even requires a payment of "tuition fees" in the form of big or small setbacks.

*Renmin Ribao*, 6/5/64.

SUBJECT: LIVING IN THE PAST.

SOURCE: P.R. 15/5/64.

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

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

SUBJECT: INTELLECTUALS.

SOURCE: P.R. 10/7/64.

They can play a positive role in revolution and construction only when they accept the leadership of the working class, serve the workers and peasants, and identify themselves with them.

Report delivered by Hu Yao-Pang at the 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist Youth League, 11/6/64.

SUBJECT: U.S. INVESTMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

SOURCE: P.R. 12/6/64.

According to the *Daily Mail*, one out of every 30 workers in Britain is paid by U.S. firms, which make one shilling out of every pound's worth of British goods. In all, the Americans have 1,600 million pounds invested in over 500 U.K. firms, with 300 million in cars, 260 million in petrol, and 119 million in stores, food and domestic goods. They invest 15 shillings of every pound coming into Britain from foreign countries, and take out around 80 million pounds a year in profits.

SUBJECT: U.S. INVESTMENT IN INDONESIA.

SOURCE: Report delivered at the Higher Party School of the C.P.C., by D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesia C.P., 2/9/63.

The actual situation now is that imperialist capital, first of all U.S. capital, has in recent years steadily increased its investments in Indonesia. Since 1945, the United States has increased its investments in oil enterprises as follows: Investment in the Shell Oil Company has increased by 84 million dollars; in Standard Vacuum, by 46 million dollars; in Caltex, by 47 million dollars. Jones, U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, said in a speech at the American Men's Association that U.S. "economic aid" since 1950 has already reached 639 million dollars.

Since Dutch imperialism was driven out from almost every branch of our economy and from West Irian, U.S. imperialism has replaced Dutch imperialism to become the most dangerous, the No. 1 enemy of the Indonesian people.

SOURCE: *Washington Post*, 6/3/63.

The Chief of the U.S. military operations for Vietnam has stated "that the guerillas are neither reinforced or supplied from North Vietnam, China or any place else" and depend for weapons on what they capture.

SOURCE: Bertrand Russell in letter to *The Times*, 26/8/64.

The U.S. maintains the only foreign troops in Vietnam, refuses elections provided by the Geneva agreements, has placed nearly eight million people in barbed wire camps with machine-gun turrets and patrolled by dogs, conducted 50,000 air attacks on the villages in 1962 alone, razed the country with chemicals and napalm, killed 160,000, maimed 700,000, and imprisoned 350,000. The South Vietnamese Government and Army are American puppets financed by 1,500,000 dollars daily. When the U.S. ceases its war of atrocity against a popular national movement and accepts the neutrality agreed 10 years ago, the war will end.

The U.S. should be condemned as an aggressor by the United Nations for its atrocity-ridden war of annihilation in Vietnam.

SUBJECT: MODERN REVISIONISM.

SOURCE: *The Economist*, 3/10/64.

## EAST MEETS WEST

"John Maynard Keynes, who contributed so much to our knowledge of the functioning of the modern economy"—a conventional enough tribute, one would think, except that it comes from a noted Hungarian economist on an official mission. It gives the tone of the remarks Professor Imre Vajda, the chairman of the British section of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, made recently to a joint meeting organised in London by the Federation of British Industries and the London Chamber of Commerce. Professor Vajda was urging British companies to go into joint ventures with Hungarian "firms," if necessary on a profit-sharing basis. The Hungarians are thus offering to partner the British in penetrating eastern markets in return for the markets Britain could help them to win in the West.

# ZAMBIA

JAMES ROBERT CHIKEREMA, Deputy-President of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), said: "The victory of the Zambian people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism is ours too. We are looking forward to celebrating the independence of free Zimbabwe in the near future in Southern Rhodesia."

*Zimbabwe Review*, organ of the ZAPU head office in Lusaka, in its latest issue called on the people in Zimbabwe to redouble their efforts in order to liberate themselves.

"The independence of Zambia is a source of inspiration and encouragement to us," said the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa in its organ, *Izwe-Lethu* (Our Motherland).

"African nationalism is sweeping like a hurricane right through Africa. Let those forces of darkness still represented by the settlers be warned. No one can stem the tide of freedom. The white settlers can keep our bodies in concentration camps but never our minds," it said.

The independence of Zambia was an encouragement to the nationalists and freedom fighters as well as to the masses of South Africa, said Thomas T. Kkobi, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

"We hope that this will be repeated in South Africa in the near future. We have to work harder for the solemn aim of liquidating imperialism and colonialism from the African continent," he said.

People from outside Zambia who were not yet free would be encouraged not to spare any efforts in fighting the imperialists and colonialists until they obtain victory, said *Resolute Combat*, organ of the Mozambique National Democratic Union.

Romalho Domingos Gil, representative of the Angolan People's Union, said: "We have greater confidence and encouragement now to fight against the colonialists and liberate our motherland which has been ruled by the Portuguese for more than four hundred years."

(*Hsin-hua News Report*)

## HELP MAINTAIN "VANGUARD"

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I will guarantee £ : s. d. monthly, to be paid by the 1st of the month.

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*Lord Brookeborough, former Prime Minister, typifies the British rulers of Northern Ireland*



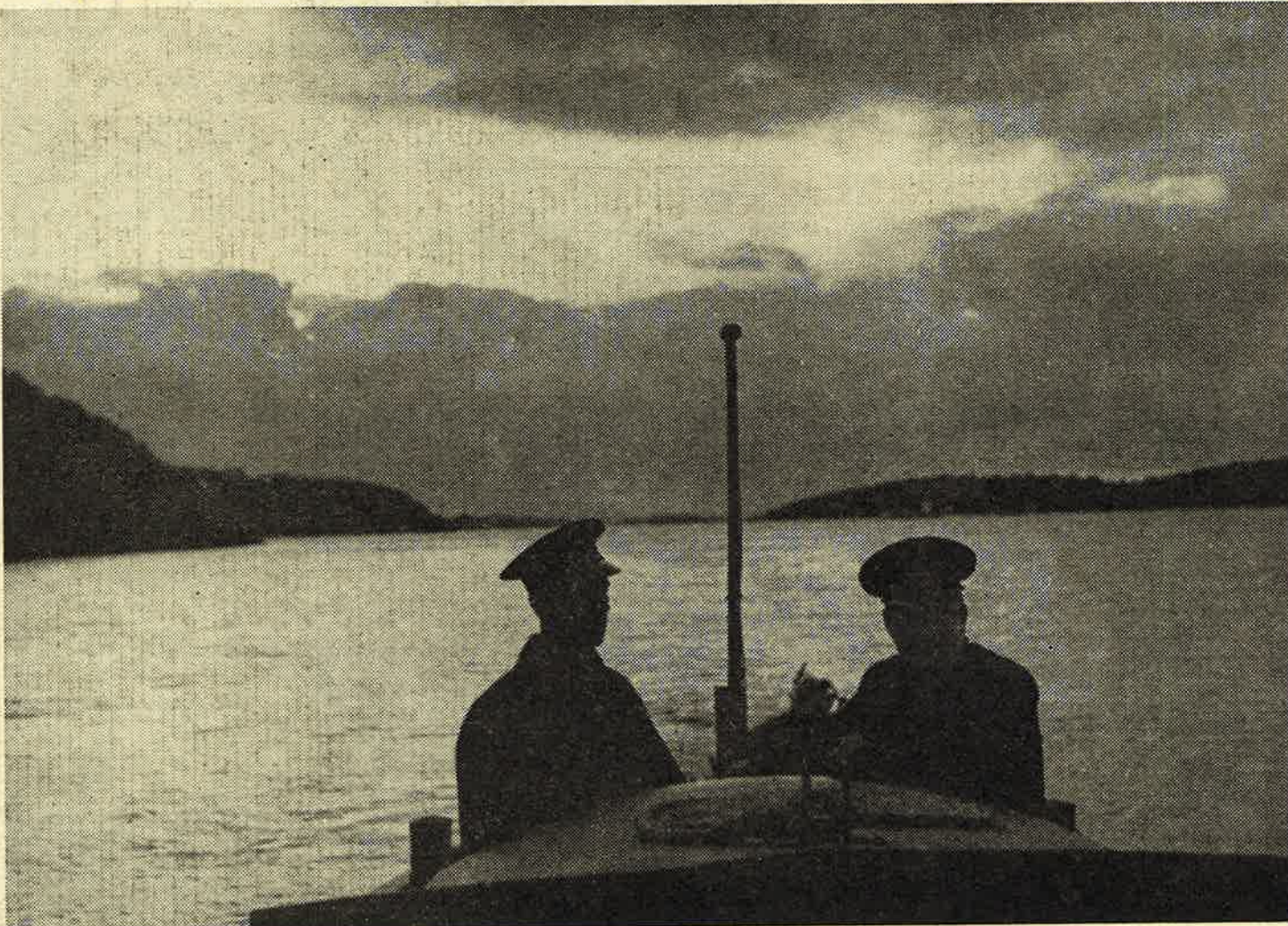
*The British flag still flies over Belfast*

# FOR THE LIBERATION OF

FOR many hundreds of years the English ruling class have plundered and despoiled Ireland, murdered thousands of her people, and allowed millions to die by famine, or to be driven abroad in search of the work they could not find at home. The suffering which British imperialism has inflicted upon the Irish nation during the last two centuries is immeasurable. Important victories have been won by the Irish people during the 20th

Century, under leaders such as the great James Connolly, in the struggle to free their land from British imperial rule and oppression, and to build Socialism in Ireland. But Northern Ireland remains occupied by British troops, and all of Ireland remains dominated by British and United States capitalism.

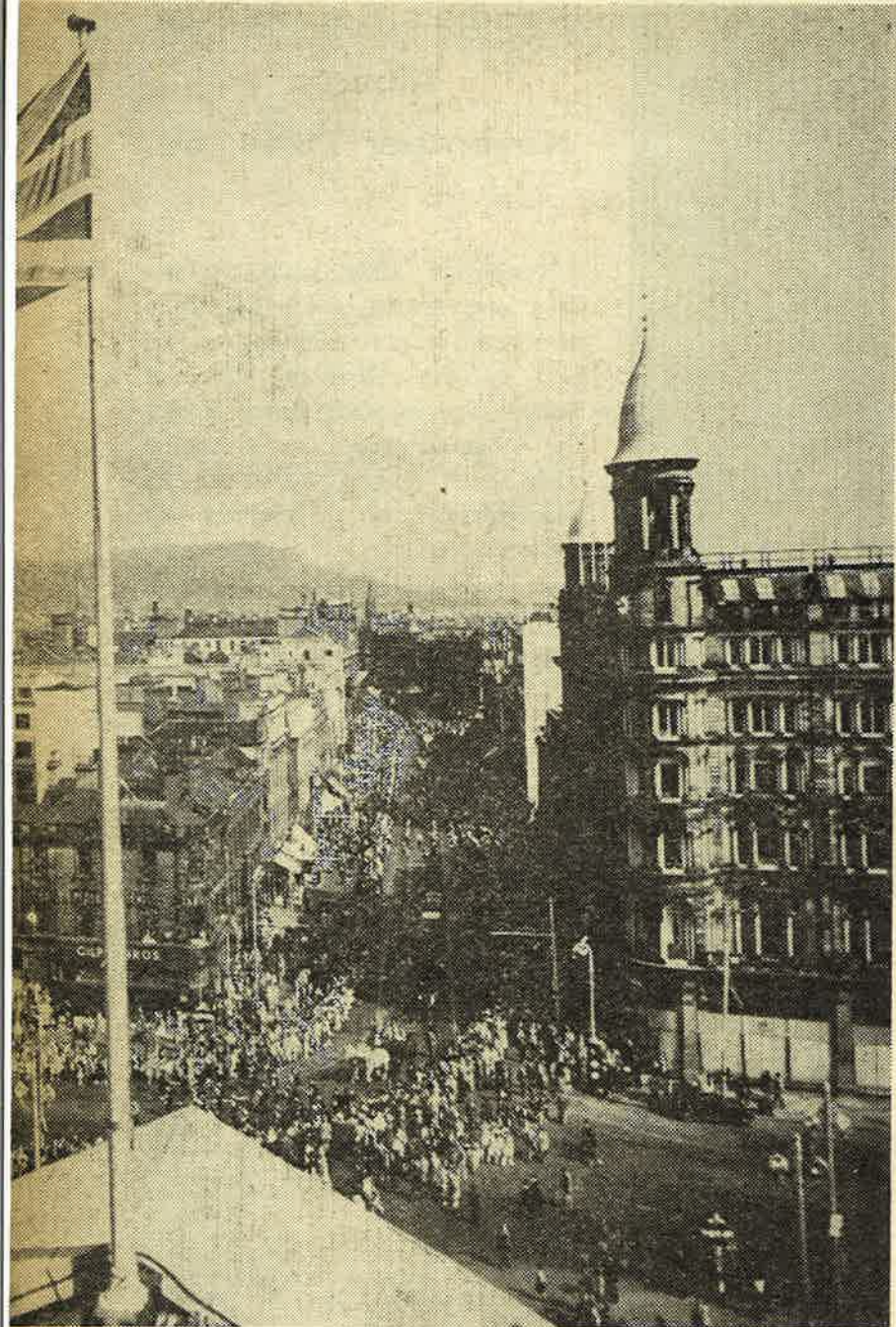
Before long the Irish people—workers, intellectuals and peasants—led



*Ireland is still, in part, occupied by British imperialist forces. A police launch of the Royal Ulster Constabulary returning from patrol on Lough Erne*

Du





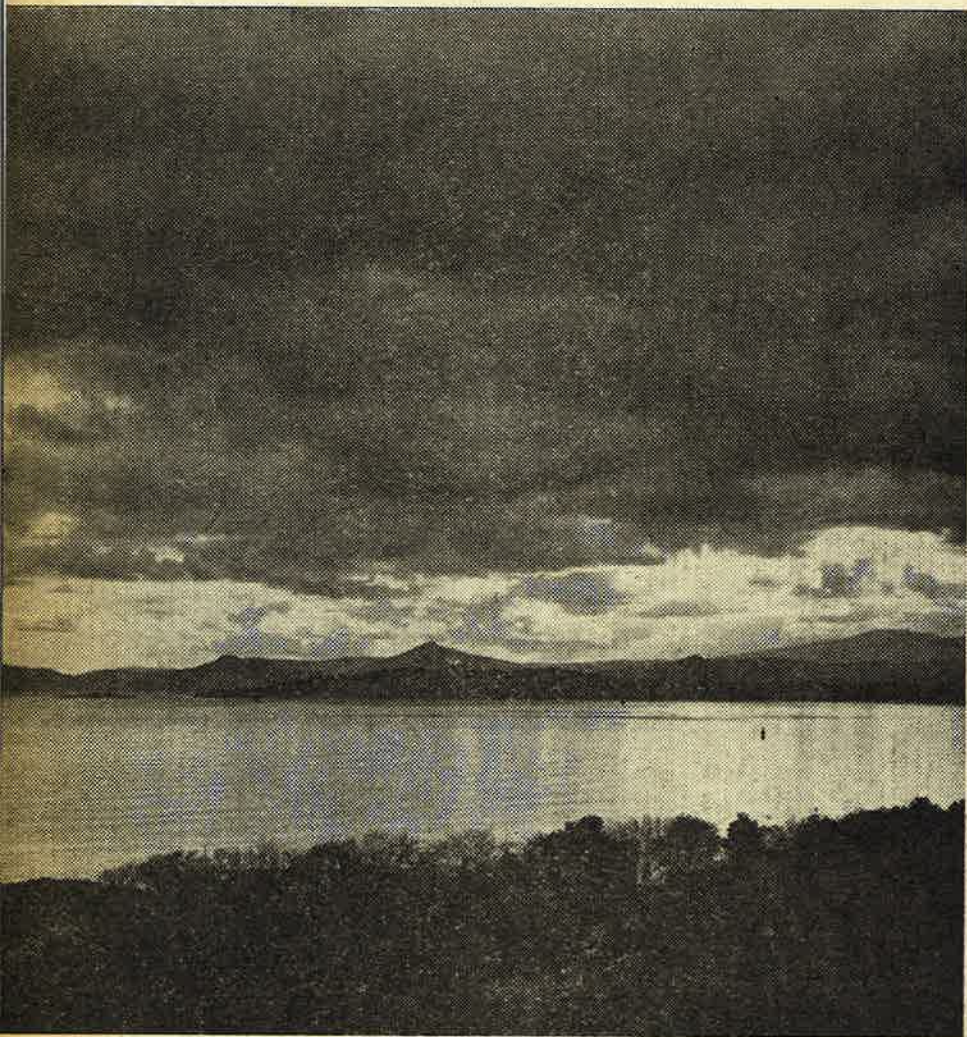
*Belfast, Ireland's greatest industrial city*



*Religious teaching obscures many political issues in Ireland*

# OF IRELAND

by a genuine working class party, will succeed in freeing Ireland from British and all foreign oppression, and will move on to the building of Socialism in Ireland. English, Scottish and Welsh workers must, and will, give full support to the Irish workers and peasants in their struggle for freedom and Socialism. "A nation which oppresses another cannot itself be free."



*Dublin Bay from Howth Head*



*Belfast docker. The industrial working class will lead the Irish people in winning full liberation from British imperialism*





## People's Republic of Albania

November 1944-64

November 1964 witnesses the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Albania from foreign oppression. Led by the Albanian Party of Labour and comrade Enver Hodja, the Albanian people are advancing with seven league strides in the construction of Socialism in Albania.

Greetings to a gallant party and a gallant people from British Communists and militant workers.

May Day in Tirana, 1964

# ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN THE U.S.S.R.

IT IS A well-known fact that the collective farms in the Soviet Union represent an *alternative* form of Socialist property and production relations to that of the State-owned industries—a form reflecting the *particular* features of the peasantry as a class inherited from feudalism, and that such collective, i.e., group, or communally-owned property and its corresponding production relations constitute an *incomplete, not fully Socialist* form, designed to assist this peasant class, with its more backward level of class consciousness and understanding, to achieve the transition to a fully Socialist form of property and relations, i.e., ownership by the whole people through the State.

Consequently, at a stage when the development of Socialist society has reached a point where the overall level of production and the degree of consolidation and growth of Socialist relations, culture and ideology make possible the first practical steps towards the gradual and planned transition to a fully Communist society, the first problem to be faced is that of eliminating the last vestiges of commodity circulation and exchange, and of transforming collective forms of property—the main sphere where commodity circulation still takes place—into forms of ownership by the whole people. Stalin recognised this basic truth with absolute clarity and with a profound grasp of the fundamental and objective contradictions of the Socialist transition period and of its laws of development. Here is what he had to say on the matter in 1952:

“... It is necessary, in the second place, by means of gradual transitions carried out to the advantage of the collective farms, and hence, of all society, to raise collective-farm property to the level of public property, and, also by means of gradual transitions, to replace commodity circulation by a system of products-exchange, under which the central government, or some other social-economic centre, might control the whole product of social production in the interests of society.

Comrade Yaroshenko is mistaken when he asserts that there is no contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces of society under Socialism. Of course, our present relations of production are in a period when they fully conform to the growth of the productive forces and help to advance them at seven-league strides. But it would be wrong to rest easy at that and to think that there are no contradictions between our productive forces and the relations of production. There certainly are, and will be, contradictions, seeing that the development of the relations of production lags, and will lag, behind the development of the productive forces. Given a correct policy on the part of the directing bodies, these contradictions cannot develop into antagonisms, and there is no chance of matters coming to a conflict between the relations of production and the productive forces of society. It would be a different matter if we were to conduct a wrong policy, such as that which Comrade Yaroshenko recommends. In that case, conflict would be

inevitable, and our relations of production might become a serious brake on the further development of the productive forces.

The task of the directing bodies is therefore promptly to discern incipient contradictions, and to take timely measures to resolve them by adapting the relations of production to the growth of the productive forces. This, above all, concerns such economic factors as group, or collective-farm, property and commodity circulation. At present, of course, these factors are being successfully utilised by us for the promotion of the Socialist economy, and they are of undeniable benefit to our society. It is undeniable, too, that they will be of benefit also in the near future. But it would be unpardonable blindness not to see at the same time that these factors are already beginning to hamper the powerful development of our productive forces, since they create obstacles to the extension of government planning to the whole of the national economy, especially agriculture. There is no doubt that these factors will hamper the continued growth of the productive forces of our country more and more as time goes on. The task, therefore, is to eliminate these contradictions by gradually converting collective-farm property into public property, and by introducing—also gradually—products-exchange in place of commodity circulation.” (J. V. Stalin, “Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.”, pp. 75-76, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952). [Italics are mine, M.B.]

What were these “basic errors” of Comrade Yaroshenko that Stalin so clearly revealed in this section of his book? They were precisely those of underestimating the role of the production relations in the development of Socialist society, and of advocating a superficial, pragmatic manipulation of surface and transitory economic factors (in the place of genuine Socialist planning) which would lead inevitably to the tremendous strengthening of the sphere of commodity circulation, to the reversal of the trend of development of collective agriculture towards ownership by the whole people through the State, with products-exchange as the basic form of distribution of goods. In short, he advocated precisely those wrong policies, infinitely harmful to the development of Socialism and to the transition to Communism, which Khrushchev pursued ever since he gained full control of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet State.

On the specific question of the role of the Machine and Tractor Stations and the future of the collective farms, this is what Stalin had to say:

“... What... would be the effect of selling the M.T.S.'s to the collective farms as their property? The effect would be to involve the collective farms in heavy loss and to ruin them, to undermine the mechanisation of agriculture,

and to slow-up the development of collective-farm production.”

The conclusion therefore is that, in proposing that the M.T.S.'s should be sold to the collective farms as their property, Comrades Sanina and Venzher are suggesting a step in reversion to the old backwardness and are trying to turn back the wheel of history.

Assuming for a moment that we accepted Comrades Sanina's and Venzher's proposal and began to sell the basic implements of production, the Machine and Tractor Stations, to the collective farms as their property. What would be the outcome?

The outcome would be, first, that the collective farms would become the owners of the basic instruments of production; that is, their status would be an exceptional one, such as is not shared by any other enterprise in our country, for, as we know, even the nationalised industries do not own their instruments of production. How, by what considerations of progress and advancement, could this exceptional status of the collective farms be justified? Can it be said that such a status would facilitate the elevation of collective-farm property to the level of public property, that it would expedite the transition of our society from Socialism to Communism? Would it not be truer to say that such a status could only dig a deeper gulf between collective-farm property and public property, and would not bring us any nearer to Communism, but, on the contrary, remove us farther from it?

The outcome would be, secondly, an extension of the sphere of operation of commodity circulation, because a gigantic quantity of instruments of agricultural production would come within its orbit. What do Comrades Sanina and Venzher think—is the extension of the sphere of commodity circulation calculated to promote our advance towards Communism? Would it not be truer to say that our advance towards Communism would only be retarded by it?

Comrades Sanina's and Venzher's basic error lies in the fact that they do not understand the role of commodity circulation under Socialism; that they do not understand that commodity circulation is incompatible with the prospective transition from Socialism to Communism. They think that the transition from Socialism to Communism is possible even with commodity circulation, that commodity circulation can be no obstacle to this. That is a profound error, arising from an inadequate grasp of Marxism.

Criticising Duhring's “economic commune,” which functions in the conditions of commodity circulation, Engels, in his “Anti-Duhring,” convincingly shows that the existence of commodity circulation was inevitably bound to lead Duhring's “economic communes” to the regeneration of capitalism. Comrades Sanina and Venzher evidently do not agree with this. All the worse for them. But we, Marxists, adhere to the Marxist view that the transition from Socialism to Communism and the Communist principle of distribution of products according to needs preclude all commodity exchange, and hence, preclude the conversion of products into commodities, and, with it, their conversion into value.” (J. V. Stalin, *ibid.*, pp. 101-102.) (Italics are mine, M.B.)

The tragic experiences in the develop-

ment of the Soviet Union under Khrushchev since 1956 have clearly demonstrated that the “profound errors” of all the Duhring's, Yaroshenko's, Sanina's and Venzher's are also the errors of Khrushchev, the ardent pupil of Tito. For has not Khrushchev declared, in so many words, that Communism will be attained precisely through an intensification and widespread extension of the role of commodity exchange—and by 1981 at that! And has not Comecon been created as an instrument of unequal trading and economic coercion of the less advanced Socialist nations in the interests of the stronger, and in order to further the extension of commodity exchange on an international scale within the Socialist Camp of Nations?

A point is reached where mere “error” and pragmatic bungling turns into conscious betrayal. The inexorable force of spontaneous, uncontrolled development of petty, small-scale production rapidly asserts itself once the firm guiding hand of the Marxist-Leninist Party and the proletarian dictatorship are removed, and this development moves relentlessly towards the restoration of capitalism, as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin all demonstrated.

It must be grasped by all Communists that the only possible alternative to the continued strengthening and growth of Socialist relations to the point where fully Communist relations become a real possibility, is the return to commodity relations, the increased and increasing sphere of operation of the law of value, of economic and social inequalities, leading finally and inevitably to the restoration of capitalism in one form or another.

Either Socialism moves forward towards the new, fully classless and really free society of Communism—or it slips back into the yawning and hostile maw of that dying but still powerful society, capitalism, with its exploitation, insecurity, poverty and war, its cultural fetishism and moral degeneracy. Immobility, a state of rest, is impossible, movement itself is the only possible “state of being” for Socialism, as for all other societies.

It is for this fundamental reason that the founders of Scientific Socialism, Marx, Engels and Lenin, all emphasised that, during the epoch of Socialist construction and development the democratic dictatorship of the working class and all working people, led by its vanguard, the Communist Party, is essential.

The Soviet working class, their Marxist-Leninist vanguard, and the entire World Communist Movement will never permit the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union or any other Socialist Nation. The victorious sweep of the revolutionary peoples of the world towards Socialism and Communism cannot be thwarted. Modern Revisionism's futile attempt to reverse history's verdict on capitalism will most surely end in ignominious failure.

The Marxist-Leninists of the Soviet Union, its Bolshevik cadres, will most certainly, and in the not too distant future, destroy Modern Revisionism and its representatives, root and branch.

MIKE BAKER



# Inner Party Struggle? A Curious Attitude

(A TRANSLATION FROM NUOVA UNITA)

WE have received a letter from some Marxist-Leninist comrades in Naples. Because its content touches upon several central points of the policy of our journal and the activity of our movement, it deserves to be published as a contribution towards the common political work of Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, it is also necessary that we who are responsible for what is published in the paper, state our point of view on the observations of the Naples comrades.

## THE LETTER

WE must always remember that the most advanced part of the proletariat except the youth, are organised in the P.C.I., and it is to them that we must speak. We can only do this with language, clear but not sectarian, with attitudes, definite but not provocative.

We all know that the most difficult thing for our revolutionary conscience to accept is the necessity to conduct the struggle inside the Party. The revisionist splitters have in their hands the instruments of propaganda and organisation, and it is therefore necessary to counterpose to them Marxist-Leninist instruments of propaganda and organisation. This is the role which "Nuova Unità" must play, never forgetting that it directs its words to the members of the Party, who, although ideologically convinced, are sometimes put off by the wrong, sectarian and provocative attitudes of some anti-revisionists, at times schematic and infantile. It would be erroneous to ignore the dialectic actually taking place in the Party; and our job is to furnish sufficient themes (responsible ones) to cause a defeat for revisionist positions by arousing the full consciousness of the healthiest elements in the Party.

Most of our work is that of debate conducted inside the Party, truth is with us, and therefore, we can win the argument through discussion with individual comrades. In our city, we have been able to reawaken the debate in the Party after a long battle, in spite of the fact that the Federation does everything possible to evade it, and today we gather the first fruits.

It is certainly more difficult to work in this way because it requires that "infinite patience" which Comrade Mao Tse-tung so often told us to have. It is much easier to organise public meetings like the one in Genoa, but the first way is the right way. We must not assume the airs and graces of a big party, with public demonstrations, red flags flying, etc., because in this way we will only make the revisionists smile, while we engender the hostility of comrades who will say we are attacking the Party, and therefore think that they are fighting for and defending the unity of the Party. It seems to us that this public activity hinders the debate and that possibility of a split down the middle between Leninists and the revisionist positions.

Actions like those of the comrades who distributed leaflets to workers outside the Milan factories do not take account of Italian reality. They presuppose that the most advanced part of the proletariat are among those who after long years of hard struggle still do not feel the need to join the Party which has represented their interests. We must be able to convince the Communist workers that we can perform an effective function, as guide to the masses. It seems to us that this particular leaflet was very unconvincing; we cannot see how one strike of 8 hours duration is more effective than 4 strikes of 2 hours duration each. We do not think that the polemic with the revisionists should be based on such triviality, but must go deeper. We must be able to indicate the alternative line with clarity, and to fight for it inside the Party.

It would be illusory to believe that ideology is sufficient for the mobilisation of the working class, without organisation. It would be just as illusory, however, to suppose that the actual conditions exist now for the formation of another party.

Comrades who because of their just Marxist-Leninist position have been expelled from the Party, do not have to feel themselves "outside," but can contribute to the debate through the external pole, "Nuova Unità."

The Marxist-Leninist comrades, then, have a very precise job to do inside the Party. They must remain inside without surrendering any principle, so winning over the maximum number of comrades by words and by example.

## THE REPLY FROM NUOVA UNITA

This letter from the Naples comrades constitutes a contribution to the development of our work and to the elaboration of the tactics of our movement. It demonstrates how the practice of working in-

side and outside the Party for the victory of the Marxist-Leninist line against revisionism and reformism, has been almost completely accepted by authoritative and consistent groups inside the Party. This acceptance is manifested in the close collaboration and fraternal discussion which has taken place and is being ever more extended, between those comrades who have been expelled from the Party for their anti-revisionist activity and those who are still inside the ranks.

It is, moreover, a new confirmation that within just six months of its existence, "Nuova Unità" has not only come to constitute the ideological and political organ of the Italian Marxist-Leninists, but also their national centre. Correctly, the Naples comrades affirm that "the revisionist splitters have in their hands the instruments of propaganda and organisation, and it is therefore necessary to counterpose to them Marxist-Leninist instruments of propaganda and organisation." Their support of most of the material published by "Nuova Unità," proves that we adequately express the needs of the comrades who are fighting for Marxism-Leninism inside the Party.

The Naples comrades criticise the autonomous political actions and initiatives taken by Marxist-Leninist comrades in diverse localities, outside the political actions and initiatives of the P.C.I. They affirm that to encourage them is harmful to the Marxist-Leninist work carried out by comrades inside the Party. We are perfectly aware that our actions of clarification and criticism require time, caution and patience. Revisionism and reformism constitutes a deeply rooted, complex texture, which must be burned piece by piece. The Naples comrades say that "we must always remember that the most advanced part of the proletariat, except the youth, are organised in the P.C.I., and it is to them that we must speak." We fully agree.

But where we think they go wrong is in their conception that all the work of the Marxist-Leninist movement must be exclusively directed inside the Party. They forget that the revisionist leaders are using disciplinary measures against all those comrades who coherently carry on the struggle inside the Party, and are thus constituting ever more numerous groups of comrades outside the Party. These comrades are outside not because they want to give up the class struggle against the class enemy, but because they want to carry on the struggle in the most effective way possible. They cannot submit to revisionist blackmail, by tolerating the revisionist leadership or withdrawing from the struggle. They intend to struggle harder and better. To do this, they must be able to organise just those political and T.U. actions and initiatives which the P.C.I. leadership has blocked.

We have been extremely cautious in recognising the groups who are organising and expounding their political actions, calming the impatience of many comrades and sometimes attracting bitter comments for our caution. But we are convinced that to block mature political and organisational initiative, incurs the risk of demoralising the comrades expelled from the Party and subduing their revolutionary spirit. Therefore, it is our duty to give these comrades our full and unconditional support. If we do not, this means sacrificing the most combative vanguard of the Marxist-Leninist movement in favour of the more backward sections.

The Naples comrades correctly ask the Marxist-Leninists kicked out of the Party to give the maximum aid to those who are still fighting inside the Party. But they forget to say that it is also necessary for Marxist-Leninist comrades inside the Party to give all their support to those who are outside.

Our experience of struggle outside and inside the Party is an experience which has very few precedents in the history of the workers' movement. It is a new experience. It is a much more difficult way to bring victory for a political line than any other way. For this reason, we have had a lot of discussion on this question. "Nuova Unità" would never have been published if the group of comrades who produce it, did not organise independently placing themselves outside the discipline of the revisionists; neither would we have been able to carry out the task, which the Naples comrades recognise that we have carried

THE *Daily Worker* editorial of October 17th, headed "Ban all Bombs" is marked by contradictions and a lack of realism.

It attempts to deal with some factors which arise from China's first atomic test and, since it proceeds from the erroneous position of the C.P.G.B. regarding nuclear weapons and the relations between Socialist States, it slithers in the quicksands of opportunism.

It calls on the "Labour" Government to break completely with the nuclear policies of the Tories and the U.S.A.

These aggressive nuclear policies are the product of monopoly-capitalism—both American and British—and the Wilson Government is committed plainly to make capitalism work. Its very name, "Labour" is a big fraud and even to suggest that it will modify its own nuclear policy in the interests of the working people is pure wishful thinking and a dangerous deception. The Gordon-Walker-Dean Rusk conversations will certainly clarify matters on this point.

The Editorial goes on to say that "China has developed nuclear weapons for defensive and not offensive purposes." We agree.

It continues then: "that most friends of China will regret that this step has been taken, because it adds to the danger that these weapons will spread to other countries." We disagree 100%.

The Chinese explosion restricts the brazenness of imperialism and adds to the worker's arsenal of just retaliation, should imperialism dare to make this ultimate necessary. Therefore we hold that nuclear weapons in the hands of People's China are an important contribution to world peace, to the morale of the national liberation struggle and the struggle for Socialism in all countries—all three endeavours forming, objectively, one whole and directed precisely against the imperialist war-positions—primarily those of U.S. imperialism.

So, from the point of view of the real peace forces, what is there to "regret" and who will "regret"—save the warmongers themselves and those, who, consciously or not, cater to their interests?

The Editorial continues: "The Soviet Union's nuclear strength is sufficient to shield the Socialist camp—this will continue to be the position for years—since it will be a long time before China is a nuclear power." Again we disagree 100%. First of all, the latter few words are a prophesy, which has a queer affinity with the U.S. State Department's prediction. We would venture that neither the *Daily Worker* nor the U.S. State Department is exactly in the close confidence of the Chinese High Command and that, therefore, to guess is not to know.

Socialist States quite correctly conclude Treaties of Alliance. This does not absolve a Socialist State from adopting a policy of self-reliance in national defence similar to the policy of self-reliance in economic construction. Especially so, in the case of China, the largest nation, by far, in the world and one which has been subjected to military threats from the U.S.A.

To put it bluntly: How could any sincere friend of China insist that her Government entrust its national defence to the Soviet Government which, under the renegade, Khrushchev, conducted an active policy of outright hostility to her? In this despicable chapter of (to put it at its mildest) a distinctly shady career, Khrushchev was backed to the hilt by the leaders of the C.P.G.B. and the *Daily Worker*. What impertinence is this, to "advise" China to depend on the modern revisionists. "The utmost hostility has been shown towards China," says the Editorial. Yes, indeed, gentleman. You ought to know.

"Wild men like Goldwater have openly threatened her with H-weapons." And what of the Johnson-McNamara-Rusk gang? Are they less "wild" because

they are less overt in their intention? Why do you make this distinction, unless it is to try to justify your opportunist policy vis-a-vis U.S. imperialism—a policy accepted uncritically from the un-aimed Khrushchev. Did you not swallow, hook, line and sinker the fraudulent Test Ban Treaty? What was this a "first step" to, except to attempt to perpetuate an exclusive "nuclear club" who intended to lay the law down to the rest of the world and divide it into spheres of influence? When are you going to exercise a degree of modesty in the top ranks of the C.P.G.B. and indulge in self-criticism, so that the entire Party can participate, draw correct conclusions and return to a principled road?

You state that "it is this policy of imperialist aggression, which is at the root of tensions in the world."

What then, do you propose to do about it? Try to make the imperialists draw their own teeth so that we can have toothless imperialists?

Convert them to Christianity, so that they become pacifists—or what? Or will you now call for an uncompromising struggle against imperialism on a world front (including Britain) on the basis of the Moscow Statement (1960)—since so long as imperialism remains then the grave danger of world nuclear war also remains. Is it not clear, by now, that only a tremendous and historic world campaign to Ban and destroy all H-weapons will prevent many other States from acquiring them in due course? That no exclusive "nuclear club" will ever be able to forbid other States to test and acquire them?

You mislead your readers when you say that the Soviet proposals for a Summit Conference were the same as the Chinese proposals vis-a-vis the outright banning of H-weapons (printed in full in this *Vanguard*).

This is to cling to your pro-Khrushchev position, which wanted only a Summit of the nuclear powers—and which excluded China.

If you still regard the H-weapon as the be-all and end-all of everything then you definitely depart from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint as to the real social forces which determine historical change.

The working people will destroy all nuclear weapons since these things constitute an obstacle to their advance.

The spring of all influence, power and decision in this, the era of rapid decay for capitalism, lies with the working peoples.

They will yet end both exploitation and every and any weapon which can be invented in the dialectical process of vanquishing reaction.

Herein is the bright hope for the future, and it remains, after the Chinese test, not only bright—but brighter than before.

DAVE VOLPE

tween comrades inside and outside the Party, recognising the indispensable role of each detachment, and actuating the most constructive co-operation between them. To arrive at this point, we must go further than participating in ideological debate and putting forward a general political line. Both inside and outside the Party, among the rank and file and the masses, in the course of class struggle at the place of work, we must translate concrete and immediate issues into Marxist-Leninist slogans and actions.

## NGUYEN VAN TROI

On October 15 the agents of United States imperialism shot Nguyen Van Troi, a young Vietnamese patriot, allegedly for attempting to kill McNamara, United States Secretary of Defence, in Saigon last May. Before he was shot Nguyen Van Troi pulled the blindfold from his eyes, and shouted: "The American imperialists come here bringing death. Long live Ho Chi Minh! Long live Vietnam." He was 24 when he died.

The United States imperialists will suffer complete and total defeat in Vietnam at the hands of the people; and before very long. It will then be possible to begin the reconstruction of South Vietnam, and the building of a society in which happiness will be won by all the people. It is for this glorious future that men such as Nguyen Van Troi lay down their lives, in Vietnam and throughout the world. Their memory will never die.

To arrive at this point, we must strengthen the links and the unity be-



# WORKERS' DICTATORSHIP

This is the revolutionary programme which *The British Road to Socialism* replaced. Part 1 was published in the October *Vanguard*.

## FOR SOVIET BRITAIN

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

## II. WORKERS' DICTATORSHIP IS DEMOCRACY FOR THE WORKERS

WHAT kind of a Government will the British workers establish when Capitalism has been overthrown? They will not maintain the present parliamentary system.

Does this mean that the workers will abolish democracy? It does not; for the parliamentary system has not brought any real democracy to the overwhelming majority of the British people. What the parliamentary system really is, as any worker may learn from his own experiences, is a form of political organisation which the capitalist class of Britain has worked out to serve its own needs. While Parliament registers formal decisions, it is the whole elaborate machinery of Government, from the Cabinet at the top to the Public Assistance Committees at the bottom, and including the Civil Service, the Military, Naval and Air High Commands, the Judges, the Magistrates and the police, by which the capitalist class manages its affairs and maintains its rule over the working class.

How can this whole machinery, officered by the boss class, be expected faithfully to serve the interests of the working class? How can policemen, drilled in bludgeoning the workers, and kowtowing to the gentry, be expected to act as protectors of the workers' common property? And the highly-paid upper-class judges? As well ask—how can the leopard change its spots? How can Government officials, bred up to despise "the common herd" and to take their orders from "well-bred gentlemen," build Government departments whose first care has to be the strengthening of the rule of the "ill-bred," "badly-educated," "rough" workmen? How, finally, can the present Parliament be the national leadership of a people engaged in social revolution, where a thousand new problems arise in every little locality, and the power of the new order is to be found, not in a central talking-shop, but in the mass organisations of the workers in every town?

It is quite impossible for the workers to take over this machine and use it for their own entirely different purposes. The workers will have an altogether different job in hand, and they will have to fashion different tools for the doing of it. They will not be content with a body which merely registers formal decisions, but will want a machinery of government which actually carried out the decisions of the workers.

The British workers have built up trade unions. They have built Co-operative Societies. In a century of struggle, the working class, first of all in Britain and then throughout the rest of the world, have built up forms of organisation for the purpose of fighting for its interests. When the fight for the interests of the working class has reached the stage when capitalism is being overthrown, then, in order to do it, and in the doing of it, the British workers will create the organisation necessary for this purpose.

Already in each locality the workers have had the experience of running Trades Councils, composed of delegates from Union Branches, Co-operative Guilds and Branches of Political Parties. But where from time to time Strike Committees have been formed, composed of delegates from each factory on strike, these committees in times of stress have proved capable of undertaking something much beyond their first limited purpose. Since the War, on two occasions (in 1920 and in 1926) there have been formed nation-wide Councils of Action, which the capitalists themselves looked upon with fear, and as an alternative form of Government to their own cherished parliamentary system.

In the moment of need that will arise when the workers are getting ready to take over power, the British working class will create its own instruments to hold and maintain its power.

These, too, will be Workers' Councils, made up of delegates elected democratically from every factory, workshop and mine, and from every other grouping of the men and women of this country who have to work for their living. These Workers' Councils are the bodies which will be created by the working class as it takes power into its own hands; and these Workers' Councils

will break up the capitalist machinery of government and take the place of it.

### HOW WILL THESE COUNCILS WORK?

As they grow in strength, so will they grow in their capacity to represent truly—not in the mock parliamentary fashion—the needs of those who elect them. Using all their experience of Trade Unions and Co-operative bodies, of shop stewards' committees and pit committees, the British workers, through their Workers' Council, will run the affairs of their own localities. And these local Workers' Councils will choose their best members as delegates to the National Workers' Council, which will carry on the Government of the Country as a whole.

These Workers' Councils therefore mean in practice for the overwhelming majority of the population democratic rights and privileges to an extent never known under capitalism.

For the essence of the power of the Workers' Councils will consist in the

have been taken from the capitalist employers and the conditions of work put under the control of the responsible delegates of the workers themselves; it is only after our houses have been taken from the landlord and put under the control of our own house committees, that a democracy which has much meaning for the workers can begin.

### TRUE DEMOCRACY

Nor will this true democracy be confined to the industrial workers alone. Those substantial sections of the population, such as technical and professional workers, whose interests are today being sacrificed by the present dictatorial rule of the great capitalists, will play their part in the Workers' Councils.

Besides the Workers' Councils, the workers in a free Socialist Britain will have their Trades Unions and Co-operative Societies—not as they are now, but rid of capitalist influence, strengthened and enlarged. In Britain now, less than a quarter of the workers are organised in Trade Unions, but after the Revolution has broken the power of the capitalists, the vast mass of the whole working class will be organised in Trade Unions, the officers of which will be democratically elected from top to bottom, and which will be in a position to take over the whole work of social insurance and look after the interests of their members in a way they cannot do at present. The Co-operative Societies similarly will be enormously expanded, their methods improved, and their membership enabled to play the fullest part in organisation of distribution, especially of the necessities of life. The Co-operative Commonwealth that has been the aim of generations of working-class co-operators in this country will attain its full meaning and realisation only with the ending of capitalist rule and the establishment of Workers' Councils. These transformed Trades Unions and Co-operatives will be an essential part of the whole workers' democracy.

But when the present capitalist dictatorship which operates so harshly against the working class has been overthrown it will be necessary for these democratic Workers' Councils to exercise a severe dictatorship over the defeated capitalist class.

will act towards the small men as their organiser and guide on the path that leads to a classless Socialist society.

### PRODUCTION FOR USE

What will this dictatorship of the workers mean in practice? It will mean that the capitalists will be deprived of their ownership and control of the factories and workshops, mills and mines, shipyards and transport. All these means of production which they have used and misused will be taken from them. The workers' dictatorship will make an end of production for profit and will carry on production for use. The needs of all will be met, and new needs and pleasures now denied to the working class will be created and satisfied by a socialist organisation and extension of production.

What else will the workers' dictatorship mean? It will mean that the millionaires who now own the big newspapers will be deprived of their "liberty" to put forward the voice of their purses as "public opinion" and to spread lies and dope amongst the masses of the people. On the other hand, the mass of the people will for the first time enjoy "the freedom of the Press," because they will have at their command the material factors (printing press, telegraph facilities, and all the elaborate plant of modern newspapers) which are at present denied them.

It will mean that the big capitalists will have their monopoly of the best halls and premises taken from them. No Oswald Mosley then will be able to secure with his money (and the help of the police) the Albert Hall, which is at present refused to the workers. But the mass of the people will be able freely to use the best halls for meetings and so enjoy in practice as well as theory "the right of assembly." It will mean that the big capitalists will be deprived of their monopoly of the best transport and facilities for travel and that workers will no longer be thrust into "workmen's trains." It will mean that the monopoly of the best means of education and culture will be taken from the capitalists and handed over to the Trade Unions to administer, together with the Workers' Councils.

The Communist Party is able to speak with confidence of the type of organisation which the British workers are certain to set up as they overthrow capitalism, because we have before our eyes the great example of what the Russian workers have done in similar circumstances. The Russian workers, too, developed their Councils or Committees in their struggles with the capitalist class. These were the famous Soviets (the Russian word "Soviet" means Council). The Soviets or councils of workers', peasants' and soldiers' delegates overthrew Russian capitalism and established the rule of the Russian workers. And it is these Soviets which have ever since governed the country. By means of this system of Soviets or Councils the Russian workers have both secured for themselves the realities of democracy and have maintained their dictatorship over the defeated capitalists. How necessary this dictatorship has been we may judge from the fact that the Russian capitalists have made, and are still making, desperate attempts to recover their position, to overthrow the workers' rule, and to re-establish their own capitalist dictatorship.

But the rule of the Russian workers, exercised by this method of Soviets or Councils, has become more and more firmly established, drawing in millions of the population as conscious builders of Socialism. It is now so secure that many former capitalists have genuinely accepted the new state of things and are being transformed into workers. This example shows that in time the workers' dictatorship over the capitalists becomes an all-inclusive workers' democracy. For every citizen of the new society becomes a worker, and, because there is then no longer any class division, the need for dictatorship of one class over another disappears.

And then, in still further course of time, when everyone is a worker, the laws and regulations of that all-inclusive workers' democracy becomes the habits and customs of the whole people and the need for any State whatever, including "democracy," begins to disappear.

These Councils or Soviets are the form of Government, the type of political organisation, which the British workers must set up in order to rid themselves of their present conditions under capitalism and organise, as they undoubtedly can, the whole gigantic productive resources of Britain for their own use. By this means they can not only end their present sufferings and avert the grave dangers which threaten them; they can also establish conditions incomparably better, both materially and culturally, than have ever existed in Britain before.

## 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

fact that the sole basis of all State machinery, of all public authority rests on the mass organisations of just those classes who are oppressed by capitalism. Those very masses who, though possessing equal rights in law, are in practice kept from all participation in political life and from the enjoyment of democratic rights and liberties will be brought permanently, continuously and effectively into touch with the democratic administration of the Workers' Councils State.

It is the absence of this genuine participation in the work of administration which makes the present capitalist form of "democracy" so empty and useless from the workers' point of view. The right to elect members of Parliament has turned out to be of comparatively little use to the workers since all the real control over both the public services and industry have remained in the hands of the capitalists and their paid agents. So long as the employer is the dictator in the factory, so long as the landlord is the dictator in the street, so long as the capitalist class everywhere holds the positions of real power in its hands, there can be no real democracy. It is only after the factories and mines

For the Communist Party would be deluding the workers if it pretended that all need for struggle and for safeguarding the workers' position would be over as soon as capitalism was overthrown. On the contrary, the capitalist class, which is very strong, very well organised and very determined, will certainly try and get back all that it has lost even after it has been overthrown. Experience has shown that a capitalist class which has had its factories, banks, land, railways, shipping, etc., taken from it takes the most desperate measures to destroy the Workers' Government which has succeeded it. The Russian capitalists invited (and still invite) the armies and guns of foreign Powers to be used against their own countrymen. The capitalists who may still be in power will not hesitate to betray their country to them. Hence it is essential that the workers establish and maintain their dictatorship over the capitalists so long as there is any remnant of capitalism left in the country. This workers' dictatorship, however, being "of a special type," will not suppress the small men, the petty bourgeoisie, or treat them as though they were big capitalists. On the contrary the British working class



# GUYANESE UNITE!

Now let us turn to an examination of the P.N.C. Burnham and his type of socialists (sic!) who have vacillated from one position to another and behaves generally in an opportunistic manner, are bitterly anti-socialist, anti-communist and anti-everyone who is not a P.N.C. member. In this latter respect they are no worse or better than the P.P.P.

Extract from the Report of the Constitutional Committee, July 1959: L. F. S. Burnham, W. O. R. Kendall and A. L. Jackson of the P.N.C. were against the resolution that B.G. should become an independent state now. To support their attitude and actions, they issued the following statement in the reservations they made on the Constitution Committee's Report:

"It is our considered view that the Constitution at this point, should provide for Full Internal Self-Government, as against a mere improvement of a colonial constitution on the one hand and full Independence on the other. British Guyana has the opportunity of sharing the expenses and commitments of an independent nation with the larger unit of the West Indies Federation with the members of which it has natural ties. If there were no such opportunity of joining with others to form a larger Independent Unit, we would have favoured Independence for British Guyana as a separate country. Further, we consider it idle and unrealistic to propose that B.G. should first attain independence and then consider the advisability of joining the West Indies Federation."

At that time we made these remarks, as comments: NO DOUBT THE MAJORITY OF GUYANESE WOULD DECIDE WHICH PROPOSALS ARE "IDLE & UNREALISTIC" OR WOULD IT BE THE COLONIAL OFFICE? WITH THE HELP OF GUYANESE STOOGES.

By 1960/1961 the P.N.C., Burnham and others, were changing their minds gradually about the W.I. Federation and beginning to accept the "independence" idea for B.G., but they were also beginning to think of ways and means to change the electoral system. Finally they produced a new fad "Proportional Representation" during 1961/1962.

"The forthcoming elections are of tremendous importance. They usher in a new constitution under which elected Ministers will have absolute power and responsibility for all internal affairs, and which is but a prelude to full untrammelled independence within a matter of months. Yes, Guyana will be independent by 1962." P.N.C. *New Nation*, 7th April, 1961.

## BURNHAM'S ANTI-COMMUNISM

We say it is usually very difficult to pin down political opportunists, vacillators to anything concrete for very long and this is also true of Burnham's and the P.N.C. anti-socialist, anti-communist statements. Let us just examine extracts from a single speech made by Burnham on August 9th, 1963, in the Legislative Assembly, and observe what we mean:

Addressing the P.P.P. Government: "If you really want to come to terms with the rest of the community—the 'grease-machine guns' which are being distributed . . . are not going to save you from coming to terms. You have got to come to terms, because once you start with machine guns, other people can get better machine guns. Don't behave like a pious set of hypocritical prostitutes masquerading as virgins. You have got to come to terms, and the means of coming to terms is not the shipping of arms from Cuba; not by saying at a public meeting that you have friends with rockets and guns; not by threatening to arm the workers and peasants and clerks. When you come to arming the peasants and the clerks, you are arming your opponents. . . . We are told, towards the end of the Governor's Speech, that neutrality in international matters is the object of this government. Excellent! . . . Let us be realistic. If you are neutral, seek to improve your trade relations with all parts of the world. Let me say it clearly and categorically: the Peoples' National Congress does not believe, except in the case of South Africa and later perhaps, Portugal, in ideological interference with trade. If you can trade with Russia to the benefit of Guyana, the People's National Congress makes no quarrel. We made a quarrel with your bringing in Russian Gasolene to try to break the strike and put money into the pockets of GIMPEX. After all, we in the P.N.C. are not fools. We know that GIMPEX pays 40% of its profits to the P.P.P. coffers. . . . How realistic is it, in the circumstances of Guyana, for the Government to commit itself to the Eastern Bloc? As a matter of sheer power politics neutrality is neutrality; you do not commit yourself and say you are neutral. Whether Cuba was right or wrong, that fact that Krushchev moved back, with the result that Mao Tse-tung is now lambasting him for having deserted the movement. Do you think that Krushchev will make a fight



## London demonstration for Unity

here, and even if Khrushchev wishes to engineer a fight here, are we going to make Guyana a battleground for Khrushchev on the one hand and the Americans on the other? What will we achieve after that even if we become a satellite of either of them with no opportunity to exercise our independent thought on any question. Either way you put it, whether you succeed or fail—and you are sure to fail—British Guyana will be poorer.

Let us understand that the majority of the people in this country would like this country to be independent. The majority of people in this country would like this country to develop its own personality and not to become a minute replica of one or the other of the great nations. I abhor becoming an American satellite. . . . The Government says it wishes Guyana to be a neutral state, but staves off a tirade here this afternoon; it tells us of all the evils of the American imperialists. I do not quarrel with that, but tell us of the evils of Russian Imperialists too. Is it that you do not read about them or because if you do, your sponsors would not give you the \$500,000 ostensibly for P.P.P. activists to do agriculture, but really to learn guerilla warfare in Moscow?

It is too late, for instance, to ask you to stop this nonsense as appears in the last paragraph of the Governor's Speech about asking that the "territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country should be guaranteed." Whom does that fool? . . . This is the sort of puerility which one finds: in the midst of a crisis when people are talking about tensions, this government says: "We will get the major nations to guarantee the territorial integrity of Guyana." . . . We have to do it; we have to guarantee ourselves and our country against these things. . . . We want equality. We want neutrality. We agree to revolutionise our economy and our social structure. But we do not agree to a Communist dictatorship of a Fascist dictatorship. Get that straight, and if you try to impose either, if you try to impose a Communist dictatorship, we are going to oppose it ruthlessly. And may I remind you that for us it could be a matter of life and death."

Winifred Gaskin, Chairman, P.N.C., addressing the 7th Annual Conference. Sunday, 5.4.64, showed total disregard for the intelligence of the workers and people when she said in the usual demagogic manner to the audience: "There is therefore no time for hesitating, for doubting for questioning every step of the way. Yours is not to reason why, yours is but to do or die. This is the discipline that has carried great armies to victory. Only this sort of discipline will put your party into Government."

We say, when members of political organisations are reduced to this, where organisational democracy is reduced to this sort of demagogic remonstrations as is the case in both the P.P.P. and P.N.C. it can be clearly understood that the followers are anything but ideological.

The United Force. D'Aguiar and his clique, the local agents of foreign imperialism, has said and done everything that is expected of these types but one outstanding general statement of theirs is enough to give you a picture of these lackeys of imperialism.

This clique, under a different name, had entered the 1957 general elections and the workers and people as a whole rejected them completely. In anger they had then said "THAT THE GUYANESE MASSES WERE ASSES." Notwithstanding this smearing of the workers and people as a whole, because of the irresponsible behaviour and continuous infighting between the P.N.C. and P.P.P. between Burnham and Jagan, these very people under a new name, as the

UNITED FORCE came back four years later to capture four seats and 16% of all votes cast.

Is this not adequate proof that there is need for a raising of the political consciousness of the Guyanese workers and people? Is this not adequate proof that there is need for the development of proper political party organisations and propaganda machinery to give to the workers and people generally an ideological grounding in their fight against the main enemy, IMPERIALISM? Is this not more than adequate proof that there is urgent need for the creation of a UNITED FRONT OF STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM in the interest of the workers and people and thus in the national interest?

## SUMMARY

Today in our beloved Guyana we are still very much colonials. We indulge in self-deceit if we believe the drivel about internal self-government with imperialist devised systems and constitutions and Premiers, Vice-Premiers, etc. Have we got a government at all now? No!

Thousands of the imperialist enemy's troops are walking tall and proud on our land doing as the main enemy instructs, terrorising our people, imprisoning leaders without charge or trial. The dictator that is the Colonial Governor has now begun to disarm our people, encouraged by some fools who have no self-respect, and have introduced the old slave-whip to demoralise the Guyanese people. OUR PEOPLE WILL NOT AND CANNOT ACCEPT THIS HARK BACK TO SLAVERY.

The Deputy Premier, other M.P.s from the Government Party and Opposition are lying in jail. You may well ask how it is that the imperialist troops have not taken in the Premier Jagan? Why haven't the government resigned in protest from this puppet position they now occupy, they have no power; why don't they expose the main enemy and struggle for the creation of the UNITED FRONT OF STRUGGLE against imperialism?

To ask these correct objective socialist questions and to expect proper answers or actions from the right and left opportunists is to believe in miracles.

Today in our beloved country because of the main enemy, imperialism, because of right and left opportunism, sectarianism and sectionalism which has led to further divisions among the workers and people, to communalism and racism, ANARCHY has developed. Because on one hand leaders are under the baton of revisionism and on the other under the baton of right social democracy, with imperialist agents coming into promi-

nence, the imperialists are doing their best to lay the base for neo-colonialism, and endeavouring to create Guyanese Batistas and Titos.

Herein, lies a serious danger to life and limb for all true Guyanese socialists and patriots. Comrades we must expect that the left and right opportunists among us and the imperialist agents can be eventually used by the imperialists to put us in jail, to trump up charges against us, to even go to the ends they have gone to get rid of Lumumba and other socialists and patriots in the Congo and elsewhere. NO TRUE GUYANESE SOCIALIST AND PATRIOT MUST LOSE SIGHT OF THIS EVER PRESENT DANGER, to do so is to lose one's head.

Today in our country we witness the flourishing of the local lackeys and running dogs of imperialism, ably supported by U.S. and British, C.I.A. and other agents. Today sadly, we witness Guyanese using violence against their own countrymen, this is Anarchy NOT REVOLUTION and it is not in our national interest but in the interest of the main enemy.

## WHAT MUST BE DONE

It is therefore clear to us comrades and countrymen what must be done. We must create a UNITED FRONT OF STRUGGLE AGAINST THE MAIN ENEMY, IMPERIALISM on the basis of the 5 POINTS DECLARATION AND DEMANDS put forward by Guyanese over a year ago. . . .

We must undertake the difficult but practicable task of fighting against imperialism, the main enemy, and its various counterparts of right and left opportunism, revisionism, anarchy, and prevent the establishment of the base for neo-colonialism which is being ushered in via the coming FRAUDULENT ELECTIONS under a constitution and system devised by our enemies. WE MUST EXPOSE THE COMING ELECTIONS TO OUR PEOPLE FOR THE SHAM IT IS, and inform them of the dangers that lie ahead. . . .

We must be prepared to give leadership in co-operation with others in a united front of struggle in every form as the objective conditions dictate, against the main enemy—imperialism. . . . We must sort out who are false friends and true friends, nationally and internationally. . . .

Imperialism is like rotten rope—it cannot bear real strain. ONCE THE GUYANESE WORKERS AND PEOPLE DEDICATE THEMSELVES TO THE TASK WE WILL RID OUR COUNTRY OF IT.

The Guyanese workers and the people as a whole regardless of the disgraceful betrayal on the part of the leadership and the role of the Imperialist agent D'Aguiar and his gang, will win their struggle against imperialism, against sectionalism, racism and anarchy, against the establishment of a neo-colonialist foundation in Guyana.

Guyanese workers and the people as a whole are re-establishing the Guyana National Liberation Movement. They will cast off the present rotten leadership, they will find new militant socialist leaders, they are examining and criticising their own errors of the past and correcting them, they are organising and reorganising for the all out struggle against the main enemy—Imperialism.

The Guyanese workers and the people as a whole have a history of struggle, sometimes peaceful, at times revolutionary, against the main enemy and we shall follow in the footsteps of our noble ancestors and our working class brothers and sisters in other lands, who fought and won their battles against imperialism.

WE SHALL WIN, TIME, HISTORY and the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS OF THE WORLD ARE ON OUR SIDE!

From a lecture by Johnny James to advanced cadres of the Guyana National Liberation Movement. Edited by the Provisional Secretariat of the Movement. (Parts I and II of this article appeared in the September and October issues of "Vanguard".)

## READ The CARIB

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## The Chinese bomb

Amidst all the hubbub of the general election, I heard the news that the People's Republic of China had exploded an atomic device.

I speak not only for myself, but also on behalf of three others in my department (all engineering Trade Unionists), when I say that we were highly delighted that the valiant Chinese people, relying on their own strength, are now better able to resist imperialist nuclear blackmail.

In spite of the anti-China hysteria of the past two years, we are more than ever convinced that China is a peace-loving country dedicated to the interests of exploited people all over the world. When an arrogant, aggressive bully like the U.S.A. has such a weapon, it is undoubtedly a threat to peace and to the independence of peoples everywhere. But when a peaceful country like China has it, this fact is very comforting and reassuring, and improves the prospects for peace.

Finally, may I say that I am very proud that I stood by the great Chinese people through thick and thin, at a time when all the enemies of China did everything they could to blacken her good name, and even her so-called friends tried to stab her in the back.

Your sincerely,

On behalf of a group of A.E.U. members in Surrey.  
(Name and address supplied.)

## N. Khrushchev

The Editor, *Vanguard*,

Sir,

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has at last plucked up courage and given Nikita Khrushchev notice that his disservices are no longer required. How he managed to remain in his lofty position for so long completely baffles and mystifies me. His outrageous revisionist policies had become so blatant that he must have been exposed to the purist political duffer in the Komsomol. A complete dolt who made enemies out of friends and tried in vain to make friends out of enemies, giving millions of roubles to such as Nasser, who fills his jails with thousands of our Egyptian comrades, and would not give a kopeck to the Albanians. He has swallowed insult after insult from the insolent Yankee bullies.

What Brezhnev and Kosygin's policies are going to be remains to be seen, but the fact that Adjubei and other recipients of Khrushchev's nepotism have also got their marching orders makes the outlook fairly healthy. But let us sing a hymn of praise to our Chinese and Albanian comrades who, in spite of every foul slander, lies, distortion, economic and political blackmail, have stuck to their Marxist-Leninist guns and refused to underwrite Khrushchev's phoney communism. Had they weakened and succumbed the whole communist movement of the world would have fallen prey to out and out revisionism. When revisionism comes in the door, Marxism-Leninism flies out of the window. The people lose their fighting spirit and the will to overcome all difficulties; social injustice creeps back, Communism falls into disrepute, and the road is open for counter-revolution. The Khrushchev era has not been all setback for us (although a tremendous amount of damage has been done we have learned many sharp political lessons, the main one being "how to spot the revisionist.") Therefore I say: Long life our dear Albanian, Belgian, Chinese, and Korean comrades, upright, honest and noble, without them keeping alight the torch of truth, we surely would have been lost in the darkness of despair. We have seen the last of Khrushchev, let us hope we never see another like him again.

C. E. Graham,  
Manchester.

Dear Comrades,

I expect your reaction to the news about Mr. Khrushchev was much the same as mine, treated with a certain amount of reserve, but things could hardly be worse than they were when he was in power and treated by so many as a kind of super Father Christmas who could do no wrong. What an obituary the capitalist press gave him!

"He achieved a subtle and vital relationship with President Kennedy which made the world a safer place." "He carried his battle with China into the open, splitting the Communist parties of the world into two snarling camps."

No wonder the leaders of the West thought so much of him. I hope this will open the eyes of the honest members of the C.P.G.B. to the kind of leaders they have. At least they will begin to think for themselves instead of believing all the eye-wash that is dished out in the so-called Communist Press.

Yours fraternally,  
Rosalie Gray, London.

## Break with revisionism

I WANT to fight for a Socialist Britain, and within the C.P. I can only fight by selling the *Daily Worker*, which dares not even print the facts on the international situation, let alone the facts of the class struggle in Britain, and isn't even read by many comrades who prefer to buy *The Times* in order to have some idea of what's going on. Or I can fight by pushing election leaflets through letter-boxes at election time, which only outdo those of the Labour Party in promising a gleaming Utopia, which comes about without struggle, or challenge to capitalism, simply by the cross on the ballot paper, and glossing over the realities of the class struggle.

Didn't the C.D.R.C.U. candidate poll 900 votes on a programme which pulled no punches, which didn't offer pie in the sky and a cushy future, which offended no one but those who deserved to be attacked? And isn't this just why the C.P.'s vote is falling? The people of Britain can smell a rat, and especially a Social Democratic one, and they have not been promised Utopia by each and every candidate, a bigger and better one each time running from Tory to Labour to Communist Party, in that order of over-glowing, for years and years and years without becoming shrewd enough to distrust each party which does this and lies in the face of facts and their own real experience.

To offer liberation through rose-coloured glasses is the greatest crime that can be committed against the working class. It is the road which disarms the working class and leaves them defenceless against the rise of Fascism. The hierarchy of the British Communist Party is a part of the establishment, just as self-interested in its own welfare and



the retaining of its cushioned existence as the ruling classes. Not a threat to them, not a fighting force. This revisionist leadership which seeks to protect its jobs and its soft seats away from the tough realities of the class struggle will not renounce its power easily, and it must be fought and overthrown in the interests of the working class.

I have never supported the British Road. While I was studying Marxism I could see the blatant contradiction between Marxism and the policy of the C.P.G.B. Is the fire and integrity of Marxism revealed in the crafty glossing over of issues in that document, *The British Road to Socialism*? It is really the British road of capitulation to the ruling classes. Opportunists will always go the way Khrushchev went. It is the way Gollan and Co., will go. For opportunism is a bubble which can be pricked by the truth, as the movement for the emancipation of the working class gains momentum and weeds out its traitors.

I have supported the Committee since its statement in November, and its Marxist-Leninist stand, although still a member of the C.P.G.B. But I have now decided to make an open stand. As a Marxist I owe no allegiance to a Party which is in the grip of a revisionist leadership, who have sold out and become the dangerous enemies of socialism.

The time has come for a firm stand on principles, so that a beginning can be made in building a strong Marxist Party which is steered and equipped for its tasks, which is a threat to the ruling classes, and not a stool pigeon, a safety valve, a laughing stock.

Action comrades! Draw on your resources which have been crushed through years of having to keep quiet "for fear of upsetting people," for fear of upsetting the tender feelings of the ruling classes, who might turn round and make life unpleasant for us unless we are careful. Wake up and fight a battle which will eventually be won. Support the fight for Socialism in Britain, real socialism, not pious Fabianism which turns its cheek to the vicious attacks of capitalism, the lost cause of Gollan and his friends, now so irrevocably exposed.

Revisionism is being combated internationally, but we must not lag behind. Out for ever with the King Street policies, and forward in the fight. Support the Committee which is the basis for a Marxist-Leninist Party in Britain, pledged to fight for Socialism.

M. Morby,  
London.

## From West Germany

Dear Comrades,

This morning I received the October issue of *Vanguard*, and I can tell you only that *Vanguard* is getting better with every coming issue! And how right you always were on Khrushchev's evil revisionism! But history decided to Preserve the Heritage of the October Revolution by doing away with Khrushchev in the very October which gave birth to the now already great historical event!

West Germany.

## A criticism

Dear Comrades,

I am hoping that the points of view and general analysis as put forward by Jim Roberts and Tom Flint do not typify the views held by other *Vanguard* comrades.

I am hoping that I speak for a good percentage of comrades in criticising them.

In the article entitled "Wishful Thinking, Mr. Holmes," comrade Roberts begins by criticising an article which to a great extent slanders the C.D.R.C.U. The way he goes about this is bad enough and shows his lack of words and understanding. But in the next breath he starts mud-slinging in the true *Daily Worker* fashion. As if it's the C.P.G.B.'s fault that they have very few councillors or trade unionists. The tendency of the working class in Britain today is more towards the "Right" than the "Left" and no Marxist-Leninist party in Britain today no matter how good can hope to have the masses behind them. Comrade Roberts also goes about his criticism of the relationship between the C.P.G.B. and the C.P.C. in the same petty way by mentioning the great victories for Marxism-Leninism won by the C.P.C. But this is a cheap criticism and as Mao Tse-tung will himself undoubtedly admit they were won by the masses with the guidance of the C.P.C., which is a point comrade Roberts seems to have missed. The masses and the class struggle are primary and the party secondary. Please remember this next time, comrade Roberts.

The C.P.G.B. and comrade Khrushchev have done a great deal contrary to Marxism but let us fight them in a truly Marxist way and not, I repeat not, in the ink pellet fashion pursued by comrades Roberts and Flint.

Yours fraternally,  
John Reavey, ex-Y.C.L.  
Durham.

## Peaceful transition

THE policy of a Communist Party is based on its analysis of society, i.e., on the differing aims and relative strength of internal class forces, and their relationship with external forces. If the analysis is correct, the policy will correspondingly be correct, always providing, of course, that the C.P. remains true to its principles.

The heart and soul of a C.P.'s policy is in its attitude towards the state. It is the essence of Marxism that the capitalist state cannot be "taken over" by the working class, it cannot be transformed into a workers' state, it must be smashed. The primary task of the bourgeois state is to defend the governing capitalist class against both internal and external enemies. To carry out this task, it always has a coercive apparatus including armed forces, police force, judiciary, prisons and other organs of power. There is also a large bureaucratic state machine which carries out the instructions of the ruling class. At the top of this state machine is usually parliament, with its cabinet of Ministers, the Executive Committee of the bourgeoisie, which runs the capitalist system in the best overall interests of the ruling class. Parliament exists, firstly, to discuss and resolve differences of emphasis and method of running the existing system and, secondly, to deceive the people by spreading the illusion that it is possible to change things through capturing parliament. By proposing the capture of Parliament as the only road to Socialism, C.P.s like the Italian and British ones participate in this deception.

They claim that because the working class in these countries have certain advantages, such as the right to organise in T.U.s, legal parties, control of municipalities, "free" elections and so on, it is possible to use these advantages to change society. What they conveniently forget is that, as Lenin pointed out, bourgeois democracy is an indication of the strength, not the weakness, of the bourgeoisie. It means they can permute their bourgeois coalitions ad infinitum. It means that no matter what crises occur, no matter how much discontent there is, the powerful bourgeois state can ride the storm and keep on going. There are various forms through which the bourgeoisie exercises its dictatorship, fascism, military junta and bourgeois democracy. The latter is by far the most convenient form through which the capitalist class can go on exploiting the working class.

T.H.

## From Spain

Dear Comrades,

Permit me to send you enclosed some copies of our publication *Mundo Obrero Revolucionario* (Revolutionary Workers' World) in Spanish. Perhaps among our comrades there may be some who read Spanish and would like to know the development of our struggle. In any case, we would be grateful if in your public meetings when you show your own publications you were able to present our bulletin, which is, of course, gratis for the present.

Revolutionary greetings, J.  
(Communist Party of Spain, Marxist-Leninist.)

All those comrades and friends who read Spanish and would like to obtain the bulletin of our Spanish comrades should contact us.—Ed.

## Dutt and the elections

Marxist-Leninists take part in elections in order to expose the fraud of bourgeois democracy. Not so the revisionists. Their object is to adorn Parliament. Just when the youth are beginning to see through the 3-Party fraud, the administer First Aid. "Parliament with a Punch" is their slogan; "let us put some life into it," they shout.

The working masses still regard the Labour Party as their party. It will be utterly impossible for them to achieve socialism until it is proved beyond all possible shadow of doubt, that this is not so. Under a Labour government, the working class can see more clearly that, in essence, the Labour Party is just as much a party that stands for capitalist rule as the Conservative or Liberal parties. Therefore, now that we have a Labour government, the working class can learn this lesson and draw the necessary conclusions. Our job as Marxist-Leninists is not to prettify Parliament, but to expose it for the dirty fraud it is.

Does R.P.D. do this? Not on your life. In the October issue of *Labour Monthly*, our old friend characteristically magnifies the importance of the vote. Of course, we can't really expect anything better from people who claim that even socialism itself, can be achieved via the ballot box. "We must use our vote," declaims R.P.D. in italics, "it is the sacred right of every elector."

And this is the advice he gives to Party workers:

"In the 594 constituencies where there is no Communist candidate every effort should be exerted to win victory for the Labour candidate against the Tory, whatever the opinion of the defects of the Labour official programme, or the criticism of the record of some particular Labour representative."

I showed this quotation to one Party member. "Read this, Jock," I said, "do you know what it means? It means that you are expected to offer to canvass and lick stamps for such as George Brown, Desmond Donnelly, Ray Gunter and Woodrow Wyatt." Jock's reply was sharp and direct—"Palme Dutt can go and get stuffed," he said.

JIM WALTON

## The Daily Worker

Not much attention has been paid to the treacherous activity of the *Daily Worker*, through its bolstering up of illusions about the strength of the Labour movement. Undoubtedly this will grow as a powerful force as objective conditions change, but it is not particularly strong at the present time. Although there are signs that the militancy of the working class is increasing (the Postmen's struggle), its fighting spirit is mainly confined to groups in industry like the dockers, who, to their eternal credit, are traditionally militant.

As far as I can ascertain, in most factories, my fellow members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union pay their subscriptions reluctantly and then only because Shop Stewards are prepared to collect dues on the job. They do not feel involved at all. They don't attend Branch meetings. They think that A.E.U. officials should be able to wave magic wands and solve all their problems for them. Of course, workers will learn and be drawn in, as the class conflict sharpens.

Serious Marxists analyse situations in accordance with the facts. They do not live in cloud cuckoo land, like the *Daily Worker* does. Trotskyists portray the masses as straining at the leash to fight capitalism. The C.P.G.B. attempts to show the Trade Unions as well prepared to back a Labour and Communist majority of MPs in forcing Socialism on the capitalists. It is not only pathetic but laughable. The similarity between these two types of adventurers, is obvious. Gollan and Company are indulging in sheer opportunism, playing games with the hopes and aspirations of the working class.

One is surprised at the reluctance of leading Trade Unionists in the C.P.G.B. to denounce the behaviour of these traitors. Don't these honest militants realise the inherent danger in pious wishes and daydreams?

P.T. (Waltham-on-Thames.)



# THE RED FLAG AND ITS AUTHOR

ALTHOUGH millions of workers throughout the world have sung it on the picket line and in the trenches and, as is frequent in Britain, at the termination of Trade Union and political rallies, surprisingly few people know much, if anything, about the origin of the "Red Flag" and its author, Jim Connell. In his own country, Ireland, his name is mostly unknown and when it is ever mentioned it is invariably confused with that of James Connolly, the internationally known Marxist, and martyr.

Son of a small farmer, Jim Connell was born in County Meath in 1951, the final year of the Great Famine, when British Government criminal irresponsibility had caused the death of over two million Irish people. Having reached manhood his mother had plans for Jim, as is often the way with peasant women, to become a priest. But he politely declined, leaving home for Dublin City where his intelligence and passion for social justice brought him into contact with socialists. Soon he was a member of a group which divided its time between lectures on class struggle and brisk, stimulating walks to the beautiful Dublin mountains.

Later Jim joined the revolutionary Fenian movement and what evolved from it, the oath taking, Republican Brotherhood (forerunner, with James Connolly's Citizen Army, of the 1916 uprising).

But, in those days in the mid-eighties Jim, as a docker, found it increasingly difficult to obtain steady employment in Liffeside; with the result that, like some two million Irish workers before him and some three million since, he was compelled to emigrate. He was pushing thirty-five when he arrived in London.

## THE SONG IS WRITTEN

Having found a job he quickly made contact with socialist and Marxist groups, in a short period becoming a leading industrial and propaganda fighter against capitalism. He was one of the founder members of the Socialist Democratic Federation and, in 1890, was the S.D.F.'s Parliamentary candidate in Finsbury. But he stood little chance of being elected even with Finsbury's large Irish congregation; the idealistic and, of course, religious Irish working class elected a Liberal. The Liberal promised them "Home Rule" and, as so often, they got befuddled by nationalism and alarmed at the thought of Socialism.

The "Red Flag" first appeared in "Justice," the weekly journal of the S.D.F. in December, 1889. The air of the song was from the German hymn, "Tannenbaum." Jim Connell wrote the first two stanzas of the "Red Flag" and the chorus during a 15-minute train journey from Charing Cross to New

Cross. The Sunday following the publication of the song groups of socialists were singing it in Glasgow and Liverpool. In a few weeks, like a "pop" tune nowadays, its glorious notes had covered the whole land.

## RAMSAY MACDONALD OBJECTS

In 1925, the Labour Party leader, Ramsay MacDonald, condemned the Red Flag—"it is too extreme"—and demanded that a new song be written for the workers. The *Daily Herald* (R.I.P.) took up this challenge and arranged a contest to see if "a more appropriate" song could be composed. John McCormack, the noted Irish tenor, and Hugh Robertson, conductor of the Glasgow Orpheus Choir, agreed to judge the contest. No less than 300 songs were entered but the judges, assisted by the *Herald's* editor, could find none, not even one, to outmatch the "Red Flag." Ramsay MacDonald, it is said, on hearing this news "was extremely angry."

## JIM—THE POACHER

Among his many activities Jim Connell was a keen poacher and game hunter. He kept seven or eight greyhounds and would with his friends sally forth at weekends into the Surrey hills to hunt against the law, of course, on their noble Lords' big farms and demesnes. He once wrote a book, "Confessions of a Poacher," which sold 80,000 copies. It was a daring tale and, as well, an indictment of the avaricious landed classes and feudal throwbacks who are still today, witness Sir Alec Home, very much a formidable power in Britain.

When Jim died in 1929 hundreds attended his funeral at Golders Green Crematorium, where his coffin was draped in a great red flag. Tom Mann, amongst others, spoke and, as the remains of the Irish proletariat disappeared into the flames, the assembled mourners sang this and the other verses of the "Red Flag":

*"With heads uncovered swear we all  
To bear it onward till we fall.  
Come dungeons dark, or gallows grim,  
This song will be our parting hymn."*

PAT O'DONOVAN

# JANACEK

THE music of the Moravian composer, Leos Janacek (1854-1928) is steadily gaining popularity, and its creator is now recognised as true heir to the glorious inheritance of music bequeathed to us by his illustrious predecessors and compatriots, Smetana and Dvorak. This recognition is due, in no small measure, to the modern L.P. record, that resuscitator and maker of many a composer's reputation. The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, under Kavel Anceul, has recorded two of Janacek's best works, the Sinfonietta and the Rhapsody: Taras Bulba, on Supraphon, SUA 10320.

The former—perhaps Janacek's finest orchestral achievement—was played at this year's Edinburgh Festival, and also formed part of the international concert held on United Nations Day, October 24. Written in 1926, when the composer was 72, it surely ranks as one of the greatest compositions of this century. Intensely national in feeling, tuneful, brilliantly (and erratically) scored, the Sinfonietta is in five movements, the first of which, an augmented fanfare for trumpets and tympani, serves as an introduction to the whole work. This fanfare was originally intended to serve as music for the opening of the Sokol Festival, held in Brno. Instead it became the germ from which the whole idea of the Sinfonietta grew. In Janacek's own words, "The aura of liberty glows above the city (Brno). The peal of victorious trumpets, night shadows, the breathing of a green hill—the vision of elan and greatness, out of this vision was born my Sinfonietta."

The fanfares are followed by a dance-like movement, somewhat reminiscent of Dvorak's Slavonic dances. This in turn, brings us to the deeply-felt opening pages of the "moderato" 3rd movement, where sorrowful mood is interrupted by shattering brass declamations before the elegiac strains are once more heard.

The fourth movement is a theme and variations, once more dance-like in character, very brief. Hesitation and doubt are felt in the opening of the Finale, but excitement and tension are soon generated, and the work ends in a blaze of glory, triumphantly assertive, as the whole orchestra takes up the fanfare theme of the first movement. Wonderful, exhilarating, uplifting music!

Designed, in the composer's own words, to exult Czech man in his beauty, joy and strength, it is indeed "the outcry of a soul which had closed accounts with everything and wants to cleave only to the simple Czech man."

The Rhapsody: Taras Bulba, is a three movement work, based on Gogol's famous story. Janacek had a great regard for the Russian people and besides Taras Bulba he set to music works by Ostrovsky and Dostoyevsky. The music faithfully reflects Janacek's impressions of Gogol's tale. Of how Bulba, a leader of the Zapovozhye Cossaks fighting the invading Poles kills his son Andvii because he fell in love with a Polish girl and betrayed his people; of how Bulba in disguise, witnesses the public torture and execution of his other son, Ostop, by the Poles, and of how Bulba himself is captured by them, tied to a tree and burned, shouting defiance to his captors and prophesying a great future for his native land. "There shall arise a ruler from Russian soil, and there shall be no power on earth that shall not yield to him!" Stirring stuff, and prophetic enough!

Written during the years 1914-18, the music is, like the Sinfonietta, intensely national in feeling, and abounds in memorable tunes. "I composed the Rhapsody because I wanted to show that the strength of the Russian people cannot be destroyed," said the composer. Such faith found its true reward in the victories of the great October Revolution, the victorious outcome of the Civil War and the resistance to Nazi aggression.

V. WILSON

## CORRECTION

September "Vanguard" :—"State monopoly capitalism," page 12, third column, line 43, should read: "today, as in 1916, roughly £1 in every £4. . ."

October "Vanguard" :—"British Education," page 12, from line 4, should read: "then there are the institutes of higher education including universities and technological institutes as well as the various ancillary organisations, such as the Workers Educational Association, various summer schools and business schools. The class nature of this system is obvious. The preparatory and public schools and the Oxbridge universities are monopolised by the children of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. . ."

## No longer used

The address 41 Scrutton Street, London, E.C.2, is no longer used by "Vanguard" or by the Committee for Communist Unity.

# LITERATURE and ART

## Some verses from:

### "The Masque of Anarchy"

by Percy Bysshe Shelley  
(1792-1822)

The year, 1819 was a time of dire suffering for the British workers and peasants. It was also a time of mass resistance to the tyranny of the rising capitalist class. A gigantic demonstration took place at Peterloo, Manchester. The Yeomanry charged, without provocation, killed 11 and wounded 400. This bloody event is seared in British history as the Peterloo Massacre. The poet wrote his satire on this event.

"Men of England, Heirs of Glory,  
Heroes of unwritten story,  
Nurslings of one mighty mother,  
Hopes of her, and one another,

"Rise, like lions after slumber,  
In unvanquishable number,  
Shake your chains to earth like dew,  
Which in sleep had fall'n on you.

"What is Freedom? Ye can tell  
That which Slavery is too well  
For its very name has grown  
To an echo of your own.

"'Tis to work, and have such pay  
As just keeps life from day to day  
In your limbs, as in a cell  
For the tyrants' use to dwell;

"So that ye for them are made,  
Loom, and plough, and sword, and spade;  
With or without your own will, bent  
To their defence and nourishment.

"'Tis to see your children weak  
With their mothers pine and peak,  
When the winter winds are bleak:—  
They are dying whilst I speak.

"'Tis to hunger for such diet,  
As the rich man in his riot  
Casts to the fat dogs that lie  
Surfeiting beneath his eye.

"'Tis to let the Ghost of Gold  
Take from toil and a thousandfold,  
More than e'er its substance could  
In the tyrannies of old;

"Paper coin—that forgery  
Of the title deeds, which ye  
Hold to something of the worth  
Of the inheritance of Earth.

"'Tis to be a slave in soul,  
And to hold no strong control  
Over your own wills, but be  
All that others make of ye.

"And at length when ye complain,  
With a murmur weak and vain,  
'Tis to see the tyrant's crew  
Ride over your wives and you:—  
Blood is on the grass like dew.

"Then it is to feel revenge,  
Fiercely thirsting to exchange  
Blood for blood—and wrong for wrong:  
DO NOT THUS, WHEN YE ARE STRONG.

"What art thou, Freedom? Oh! could  
Slaves  
Answer from their living graves  
This demand, tyrants would flee  
Like a dream's dim imagery.

"For the labourer thou art bread,  
And a comely table spread,  
From his daily labour come,  
In a neat and happy home.

"To the rich thou art a check,  
When his foot is on the neck  
Of his victim; thou dost make  
That he treads upon a snake.

"Thou art Justice—ne'er for gold  
May thy righteous laws be sold,  
As laws are in England:—thou  
Shield'st alike the high and low.

"Thou art Wisdom—Freedom never  
Dreams that God will damn for ever  
All who think those things untrue,  
Of which priests made such ado.

"Thou art Peace—never by thee  
Would blood and treasure wasted be,  
As tyrants wasted them, when all  
Leagued to quench thy flame in Gaul.

"Let a great assembly be  
Of the fearless, of the free,  
On some spot of English ground,  
Where the plains stretch wide around.

"From the corners uttermost  
Of the bounds of English coast;  
From every hut, village, and town,  
Where those who live and suffer, moan  
For others' misery and their own;

"From the haunts of daily life,  
Where is waged the daily strife  
With common wants and common cares,  
Which sow the human heart with tares;

"Let a vast assembly be,  
And with a great solemnity  
Declare with measured words, that ye  
Are, as God has made ye, free!

"And these words shall then become  
Like Oppression's thundered doom,  
Ringing through each heart and brain,  
Heard again—again—again.  
"Rise like lions after slumber

In unvanquishable NUMBER!  
Shake your chains to earth, like dew  
Which in sleep had fall'n on you:  
YE ARE MANY—THEY ARE FEW."

## TO: VANGUARD

Flat 3  
33 Anson Road  
LONDON N7

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

NAME

ADDRESS

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# STATEMENT FROM WEST HAM

A STATEMENT by the West Ham North Branch of the C.P.G.B. — sent to the East London Area Committee, the London District Committee, and the Executive Committee of the C.P.G.B., and to all Branch members.

For some months now a campaign has been waged by the "higher committees" and certain branch members, for the removal of the Branch Committee.

This campaign has NOT been conducted through normal Inner Party channels but in the main has been carried out by letter and through individuals in collusion with the Area and District Committees.

The Branch membership have been bypassed, misinformed, and lied to, and an open split has been created.

Events have reached the present stage, precisely because the normal process of Inner Party Democracy has been violated by the now bureaucratic, Area and District Committees, whose swollen-headed and self-complacent members, while willing to listen to praise and flattery cannot bear criticism, and do all in their power to silence the critics and stop their Resolutions and legitimate complaints from reaching the Party comrades.

In the present dispute this committee has simply been asked to attend a private meeting with Higher Officials, although it has consistently demanded that all business be conducted through the branch, in accordance with the principles of Communist organisation.

In a Communist, a Marxist Party, the principles of *Democratic Centralism* hold good at all levels from the lowest branch member to the General Secretary. All activity is conducted from the branch (the basic unit) to the Area to the District to the E.C. and from the E.C. to the District to the Area and back to the Branch.

The present "Leadership of the C.P.G.B." however think differently. For them *Democratic Centralism* means direction from the top to the bottom.

*Direction from below is now unheard of.*

How can we Marxists tolerate such a state of affairs? We must insist that the branch play its full part in Party affairs.

The slow drift away from Democratic Procedure has been evident for some time now, and this has lost the Party many formerly active workers.

Comrade Gollan and Co., must bear a large measure of responsibility, for this drift, which is a direct result of their policy of compromise in all fields. For example, the D.W., in pandering to the (Bourgeois) sentiment of the time, said on its front page "The new Pope a Progressive." What was the first act of this "progressive" Pope? An Encyclical attacking Communism; what could be more "progressive" than that.

We have said before and we must repeat again ONE CANNOT COMPROMISE ON PRINCIPLE (as the Gollan Group is doing) and get away with it.

A C.P. is a C.P. only so long as it is a Marxist Party. This is its characteristic, its special quality, it cannot keep on compromising without eventually losing all its Marxist clothing and becoming unashamedly a naked class collaborator.

In order to pander to the bourgeoisie and at the same time keep his Marxist fig leaf, Comrade Gollan and his group have redirected the "theories" of the opportunities of the second international, put them in modern dress and then offer them to the party comrades as "fundamental new ideas." What rubbish! What a cheap swindle! These moth-eaten ideas have been repudiated by Lenin and others a thousand times;

every day life shows them to be further divorced from reality.

But this is not all. At a time when Parliament is falling more and more under the thumb of the Monopolies and International Cartels, at a time when Britain's economic and military policies are being decided, more in Washington than London, Comrade Gollan's group decides that "the possibility now exists for peaceful transition to Socialism" via "the Parliamentary road."

If Lord Hume had uttered these words, who would have believed him, who wouldn't have said—you are a liar—the British monopolies and their American "partners" haven't the slightest idea of allowing the British people to build Socialism. When Socialism appears in England they will try to crush it as ruthlessly as they have done in other parts of the world.

But Comrade Gollan, not Lord Hume, has spoken and low and behold Party members believe the Imperialists and Capitalists will respect our "traditional institutions and rights" so we can "transform Parliament and thus effect "the major legislation measures of the change to Socialism."

But there are no fairies at the bottom of Comrade Gollan's garden, for we are solemnly warned in the British road to Socialism (from which the above quotes also come), "that this change can only be brought about by struggle. The British ruling class is experienced and ruthless in defence of its selfish interests. It is necessary for the Labour Movement to understand this, and at the same time to realise that the working class has the strength united in struggle for Socialism to overcome all resistance and reach its final goal." Presumably with that most deadly of all weapons the terrible ballot paper.

Where is this struggle Comrade Gollan speaks of? It is all around us, in the fight for wages, for work, for democratic rights, in the fight against anti-Semitism, race hate and fascism. In the fight for improved educational welfare and social services; in the fight for peace and against U.S. bases and foreign domination; in the fight for representation in the press, on the radio and T.V., and in Parliament and local councils; in the fight for militant trade union leadership and the struggle to win the industrial working class to the Socialist cause; in the fight to isolate the reactionaries and win over our allies in other classes; in the work of propagation and studying Marxism-Leninism and its application to all fields in the fight to give the masses a class understanding.

In a word the struggle for Socialism is here, and now. What we do today will condition what we can do tomorrow. This applies to all fields, for everything has a class nature whether we like to admit it or not; thus our job as Communists is to work, not for *Bourgeois*, but *Working Class* recognition in order to build a party defended and supported by workers *which the bourgeois dare not refuse to recognise.*

In doing all these things, therefore, we must expose the Gollan group and their allies before they further bemuddle and confuse the people with their votes for Socialism," and socialism in little bits." Does this mean we reject the need for M.P.s and Parliamentary struggle? Certainly not, the Marxist uses all forms of struggle. We simply say this, we do not only seek votes. They will not remove the bases of U.S. Imperialism from our soil; we seek people, active workers, potential Communists who among other things also vote.

## PUBLIC MEETINGS

**Tuesday, November 3rd**  
8 p.m. Richmond Community Centre  
"The present situation; and our tasks"

Chair: Ernie Hunt  
Speakers: Jack Angel, Michael McCreery  
Organised by the Thames Valley Communist Association

**Sunday, November 8th** Dewsbury, Yorkshire. As announced

**Friday, November 20th**  
7.45 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London  
"For the liberation of our country from United States economic, political, cultural and military domination"

Chair: Dave Volpe  
Speakers: Ken Houlison (Scotland), Jack Seifert, M. McCreery

**Sunday afternoons 3.30 p.m.** Hyde Park  
Sales of "Vanguard"; and open-air meeting

# A Great Victory

## THE TESTING OF THE FIRST CHINESE ATOMIC BOMB

THE news of the testing of the first Chinese Atomic Bomb has been acclaimed by all people struggling against imperialism throughout the world, and with consternation and alarm by the imperialists. Why? Because the People's Republic of China is a Socialist country led by a Marxist-Leninist Party and dedicated to the cause of world peace.

World peace is threatened by the imperialists and their agents alone. They launch aggressive wars when, and only when, they think that they can gain by such wars. The stronger, therefore, and the more united is the Socialist camp of nations, the less the likelihood of imperialist aggression against any Socialist nation, the less the likelihood of a Third World War.

Despite all the efforts of the imperialists and the modern revisionists China has now been able to strengthen her defensive might with the development of nuclear weapons. The struggles of the peoples of the world against imperialist domination and aggression, and for liberation from imperialism, is thereby greatly encouraged; the danger of imperialist attack upon the Socialist camp of nations is reduced, and a Third World War becomes less likely.

We send warm congratulations to the Communist Party and people of China upon their great achievement. We welcome the statement of the Chinese Government: "That China will never at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons." We welcome their call for a Summit Conference of all the countries of the world to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and, as a first step, to win from the nuclear powers an undertaking not to use nuclear weapons. We shall do all in our power to win support for this conference, as an essential part of the struggle for peace.

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

## Communique from Spain

At a meeting held on the 4th October, 1964, the Marxist-Leninist organisations: Partido Comunista de Espana Reconstituido (Reconstituted Communist Party of Spain), Proletario (Proletariat) and Oposicion Revolucionaria Comunista de Espana (Revolutionary Communist Opposition of Spain), which edited the periodicals "Mundo Obrero Revolucionario" (Revolutionary Workers' World), "Proletario" (Proletariat) and "The Spark" (La Chispa), after full and fraternal discussion, on the subject of the ideological and political problems of the International Communist Movement, and in particular of Spain, have reached a complete agreement and identity of opinion and have proceeded to unite and reconstruct the COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

advance which gives back to the Spanish working class the party of the vanguard which will organise and direct the struggle of our people for the socialist revolution.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (Marxist-Leninist) salutes all fraternal parties in the common struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

From now on the organ of expression of our PARTY will be "VANGUARDIA OBRERA" (Workers' Vanguard). LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN (Marxist-Leninist)! LONG LIVE UNITY ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM!

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

This new stage constitutes a great

October 12, 1964.

## A warm welcome

This announcement that Spanish Communists have succeeded in re-establishing their Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism will be welcomed by Communists and militant workers and intellectuals throughout the world. The Spanish working class and people have been hard hit by modern revisionism in their

struggle to oust the United States-backed Franco dictatorship. The re-establishment of a genuine Communist Party in Spain is a great victory for the Spanish working class and people, and for all those engaged in the struggle for national liberation, peace, democracy, and Socialism. The Secretariat, C.D.R.C.U.

## NORTH OF ENGLAND COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION

The decision of our Committee to nominate a candidate to contest the Huyton Parliamentary Constituency in the General Election turned out to be one of the most important decisions we have so far undertaken.

Mike Baker as the candidate was chosen by the North of England Communist Association, which is a fusion of the Lancashire and Yorkshire groups of the C.D.R.C.U., but this was essentially an effort by comrades from every part of England, Scotland and Wales where our Committee is represented. To those comrades who participated in the campaign, in whatever degree, we in the North extend our heartfelt thanks. The delivery and dispatch of 31,000 Election addresses by one means or another is no mean feat by any yardstick. The night-long sessions of addressing and stamping envelopes and labels, trudging the streets of the constituency, pasting up posters, showed a degree of determination and earnestness that was good to behold.

Our decision to contest was, naturally, interpreted in many different ways. It was, of course, and is, our intention to place our programme before as many working people as possible and it was in this spirit that we entered the campaign. Quite obviously we must be the very last people to be under any illusions about "gaining Socialism

through Parliament." The capitalist press did its best to ignore us and even misrepresented the candidate as an "Independent." The BBC went further and obligingly broadcast a vicious attack on the Committee from the C.P.G.B. (Are you still there, Walter Holmes?) A sample of the Huyton C.P.G.B. went almost apoplectic when he learned of our intention to stand against Wilson. This character (he detested the term "comrade"), made it clear that he would attempt to invalidate our nomination by any means. A member of the C.P. for 30 years, he might just as well have spent those years in a Trappist monastery, such was his knowledge of current issues.

Despite this hostility, despite smears, misrepresentation, despite mistakes, miscalculation and vicissitudes we achieved that which we set out to gain. Our aims did get over to thousands of people. Our vote of 899 was a great surprise and a great encouragement and a telling vindication of our effort.

Last, but by no means least, we have established a beach-head in Liverpool, an area which was hitherto conspicuous by its absence from representation in our committee.

A. G. Major.  
Manchester.