

# VANGUARD

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World News  
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## A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

# WILSON IN WASHINGTON GREENWOOD IN ADEN

THESE recent weeks have given the working people of Britain ample evidence of the fact that the Labour Government's policies serve the interests of the wealthy financiers and capitalists who rule Britain, and exploit half the world, in close alliance with their more powerful colleagues in the United States of America. Wilson has been given the task of buttressing the positions of the British ruling class in Asia, and in Africa, in face of the rising struggle in these continents for complete liberation from imperialism. The increased military and economic expenditure required for this task necessitates the forcing down of the living standards of the British people. (The British capitalists can only spend that part of the national income which is not consumed by the people.) Wilson also aims to obtain an increase in resources for imperial expenditure by doing a still closer deal with the United States capitalists, which will enable Britain to cut back expenditure upon certain types of military equipment, and in particular nuclear weapons, which are already being produced by the United States.

Thus, Callaghan's budget, Wilson's visit to Washington, and Greenwood's visit to South Arabia, are all part of the strategy evolved by the British ruling class to maintain their increasingly precarious imperial positions, and which they must hold on to or perish.

Callaghan's budget has increased the direct and indirect taxation of the people; and via the increased tax on petrol ensured an all-round increase in prices, and the cost of living. Meanwhile the "incomes policy" of the employers, the Labour Government, and the official trade union leaderships, is designed to hold down wages and salaries, so that the consumption (the real living standards) of the British people, is reduced. Certain increases conceded on old age pensions, and other benefits, still leave millions of pensioners on the verge of starvation, and cannot conceal the fact that this was a reactionary budget, which will remove far more from the pockets of working people than it returns to them in the form of benefits.

What hypocrisy it is, therefore, when the Daily Worker, which claims to represent the interests of the working class, covers up for Callaghan and the Labour Government, by pretending that the budget was not so bad, but could have been better. We read, in an editorial, on the 12th November, "There will be a warm welcome, from all except the meanest, most miserly Tory scrooges, for the Government's pensions increases." After this opening fan-fare the writer is compelled to admit, later on, that "the hard fact is that millions of ordinary working people will find themselves worse off as a result of Mr. Callaghan's proposals," but he

follows this immediately with the remark, "But whether or not the monopolies will be worse off as a result of Mr. Callaghan's plans is far from clear." And later, "As Mr. Callaghan said, the Tories left Labour a mess to clear up." But this leader-writer, and every leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain knows full well that the Labour Government have not the slightest intention of clearing up the capitalist mess, for they openly proclaim themselves a part of the capitalist system. They know full well that the budget was in the interests of the monopolies.

### WILSON IN WASHINGTON

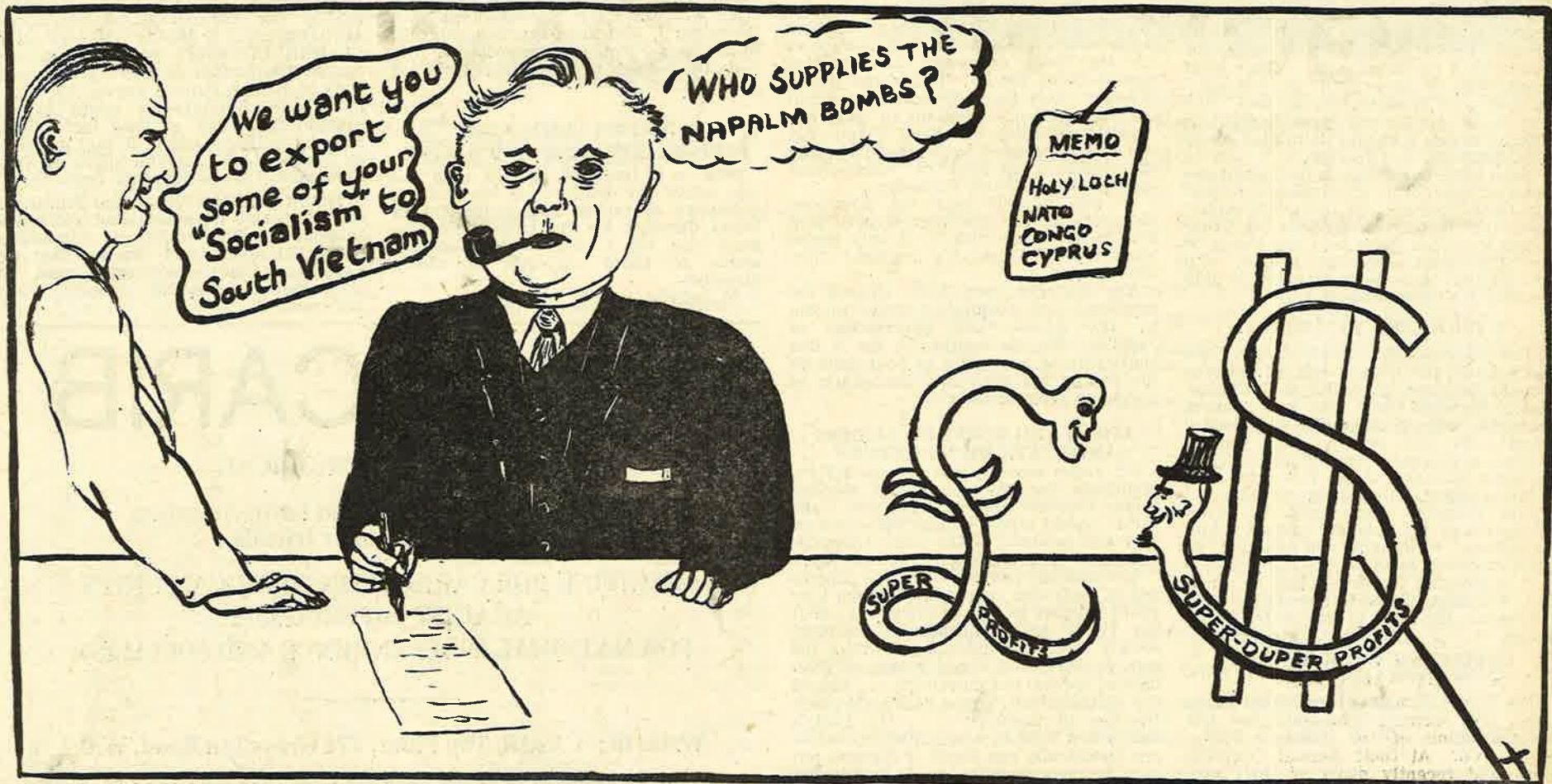
Mr. Wilson goes to Washington to thank President Johnson for his support during the General Election, and to congratulate his friend upon his own electoral victory. And despite all Mr. Wilson's sound and fury, previously, in opposing the multilateral nuclear force in Europe it emerges, on his return, and as we predicted, that he is perfectly willing to accept the M.L.F., and to hell with promises made at the general election. The Guardian writes (December 12, 1964), "In spite of rigid stonewalling by Mr. Wilson on the exact nature of the proposals he put to President Johnson yesterday, there is no doubt that he is now ready to accept a token British contribution to some modified form of mixed manned nuclear force. . . . It is hard to see how Mr. Wilson can portray his talks with President Johnson as anything but a commitment to join more closely than ever in the global nuclear strategy of the U.S."

Even the much-vaunted refusal to send more British troops to South Vietnam (a British military mission is already there) is only made on the grounds that Britain's own imperial wars are tying up too many British troops. To quote again from the Guardian, "He produced the figures of Britain's military commitment in Malaysia, reminding President Johnson that Britain already has 8,000 troops in Borneo and a total of 20,000 in Malaysia as a whole. This is exactly comparable to the 20,000 U.S. "advisers" who are operating in Vietnam."

### GREENWOOD IN SOUTH ARABIA

Meanwhile, that stalwart "left-winger" Mr. Antony Greenwood, has, as Colonial Secretary, been visiting another decisive sector on the British imperialist front. He has made it clear that Britain, or that part of Britain which he represents, will never abandon those good friends and true, the reactionary feudal leaders in South Arabia who are prepared to sell the interests of their own people, for the sake of a share in the

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"IN THE INTERESTS OF THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS"



# WILSON AND GREENWOOD

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British capitalists oil profits. He has toured the battlefield between the British capitalist troops, and the forces of national liberation in South Arabia, and returns, no doubt, with some new ideas about how Britain's imperial interests can best be defended in this part of the world.

"Left-wing" Labour principles been more clearly revealed by this man Greenwood than for many a long year. All those working people who might have had illusions about him when he supported the fight for nuclear disarmament can shed them now. Not since the late Mr. Strachey went on patrol with British troops against the national liberation army in Malaya have we seen Labour imperialism more aptly symbolised than by this charlatan.

And the leadership of the C.P.G.B., and their organ the Daily Worker, what have they to say about the Labour Government's imperialist policies? "Not so bad, but it could be better," this is their recurring theme. We read, in the Daily Worker editorial of December, 10, 1964, under the heading "Step up the fight," "one outcome of Mr. Wilson's talks with President Johnson will be welcomed — the delay in taking a decision on the M.L.F. It would, of course, have been very much better if Mr. Wilson

had told the President Britain would have nothing to do with the scheme. . . ." Without exception the capitalist press make it clear that Mr. Wilson, acting on behalf of the British ruling class, has sold out to President Johnson on the issue of the M.L.F., with the result that the United States and West German capitalists will increase their military control over Western Europe. But this Daily Worker editorial contains not one word of criticism of Wilson, and the Labour Government, for this betrayal — merely a welcome for some imaginery delay, and a call to do even better next time!

Once again the conclusions which must be drawn by the working class are inescapable. The line of the Daily Worker, the line of modern revisionism, must be completely defeated. The line of Mr. Wilson, of Social-Democracy, to whom the modern revisionists act as servants, must be completely defeated. Only then, when the decisive sections of the working class in Britain have been won for a line of militant mass struggle against United States imperialism, and all those who serve its interests in this country, will it be possible to make serious advances in the task of liberating England, Scotland and Wales from foreign domination, and for the final overthrow of capitalism in Britain.

## Kosygin follows Khrushchov

We welcomed, in last month's Vanguard, the ousting of Khrushchov. It was, and remains, a great triumph for all those struggling against modern revisionism within the international Communist movement. His departure has greatly encouraged Marxist-Leninists, and confused and disheartened all those who follow the revisionist banner. But Khrushchov or no Khrushchov the modern revisionists remain still in control of the policies of the Soviet Party and the Soviet State. Breshnev, Kosygin, Mikoyan, and others, have emphasized and re-emphasized in the weeks since Khrushchov was removed, that the general line laid down by the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union remains unchanged.

In face of the total bankruptcy of every single one of the revisionist policies initiated by the Khrushchevite group, and the rising tide of struggle, at home and abroad, against their betrayal of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, they have been compelled to manoeuvre. They have dropped their leader, but they still seek to implement his policies. The general line of betrayal remains unchanged.

Breshnev, Kosygin and Mikoyan, continue to cover up for United States imperialism. They have reaffirmed their desire to do a deal with the United States imperialists, at the expense of the peoples of the world, under the camouflage of "peaceful coexistence." They have reaffirmed their determination within the Soviet Union, to convert the dictatorship of the proletariat into a "state of the whole people." This policy is designed to reject the leading role of the working class, and to permit full freedom to all those bourgeois elements who desire the restoration of a market economy, and capitalism, within the U.S.S.R. And it may well be that they will pursue these policies of betrayal with more cunning than their late, and unlamented, leader.

It is essential, therefore, for all true Communists to step up their

struggle against the modern revisionists. The possibility of still further, and decisive, advances against their policies of betrayal, undoubtedly exists at this present time, when they have been driven into disarray. Those who seek to continue Khrushchov's policies without Khrushchov must not be given time to consolidate their positions. Khrushchov himself, over a number of years, sought to deceive the international Communist movement into a false estimation of his true intentions; and achieved a measure of success in this. His successors are employing the same tactic. They must be exposed from the start. Once bitten, twice shy.

### INNER PARTY STRUGGLE

More than at any time in the past ordinary members of the Communist Party of Great Britain are doubtful of the leadership of the party, and of the road down which they are being lead. Many who ignored Vanguard even six month's ago are now paying close attention to our arguments. Marxist-Leninists must do all in their power to encourage the growing struggle within the C.P.G.B. against modern revisionism. Let all those comrades who agree with us on general principles, but have not yet grasped that the Party cannot be reformed from within, fight now to demand that a discussion be opened in the Party press on the real reasons for the fall of Khrushchov. Let them fight now for the printing, in the Daily Worker, Comment, and Marxism Today, of those letters and articles expressing a Marxist-Leninist stand, which arrive on the editors' desks, and are duly buried, often without even a note of acknowledgment.

In fighting to change the line of the Party from within they will grasp the truth that the modern revisionists will never relinquish their hold over the Party organisation, and that the Party must therefore be re-established on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

## CARIB — LATIN-AMERICAN NEWS REVIEW

### TRINIDAD — DR. WILLIAMS'S SCHEME

At the present time Dr. Williams has set up a 5-7 man Committee, which is working out a pilot scheme for the employment of Trinidadians with two British Catering firms. Under this proposed scheme, all the personnel will be trained at government run hotels and catering schools before going to England for jobs. . . . "Lyons, Forte's, etc.?"

We repeat again that export of Caribbean Labour is no solution to unemployment and development. But most despicable is this kind of "stooge" method of "manoeuvring around" the real issue of fighting against "colour discrimination laws and its related forms of neo-fascism and fascism."

Even more despicable is the encouragement of Caribbean Governments to permit their citizens to be trained to undertake the most menial jobs in other countries. This plays into the hands of fascist minded, ignorant people, who believe that the coloured person is only suitable for these types of jobs.

### GOLDWATER IN JAMAICA

The notorious Mr. Goldwater met "his old friend" the Deputy P.M. of Jamaica Donald Sangster in the Royal Caribbean Hotel, Montego Bay; the local papers splashed, with photographs, this happy event! We can imagine how the 20 million oppressed "forced second class coloured citizens" of the U.S. must feel.

We wonder if Goldwater told his old friend Sangster how much he loved Jamaica and the friendly people, while he refuses "civil rights and equality" to his own countrymen.

It is amazing the things that go on in the Caribbean. Some leaders (sic!) have no respect for their people or for themselves.

### CARIBBEAN WORKERS AND NATIONALISATION

The P.N.P. Jamaica's Opposition Party have put forward proposals for the nationalisation of the Jamaica Public Service Co. At their Annual Congress 1964 held recently many of their pro-

posals were for Government acquisition of the important sectors of the economy; although later some of the leaders were backtracking.

During the recent session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association's Conference held in Jamaica this year, the U.K. delegate Mr. Box, imperitantly referred to nationalisation in Jamaica as "national sabotage" according to newspaper reports and further went on to state that "nationalisation is the last thing a country like Jamaica should think about." This came just a few days after the U.K. Government had made clear their intentions to carry out "renationalisation of Steel" and can also be contrasted with the fact that there are a number of nationalised sectors of the British Economy.

It was pitiable that the Jamaican delegates at the Conference permitted him to get away with it; it only shows what type of "people's leaders" they are.

Yes Mr. Box, you have abused the privileges and hospitality shown to you by the people and government of Jamaica. We are waiting to see if this gentleman is not going to be ticked off for poking his nose into the affairs of an independent country.

### JAGAN AND BURNHAM SLIDING INTO PATH OF NO RETURN

Dr. Jagan recently released the P.P.P.s. Manifesto for the imperialist devised Bogus election and stressed that "the P.P.P. would strive to win the co-operation and goodwill of the U.S." (imperialists) . . . that the party's policies were "such that the people of the U.S. supported in their own country and which they could support in this country" . . . that the P.P.P. will "introduce a socialist society with the individual owning his own property and would guarantee freedom of speech and movement . . . extend the franchise to 18 year olds and ensure freedom of worship" . . . the Party's Policy was "not to nationalise any industry, specifically not Sugar or Bauxite but if it becomes necessary to do so fair and

adequate compensation will be paid."

Meanwhile Burnham is gloating over having got P.R. although it is not exactly how he wanted it. The Daily Telegraph, December 5, 1964, arguing about who the Governor is likely to call in to be P.M. and form the government writes . . . "Mr. Burnham whose opportunistic Westernism could usher in a new style crisis with the P.P.P. in opposition." On December 7, 1964 this paper also referred to him as a "Pro-Western Socialist."

By their deeds we know them for what they are.

### — BRITISH COLOUR BAR

#### IMMIGRATION LAWS AND RACISM

How is it intended to deal with the vile colour bar immigration law and the outlawing of racism and incitement to racial disorder by the Labour Government and the Commonwealth Governments of those countries it affects directly?

Gleaned from a letter to The Times

October 14, 1964; the new Minister for Colonial Affairs, referring to proposals made by Mr. Wilson, wrote ". . . We would introduce legislation to ban racial discrimination in public places and incitement to racial hatred."

But, we now gather from the debate in the House of Lords—December 1, 1964—the position, which is neatly put by The Times Political Correspondent December 2, 1964: "IN AND OUT OF PARLIAMENT" "Immigration: Of course, the Labour Minister said, everybody in British Politics knows that Commonwealth Immigration ought to be brought to a stop, at least for a time. The difficulty, he added, is that it would be impossible to stop the inflow of Non-Commonwealth immigrants from Eire."

The British P.M. Wilson and Trinidad's P.M. Williams have also had some discussions on the subject of "immigration" but apart from the fact that we have learnt that the new government "is sympathetic," nothing tangible has yet resulted.

## READ The CARIB

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL

Produced by Caribbean and Latin-American workers and their friends

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

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



# WE MUST FIGHT RACIALISM

THE last general election has shown us that *fascism and neo-fascism* have developed to a dangerous level in Britain.

This has developed out of the capitalist system and imperialist indoctrination "divide and rule" over many centuries.

"Divide and Rule," is a frequently effective tactic of the imperialists and ruling classes to try to create false divisions amongst the people, particularly the working people, and so prevent their unity which will defeat the ruling class, e.g. to sow the seeds of racial and religious differences and set workers against each other, falsely.

This has taken prominence following Notting Hill Race Riots of 1957. In 1959 the fascist Mosley, leader of the Union Movement stood as a candidate in the election — North Kensington and obtained 2,821 votes which was 8.1% of the poll. Jordan's fascist mob has also been very busy stirring up trouble, up and down the country; while other little fascist groups are coming into prominence. On top of all this, came the Colour Bar Immigration Law pushed through by the Tory Party in 1962 which further encouraged the racists. The Labour Opposition was strongly against this piece of notorious legislation and was very vociferous about its withdrawal. Also the Public Order Law passed; instead of being used to keep the fascists in check was used against the "left forces" and at times against "the Labour Party." We well remember the fiasco of the Labour and Fascist controversy at the St. Pancras Public Meeting.

Against this background the 1964 British Elections proved beyond all shadow of doubt that "an outmoded capitalist system, which cannot meet the demands of working people for revolutionary change; finds scapegoats for the imperialist indoctrinated masses to release their venom on;" in this case it was the British Commonwealth Subjects/Citizens of Colour living, working and studying here and all those natives who support them in their struggle for democratic rights.

Neo-fascists and fascists had a hey-day during the months, weeks and days prior to, during and after the October elections. Their fascist slogans went up all over the place but SMETHWICK was the "little nazi berlin" during this period.

The Times Midland Correspondent of October 13, 1964 picked up rumours that did not contain a word of truth but some people believed them, i.e. "Patrick Gordon Walker's daughters married black men" "that he sold his house at Smethwick to the blacks." "Because most of the Blacks have leprosy, they are building two secret leper hospitals in the town." "Nigger lover" was plastered on some of Walker's election posters and stickers bearing the words "If you want a nigger neighbour vote Liberal or Labour" was posted up in the town.

From this Correspondent's report it was plain that the Smethwick Tory Party played a leading role in the creation of this neo-fascist atmosphere. He wrote: "The evidence is there in black and white in the files of the local newspapers. It is plain and undeniable."

## FAILURE OF CAPITALISM

The failure of capitalist governments to meet the demands of the working peoples resulted in the Tories blaming everything onto the scapegoats they made out of people of colour in this country. Yet! without the contribution being made by coloured workers and professionals to national production and services in Britain—(estimated in some areas to be as high as 50% for doctors and nurses, 30-50% in transport and in other fields) the country would be in a worse state. There is unemployment, bad housing, bad social services—schools, hospitals, etc., and all this is sidestepped while the Capitalists play the "SCAPEGOAT" game, introduce colour bar laws and by their actions try to make out that the people of "colour" are responsible for the worsening of the situation.

When the Commonwealth Immigration (Colour Bar) Bill was introduced, the Tories at that time strenuously denied that the Bill was intended to be a colour bar. But now, on examination of whatever is said and done by the Tories and British fascists this notorious piece of legislation has become openly synonymous with control of "coloured people." Let us have a look at some figures. The net annual intake from the Asian, African and Caribbean Countries of the Commonwealth, as estimated or recorded in recent years, was as follows:—

1958	27,450
1959	21,550
1960	58,300
1961	125,400
1962 1st half	86,700
2nd half	8,290
1963	53,350
1964 1st half	28,250

It is generally estimated that there are over 500,000 persons of colour living, working and studying in the U.K. Just over 0.5% of the total population.

These figures show the increase was brought about by the Act itself, but also both before and since July 1962, a high proportion of all immigrants (about 50%) have been women and children.

The racialist content of this obnoxious law is there, the large contingents of immigrants from the "White Dominions" are ignored and so also are Irish people, who are still by far the largest single migrant group in England.

Taken together, the "colour bar immi-

gration law" and the increased incidence of "neo-fascist thinking and action" by Tories and various other people including some working people, shows the immediate need for ACTION to STAMP OUT this poison that is rapidly generating among working people in the U.K.

## THE WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE IN BRITAIN

On examining the historical facts of the working class and people regarding their political ideology . . . since 1886, according to the best authority "there have been 13 elections which have produced a House of Commons in which a single party held a 'working majority' of seats and on 11 of these occasions it was the Conservatives who found themselves in this position. The most heavily — and the largest — urbanised and industrialised electorate of any democracy has only twice (1906-1945) (and now by the slimmest of majorities), returned a Parliament in which a Party of the "left" has had a clear working majority."

The British Tory Party has consistently drawn half — and for long periods more than half — of its electoral support from the working classes, and the Labour Party is Labour in name alone.

What therefore is the "political ideology" of our brothers and sisters of the British Working Class? and what must be done to develop working class consciousness and a genuine working class Party?

The answer to all these questions is also the answer to the fight against imperialism and its related evil parts of racism, neo-fascism and fascism. But it is vitally necessary that the evil colour bar immigration law be withdrawn and that the bill to outlaw racism and incitement to racism be passed.

Let us do all in our power to achieve these aims.

Let us call upon the Labour Government to act against racism not just talk; and let us expose it when it fails to act. Only the mass struggle of the people can stamp out racism and Fascism.

JOHNNIE JAMES

## Fascist Barbarity

The Ambassador,  
South Africa House,  
Trafalgar Square,  
London, W.1.

10th November, 1964.

Dear Sir,

The execution of Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayingo, and Zimanili Mkaba, the three leaders of the African National Congress, is yet one more action which reveals the vile character of the South African government and its policies of repression of the great majority of the South African people. No matter how many patriots are killed by your government, no matter how much force is used to suppress the just demands of the South African people, they will win their freedom.

We join with working people throughout the world in condemning the action of your government as a crime, and we warn you that every such action only speeds the day of liberation for the South African people, by mobilising ever more people into action for the final overthrow of your government, and all that it stands for.

The Secretariat. The Committee to defeat revisionist for Communist Unity.

## FREEDOM FOR THE CONGO!

THE cause of all the killing and tortures in the Congo is the refusal of the imperialists to take out their claws and relinquish their hold on the Congo's rich mineral wealth.

The Americans first intervened in the Congo, through the U.N.O. forces, with the connivance of Khrushchev, who also supplied Soviet transport then later through the Central Intelligence Agency, which recruits Cuban emigre pilots. They called the traitor, Tshombe, from exile and supplied him with U.S. war-planes.

The Congolese liberation forces gained victory after victory, until, Tshombe, intensifying his offensive—recruiting mercenaries from South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, etc. advanced on Stanleyville.

Negotiations for the release of white hostages were being conducted in Nairobi, under the chairmanship of Jomo Kenyatta, with an emissary of the Congolese Liberation Forces, when Belgian paratroops were conveyed in U.S. aircraft from the British-held Ascension Island.

Hundreds of Congolese, including children have been massacred by the paras, white mercenaries and Tshombe's

troops.

The Liberation Forces are heroically fighting back in defence of their native soil and their right to be free from slavery.

We join in the protests from dozens of Asian and African Governments, from progressive organisations and prominent individuals throughout the whole world, against the criminal U.S.-Belgium armed intervention, in defence of their vested interests.

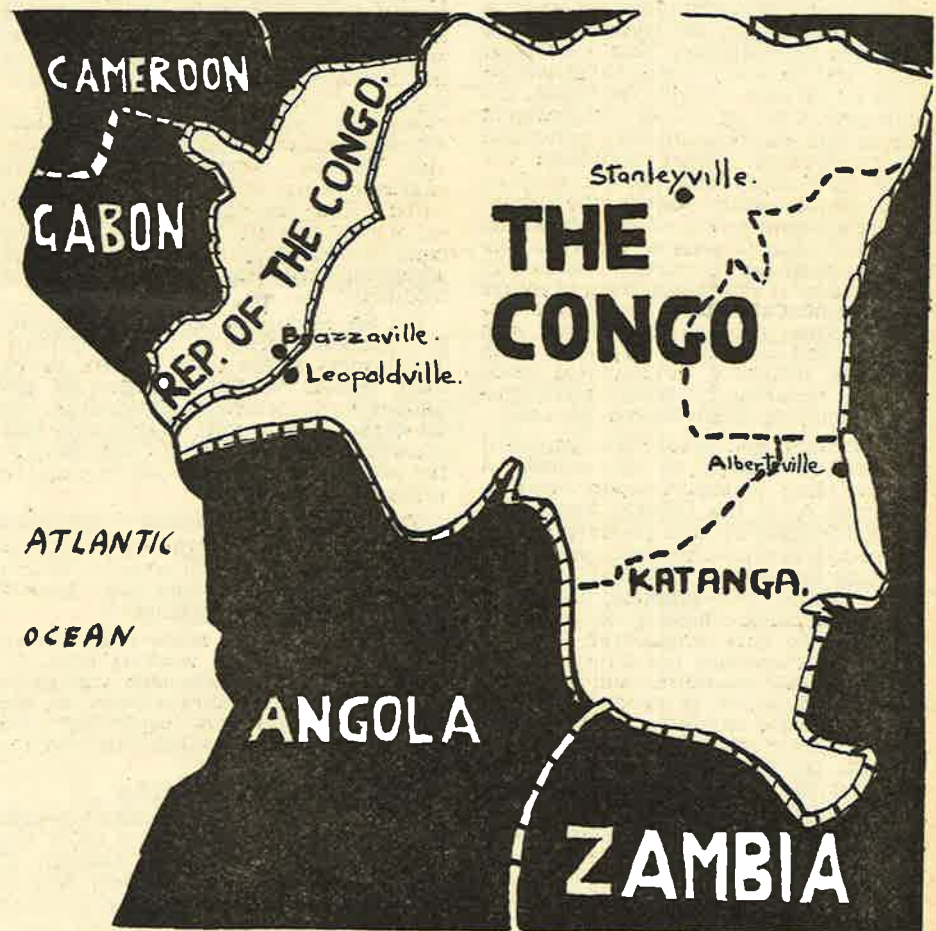
It is a disgrace and an exposure of the British and Labour Government that they allowed Ascension Island to be used for this foul purpose.

It is a disgrace and an exposure of President Johnson that he personally ordered the armed assault on Stanleyville.

All the bloodshed is the direct responsibility of the U.S.-Belgian-Anglo imperialists, who will never quit the Congo, until they are forced to; and the struggle cannot cease until they go.

Down with imperialism!

Let Africans unite to expel them from all of Africa.



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

by

1. Winning annual subscribers to "Vanguard".
2. Helping to sell "Vanguard" at public meetings.
3. Asking your local newsagent to display "Vanguard".
4. Contributing reports or articles to "Vanguard" on any aspect of the class struggle in Britain and internationally. (We need reporters in every main industrial centre, and every main industry.)

If you wish to help please contact one of the following addresses:

A. Major, 57 Manchester Road, Manchester 21.

K. Jennings, 12 Moorfield Avenue, Bradford 3, Yorks.

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

K. Houlison, 21 Castle Road, Newton Mearns, GLASGOW.

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

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



# Let Us Clarify The Tasks

IN BRITAIN, as in some other countries, the general situation of living differs sharply from that experienced in the era of the 1920's and 1930's. The Western capitalists, staging a fairly rapid economic recovery after World War II and confronted by a better organised and more militant Labour Movement, particularly in the immediate post-war years, managed to use flexibility in meeting demands for higher wages, better working conditions, etc. — utilising the new techniques of intensifying productivity and that of neo-colonialism in order to extract ultra-cheap raw materials from Asia, Africa and Latin America and other intermediate areas.

The general rule was and still is, to increase the exploitation of the labouring peoples both at home and abroad and its objective consequence was to still further widen the gap between living standards in North America and Europe, Australia, etc. and those of the vast intermediate areas.

However, world-historic events never mark time and wait for no man.

The emergence of the G.D.R. Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania as Socialist States and the glorious victories of China, North Korea and North Vietnam, Cuba, etc. changed the face of the world and the entire course of modern history.

The storms of the National Liberation struggles and the struggles of the working peoples in the capitalist heart-lands themselves are still further altering the tides of modern history and determining its outcome for the next several centuries.

In the light of this tempestuous social movement there is neither room for cynicism nor defeatist notions.

Some comrades, including some from the bourgeoisie who have joined our cause, observing only the superficial changes in the lives of the working class, in comparison with the 1920's and 1930's, confuse these temporary phenomena with the essential character of the working class, which is *entirely constant*.

They conclude, then, that because a revolutionary situation does not exist in Britain at present, the working class is *no longer revolutionary*. This is a serious error and logically leads to erroneous methods of work. Under feudalism, the objective laws of social development determined the revolutionary content of the bourgeoisie. Under capitalism, the same laws apply *vis-a-vis* the working class. If, at certain periods, the subjective revolutionary will of the proletariat is dulled, due to passing external conditions such as a certain temporary stabilisation of capitalism, then, of course we must take account of this; but to confuse tactics with strategy, form with content and a narrow appraisal with objective historical development leads only to sectarian mistakes and a dogmatic bandying of adventurist phrases.

In Britain and elsewhere, capitalist economy is tearing at the seams. A chronic crisis of export-import balances (referred to in the October *Vanguard*), and contraction of gold reserves, resulting in a *factual devaluation of sterling* is afflicting the British capitalist economy. The "Labour" Government, like their Tory predecessors, have a few sedatives but have no cure whatsoever. 80% or more of our economy lies directly in the hands of the capitalists and the 20% nationalised sector is operated by the capitalist State machine. It is certain that desperate attempts will be made to alleviate the plight of the exploiters by reducing the people's living standards, behind such fig-leaves as a "national incomes policy." *It is also certain that the British people and predominantly the industrial workers, will fight back.*

It is in the course of this struggle, and many others, that the workers will create such organisations as will genuinely meet their needs.

The *character* of these organisations will be resolved by them. Practice will decide which *tactical* ideas are best to adopt. If then, we wish to assess the vast movement in motion, in action, it is not enough to observe only today or tomorrow but to look further out to the horizon. Scores of years of bourgeois ideology leaves its mark on the body of a whole class. But this is of small importance compared to the natural fighting spirit of the class which is destined to vanquish exploitation and bring in the era of a free incomparably more abundant classless society.

In 1963, the leaders of the C.P.G.B. closed the Party Press to all comments favourable to the principled Marxist-Leninist standpoint published by the Chinese, Albanian and other Communists. They did this to ensure that their own right-opportunist line would proceed, unhampered, throughout the Party branches. No open effective avenues of expression were left to any comrade who dissented from their views, which were nourished by the predominance of Khrushchov as undisputed revisionist leader.

## WHO WAS WRONG?

Around this date a number of expulsions and resignations from the C.P.G.B. took place. Views criticising Khrushchov and modern revisionism were circulated in the "Appeal to all Communists." It is now clear that many serious criticisms of Khrushchov, which we would have made in the Party Press, given the chance to do so, were endorsed by the

C.C., C.P.S.U., a few weeks ago. Will the leaders of the C.P.G.B. admit that they were wrong to close the Party Press to us? Will they admit that it would have been more honest and correct from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism, to have encouraged a serious debate throughout the Party, reflecting the debate which proceeded and is still proceeding throughout the world Communist Movement? Will they admit that their arbitrary attempt at silencing the dissenting comrades, so far from furthering the fortunes of the Party and increasing its "voting figures," has had a completely negative effect? That their attacks and slanders against the Albanian and Chinese comrades were really choruses sung under the Khrushchov baton? That the unceremonious dismissal of the "maestro" lays upon them the most obvious duty of self-criticism and accepting criticism from the Party members?

Let the leaders of the C.P.G.B. openly and fearlessly reply to these questions. The leaders of the C.P.G.B. have nailed their colours to the masthead of the Labour Party, which is a variant of any other social-democratic Party and whose main job is the ideological disarming of the working class, *objectively serving the needs of the capitalists.*

They demand "Socialist" measures from a Labour Government which is busy pawning the destiny of the British people to the U.S.A. even more heavily than their Tory predecessors.

As for us, we will never lose faith in the capability of the working class, together with such allies that will unite with us, to solve all problems in the struggle to overthrow capitalism. No other class can accomplish this task for us.

## CERTAIN PEOPLE

One must refer, also, to certain people who, in latter months, have given the impression of opposing revisionism, of standing for Marxism-Leninism and of being staunch friends of the People's Republic of China.

Some of these people have adopted a curious tactic.

It is to break off relations with other Marxist-Leninists on one issue or another, often confusing a difference in tactics or procedure with political principle. As if this wasn't sufficient error, they proceed rapidly to attack and even slander former comrades whom they know to be anti-revisionists. They turn on former comrades, like tigers and even recruit non-Communists to join in the assault. Instead of calm, patient discussion of differences and mature contests of opinion, they flounce off like prima donnas, hurling invective behind them. Their predominant idea and intent is to "destroy" the organisation from which they rushed and the integrity of its leaders. They raise a great hue and cry as to "self-appointed" leaders. They make a vulgar confusion between comrades who want to initiate polemic and action against revisionism and outright career-opportunists. They refuse to recognise that this question, (which at given stages of the struggle can become a primary one), at the early stage is really a secondary question. That particularly in British conditions, the absolute primary question is one of adopting a sound Marxist-Leninist line applicable to British conditions and that who are the "leaders," is, in comparison, a secondary question. The main thing is, to try to be a Leninist, with Lenin's grasp of the main issues, with Lenin's single-mindedness regarding purpose, with Lenin's daring sweep in strategy and prudence in tactics.

In the course of developing struggle,

can it be seriously denied that the working class and its allies, which will certainly overthrow capitalism and all obstacles placed in its path, will not also dispense with incurable career-opportunists who will temporarily capture this or that leading position? The latter task is very easy compared with the former task, which is the greatest and most arduous task that social history has ever presented. Quite frankly, if former comrades who possess certain talents and have a class understanding, wish to use those talents in order to attack the C.D.R.C.U. and *Vanguard*, then have they not forgotten the main enemy? Have they not, in reality, chosen to turn their backs on the deep suffering of millions of workers and peasants, who are our brothers and sisters? Will they try again to understand the enormity of the deprivations, that working people suffer and the resultant wastage of life, natural talent, health, happiness and the rest?

## TRUE FRIEND AND FALSE

Capitalism, with cynical brutality, robs the working peoples of our right to good formal education but dialectically, it sharpens the *working-class instinct* as to *true friend or enemy*. Thus we learn continually, from both positive and negative experience. The worker knows the habits of his own class with unerring accuracy. He has, also, an unerring suspicion of bourgeois habits, even when he is compelled to adopt some of these habits, due to external circumstances.

Those comrades who were not born and reared from the working class must identify their whole lives and beings with the lives and problems of the workers if they want the workers to trust them. Most bourgeois habits are pernicious and dishonest to the core but some can certainly overcome them, if they really want to.

The content, the essence of the struggle, is stark in its simplicity. All the Marxist classics since the Communist Manifesto testify to its clarity of line. It is a revolutionary line and none other. Khrushchovism attempted to subjectively "create" contradictions in this essential line, hence causing temporary disunity in the world Communist Movement and ensuring, in the process, its own rejection by that movement.

The forms and tactics of revolutionary struggle, however, are extremely complicated. One cannot hastily, emotionally resolve extremely complicated questions and none should realise this better than those comrades who have the advantages of good formal education. Modern history has already created one yardstick, one measure for all our work. No one has the right to create his own. It is whether our work corresponds to the immediate and future interests of all the exploited peoples of the world. This is what Lenin taught and such is the true measure of our work.

DAVE VOLPE

## 20th Anniversary of Albanian Liberation

### STATEMENT RECORDED FOR TIRANA RADIO

THE celebration of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Albania from imperialist and fascist rule has been a time of great rejoicing in Albania. We have seen in the great parade held last Sunday, a mighty demonstration of the strength and unity of the Albanian people, led by comrade Enver Hodja and the Albanian Party of Labour. This parade symbolised the achievements of these last 20 years, and it was for us, representatives of Marxist-Leninists in Britain, a moving experience. For these 20 years of achievement, these 20 years of Socialist construction in Albania, are of great international significance. They demonstrate just what becomes possible when a people led by a Marxist-Leninist Party dare to challenge the rule of the imperialists and to overthrow their power by armed struggle. Since then the dictatorship of the working class has been maintained, in defiance of all the attempts by the imperialists and their agents to regain control over Albania, and this above all, has made possible the immense economic, and cultural achievements of these last 20 years.

As Comrade Enver Hodja said, in his speech on Saturday, Albania, before its liberation, was the most backward country in Europe. Today it has left many of the capitalist countries far behind in its economic and cultural achievements. To take just three simple facts. There is a free health service in socialist Albania; there is electric light in the villages of socialist Albania; there is full employment in socialist Albania. Those who know of the condition of the working class and the peasants in many of the capitalist states of Southern Europe can well understand why the imperialists and their agents try so desperately to conceal from the people the truth about socialist Albania.

When the imperialists had failed in their direct attacks upon Albania they made use of modern revisionism in their attempts to overthrow the peoples power. The Tito clique and then the Khrushchevites, were used, in a series of vain attempts to sabotage the economy of Albania, to starve Albania into submission. They all failed miserably. Why? Because the Albanian Party of Labour led the people in a principled stand in defence of the sovereign rights of Albania. They refused to be bullied into submission by any great power. They refused to abandon their principled Marxist-Leninist stand on every question raised by the modern revisionists in their attempt to subvert the international Communist movement.

The parade which we saw last Sunday has demonstrated to us two central facts about People's Albania. Firstly we were greatly impressed by the strength of the people's Army, by the confidence and high military discipline displayed by the soldiers, and by the great variety of modern arms which they have at their disposal. It is clear to us that, should the imperialists, or any of their agents, attempt an armed invasion of Albania, that they would meet with a bloody repulse, they would be hurled back from Albanian soil. The People's army, the People's militia, the People in arms, are clearly in a position to defend their Homeland, and this despite all the treacherous attempts of the Khrushchovite clique to disarm Albania. In this aim the modern revisionists have completely failed.

Secondly we have seen with our own

eyes during the civilian part of the parade, that there is immense popular enthusiasm for the Albanian Party of Labour, led by comrade Enver Hodja, that the unity between Party and people is indestructible. Indeed, how could it be otherwise, when the Party has led the people in immense advances in every field of life during these last 20 years. It is clear to us that this unity between Party and people is the essential reason why every attempt by the modern revisionists to overthrow the leadership of the Party, and the Government of Albania, has so completely failed, and why any such attempt which they may make in the future will fail equally miserably.

In our stay in Albania we have obtained many vivid impressions of the enthusiasm, audacity and optimism of the Albanian people, as they tackle the problems of building the new Albania. In Tirana, in Vlora, in Saranda, in Gjirokastr and in Berati, we have learnt something of what has been accomplished, and of the tasks that lie ahead, and we wish all those comrades and friends whom we have met every success in their work.

Marxist-Leninists in Britain face the immediate task of re-establishing the Communist Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and of mobilising ever-wider sections of the working class and people of Britain to struggle against the Labour Government's and capitalists' attacks upon their living standards and democratic rights, to struggle against the growing domination and military occupation of Britain by United States imperialism, and finally for the establishment of working class power and the building of Socialism in our country.

In these hard tasks we derive great strength from the achievements, and the friendship and solidarity of the Albanian people and the Albanian Party of Labour. Their fraternal support to us is a vivid demonstration of international working class solidarity.

Long live the friendship of the Albanian and the British people.

Long live the Albanian Party of Labour, led by Comrade Enver Hodja.

MICHAEL McCREERY, ERNIE HUNT



# GOLLAN'S COMMUNISM

THE obvious shortcomings in the domestic and international policies of the Soviet Union brought about the downfall of Khrushchev, outstanding exponent of revisionism, to whom Gollan, Matthews and others have paid repeated tribute in the past.

Within the same week, the General Election bringing back a Labour Government into office after an absence of 13 years, exposed yet again the tiny impact that the Communist Party makes on Britain's political life.

It is not surprising that Gollan chose to make some examination of the prospects facing the Communist Party at a meeting of the Executive Committee during November—some extracts appearing in the *Daily Worker* of Monday, 16th November.

It would be hard to imagine even the most determined loyalists of the E.C. leadership seeing cause for inspiration in this dull pedestrian monologue.

The ideological pattern encompassed in the "British Road" emerges unchanged throughout this report. The downslide of the Communist Party has caused Gollan not to rethink but to re-trench.

But the hand of its leadership still lies heavy on the Communist Party membership and on the militants of the working-class in general. Its arguments still need to be rebutted and its harmful influence diminished or destroyed.

To avoid any charge that quotations might be given out of context, I trust that I shall be forgiven the following lengthy excerpt.

Gollan in his introductory remarks, poses the following question:

"What is the big thing facing every Labour supporter, every Communist, every progressive? To work in such a way as to ensure that the Tories are not allowed to stage a comeback.

"To ensure that the next election, whenever it is fought, results in an even greater resounding Tory defeat.

"The Government starts with an enormous fund of good will—great masses of the people not only want the Labour Government to survive, but to win.

"We Communists want the Labour Government to survive and win victories for the people. We will support any progressive measures or steps it takes.

"Harold Wilson's attitude that he intends to govern despite the slender majority, is correct. There should be no concessions to the Tories.

"Any criticism we make will be to strengthen the Government and its standing with the people.

"Our test will be what is good for the working class and the mass of the people, and what is bad for the Tories and the millionaires."

These sentences betray a complete absence of class attitude and of class analysis; in brief Marxism-Leninism is no longer to serve as a guide.

In the first place, the assumption—implicit in Communist Party policies over many years—is made that the Labour Party basically stands four-square for the working-class. There is not the slightest hint that the whole history of the Labour Party from its inception and particularly clearly for the last thirty-five years, has proved—one would have thought without a shadow of doubt—that its thinking, its policies, its actions, in power and in opposition, make it the political harbinger of capitalism within the working class movement. Its whole existence focalizes on two objectives: to defend, preserve and strengthen the structure of capitalism with all its institutions on the one hand; on the other, to deceive the working people into believing that it is doing precisely the opposite.

MacDonald, Snowden, Clynes, Bevan, Morrison, Atlee, Gaitskill—these figures from the archives of the Labour Party could hardly be held up as apostles of Socialism; the course pursued by them has offered no hint of a threat to the ruling capitalist class. When Ramsay

MacDonald and his colleagues took the open road of merging with the Tories to form a "National" government in 1931, he was roundly condemned by his erstwhile friends who then proceeded to echo faithfully all the policies of their former leader.

Can we hope for anything better from Wilson, Brown, Gordon Walker, Healey and others in the Cabinet. The shape of things to come has already taken form.

Fervent support of N.A.T.O.; active assistance in the rape of the Congolese people; a rabid colonial policy continued in the Aden area; the imposition of further heavy burdens on the British working class—hardly one would think an auspicious beginning from a Government for which the leadership of the Communist Party held out such high hopes.

When Gollan states therefore that "the great masses not only want the Labour Government to survive, but to win," this is a sign simply that millions of working people are deceived as to the true role of the Labour Party and its leadership.

When Gollan adds that "we Communists want the Labour Government to survive and win victories for the people" he is actively assisting in this deception.

The crux of the matter is that Gollan and his colleagues equate compromises forced from the ruling class with genuine Socialist measures or at least Socialist-directed measures. The whole history of Social Democracy is filled with attempts through compromise to wean the working class away from its historical aspirations and sentiments. Repeated concessions on wages, conditions and sometimes political matters have been made; they may have resulted in temporary or even long-standing benefits to working people and in no country has this process been illustrated better than in Britain.

Here the capitalist class as a whole, fattened with centuries of extortion of wealth from its colonies and from its own people, an extortion which continues to the present day, have not found it difficult to bribe and mould a whole stratum of Labour; this super-privileged layer rests like a heavy compress on the masses—and this is its function; to dampen down, by whatever

means possible—compromise, deceit, outright lies if necessary—any manifestation of militancy or upsurge. It is a function that has been well and faithfully carried out by generations of "labour lieutenants" in Britain.

To single out, as numerous *Daily Workers* editorials and leading British Communists have done, particular personalities in the Labour Government as special targets of attack, without making clear the class outlook and character of the Government as a whole; to criticise "weaknesses" in Labour policy and legislation as if they were deficiencies that a more sensible attitude could correct—this is the "British Road to Socialism" outlook which has weakened the resolution of thousands of would-be revolutionaries. Why take the bitter road of revolutionary struggle when persuasion or correction or replacement of individuals will suffice?

No revolutionary, guided by the rich theories of Marxism-Leninism, would dispute the necessity for a single moment to wage constant battles in order to win improvements in living standards, to beat back attacks on democratic liberties, to pass progressive laws and so on.

Indeed, it is our contention that the struggle must be advanced with greater vigour, with higher militancy, with more determination. Whilst the experiences of the masses themselves will in large measure dictate the nature of this struggle, the positive involvement, inspiration and leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party is required to crystallize the class nature of each struggle, to heighten the class-consciousness of the participants and to expose the class enemy.

The absence of desire, or the inability to see this as a necessary and continuing process has caused Gollan and his colleagues to detach the Communist Party from engaging in mass struggle (even though they still pay occasional lip-service to it) and to attempt to substitute for it their hollow electoral programme.

The increasing disillusion of many rank-and-file members of the Communist Party is not only a sign of the decay of revisionist ideas; it is a portent of the freshening revolutionary breeze that will one day sweep Britain.

JACK SEIFERT

## ON INDUSTRIAL WORK

TALKING about his comrade in a local factory, a Communist Party member said, "Tom Jones (not his real name) has done a good job. He has won concessions on this point and that point, he has a 100% shop and he has a first class record as Shop Steward."

All this is true. How often have we heard Tom Jones himself go into ecstasies about his "happy little shop," how they all stick together, how vigilant the men are and how they won't let the bosses get away with any strokes. Of course, he pays lip service to our main objective, i.e., the ending of exploitation of man by man, but for all practical purposes, this is almost the end of his road. His ambition extends no further than somehow or other, taking control of the union out of the hands of the right wing leadership, a la Electrical Trades Union. Has he raised the bread and butter class consciousness of his men to a higher level? No, he has not. Has he made any Marxist-Leninists? No, he has not. This means that as a Communist, Tom Jones has failed, because this is what a Communist must do. The fact that the answers to these two questions are negative not positive, demonstrates the failure of revisionist policies and leadership. There are plenty of Shop Stewards who have hardly any political understanding, who do not call themselves Marxists, in fact, hardly know what the word means, yet have been able to achieve the same success as Tom Jones.

There are other questions we may ask Shop Stewards, e.g., "Have you improved conditions in your department?" To this question, both Tom Jones and other Shop Stewards may answer, "Yes." Have you got a well organised shop? To this question, too, both Tom Jones and other Shop Stewards may answer, "Yes." So what does this mean? It means that as a militant Shop Steward, Tom Jones has been a great success, but as a Communist, he has been and is a great failure. This is the story of all too many C.P. Shop Stewards.

However, we cannot put the blame for this unhappy situation on to the shoulders of poor old Tom Jones, because it is not a question of the inadequacy of one C.P. Shop Steward, but of the failure of revisionist leadership, nationally and internationally. If the leaders of the C.P.G.B. are Marxists in name only, it is only to be expected that Tom Jones, who loyally follows them, will correspondingly

ly be just a nominal Marxist. If the opportunists of King Street are unable, unwilling and afraid to apply Marxism-Leninism to British conditions, it is only to be expected that Tom Jones will be incapable of applying Marxist-Leninist theory to conditions in his department. If Dutt and Gollan need divine guidance from the Pope in the Kremlin for anything they do, it should come as no surprise if Tom Jones also expects divine guidance from the Pope's Archbishops, Dutt and Gollan.

When the capitalists consider that it is neither expedient nor necessary to destroy any potential revolutionary force, they try to direct it into safe, i.e., constitutional channels. This requires a constitutional framework. Courts, parliament and local government are examples of this constitutional framework. It is the easiest thing in the world to get sucked into it, but it is the bounden duty of Marxist-Leninists, by obstinately maintaining their independent role, to resist this pressure. Our revolutionary role as the vanguard of the working class must never be lost sight of for one moment, and our participation in the established constitutional machinery and our use of it, must be seen in that perspective. In industry, the Procedure for the Avoidance of Disputes and with it, the Shop Stewards and their organisation, are part of that constitutional framework. What has happened to Tom Jones and other C.P. Shop Stewards is that they have been sucked in. After all, what are they? They are militant Shop Stewards, they act like other militant Shop Stewards and they work strictly within the constitutional framework. That's all, no more, but that is what distinguishes a Communist from a militant Trade Unionist—that all-important "more," which revisionist leadership has destroyed and doesn't want to know about.

It is true that lots of C.P. members are elected as Shop Stewards and to positions in Trade Unions, but this doesn't necessarily mean that a militant rank and file are anxious for a militant policy and that they therefore elect C.P. members to carry out that policy. All too often

### News comment

We read that an economist, Dr Kaldor, is to receive £4,000 a year, for working 3½ days a week, advising the Chancellor of the Exchequer on taxation problems. Another 2d. on the general Income Tax should more than cover it. (We waive any fee the Chancellor might like to offer us for this advice.)

Four English aircraft engineers have been recruited to service aircraft for use against the Congolese National Liberation Forces. We learn that they will replace Americans since the fact of too many Americans in the Congo is causing "political difficulties" for the traitor, Tshombe. They have been assured that the "firm" they are working for, is U.S. backed. This tallies with the admission, in the U.S. that the Cuban pilots who fly the American planes against the Congolese were recruited by the Central Intelligence Agency, with the approval of the U.S. State Department. U.S. imperialism has more tentacles than an octopus. As one is lopped off in Viet-

it means that, in accordance with revisionist tactics Party members are mug enough to serve as dogs-bodies. But these revisionist tactics must be rejected. And Communists throughout Britain are now determined to reorganise the Party in order to ensure that they are rejected.

Although, because of objective conditions, our base is narrow at the moment, we are going to build up solidly from below, on the basis of revolutionary theory and practise, and we are going to maintain and improve our independent revolutionary organisation, so that, whenever there is a surge of militancy, and the working class requires more militant workers to represent a more militant policy, we shall be able to give the lead for which they are looking.

JACK ANGEL

nam, another appears in the Congo—only to meet the same fate!

A requiem for Khrushchov's U.S.A. policy. . . . The U.S. military budget will be £17,800 million in 1965: The Atomic Energy Commission has revealed that "the 'Test Ban Treaty' has made it more expensive to produce atomic weapons"—£287 million in 1964 alone. Not much "peace-loving" about that.

A rich restaurateur has paid £357,000 for "El Morocco," New York's fashionable East-Side night club. The intention is to re-establish it as an "elegant institution." It should contrast well with some of the worst slum property in the world.

The contradictions among capitalist States cannot be resolved. The British Government's 15% import surcharge has hit its E.F.T.A. friends, Eire and the "Common Market 6." France is in dispute with West Germany over agricultural prices and the M.L.F. and its present relations with the U.S.A. are extremely cool. As the world crisis of imperialism deepens, there will be less room for manoeuvre, among the capitalist states. Stalin's formulation in his "Economic Problems" (1952), that the objective law for capitalism is the pursuit of the highest maximum profits is being confirmed in our own era.

10 weeks ago, 6 men travelled from London to the Congo in order to fight as mercenaries against the Congo patriotic forces.

Five of them have now deserted in spite of the high pay for this despicable job. One confessed that "we are being used to prop up the Tshombe Government; it's senseless and useless." Indeed, experience is the very best teacher.

TOM FLINT



# BAN ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS!

## A STATEMENT BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

THE Chinese Government, simultaneous with its announcement of the explosion of China's first atom bomb more than one month ago, solemnly declared to the whole world that China would never at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government also formally proposed to the governments of the world that a summit conference of all 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 might soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear powers and nuclear-free zones, nor against each other.

This proposal of the Chinese Government gives expression to common aspirations of all peace-loving peoples of the world and has received the support of heads of government of many countries. World public opinion has acclaimed it and considered it to be an important contribution to the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and to the cause of preservation of world peace.

It is true that the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons can be realised only through hard and bitter struggles. Certain practicable measures have to be taken in order to attain this goal. This is agreed by all. Now the question is how the first step should be taken so as to facilitate the attainment of the goal rather than produce an adverse effect.

Some people say that the tripartite treaty for the partial suspension of nuclear testing is the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

### BOGUS TREATY

This claim has been utterly refuted by what has happened in the last year and more. As everybody knows, the tripartite treaty was signed when the United States had already acquired a wealth of technical data of atmospheric nuclear testing. This treaty in no way hampers the U.S. in continuing to use, manufacture and stockpile nuclear weapons, nor in conducting underground nuclear testing to develop tactical nuclear weapons, still less in proliferating nuclear weapons under the smokescreen of the so-called multi-lateral nuclear force. On the contrary, the U.S. is using the treaty to pinion other countries, including those possessing nuclear weapons, so as to obtain nuclear superiority for carrying on its policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat. The U.S. is also using this treaty to hoodwink the peace-loving peoples of the world and weaken their struggle for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The tripartite treaty, therefore, not only puts off the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons to the remote future but also serves as a smokescreen for U.S. preparations for nuclear war.

Some people say that the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons can begin with the complete banning of nuclear testing.

The complete banning of nuclear testing does seem on the surface to be slightly better than a partial ban, as a matter of fact, there is little difference between them. The U.S. has carried out hundreds of tests of various kinds and possesses a huge nuclear arsenal. Under such circumstances, even a complete ban on nuclear testing cannot harm a single hair of the U.S. as a nuclear tyrant. It will have no positive significance whatsoever if it is not accompanied by the prohibition of use, production, stockpiling, import, export and proliferation of nuclear weapons. It can only help consolidate U.S. nuclear monopoly, deprive other countries of their legitimate right to develop nuclear weapons to resist U.S. nuclear threat. It can only spread a false sense of security and weaken the struggle of all peace-loving peoples of the world for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. Far from enjoying peace and security as a result of a complete ban on nuclear testing, the world will be subjected to even more serious nuclear threat by the U.S. nuclear tyrant. It is precisely because of this that even Dean Rusk is zealously talking about the need to conclude a so-called complete nuclear test-ban treaty in the hope of using it to substitute the increasingly discredited tripartite treaty and further deceive the peace-loving peoples of the world. Isn't it clear as daylight whom a complete ban on nuclear testing will benefit?

Some people say that destruction of the delivery vehicles of nuclear weapons can be taken as a primary measure for

realising the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

At first glance, such opinion seems to be not entirely without reason. But after a careful study, it would not be difficult to see that this suggestion has a serious weakness. Devils are devils, whether they have long or short legs. Conventional weapons can launch nuclear bombs as well as the inter-continental ballistic missile. And ordinary aircraft can carry them as well as strategic bombers. The means of delivery is no longer such an important problem as it used to be, particularly because the United States is making every effort to develop small but powerful nuclear weapons. The proposal to destroy the means of delivery as the first step jumbles up in effect the question of complete prohibition of nuclear weapons with the question of reduction of conventional arms and thus greatly complicates the issue. Moreover, this proposal is bound to involve the question of control which is the very big obstacle deliberately put by the U.S. in the way of the disarmament talks. That is why although the disarmament negotiators have worn their lips dry and many years have been wasted, U.S. arms expansion has continued year in and year out. If the destruction of the means of delivery is made the starting point for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, only heaven knows when this goal will ever be attained.

As the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, it is necessary to get at the real key question and not to be bogged down in some minor and side issues. This first step must facilitate the taking of further steps and be conducive, not detrimental, to the gradual attainment of the aim of the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. This step must help check the nuclear arms race instead of serving as its smokescreen and it must help lessen the threat of nuclear war instead of increasing the threat. It must serve to promote the struggle of the peace-loving peoples of the world over the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, and not to lull their vigilance and pull the wool over their eyes.

### AGREEMENT NOT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS

It is precisely in the light of these principles that the Chinese Government has proposed that the various countries should agree to undertake not to use nuclear weapons, as the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government proposal is reasonable and practicable.

It is very easy for the countries possessing nuclear weapons to do this provided they harbour no aggressive intentions. After they have undertaken not to use nuclear weapons, it will no longer be necessary for them to continue nuclear testing and the production of nuclear weapons. The United States will then be unable to intimidate others with nuclear weapons whenever it pleases nor to set up nuclear bases in other countries under this or that pretext and spread nuclear weapons. In that case, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons will become unnecessary.

As for those countries which do not possess nuclear weapons, they will have no need to develop their own nuclear weapons or to import them from other countries, since the countries possessing nuclear weapons and those which will soon possess them have undertaken not to use nuclear weapons and not to use them against non-nuclear countries.

Many countries are at present keenly interested in the establishment of nuclear-free zones. However, to really free the nuclear-free zones from the threat of nuclear war it is necessary in the first place for the nuclear powers to undertake not to use nuclear weapons. Otherwise, the establishment of nuclear-free zones would be impossible. Should they be set up in name, the result would be that the non-nuclear countries would be deprived of their legitimate right to develop nuclear weapons to resist nuclear menace and would have themselves bound hand and foot, while the nuclear powers would still be able to continue producing, stockpiling and even using nuclear weapons. Consequently, the sole

upshot would be: the larger the nuclear-free zone, the graver would the U.S. Imperialist nuclear threat be against the non-nuclear countries.

No question of control is involved in undertaking first of all not to use nuclear weapons. So long as the countries concerned have peaceful intentions, agreement can be reached quickly. Therefore, this is simple and easily practicable.

For twenty seven years the peace-loving peoples of the world have resolutely opposed the U.S. Imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat and have demanded the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. There will be hope for the realisation of this aim if the pledge is first of all taken for not using nuclear weapons. This will be a major victory for the peoples of the world who cherish peace. It will inevitably inspire them with ever greater confidence in the struggle for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and the development of this struggle will, in turn, provide greater possibility of an early realisation of this noble objective.

To undertake first of all not to use nuclear weapons is the only realistic and effective step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government has taken the lead in declaring that at no time and under no circumstances will it be the first to use nuclear weapons, and it is willing to reach an international agreement guaranteeing against the use of nuclear weapons. The question now is whether the U.S. Government is willing to make the same commitment. The U.S. Government claims to be "peace-loving" while at the same time obstinately opposing the Chinese proposal for a world summit conference. We would like to ask the U.S. Government: if your peace babbles are of any worth at all, are you willing to reach agreement with China, pending the convening of the summit conference, on the question of guaranteeing not to use nuclear weapons?

### U.S. IMPERIALISM AND THE UNITED NATIONS

It seems that the U.S. authorities have no desire either to hold a world summit conference or to reach a bilateral agreement with China against the use of nuclear weapons. They have been declaring, evidently with an ulterior motive, that they have no objection to China's participation in the Geneva disarmament talks, thus trying to substitute the 18-nation disarmament talks for the summit conference of all countries of the world.

We would like to point out that the Geneva disarmament talks are within the framework of the United Nations. Over the past fifteen years, the United States has deprived China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations by various sinister and despicable means. Now that China has nuclear weapons, the U.S. wants to drag her into the affairs of the United Nations. What is behind all this? Frankly speaking, China will have nothing to do with the United Nations as long as the latter fails to restore to the People's Republic of China her legitimate rights as the sole legal government representing the Chinese people and as long as the illegal status of the representative of the Chiang Kai-Shek clique is not nullified. This stand of ours is absolutely unalterable.

Furthermore, under the manipulation of the United States, the United Nations has proved itself completely incapable of handling the disarmament question. For 18 years since the adoption of the resolution on "principles concerning the general adjustment and reduction of arms" at the first U.N. general assembly in December 1946, the assembly has discussed the disarmament question every year but has failed to make any headway because of the U.S. obstructions. On the contrary, the thicker the smokescreen spread by the disarmament talks, the

more frantically the United States has carried out arms expansion and war preparations. U.S. military expenditure rose from twelve thousand nine hundred million dollars in 1949 to sixty thousand million dollars in 1964. U.S. expenditure on the making of nuclear weapons increased from two hundred million dollars in 1947 to three thousand million dollars in 1963. This is the greatest mockery of the disarmament talks sponsored by the United Nations.

The Geneva 18-nation disarmament conference is in fact still under the manipulation and control of the U.S. and can in no way reflect the aspirations of the peoples. The conference has been in session for two-and-a-half years and a whole pile of proposals of all kinds have been put forward but it has never solved a single question of substance. Even though some peace-loving countries are participating in the talks, this can in no way make the U.S. less preemptory. Thus, the Geneva disarmament conference has likewise served as a smokescreen for U.S. Imperialist armament expansion and war preparations. It is more difficult for the Geneva disarmament conference to solve the question of complete prohibition of nuclear weapons than for a camel to pass through the needle's eye. We thank the U.S. Government for its generosity in not opposing China's participation in the Geneva disarmament conference but we must tell it frankly that it will not have the pleasure of our company.

There is also the suggestion that the five countries possessing nuclear weapons should hold negotiations to discuss the questions concerning nuclear weapons. We do not approve of this proposal either.

The reason is that, the question at present is primarily one of certain nuclear powers posing a threat to all non-nuclear countries of the world. It is a question which has a vital bearing on peace and security in the whole world. On this question, the more than one hundred sovereign countries of the world, big or small, with or without nuclear weapons, should have the same say. What right do the five countries possessing nuclear weapons have to deprive the over one hundred countries of their say and make arbitrary decisions on such a major question affecting the destiny of mankind?

China has consistently stood for discussion by all countries of the world of the question of banning nuclear weapons. This was our stand when we did not have nuclear weapons. We still adhere to this stand now that we have them. We have only one objective, namely to make joint efforts with all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world to strive for the realisation of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and by no means to use nuclear weapons to raise our own prestige and manipulate international affairs. The so-called talks among the five countries possessing nuclear weapons would in fact be a nuclear club in disguise. We will not join such a club even if an invitation is sent us on a silver platter.

The struggle for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons has been going on for many years. Now is the time to take practical and realistic steps to attain this objective. The Chinese Government's proposal has opened up a new channel for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. It proposes to reach first of all an international agreement guaranteeing against the use of nuclear weapons, so as to provide a new starting point for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. It is our belief that no matter how U.S. Imperialism may try to obstruct, the Chinese Government proposal will win ever increasing support from the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. The Chinese people will fight together with them to push the struggle for the prohibition of nuclear weapons onto a new path.

**BAN and destroy all nuclear weapons! Make the labour government accept the Chinese government's proposal for an all-nation summit conference to discuss this question.**

**Committee for Communist Unity.**



# THE REVISIONISTS HAVE SABOTAGED THE STRUGGLE IN GREECE

Translation from "La Voix du Peuple" 30.1.64 p. 11.

"LA VOIX DU PEUPLE" has previously already denounced the odious manoeuvres of repression instigated by Khrushchev against the valiant Greek partisans, survivors from the armed struggle against Hitler and later on the Greek monarcho-fascists, aided by the Americans, the British and Tito.

We have just received new reports adding fresh details and completing the data published before.

In February 1956, right after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. Khrushchev callously intervened in the affairs of the Greek Communist Party. He arranged for a so-called plenary session to be convened at which the Marxist-Leninists and, in particular, Zahariadis, General Secretary of the Party, were removed, and the renegade revisionist clique, Partsalides-Kolliyanis, installed in their place.

## KHRUSHCHEV'S ARBITRARY INTERVENTION AGAINST THE GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY

This is what a number of Greek political exiles, victims of Khrushchev's repression, who have been deported, tell us in a letter we have just received.

"The Greek exiles in Tashkent (Soviet Union) and in other socialist countries have since 1956 opposed the Partsalides-Kolliyanis clique.

Until the 20th Congress in 1956 the Communist Parties, the socialist camp and the communist movement were united and disciplined on the basis of proletarian Marxism-Leninism. Everybody knows that the Greek Communist Party was until 1956 as closely united as could be.

And everybody knows, too, and that goes particularly for the Greek political exiles, that our party was split after the intervention of the Khrushchev group in its internal affairs.

To deny this is sheer hypocrisy! For everybody is aware of it, and let those who are not, listen! Splittism and factionalism began to appear in the C.P.G. in 1956. They were the work of the Tito-Khrushchev group, because at the 20th Congress the Tito clique was rehabilitated, an attack launched against Stalin and his great achievements and also against our comrade Zahariadis. All this was unacceptable to the members of the C.P.G.

The Khrushchevites deported the Marxist-Leninists. They installed in the leadership of the C.P.G. individuals who had the task of applying the Tito-Khrushchev revisionist "new line" of the 20th Congress. The names of these individuals are Partsalides and Kolliyanis. Aided by the Tito-Khrushchev group they have surrounded themselves with a handful of traitors, lackeys of the Greek secret police, suspicious elements, careerists, opportunists, trotskyites and Titoite agents. Every one of these individuals is known to the Greek political exiles as a fraud. This handful of shady personalities were imposed on us and maintained in their positions by the arbitrary actions of the Khrushchev group. These factionalists installed at the 6th plenary session of the C.C. C.P.G. were Khrushchev's men.

These people had surrendered the national liberation movement to the interests of British imperialism and delivered the Greek people to the orgy of repression unleashed by the monarcho-fascists after Varkiza.

They are the same people who observed a minute's silence in homage to the memory of Kennedy; the same people who embraced the Tito clique, probably in order to thank them for the American intervention and for stabbing us in the back in the course of our armed struggle from 1946-1949. They have disbanded the C.P.G. and deny the necessity for the existence of a revolutionary Leninist party.

These people have proclaimed the collaboration of classes and the "peaceful" transition to socialism with the bourgeoisie and the devoted servant of N.A.T.O., M. Papandreou.

These personages, with the support of Khrushchev and his acolytes, have introduced a system of blackmail, persecution, violation of socialist legality and extermination in relation to the Greek political exiles.

They have sought to drive the Greek exiles to desperation with the intention of forcing them disgracefully to surrender to the Greek monarcho-fascist régime.

These personages have striven to set the Greek exiles against the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour — an attempt which has, by the way, definitely failed."

## KHRUSHCHEV'S MEASURES OF REPRESSION

Deportation, imprisonment and internment were amongst the measures applied even against the wounded, the aged and persons suffering from tuberculosis which, in the case of quite a number of

them, might be considered tantamount to physical suppression.

In 1962 Khrushchev's police agents intervened against a number of Greeks who merely wanted to express solidarity with their compatriots imprisoned in the Greek monarcho-fascist concentration camps. As a result the blood of innocent Greek communists was shed, and new arrests set in. On Khrushchev's orders similar repressive measures were taken against Greek partisans in Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

We are in possession of a list carrying the names of 39 Greek comrades, heroes of the Greek Democratic Army, members and cadres of the Greek Communist Party who were imprisoned and deported by order of the Khrushchevites.

For over two years now these comrades together with dozens of other Marxist-Leninists have been exposed to the measures of repression and maltreatment of the Khrushchevites.

In the meantime, we have received fresh information telling us of dozens of further arrests.

In particular, towards the middle of 1963 there was a new wave of powerful repressive activities. Imprisonments and deportations to Siberia took place accompanied by the vilest slanders against honest and courageous fighters of the Greek revolution.

A Greek comrade, an invalid from the partisan struggle, who was deported to Siberia wrote us amongst other things: "They have divided us into very small groups... alone in limitless Siberia... Amongst us there are invalids, the sick, the aged and women with their children. Every day we are being summoned and subjected to threats. We are living under constant supervision and constraint. At the end of 1963 they wanted to withdraw our identity papers in exchange for others, reserved for criminal and anti-social elements, in order to make it difficult for us to find employment to secure the indispensable subsistence minimum. We told them that we had fought the Hitlerites and had, therefore, also risked our lives in defence of the Soviet Union."

This is the length to which they are willing to go. Shame upon them!

What was our "crime"? At the time when the talks were going on between the C.P.S.U. and the Chinese C.P. we sent a delegation to Moscow composed of three people, and we handed a memorandum to the Vietnamese and Soviet comrades...

"The temperature here drops to as low as minus 46° C. We are quite isolated and obtain only just over 2lbs. of some filthy piece of bread which is distributed to every family... When winter comes our life will be in mortal danger. We are trying to obtain permission to send our child to Tashkent, to stay with some comrades, because here he is certain to die from the sufferings and the cold endured.

"There is no news about comrade Zahariadis. Please act! His life is in danger! The revisionists are plotting his elimination... Do everything you can to save him. Demand that he be allowed to choose a place of residence abroad..."

## LONG LIVE THE GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY!

When reading the letters of these comrades one becomes aware of the criminal plans forged by Khrushchev and the Partsalides-Kolliyanis clique against the Marxist-Leninist political exiles.

A group of Greek political exiles which was deported on Khrushchev's orders to another socialist country writes:

"Our crime is 'political,' and that is why we are being persecuted. We are being persecuted, because we have resisted their provocations and have condemned the revisionist line of those who have usurped the leadership of the C.P.G. We are savagely persecuted, because we have condemned the unscrupulous interference in the affairs of our party, and because we have refused to recognise the present leadership which has been imposed from outside on our party, an act which constitutes a grave violation of the principles of the Conference of the 81 Parties, concerning

## Ireland's Economic Winter

HOWEVER much the Swedish, West German or French Governments may have been alarmed at Mr. Wilson's dramatic 15% levy clamp on imports the imposition shook the living daylight out of the twenty-six County Irish Government (The Irish Republic). A few hours after the dark deed was done every Ruling Class organ in Dublin; Press, Radio, Television, Politicians and Archbishops were all united in one chorus of outrage. Next, after some frantic diplomatic activity, the Prime Minister, Sean Lemass, flew to London speeding at once to No. 10. Before entering the building — "the devil's kitchen" as an Irish patriot once called it — Lemass was confronted by the press but all they could get from him was "We are hoping for the best."

He emerged several hours later pale faced, shaken and non-committal—"there will be more talks towards mitigating the 15% levy and we hope a new Trade Agreement." But the stark truth was soon leaked to the Dublin papers. The following morning the *Irish Times* heading read: "Mr. Lemass comes away empty handed."

After the trial came the verdict and the proposals to "mitigate the levy." However, before examining these, and to fully grasp the critical extent to which the anaemic twenty-six County economy is endangered it is necessary to bear in mind that for centuries Ireland has exported her goods solely to Britain. As an occupied Crown Colony as six Irish counties still are ("Northern Ireland") Ireland had no other choice but to obey the dictates of her imperial masters. Nor did the 1916 uprising leading to the guerilla war culminating in the 1921 Treaty alter this situation. On the contrary since the infamous Treaty—and the Civil War resulting from it when the Socialists and hard core Republicans were shot—the twenty-six County state have drawn ever closer to Britain, ever more crucially dependant upon her as a trading outlet.

One of the paradoxes of this dependency is that the outlet as such with all its retarding limitations has never, up to some five years ago, in any form benefited Ireland. Then it transpired that some West German investors spurred on by a variety of business inducements, tax concessions, etc., from the Dublin Government got to figuring that if they erected factories in Ireland they could export their products to Britain so avoiding the tariffs placed on products coming direct from West Germany.

And so they came (as did the Japanese, French and Dutch) building some 40 factories in all and creating considerable employment. Therefore, on analysis, we see that not only will Mr. Wilson's 15% levy play havoc with the £40 million worth of existing exports from the Irish Republic to Britain but it will as well seriously discourage further foreign investment. Also, in the light of the sharply changed situation some of the more recent investors from West Germany and elsewhere are already packing their bags — Africa next stop?

## NEW MARKETS

The Irish capitalists themselves of

PAT O'DONOVAN.

relations between communist parties. We are persecuted, because we have refused to condemn the fraternal Chinese Communist Party. We are persecuted, because the Greek partisans have refused to vilify socialist Albania, the country that helped them to cross, still gravely wounded, the river into freedom during the critical moments of our war of resistance, at a time when the 'internationalist' 'tito' slammed the door on us and stabbed us in the back.

"Our crime is 'political' and our standpoint a correct, Marxist-Leninist one."

Dear Comrades, From the letters which we have received from our imprisoned and deported comrades we know that their lives are in danger and their poor families are suffering.

With this letter we are sending you a list of our comrades who are imprisoned and interned together with some data which we have been able to collect.

We appeal to you, dear comrades, and through you, to the communists of the other Communist and Worker's Parties; we are calling on you to denounce these crimes by all the means at your disposal. Please present that things are getting worse and do all you can to secure the release of all our comrades. Demand that all the imprisoned and deported Greek communists be freed!

They must be allowed to return to the place of residence to which they had emigrated and to live with their families and children.

course cannot so easily flee to another country; as a result their first call then has been to the workers to graft harder as "we are all in this together." An indication of what is afoot throughout the country is happening already at Newbridge, Co. Kildare, where Irish Ropes Ltd., a firm employing 800 workers have persuaded their employees under the slogan of patriotism—"Ireland's economic survival depends on you"—to work on Saturdays for nothing!

All the same "this fine example" is unlikely to be followed with any great fervour in the principal production centre, Dublin city and county, where Trade Union militancy is strong and where there are deep under-currents of Marxism. Lemass and his Government see the limitations here too; to depend completely on unpaid labour and sweated labour to mitigate the levy would be, for them, a very precarious course. As they see it then, there are two other alternatives: (1) Despite Mr. Wilson's cold shouldering they are still determined to edge ever closer under John Bull's folds which means that in the hope of trade concessions they will further compromise with Imperialism. (2) Side by side with this move they are also desperately determined to find fresh markets outside of Britain, but where to look? The U.S.A. is too far away and, in any case Ireland has damn all to sell them whilst the entry of Irish goods into the Common Market countries has become almost an impossibility. Which leaves only the Socialist States of East Europe...

As Ireland stands she has no diplomatic relations with any Socialist country whilst last year her exports to them were a mere £300,000. For years the Catholic Church in Ireland has been vilifying the Socialist States particularly the Soviet Union. This campaign was at its height during Joseph Stalin's lifetime.

But all this is now to be changed. Already very sympathetic articles about the Soviet Union, Poland, etc., are appearing in the Irish papers. Even, "heaven forbid us," Lenin was praised recently in the *Sunday Press*, the Government organ! In short, it appears that the ground is being prepared for the inception of major trading and, as will inevitably follow, diplomatic relations with the Socialist countries. So Mr. Wilson's 15% levy may have done some good after all!

Our general secretary, comrade N. Zahariadis, who is detained in strict isolation together with his son, must definitely be released.

If the presence of these comrades is not desirable in the countries in which they live they should be free to go to a country which is willing to accept them.

Please ensure that the interventions and repressions cease. The interdependence of the Greek Communist Party and of the communist exiles must be respected. Together with the other communists and the heroic comrades imprisoned in our country they will themselves decide on all the questions concerning our party and the movement in Greece.

LONG LIVE THE GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM! We are pressing your hands, dear comrades.

Those are the extracts from letters of Greek communists written before Khrushchev's fall and which we have recently received.

The revisionist leaderships in Belgium and other countries have been shaking in their shoes since the fall of their master, Khrushchev. And for a very good reason. We appeal to the solidarity of the workers so that the life and liberty of our Greek comrades can be safeguarded. The harm caused by Khrushchev to socialism must quickly be repaired.

To the communists, to the international communist movement we say: FREEDOM FOR THE HEROIC GREEK PARTISANS, victims of revisionism!



# ENGLAND

FOR two hundred years the people of England have been oppressed by industrial capitalism. This system has developed the forces of production at the cost of untold suffering to the people. So long as political power, state power, remains in the hands of the capitalist class the industrial might of England will only be used for the greater profit of this class, and the oppression of working people, at home and abroad. Unemployment, overwork, falling living standards, insecurity, and war, will always remain with us under the capitalist system. And today it is a dying system—decay is



No future under capitalism



Deterioration and decay over v



Waiting for a lead, for a genuine socialist policy



Overcrowded class



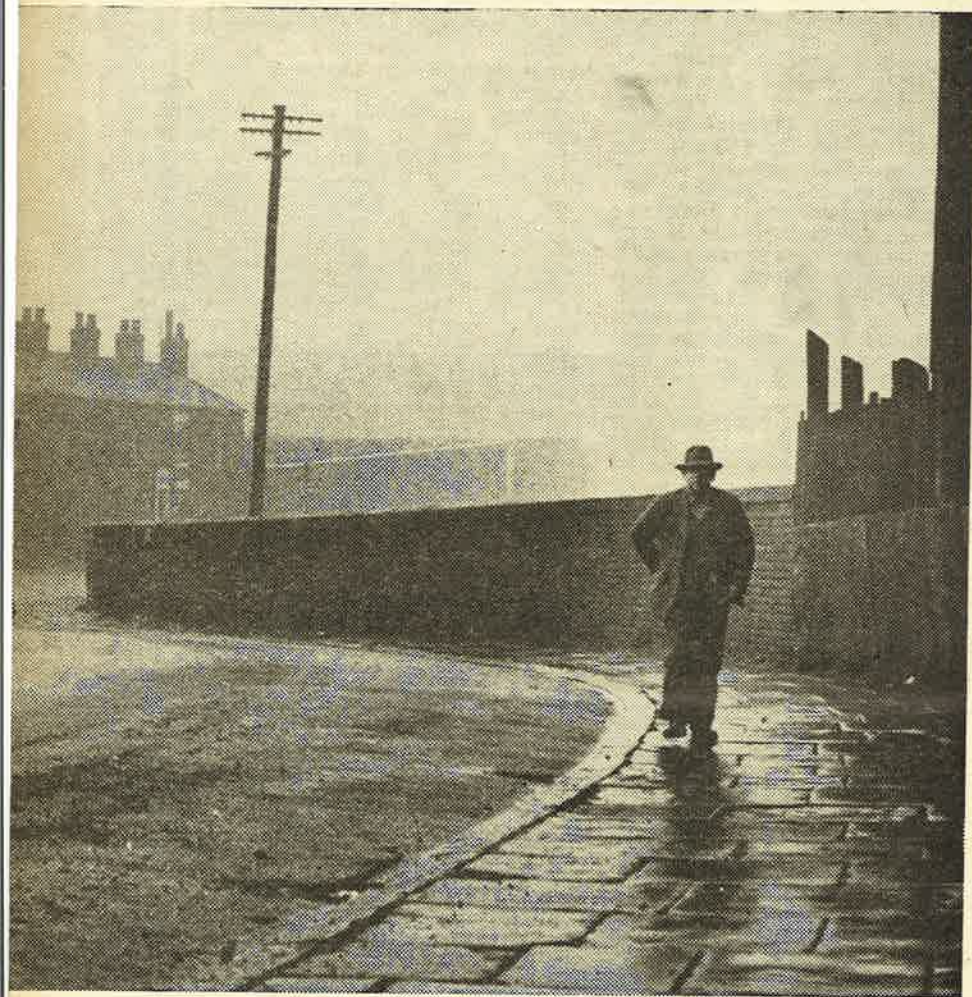
# ND TODAY - 1964

apparent in every field of economic and social life. Our rulers can only maintain this system of exploitation by inviting the United States capitalists to occupy our country.

The industrial working class alone can lead the people of England in liberating our country from foreign domination, in ending the drive towards British imperial domination of other lands, and for the Socialist revolution, without which there can be no future for the people of England.



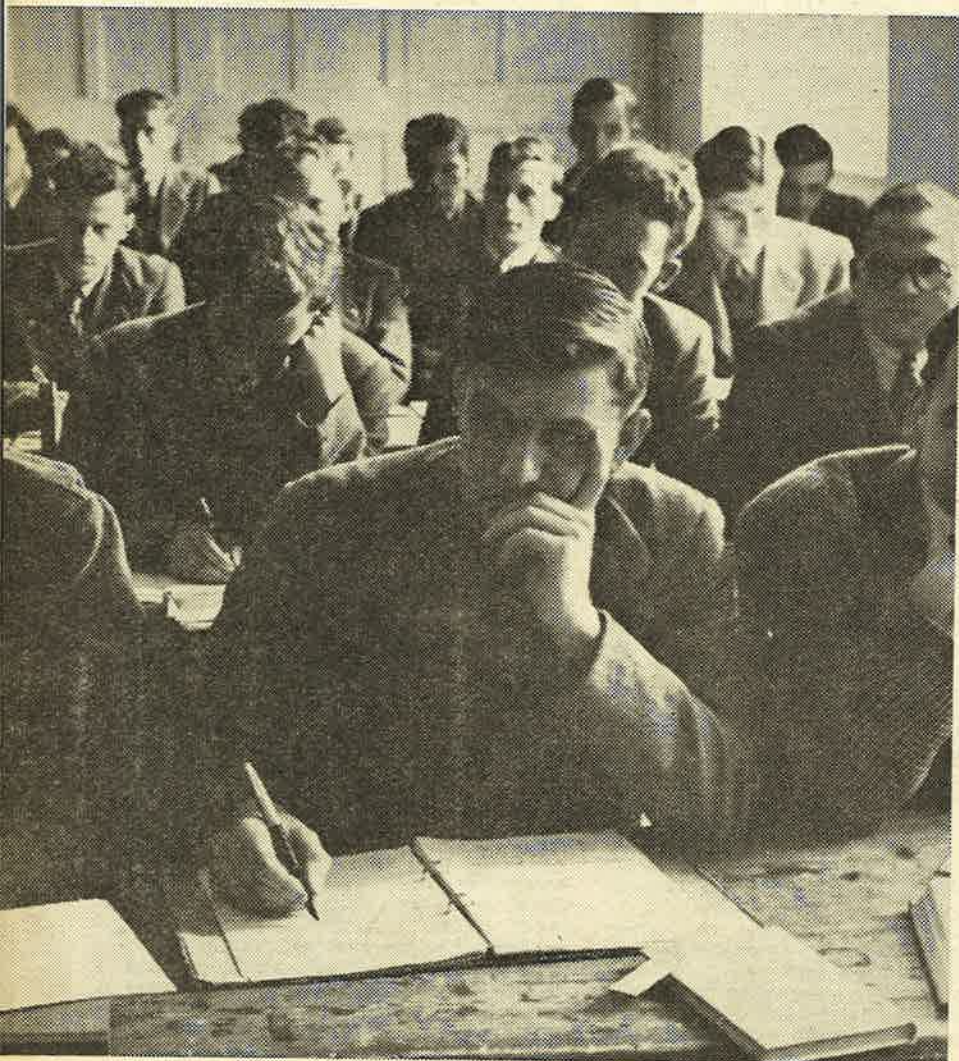
Decent homes at low cost will never be won under capitalist rule



ast areas of industrial England



His class alone can lead the people in winning political power



-rooms; unequal opportunities; false ideas



# WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

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

## FOR SOVIET BRITAIN

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

### III. WHAT THE BRITISH SOVIETS WILL DO

THE British Workers' Councils (Soviets), led by the Communist Party, will provide work and wages. They will give full and decent maintenance to the unemployed, so long as there are any unemployed. But above all they will rapidly abolish unemployment itself. How will they do this?

They will do it by the only way in which it can be done. They will take over, without compensation, the banks, the big factories, the mines, the transport concerns, etc., from their present owners. Then they will set all these industries to work in order to supply the needs of the people. For today these industries work only in order to supply the capitalist with rent, interest and profit.

At present, three-quarters of the families in Britain have incomes averaging only 40s. a week. At the other end of the scale 105,000 super-tax payers have an average income of over £100 per week.

The money that goes to the capitalist class is not only made up of rent, interest and profit directly drawn from industry, wrung out of the labour of the workers. There are, for example, rates and taxes, a large part of which are used to pay interest on War Loan and Municipal loans, chiefly held by the rich. Then there are subsidies to the capitalist firms, high salaries to all sorts of officials, from Cabinet Ministers to the men who have been given the jobs of doling out a pittance to the unemployed, to the Judges, to the Royal Family, to the Bishops and Archbishops, the Generals and Admirals, and hundreds more. When this vast burden is swept away—but not before—it will be possible to raise wages, shorten hours, end unemployment, raise the school-leaving age, increase the benefits of all Social Services, pensions, etc., clear the slums, develop huge new housing schemes—in a word to reconstruct the entire living conditions of the whole population. Even in 1931, when there was considerable unemployment, an equal distribution of what was produced would have given £5 a week to each family, including the unemployed. (Colin Clark, *The National Income, 1924-31*.) The resources set free by the elimination of the capitalists as a ruling class would form part of the common social fund for the reconstruction of economic, social and cultural conditions.

We have today ample resources for producing all the things we need. Today we are both unemployed and unable to get the things we need. The two things go together. For we are unemployed because the capitalists want to have their profits and will not let us produce what we need. Destitution and unemployment can only be cured simultaneously by taking over and running the industries which we need to give us all both work and a decent income.

To achieve all this a vast work of reconstruction will have to be undertaken. The British Workers' Councils will have to bring into use all the unused resources of Britain, to bring all suitable land into cultivation in order to develop food production; to open up new minerals which have not paid under capitalism; to develop enormously the use of electricity, and to increase the efficiency of all producing plants as well as to build new and better factories and transport services in every part of Britain. There will be no more "derelict areas" in this country.

Moreover, the workers will naturally produce far better and more willingly under their own management than they do now. For the first time the British workers will know that greater productivity will no longer be a threat to their livelihood but will make it possible to raise the whole standard of living and shorten the hours of labour.

Nor does this apply only to the manual workers. Today the technical and professional workers, the scientists and administrators are beginning to realise that they are working in the interests of a small class within the limitations of a decaying economic system. The inventor cannot fail to see that the chief effect of his inventions is today to throw thousands of workers out of work. In the last five years thousands of trained scientists, engineers and technicians have themselves been thrown out of employment. Capitalism cannot make use of them.

All through the last century it was the proud boast of the capitalist class that the discoveries of science were applied to a constant increase of production and that under the rule of the capitalists, science has been stimulated and helped. There was never much truth in it. But now the capitalists dare not make that boast. For visibly and unashamedly they are doing their utmost not to increase but to restrict production. They are trying, not to assist science but to throttle and hinder it, not to endow scientific research, but to cut it down: and this is true in every trade—except the trade of War.

When Sir Josiah Stamp, the leading railway capitalist, said at the British Association for the Advancement of Science that Science was going too fast for economics and that an adjustment must be made, his fellow capitalists knew well enough what meaning to put on his words, that science was too fast for capitalist economics and must be held back. They knew, too, of the thousands of scientists, students and professional men whom capitalism has thrown on the scrap heap. But those scientists and technicians who have been thrown idle, those students whose pass degree is no longer a pass to employment, are beginning to see that same picture as the capitalists, but they see it from the other side. They see that capitalism is going too slow for science, that it has become a brake and a fetter

the ever-growing demand for food, clothing, housing, social amenities, education, and everything which ministers to a rising standard of life and civilisation.

#### Industry

In capitalist Britain today there is a continuous waste of productive resources. In many parts of the country, factory after factory is standing idle; and productive plants are working only two or three days a week. For the capitalists, in order to keep up profits, have to scrap their factories, mines and other productive units which, if they poured their products on to the market, would so depress prices as to destroy profits. In Lancashire the capitalists are destroying looms and spindles: on the Clyde and Tyne they are destroying berths for ship-building. But the British Workers' Councils will use to the full all the productive resources of the country. And they will need to build new plants to meet the growing needs of the whole population.

#### Mining

In Mining, for example, there will be no more restriction by quotas, by which today each particular mine is only allowed to produce a limited quantity of coal. The British productive system will need all the coal which it can get from the British mines, for industry will be running at full speed. In addition, the domestic demand for gas and electric light, to say nothing of coal for fires, will grow enormously as every worker's family reaches a comfortable standard of life. Again, there are uses for coal which capitalism is not developing. The production of fuel oil and petrol from coal will not only mean a big new demand for coal, but will also reduce unnecessary imports of oil. Again, a real network of electricity stations will be established, using coal at the pitheads. There is not the slightest doubt that there would be a demand for the coal of every mine which ought to be worked and employment for every available worker.

But the mines will not be worked in the way they are being worked today. Nothing in the whole terrible story of capitalism is more terrible than the conditions of work which are today being imposed upon the British miners. The decline of British Imperialism has nowhere more ghastly effects than in the coalfields. Miners, working long hours for less than a living wage, and speeded-up almost beyond human endurance, see essential safety regulations being neglected for the sake of profits. This is absolutely inevitable so long as the mines are run for private profit. When the miners themselves regulate their conditions of work, a six-hour working day in the pits will be established, the most careful and stringent safety regulations will be enforced, there will be full State compensation for accidents, speeding-up will be abolished, and the mines will be worked in a deliberate, scientific and careful manner.

#### Iron and Steel

The electrification plans, the plants required for extracting oil from coal, the general use of machinery in agriculture, the development of the fishing fleets, the scrapping of out-of-date ships and the building of new ones, the housing programme, the bringing of piped water supplies to every dwelling both in town and country, the additions and improvements to plants throughout industry to meet the needs of a rapidly rising standard of living—all these demands from the home market will set every section of the iron and steel trades working at full capacity.

#### Engineering

The same demand affects the engineering industry, whose raw materials come from the iron and steel trades. And the engineering shops, too, will be working at full capacity.

In addition, an immense export market will develop when colonial countries like India, liberated from the yoke of British Imperialism, are freed from the burden of interest on imperialist loans and the upkeep of British forces. The British engineering industry, under workers' control, will be able to propose co-operation with the colonial peoples, who will be able at last to build their own economy and develop their own industry and transport. They can get the iron and steel and machinery they require from Britain and other such countries in exchange for the foodstuffs (tea, rice, etc.)—and raw materials (cotton, rubber, etc.) which cannot be obtained in such countries as Britain.

There will be no more steel workers unemployed: no longer any engineers signing the vacant book. For the new demand—plus the reduction of hours to seven—will actually require hundreds of thousands of additional workers.

#### Railways

Britain possesses an extensive railway system, but it will only be fully used when the workers have taken power. To cope with the enormous transport needs of a growing industry and agriculture,

not only will all important lines have to be electrified and the number of trains increased, but much of the canal system will have to be brought into use again, and new canals built (as for example the Forth and Clyde Canal). Road transport will be needed to supplement the railways and canals in all parts of the country. Air transport will be enormously developed. A prosperous population will mean an immense increase in passenger traffic by rail, road, ships and air.

In all sections of transport the working day will be at once reduced to seven hours, and there will be an end to the present methods of speeding-up.

#### Textiles

In the case of such an industry as the textile industry, which in its cotton, artificial silk and wool textile sections supplies direct to the consumer, it is obvious that there will be an immense increase in demand as wages are raised and employment given to all workers. British workers will naturally themselves take an enormously increased proportion of the products of the textile industry.

But in this case also there will be an enormous increase in the export demanded. The liberation of all parts of the present British Empire from the rule of the British capitalist class will mean not only the withdrawal of all British armed forces and officials, but the end of all interest on loans and of all profits now made by British banks and industrial, trading and transport concerns out of the toil of the workers and peasants of each subject country. With the removal of these burdens, the workers and peasants in each country will have more to spend. Not all the textile mills of Britain and India, working at full capacity, will be able to meet the tremendously increased demand for textile goods. Nor will any surviving capitalist country be able to compete with the greatly increased productivity developed by a planned socialist textile industry.

And the huge numbers of Lancashire workers who have been thrown out of work by the decline of British Imperialism will then be reabsorbed, working a seven-hour day.

#### Other Manufacturing Industries

It will be the same in all other sections of industry. A prosperous population, in full employment, will require constantly increasing supplies of boots, shoes, clothes, furniture, metal-ware and crockery, wireless sets, sports requisites, cycles, motor-cycles and cars, musical instruments and books. The huge housing programme will mean intense activity not only in the building industry itself, but in all industries producing building materials and equipment for houses. All of this, and particularly the intensive development of agriculture will bring new activity in the chemicals industry. Every section of industry will soon be working at full capacity, and the difficulty will be not to find employment for workers, but to find enough workers for the output required.

#### Agriculture

The British Workers' Councils will at once take over the ownership of all land and will abolish all the rent, tithe, interest and mortgage charges which are at present paid. The occupiers of farms will remain in possession so long as they are working the land efficiently, and the Workers' Councils will give them every assistance and encouragement in improving their land and methods of work. For example: by the advance of credits and the giving of expert technical help and advice. They will also be encouraged to join together, wherever practicable, in co-operative organisations for the joint purchase and use of machinery, and for the sale of their products. Co-operation on this scale will open a wider prospect of collective production, where all resources will be pooled, and land-workers and farmers over wide areas will join together to build up a scientific agricultural industry of food production on a socialist basis.

The British Workers' Councils will have a determined policy of placing at the disposal of workers in the countryside the same main facilities as those available to town workers. A substantial increase in the rate of wages of agricultural labourers, improvements in their housing and social amenities, free social insurance, organisation in trade unions, better educational facilities, will all be possible when the life of the village is no longer dominated by the Squire and the Landlord as at present.

Very large farms now run as capitalist business enterprises will, however, be taken over by the Workers' State, run by the agricultural workers on these former estates, and used as model farms, concentrating on the production of superior goods, thoroughbred stock, etc. All land not used for productive purposes will, of course, be taken over by the Workers' Councils. There will be no difficulty about finding a market for agricultural produce. The workers will need and will consume far more food than they do at present. Instead of the present restriction schemes by which the production of milk, pigs, potatoes, etc., is curtailed, it



will be a question of more milk, more pigs, more potatoes. For the 45 million people of this country will all have to be provided with enough to eat. This does not mean, of course, that the British Workers' Soviets will grow in Britain all the foodstuffs which can be more cheaply and conveniently purchased abroad. On the contrary, it will import such food, and pay for the imports by its exports of coal, iron and steel, machinery, etc., etc. (Soviet Russia gets what it needs from abroad in precisely this way today.)

**Fishing**

In so far as the fishing industry is now in the hands of companies, it will be taken over by the Workers' Councils. Small owners will remain in possession of their ships, and will be assisted in the re-equipment and reconditioning of their ships and in the building of new ships by the advance of credits: through these and other means they will be encouraged to form co-operatives for the sale of their catches. The Transport and Distribution System will be developed; there will be no ships laid up and no fish destroyed in order to maintain high prices and profits for the middlemen. On the contrary, the general prosperity will lead to a great increase in demand: all that is caught will find a purchaser in co-operative or State organisations; and there will be more employment and better conditions in every section of the industry.

**Trade**

There will be a complete reorganisation of the present chaotic conditions in distribution. The manufacturing industries will not have to sell their products through a chain of middlemen before they reach the consumer. The Socialised factories will have joint distributing organisations dealing directly with the shops. In the case of coal, for example, not only will there be an immense saving of transport by the allocation of supplies to definite areas, but within each town or area, there will be a single distributing agency controlling the whole network of depots in the locality. By this means it will be possible to deliver coal to every door in Great Britain at a single uniform cheap price. All overseas trade, exports and imports will be a monopoly of the State, the detailed operations being carried out by specially formed State or Co-operative Organisations. The existing machinery of wholesale distribution with its rings, its monopoly prices and its profiteering will be scrapped.

In retail distribution, all multiple shops which are large-scale and monopolist concerns will be taken over. The Co-operative Societies will thus be given every facility for extending their shops and their services, and will rapidly increase their membership all over the country. Co-operative Societies will be the chief channel for distributing the products of socialised industry to the workers, who will take an active part in the development of co-operation. The British Co-operative Movement, which originated from the life-work of Robert Owen, will reach its fulfilment only with the coming of Soviet Power in Britain.

But the greater part of retail trade is still carried on by small shopkeepers, and these small shopkeepers play an essential part in distribution. They will, therefore, be left in possession of their businesses: but will become part of the Socialised and Co-operative machinery of distribution. Indeed, the small shopkeepers who are today being squeezed out of existence by the deadly pressure of the great multiple stores will benefit enormously by the Soviet Power. They will benefit by the greatly increased purchasing power of the whole population. They will benefit by being relieved of the mortgages and ground rent which the landlord class now extorts from them, by a substantial reduction in the burden of rates which the land monopoly now necessitates, by the abolition of the present system of middlemen and by the provision of supplies direct from socialised factories and distributing agencies.

**Housing**

With the taking over of the ownership of all land and the biggest buildings by the Workers' Councils, it will be possible to proceed at once to the clearing of the slums, the use of empty and half used houses for the badly housed workers, and the building of a really adequate number of new houses.

So long as capitalism exists, there is not, despite the ceaseless flow of promises, the slightest hope of the slums being cleared or decent housing conditions being achieved. Indeed in present conditions so-called slum clearance and rehousing is very often a curse instead of a blessing to the workers. Workers are moved from the slums into new houses, but their rents are then increased. Sometimes they are worse off in the new conditions than the old, because higher rent means they have not enough left to spend on food.

Only the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the power of the British Workers' Councils owning and controlling the entire house property of the country can abolish the slums. A vast new house building and slum clearance programme, which will give work to every single worker in the building industry, and which will indeed necessitate the rapid expansion of that industry, will be undertaken forthwith.

It is in this field that any workers who may not be immediately reabsorbed into other industries will certainly find employment. Indeed the problem will be to extend the building industry and find or train skilled workers at a sufficient rate.

Since there will be no landlords the rent charged by the Workers' Councils to the tenants of their houses will merely have to cover their necessary upkeep and repair. The tenants themselves, through elected Committees, will decide what repairs and improvements are to be carried out. Workers who are buying their houses will be relieved of all further payments on their mortgages and will remain in possession, like those who have completed the purchase of their houses.

The large country houses of the rich will be used by the Workers' Councils as holiday rest homes, sanatoria for children and adults, and the like. In those parts of the countryside where the labourers are housed little better than cattle, the villagers will take up their abode in the country mansions until proper houses are built.

**Health**

The general rise in the level of wages, the shortening of working hours, the speedy abolition of unemployment and the provision at last of decent housing will make possible an immediate and rapid rise in the general standard of health. In addition a State medical service will be organised with free services for the workers instead of the present disgraceful "voluntary" hospital system, in which the workers receive worse and worse treatment. Adequate State-owned and paid for hospital and health services will be organised throughout the country. At the same time the provision of sports grounds, swimming pools, gymnasias, etc., under the control of the workers, will make it easy for workers to keep fit and enjoy their increasing leisure.

**A Labour Code**

The rights of workers will be safeguarded, not only by the fact that they will elect and be elected to the Workers' Councils, but by a special code of laws. And the provisions of these laws will be enforced by the workers themselves, organised in factory committees and trade unions. Instead of the Factory Act as at present, insufficient and ill-administered, there will be stringent regulations for the protection of labour; and the Factory Inspectors will be appointed by the workers themselves. Moreover, through the trade union and factory committee, the workers in the factory will have control over their own life and work. The trade union will play its part in the control of production, in the provision of adult education, in the drawing up of collective contracts, as well as doing all the other things which a trade union is expected to do for its members at the present day. A Soviet Britain will not only bring a general seven-hour day, and a minimum fortnight's holiday with full pay; it will also mean that insurance benefits will be extended and increased, with all contributions paid by the industry. Social Insurance will be free to the workers: and its administration will be in the hands of the workers' trade unions.

**Religion**

The State Churches, both in Scotland and England, will be immediately disestablished and disendowed. The Workers' Soviet State will give complete toleration of all religious opinion and of all anti-religious opinion.

**Education**

A single school system will be set up. The present different types of school, which are based on the different wealth and class position of the parents, will be abolished. Every child will go to the State Schools, and school-leaving age will be immediately raised to 16. Further educational opportunities, viz, entrance to the enlarged technical colleges and universities, will be thrown open to all young people, just as rapidly as the necessary staff, equipment and resources can be provided; and will not depend primarily, as at present, on the wealth of his parents. All children will be taught the elements of some trade or profession. For there will be an ever-increasing demand for more and more highly-skilled technical workers in every industry. Science itself will become more and more closely linked up with the productive process. It will be necessary to expend greater and greater funds on industrial and scientific research and develop a larger and larger percentage of scientists and highly-qualified technical workers.

**YOUTH**

What does this mean to the youth of Britain, who today are faced either with hopeless unemployment, or herded into big factories, where their youthful energies are exhausted for the profits of the capitalists? Soviet Power means a new life for the youth. Every young worker will be given the fullest opportunity for development. Individual talents will be encouraged. The Soviet Government will immediately decree a maximum 6-hour day for young workers under 18 years of age and prohibit night work and dangerous occupations for all under 18. A system of practical training will operate in which the young workers will spend half the time in the workshop and half the time in the school attached to the

factory, receiving an allowance, together with wages for work done.

The encouragement and development of physical culture and sport, together with the change in living conditions under workers' rule, will result in the youth becoming an army of splendid men and women, fit to be the builders of the future Communist Society. From the age of 18 the youth will have the right to vote and to be elected to any position in the Workers' Government. The whole system of Soviet Power would enable wide masses of youth to take part in the administration of factory and town, village and country. Then the youth will control their own destiny and build a new life.

**WOMEN**

For women, Soviet Power means full economic and social equality with men, with equality of opportunity in every trade and profession, in the Soviets, the Trade Unions, the Co-operatives, the whole of social life. For the first time, therefore, women will get equal pay for equal work: they will have ample time off at full pay for confinements, with special allowances and free medical service at all times: if working, they will have creches, kindergartens and clinics for their children, with the best nursing staff, under supervision of working-class mothers. Adequate school dinners for all children will relieve the working mother of much unnecessary everyday toil, just as the assurance of full and free education up to the university standard will relieve her of the perpetual anxiety as to the future of her children. For housewives, the new houses to be built will contain all the latest appliances that lighten labour.

**Planned Production and Distribution**

Such an expansion of industry and trade and the social services is only possible on the basis of a scientific plan for the whole economic and social work of the country.

When the Workers' Council have taken over all large-scale industry, transport and agriculture, it will be possible to draw up a definite plan of production and distribution. This means that all products will be brought directly to where they are wanted; all factories will be producing for needs that exist — there will be no question of goods remaining unsold. Prices will be fixed in such a way that all goods can be sold; there will be no holding or destruction of stocks in order to raise prices.

But the plan will cover more than the production and distribution of a single year. It will also provide for the reorganisation and extension of industry, in order to raise the conditions of working, living and culture for the whole population.

The Plan will also cover the production of goods, such as engineering products and textiles, which have to be exported in exchange for the food products and raw materials which cannot be obtained in Britain.

Just because of this single plan of production and distribution including exports and imports, and also the extension of housing, social services, education, etc., the workers of Britain will know that there will be no waste, and that each year a steady and permanent advance will be made, from which the whole population will benefit.

The question is sometimes asked: Where is the money to come from for this whole programme? The question is based on a misunderstanding. Money is only a means of exchanging things. What matters is the things which are made by human labour. When all are working there will be an increase in the quantity of food, raw materials, manufactured goods, etc. It is these which will be used to raise the standard of living, housing and social services. Money will still be used for a time as a means of exchange, but the more goods are produced the more money will be distributed in wages, so that all consumption goods can be consumed. Buildings, machinery and other means of production will be made and used, but not bought by or sold to private individuals. When imports have to be "paid for," payments will be made by exports of things.

The whole plan of production and distribution will be on the basis of things, and the machinery of money will only exist as a means of distributing these things among the population.

**The First Stage**

The programme which has been outlined in the preceding pages is the programme which the Workers' Councils will carry out in the first period after they have taken power. This period will be one of transition towards complete Socialism. There will still be many difficulties and imperfections; the capitalist outlook and class prejudices will exist for a long time. There is no possibility of eliminating all the evils of life in a single year. But the power will be in the hands of the working class, led by its most class-conscious section, organised in the Communist Party; and this power will be used to prevent any return to capitalism, to abolish as rapidly as possible all class privileges and prejudices, to do away with oppression and exploitation and to educate the whole people to a Socialist outlook.

The changed organisation of production and distribution, in which the capitalists as a class will have no place, will be the basis on which Socialist education can change the outlook of the whole population.

**SMASH the state power of the big capitalists and financiers! End their unearned incomes! Build Socialism in Britain!**

**ESSENTIAL READING FOR ALL COMMUNISTS**

<b>PHILOSOPHY :</b>	ON CONTRADICTION ON PRACTICE	<b>Mao Tse-Tung</b>
	DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM	<b>Stalin</b>
<b>HISTORY :</b>	THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO	<b>Marx &amp; Engels</b>
	SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC	<b>Engels</b>
<b>ECONOMICS :</b>	WAGE, LABOUR & CAPITAL	<b>Marx</b>
	VALUE, PRICE & PROFIT	<b>Marx</b>
<b>POLITICS :</b>	AGAINST REVISIONISM	<b>Lenin</b>
	A Selection from Lenin's main political writings STATE & REVOLUTION	<b>Lenin</b>
	LEFT WING COMMUNISM An Infantile Disorder	<b>Lenin</b>



# FOR SINO-SOVIET UNITY

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial on November 7, commemorating the 47th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

TODAY is the 47th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Chinese people, together with the people of the whole world, warmly celebrate this great festival of the international proletariat and extend wholehearted greetings to the fraternal Soviet people.

## GLORIOUS EXPLOITS OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S HEROIC STRUGGLES

Forty-seven years ago today, the salutes of the cruiser *Aurora* proclaimed the birth of a new world. The proletariat of Russia, uniting with other labouring people, under the leadership of the great Lenin and the great Bolshevik Party, staged an armed uprising, overthrew the rule of the exploiting classes by revolutionary violence and established the world's first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The October Revolution also brought the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations to an entirely new stage. It was a mighty inspiration to the struggles of the peoples of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries for independence and liberation, and it directly linked them up with the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat. Thus, the October Revolution opened a new era in human history, the era of the global rule of imperialism heading towards its doom and of mankind marching from capitalism to socialism and communism.

In the October Revolution the great Soviet people displayed pioneering revolutionary initiative. They dared to embark on a path which no people had ever traversed before and turned mankind's age-old dreams for the elimination of exploitation of man by man into a living reality. As the vanguard of the world proletarian revolution, they were the first to break the chains of world capitalist rule. The Soviet people demonstrated the heroic spirit of fearlessness and proved themselves worthy of being the first shock brigade of the international proletariat.

The history of the 47 years from the October Revolution to the present records the glorious exploits of the heroic struggles of the Soviet people. In defeating the White Guard and armed intervention by more than ten imperialist countries and in the patriotic war against German fascism, the great Soviet people and Soviet Army fought undauntedly and defended the fruits of the October Revolution. They smashed the obstructions and sabotage by Trotsky, Bukharin and other opportunists of all descriptions, persevered in socialist transformation and social construction, realized the industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture, and scaled the world's highest peaks of science and technology, thereby turning a poor and backward Russia into a mighty socialist country.

All this is proof that the great Soviet people, taught and guided by Lenin and Stalin, are capable of weathering any tempest in their march forward and overcoming enormous difficulties which were considered insurmountable. They are a people whom no pressure can crush and no force can subdue, a people who can withstand any severe test. With their own glorious achievements, they have proved themselves the creators and builders of a new world. The great Soviet people, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition, can be trusted and will not disappoint the hopes and expectations of the people of the whole world.

## THE PATH OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The path of the October Revolution is the path of Marxism-Leninism, the path of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the path of carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. The experience of the Great October Revolution shows that the proletariat which wants to carry out revolution must first of all unite with the labouring masses to smash the bourgeois state apparatus by revolutionary violence and seize political power. Otherwise, the proletariat would be unable to emancipate itself. After the victory of the revolution, it is necessary to persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat, suppress resistance and sabotage by class enemies, carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts, give full play to initiative and creativeness of the masses, carry out socialist construction, develop production, improve the people's livelihood and strengthen national defence. Only by so doing can the proletariat consolidate the victories already achieved and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

The experience of the October Revolution also shows that if the proletariat wants to fulfil its great and arduous cause, it must build up a staunch, revolutionary Party, a Party founded on the revolutionary theories of Marxism-

Leninism and its revolutionary spirit, as Lenin did in founding the Bolshevik Party. Such a Party must be good at integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice at home and closely linking the leadership with the broad masses of the people, and must be able to uphold truth, correct mistakes, courageously conduct criticism and self-criticism and struggle unremittingly against all opportunist trends. Only such a Party can lead the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in revolutionary struggles, win the revolution and consolidate victory.

The October Revolution marked the great beginning of the world revolution of the international proletariat. Lenin never regarded the Russian proletarian revolution as something limited to one country. When he referred to the October Revolution, he said: "Our revolution is only a beginning. It will come to a victorious end only when we have sparked the same flames of revolution throughout the world." Lenin regarded the extension of support to the revolutionary struggles of other peoples as the unshirkable internationalist obligation of the people who had won their own revolution. The road of the October Revolution pointed out by Lenin is the road of proletarian internationalism and the road for the complete victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the world. Armed with the teachings of Lenin, the Soviet people have exerted every effort and contributed greatly in assisting the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of various countries.

In the past 40 years and more, the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world, guided by the beacon light of the October Revolution, have developed vigorously and won a series of magnificent victories. There have emerged today the 12 socialist countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, the German Democratic Republic, China, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, which, together with the Soviet Union, form the socialist camp comprising one-third of the world's population. Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism. The national-democratic revolutionary movement there is surging ahead with increasing vigour. Scores of countries have shaken off their colonialist yoke and hoisted their own flags of independence. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries, too, is heading for new upsurges. The revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism have spread all over the world. Increasing numbers of people are aspiring to socialism. If we say that the October Revolution blasted a section of the capitalist edifice, then today this dilapidated edifice is tottering and falling apart.

Surely the world revolution of the international proletariat started by the October Revolution is far from being completed. Still facing us are the ferocious imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries. Millions upon millions of working people are still languishing under the system of exploitation and oppression of man by man. The interests of the international proletariat make it imperative to carry forward and develop the glorious traditions of the October Revolution and carry the world revolution through to the end.

## STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT UNDER THE BANNER OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

In its proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has pointed out that, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory, the basic experiences of the October Revolution and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage is: workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man.

To realize, this general line, it is necessary to strengthen, under the banner of the October Revolution, the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement.

The socialist camp is the product of the struggle of the international proletariat and the working people. It belongs not only to the people of the socialist countries but also to the international proletariat and working people. Countries of the socialist camp are duty-bound to support actively the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and counter-revolutionary policies of the reactionaries of all countries and actively support all the struggles against the policies of war and aggression of the imperialists and for world peace. Only thus, only by engaging in revolution ourselves and supporting the revolution of others, are we truly following the teachings of Lenin and acting in conformity with the interests of the international proletariat and our own people.

The unity among the socialist countries must conform to the principles laid down in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. It must be built entirely on the basis of independence, complete equality and mutual support and assistance characteristic of proletarian internationalism, opposition to all forms of bourgeois nationalism, and great-nation chauvinism in particular. Only by strictly following these principles in both word and deed can a real proletarian internationalist unity be established and the rock-firm unity of the socialist camp be consolidated.

The unity of the international communist movement is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Declaration and the Statement laid down the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties. These are the principle of solidarity, the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance, the principle of independence and equality and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation—all on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is only when these principles are strictly observed not only in word but in deed, that the unity of the international communist movement can be genuinely upheld and strengthened.

## KHRUSHCHOV'S REMOVAL FROM OFFICE IS A VERY GOOD THING

In order to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement, an uncompromising struggle must be waged against all forms of opportunism which betray Marxism-Leninism, especially modern revisionism which is the main danger to the international communist movement today. As pointed out in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement: "The further development of the communist and working-class movement calls for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. Revisionism, Right-wing opportunism, which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilizes the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism." The course of development of the international communist movement in recent years has amply proved the great historic significance of persevering in the struggle against revisionism.

Khrushchov is the chief representative of modern revisionism. He has betrayed Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the path of the October Revolution and the interests of the Soviet people. The Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union recently removed Khrushchov from leading posts in the Party and the state. This is a very good thing and it has the support of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world. Facts have repeatedly borne out that the great wheel of history cannot be reversed by imperialism and the reactionaries or by Khrushchov revisionism. Anyone who runs counter to Leninism, proletarian internationalism; the path of the October Revolution and the interests of the people will, sooner or later, inevitably be spurned by the people. This was so in the past, is so at present and will be so in the future.

## SOLIDARITY AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN CHINESE AND SOVIET PEOPLES — A RELIABLE GUARANTEE OF WORLD PEACE AND THE PROGRESS OF MANKIND

The Chinese people, taught and guided by the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have always

had the deepest respect for and confidence in the long-tested Soviet people. The Chinese and Soviet peoples share common interests, a common destiny and a common Marxist-Leninist ideology. With the victory of the great revolution of the Chinese people, a new stage began in the profound friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples. The two great socialist countries, China and the Soviet Union, have entered into a great alliance and rendered mutual support and assistance. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that the solidarity and friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples was "a favourable condition for the construction of socialism and communism in the two countries and also an important part of the solidarity among the socialist countries and a reliable guarantee of the cause of world peace and the progress of mankind." Our friendship and unity have made great contributions to the common cause of combating imperialism, defending world peace and winning national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

The imperialists and reactionaries are extremely hostile to the friendship and unity of the Chinese and Soviet peoples. The nefarious U.S. imperialists and their lackeys regard the unity between China and the Soviet Union, the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the revolutionary peoples the world over as the biggest obstacle to their conquest of the world. Therefore, U.S. imperialism tries in a thousand and one ways to split the unity between China and the Soviet Union, the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the revolutionary peoples of the world so as to break each one by one. While stepping up its aggression against and control over the extensive intermediate zones between the United States and the socialist camp, U.S. imperialism is, on the one hand, pushing ahead with its so-called peaceful evolution policy in the vain hope of restoring capitalism in the socialist countries and, on the other, is preparing to mount armed attacks on the socialist camp. In the face of the common enemy, the common interests of the Chinese and Soviet peoples demand that the Chinese and Soviet Parties and the two countries unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and wage common struggles.

## THE TEMPORARY DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION CAN BE GRADUALLY RESOLVED

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have always worked untiringly for preserving and strengthening the unity between China and the Soviet Union. Through no fault of ours, nor of the Soviet people's, relations between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and the two countries have encountered difficulties and suffered impairment in the past period. This is contrary to the common aspirations of the Chinese and Soviet peoples, the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp and of the whole world.

We are convinced that the temporary difficulties between China and the Soviet Union and between the two Parties are, after all, only a historical episode and can be gradually resolved. Undoubtedly, Sino-Soviet unity can be restored and steadily strengthened. Comrade Liu Shao-chi said as early as the end of 1960 at the conclusion of his visit to the Soviet Union: "Both the Soviet people and the Chinese people have a fervent desire to reinforce the unity between the peoples of the two countries. Whenever we speak about reinforcing the unity between the two Parties and the two countries and the friendship between the two peoples, people are very happy. Conversely, any words or deeds which are not in the interests of the unity between our two Parties and two countries, or which impair the basis of this unity—the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism—will not be countenanced by the people of China. Nor will such words or deeds be countenanced by the people of the Soviet Union. And I believe that they will not be countenanced either by the people or any of the countries of the socialist camp, or by the people who constitute over 90 per cent of the total population in the capitalist world." History has proved and will continue to prove this.

The fraternal and militant friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples is eternal. Like the evergreen pines and cypresses, our friendship has taken deep root in the hearts of our two peoples. No one and no force can destroy this friendship. The 650 million Chinese people are the most reliable friends of the Soviet people on whose side they will stand firmly in all circumstances.

Let us unite still more closely under the banner of the October Revolution and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

Long live the unbreakable fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples!



# NORMAN BETHUNE

OVER 700 wounded fighters were waiting for medical attention. There were no anaesthetics and bandages had to be washed and used over and over again. Catguts for sutures were prepared on the spot. Surgical instruments were fashioned from bits of wires and sheet-iron. There were only ten doctors, not one fully trained.

Such was the situation in Wutai County in the Shansi-Charhar-Hepei Border Region when the Canadian surgeon Dr. Norman Bethune arrived at this revolutionary base behind the Japanese lines in June 1938. The Eighth Route Army (predecessor of the Chinese People's Liberation Army) was then engaged in a life-and-death battle with the Japanese invading troops. Blockaded by the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek's



armies, the region suffered an acute shortage of medical supplies and provisions.

Dr. Norman Bethune and his medical team brought medicine, an X-ray machine and surgical instruments. Above all, they came with a proletarian internationalist spirit that is ever-green in the memory of the Chinese people.

In 1936 Dr. Bethune led a medical team to Spain to help the Spanish people in their just war against the fascists. Two years later he came with his medical team to China.

They reached Yen-an, the centre of the Chinese revolution, in April 1938. Shortly afterwards Dr. Bethune crossed the Yellow River, slipped through the enemy's lines and arrived in Wutai County.

Recalling his first meeting with Dr. Bethune, Yeh Ching-shan, now a major general of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, said: "Considering his long journey, I advised him to rest for a few days before he started work. 'Please use me as you would a machine-gun! I've come here to work, not rest,' was Dr. Bethune's reply. The next morning he trudged 20 kilometres to work in a field hospital."

He would set up his "operating room" in some temple or hut close to the firing

lines to treat the wounded as close to the battlelines as possible.

Threatened by shell explosions he refused to move to a safer location, saying, "My duty is to stay with the fighters!" He worked three days and nights treating the wounded in one battle, stopping only to throw cold water on his face whenever he felt drowsy.

On another occasion he used his own blood for a transfusion to a badly wounded soldier.

Dr. Bethune lived a life as simple as the fighters, turning his salary over to the hospital. He shared his cigarette and fruit rations with his patients.

Dr. Bethune helped the Chinese people found a hospital in the liberated areas of that time. Now known as the Bethune International Peace Hospital, it is located in Shehchiachuang County, once the provincial capital of Hopei Province.

In October 1939 Dr. Bethune accidentally cut his finger while operating and contracted blood poisoning. His Chinese colleagues tried everything they could to save his life. They failed through lack of medical supplies, the result of the Japanese and Kuomintang blockade.

On November 11, Dr. Bethune painfully scrawled his last will to Marshal Nieh Jung-chen, then chief military commander of the region. At dusk he handed this to his interpreter, whom he called "my other self."

"Keep working hard," he said. "Blaze the trail for the great cause." At 5.20 in the morning he died, at the age of 49.

In 1952 his remains were moved from Tanghsien County in Hopei Province to the memorial park for revolutionary martyrs in Shehchiachuang in Hopei Province.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung in the essay "In Memory of Norman Bethune" wrote, "What kind of spirit is this that made a foreigner regard, without any selfish motive, the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, and every Chinese Communist must learn from this spirit."

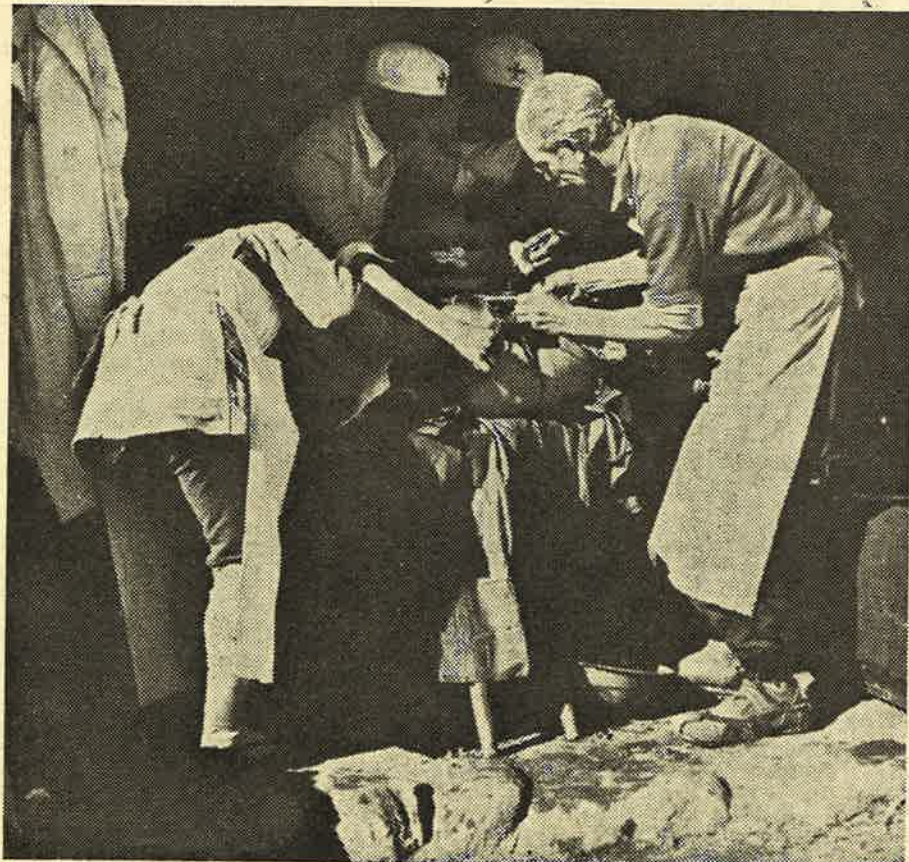
This essay is studied not only by the medical profession and army in China, but by millions of office workers and ordinary people.

Many medical schools have been named after Dr. Bethune. A documentary film on his life was produced by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio in Peking in 1962.

Meetings to commemorate Dr. Bethune were held throughout the country in 1964 on the 25th anniversary of his death. The press urged people to learn from the spirit of the great proletarian fighter.

Dr. Norman Bethune was born in Toronto in 1890. In the First World War he was a stretcher-bearer in France with a Canadian field ambulance unit. After the war he became an eminent chest surgeon.

Dr. Bethune searched for a way to cure the wider ills he saw in the world around him—poverty, unemployment, hunger, war. He joined the Canadian Communist Party and became an outstanding revolutionary worker, dedicating his skill, energy and passion, his whole life to the cause of the working class. HUA PAO



## Khrushchev & Franco

CONCERNING KHRUSHCHEV'S ACTIVITIES —  
A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS PUT BY SPANISH MARXISTS-LENINISTS

AT a time when all the Khrushchevites of the world behave like hens on a hot griddle because the Soviet communists have got rid of the apostle of collaboration with imperialism, and they are, full of bitterness, demanding explanations from the present leaders of the Soviet Union, a group of Spanish Marxists-Leninists have sent us the following lines:

Rather than betraying their emotion at the announcement of the political elimination of Nikita Khrushchev, the leaders of the revisionist parties might pose a number of questions with regard to certain incidents in recent years concerning the Spanish Resistance to the Franco régime and the relations of the Khrushchevites with Franco.

First of all, the circumstances under which the heroic fighter of Free Spain, Julian Grimau, was sent back to Spain must be fully elucidated. We have every reason to believe that he was deliberately sacrificed by the leadership of the Khrushchevite party. For what reason?

We will also have to find out what dealings did really take place between the Khrushchev group and the franquist leaders with regard to the gold of the Spanish Republic. At the same time, one might well probe a little further into the subject of the proposed visit, which was later "put off" as a result of the scandal it had provoked, by Soviet trade unionists desirous, so it seems, "to study the functioning of the Spanish trade unions."

It will likewise be necessary to explain

why a number of young people, students, technicians and skilled workers, whose parents had found asylum in the U.S.S.R., were sent back to Franco Spain, and to launch an enquiry for the purpose of finding out what happened to those young Spaniards who were exposed to attempts of corruption, intimidation and sometimes even torture.

Furthermore, how are we to explain the fact that certain former or present leading personalities, that high ranking ex-army officers of the Spanish Republic who are resident in socialist countries, should so easily have obtained a passport from the Franco authorities enabling them to spend several weeks in Spain before returning undisturbed to the U.S.S.R. or Czechoslovakia?

These are truly disconcerting features of an "entente cordiale" which fit in marvellously with the policy of collaboration at all costs with imperialism practised by Khrushchev.

We have nothing to add to these questions, except that this is one of the numerous aspects of Khrushchev's nefarious activities which will one day have to be fully brought to light.

## THE STERLING CRISIS

THE crisis of November was a crisis for the British capitalists and the "Labour Government" which, objectively, defends their interests.

Since the "sellers market" gave place to renewed capitalist competition for markets, after 1950, the British capitalists have been lagging behind in export.

This factor has coincided with a vast increase in arms expenditure. The cost of overseas military and naval bases, for the use of imperialist aggression against the peoples of colonial lands, i.e. South Arabia, Malaya, Cyprus, etc.

The City of London has exported vast amounts of sterling in order to finance the extraction of raw materials and exploit ultra-cheap labour power.

The import-bill to Britain has increased in recent years, manufacturers speculating on a "softer" internal market rather than the harder job of selling abroad—a task greatly complicated by the revival of West German industry, heavily financed by the U.S.A. British importers have thus held large amounts of sterling, in foreign capitals, readily sold for foreign currency, if need be.

During the 13 years of Tory Government foreign holders of large sterling balances have been treated to a rate of interest in Britain of between 4½% and 7%—fluctuating according to the adverse fluctuations of Britain's balance of payments.

It must be pointed out that at the height of the crisis in November the City of London was selling sterling at a near-desperate tempo, thus deepening the

danger of devaluation and demonstrating, in practice, their "patriotism."

The Labour Government demonstrated their essential inability to meet the crisis, in the interests of the British people, the Chancellor at once assuring the capitalists that the new Corporation Tax envisaged in the next Budget would leave them no worse off than before and even might improve their position. Simultaneously, the Government called in the employers and swiftly got agreement "in principle" for their new National Incomes Policy."

It is reported that the National leaders of the Trades Union Congress have also actually agreed to this policy.

Thus, recent weeks have clearly shown that (1) Wilson's Government will not stand up to international capitalism or domestic capitalism, but will act to cater to their interests; (2) that Wilson's Government and the leaders are energetically preparing to lower the living-standards of the British workers and lower middle classes, in order to help solve the difficulties of British capitalism; (3) that the envisaged National Incomes Policy will be proved a big fraud, leaving the unearned income of the rich inviolable, whilst opposing higher wages and salaries in the face of a rising cost of living.

Thus the November crisis should underline the lesson that the entire British working-class must unite against the exploiters and their henchmen and prepare to defend and advance their living standards and not be hood-winked by Wilson, Brown & Co.

## Northern Notebook

IT has long been my contention that nowhere else in Britain is there a newspaper as reactionary as the local *Manchester Evening News*. The bloodthirsty frothings of this paper make the *Daily Telegraph* appear by comparison almost left wing. The *News* reacted predictably, with outraged hysteria to the news of the execution of hostages in Stanleyville. But men, women and children have been butchered in the Congo, not just since the Belgians granted their fake "independence," but ever since Belgian Imperialism first laid its claims on the Congo.

Why is the *News* and the gutter press in general so outraged now? Simple. Because the skin of the victims is white. The Stanleyville operation, says the *News* was carried out with the agreement of the "legally constituted government of the Congo" (shades of Lumumba), and with the full knowledge and approval of the United Nations (read my article, *Vanguard* No. 3, page 7). The liberation forces were no more than "a disorganised rabble," "openly backed by the Chinese Communists" and covertly backed by some African states. The *News* is premature in writing off the liberation forces, but then, the imperialists never do seem to learn. No nation will submit

to offensive domination by another nation or by local traitors, like Tshombe.

The people will give you hell, my imperialist friends, and they will keep on giving you hell until you stop robbing and killing them.

On the 24th November, the Manchester B.S.F.S. held a public meeting in the Reynolds Building. The swanky setting and polite, almost middle class audience reminded one almost irresistibly of the proverbial "vicar's tea-party." The benign vicar Mr. R. Hartman, completed the picture. What a far cry, I reflected from those lively Y.C.L. meetings in '46 when we listened rapturously to a different "Dick."

Will the pound be devalued? The Government states quite categorically that it will not and calls on its international financier friends to help it out of a jam. Being good Socialists, they willingly oblige. I seem to remember that in '49 Sir Stafford Cripps was equally emphatic that the pound would not be devalued.

Whom will the speculators trust this time? Or do they trust anyone or anything, except their own "genius" for waxing rich at the expense of all working peoples?

ARTHUR MAJOR



## Fraternal greetings from France

Dear Comrades:

A year ago the "Committee to defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity" was formed. On this occasion we address you our warmest wishes and congratulate you on the success already achieved in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism for the safeguard of Marxist principles and for the Socialist revolution.

At a time when new and serious difficulties are imposed on the workers of Great Britain by a government which is socialist only in name and in the face of the betrayal of the revisionists your struggle takes on full meaning and the results obtained as shown at the time of your last elections in the constituency of Huyton are extremely encouraging.

Revisionism is on the downgrade and the time is not far off when the communist movement will once again know unity on Marxist-Leninist principles.

We are sure that in the future the Marxist-Leninists of our countries who are attached to the principle of an International Proletariat will develop even further the fraternal bonds which unite them in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and the support of the peoples struggling for independence.

Long live the indestructible friendship of British and French workers. Long live Marxism-Leninism.

Yours fraternally,

The Secretariat  
Marxist-Leninist Groups  
Paris Region.

Dear Comrades,

We thank you most warmly for your fraternal greetings.

The last year has witnessed a rapid development of the world-wide struggle against modern imperialism, led by the United States imperialists, and against the modern revisionists, agents of imperialism within the ranks of the international working class movement. Even in Western Europe, where much remains to be done before the working class can be won for genuine Marxist-Leninist policies, substantial progress has already been achieved in our common fight against revisionism and to re-establish the Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The progress made by Marxist-Leninists in France in recent months has been a great encouragement to us in Britain. We wish you every success in your work during this coming year. We are confident that the French working class, whose history of struggle against oppression, and for the overthrow of the exploiting class, has inspired the workers of all lands, will not long tolerate the leadership of those who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism. We are confident that the Parisian workers, descendants of those who "stormed heaven" in the days of the Commune, will before long turn to you for correct leadership in the struggle against imperialism.

Nothing can divide those who hold firm to the principles and practice of Marxism-Leninism. Our common understanding and our common actions against imperialism, social-democracy and modern revisionism will inevitably cement the close fraternal relations already established between genuine Communists in Britain and in France.

THE SECRETARIAT,  
Committee for Communist Unity.

## Japan Conference of International Common Action

THE JAPAN COUNCIL AGAINST ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN BOMBS  
(GENSUIKYO)

24 October 1964

Dear Friends,

We are glad to inform you that in accordance with the decisions of the Tenth World Conference against A and H Bombs held in Tokyo in August a "Japan Conference of International Common Action" will be convened in Tokyo on the 15th of November this year with the participation of about twenty thousand Japanese delegates.

This Conference will be an opportunity to rally the people's voice again for "complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, against the calling of U.S. nuclear powered submarines at Japanese ports, against military interventions in Indo China and for relief of A-Bomb sufferers." It will also provide an opportunity to promote further the "1,000-Million Strong Meetings" in Japan, which are already being set in motion. Peace marchers will be organized from Yokosuka, the largest U.S. naval base in the Far East, as well as from other places, to converge on the Japan Conference in Tokyo on the 15th. The marchers will bring with them messages from the people expressing their opposition to the visits of U.S. nuclear powered submarines.

We would appreciate receiving from you your message of support and encouragement to the Japanese people meeting at the Japan Conference, to reach us not later than the 10th of November. Your message will inspire our people, give them more confidence in their activity and help strengthen international solidarity.

We would like to know also about the possibility of your organizing some kind of concurrent action around the 15th of November. There is no doubt that such actions organized on common themes in different parts of the world will greatly contribute to strengthening international unity among the peace forces and help to prevent nuclear war.

Hoping to hear from you at the earliest,

We are,

Yours sincerely,

Y. YOSHIDA

Greetings to the Japanese Conference of International Common Action. At our public meeting in London on November 20th we will announce our plans to fight in Britain for the complete prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons, the recall of all United States and British military forces in Asia, Africa and Latin-America, and the ousting of all United States forces from Britain. Greetings to the Japanese people! Our common struggle for peace and disarmament will end in victory!

Telegram sent by Secretariat C.D.R.C.U.

## Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrade,

I would like to express my appreciation in receiving my monthly *Vanguard*, which I enjoy from cover to cover. Some of the facts, especially about the "prominent" revisionists named from time to time, gave us quite a surprise. Names which we considered revered as working class stalwarts, "true Communists," before we emigrated to N.Z. The *Vanguard* is well received here by branch comrades, and also party friends who, coming from the U.K. could hardly believe the revisionist stand of the C.P.G.B. and their followers. The *Vanguard* is creating so much interest here that our Progressive Book Shop has instructed me on their behalf to order 12 copies of each issue of *Vanguard*.

Auckland.

Dear Editor,

At last I can agree with something published in *Vanguard*. I have always considered your paper to be pro-Chinese and anti-peace. I refer of course to your article on pages one and two of the November issue of *Vanguard*, and I am in full agreement with your remarks about the Labour Party. How right you are. Wilson and Co. are certainly a gang of twisters. I wish the D.W. would expose Mr. Wilson and his friends as upholders of capitalism.

Yours fraternally,  
S.C., London E.

### UNILATERAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Dear Comrade,

The 'British Communist Appeal' published in October's *Vanguard* is an excellent and welcome return to the Marxist conception of the bourgeois state and parliamentary democracy.

However, when it comes to a brief summary of the nuclear policy of the various political parties the "Appeal" appears to distort or omit the distinction between that of the C.P.G.B. and that of the Labour and Liberal Parties.

The wrong starting point is to confuse the two labels—"independent nuclear deterrent" and "unilateral nuclear disarmament." The official policy of Labour and Liberal is to abandon the former, thus distinguishing them from the Tory Party. The "Appeal" begins: "both (Labour and Liberal) now favour abandoning Britain's independent nuclear deterrent. In other words they argue that British capitalists need not waste vast resources on producing atomic and hydrogen bombs, and the means of delivering them, when British interests can be quite adequately protected by the U.S. nuclear armaments."

But in the next paragraph we read: "The recent acceptance by the Labour and Liberal Parties of unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain brings them into line on this issue with the . . . C.P.G.B., (which) has advocated this for several years now." Thus, by equating the abandonment of the independent nuclear deterrent with unilateral nuclear disarmament, the C.P.G.B. is depicted as favouring the protection (?) of the U.S. bomb!

Now the nuclear policy of the C.P.G.B. is indeed unilateral nuclear disarmament; but this is very different from merely abandoning the independent deterrent. To place Britain under the aegis of U.S. nuclear armaments is not to unilaterally disarm, but to be armed via another power or to be an appendage of another power. In other words, the

Labour and Liberal Parties cannot be said to be advocating unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Unilateral nuclear disarmament as proposed by the C.P.G.B. means withdrawal of U.S. bases from Britain; no participation in the M.L.F., withdrawal from N.A.T.O.; an atom-free zone of disengagement in central Europe; the dissolution of N.A.T.O. and Warsaw Treaty, etc. How can this policy be said to be in line with the Labour and Liberal Parties?

It would seem that this section of the "British Communist Appeal" is in need of amendment.

Yours fraternally,  
R. Alderson.

Further comment is invited—Ed.

### MR. WILSON

Dear Comrade,

Mr. Wilson and his band of Social Democrats have been in office a mere 44 days but already the portents are appearing that this Labour Administration will be no different from its few predecessors, nor indeed from any that are likely to succeed it.

Nor indeed will any Social Democrat Government bring about a socialist society in this country or any other since by their very nature they seek for gradual change within the capitalist structure of society. They introduce diluted socialistic measures of reform which whilst amounting to very little, and certainly leaving the capitalist pillars unshaken and untouched, even serve to fool and beguile the workers who mistakenly follow them believing them to be "on our side."

Mr. Wilson's New Britain has in a very brief space of time clearly demonstrated the guide lines. International Finance, Big Business in Britain are reassured and appeared with high-flown economic importance on sterling, parity, balance of trade whilst the working people bear the brunt of an incomes

reducing budget and the pensioners are fobbed off with a long delayed pittance.

The same policies of Imperialism are pursued correctly and obsequiously by this band of Social Democrats, including such "Left-Wing" worthies as Greenwood and Castle. In Guyana—as you were under the Tories. In southern Arabia—as you were under the Tories. In Kalimantan—as you were under the Tories. The neo-Fascist South African government gets its aircraft; the combined Imperialist operation of aggression and intervention in the Congo is aided and abetted.

Mr. Wilson anxiously arranges a date as soon as he can to cross the sea to present his credentials, receive his instructions and be put in his proper subservient place by the Yankee Overlord in the White House.

Not a penny is touched on military spending, overseas bases, not a treaty or alliance created to foster Imperialism's ends is tampered with, not a move is made to rid the country of glaring absurdities like the House of Lords.

And finally who is chosen as Minister of Disarmament in Mr. Wilson's Social Democrat Government; why, that well-known socialist, the Defence Correspondent of *The Times*!

But how many people will see through this subterfuge of a Labour Government? Even the C.P.G.B. helped to put it there by campaigning for them in 590 odd constituencies. As long as we are subjected daily to the insufferable antics of that institution known as Parliament with "Black Rod," "Mister Speaker," "Labour Lords," crutches and wheelchairs in "Division Lobbies" and all the other stupid anachronisms of this decaying system, we are not going to get very far along the difficult road to Socialism in Britain. . . .

Yours fraternally,

B. V. Clifton.



# LITERATURE and ART

## The Pilgrims of Hope

*Soldiers in the street:  
Sick unto death was my hope,  
and I turned and I looked on my dear  
And beheld her frightened wonder,  
and her grief without a tear,  
And knew how her thought was mine—  
Whem, hark! o'er the hubbub and noise,  
Faint and a long way off  
the music's measured voice,  
And the crowd was swaying and swaying  
and somehow I knew not why,  
A dream came into my heart  
of deliverance drawing anigh.  
Then with roll and thunder of drums  
grew the music louder and loud,  
And the whole street tumbled and surged,  
and cleft was the holiday crowd,  
Till two walls of faces and rags  
lined either side of the way.  
Then clamour of shouts rose upward,  
as bright and glittering gay  
Came the voiceful brass of the band,  
and my heart beat fast and fast,  
For the river of steel came on,  
and the wrath of England passed  
Through the want and woe of the town,  
and strange and wild was my thought  
And my clenched hands wandered about  
as though a weapon they sought.  
Hubbub and din was behind them,  
and the shuffling haggard throng  
Wandering aimless about,  
tangled the street for long;  
But the shouts and the rhythmic noise  
we still heard far away,  
And my dream was become a picture  
of the deeds of another day.  
Far and far was I borne,  
away o'er the years to come,  
And again was the ordered march  
and the thunder of the drum,  
And the bickering points of steel  
and the horses shifting about  
'Neath the flashing swords of the captains—  
then the silence after the shout—*

*Sun and wind in the street,  
familiar things made clear,  
Made strange by the breathless waiting  
for the deeds that are drawing anear.  
For woe had grown into will,  
and wrath was bared of its sheath,  
And stark in the streets of London  
stood the crop of the dragon's teeth  
Where then in my dream were the poor  
and the wall of the faces wan?  
Here and here by my side  
shoulder to shoulder of man,  
Hope in the simple folk  
hope in the hearts of the wise  
For the happy life to follow  
or death and the ending of lies,  
Hope is awake in the faces  
angerless now no more,  
Till the new peace dawn on the world,  
the fruit of the people's war.*

*War in the world abroad  
a thousand leagues away,  
While custom's wheel goes round  
and day devoureth day.  
Peace at home!—what peace,  
While the rich man's still is strife,  
And the poor is the grist that he grindeth,  
and life devoureth life?*

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

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## The Day is Coming

*Come hither, lads, and hearken  
for a tale there is to tell,  
Of the wonderful days a-coming  
when all shall be better than well.  
And the tale shall be told of a country,  
a land in the midst of the sea,  
And folk shall call it England  
in the days that are going to be.  
There more than one in a thousand  
in the days that are yet to come,  
Shall have some hope of the morrow,  
some joy of the ancient home.  
For then, laugh not, but listen  
to this strange tale of mine,  
All folk that are in England  
shall be better lodged than swine.  
Then a man shall work and bethink him,  
and rejoice in the deeds of his hand,  
Nor yet come home in the even  
too faint and weary to stand.  
Men in that time a-coming  
shall work and have no fear  
For tomorrow's lack of earning  
and the hunger-wolf anear.  
I tell you this for a wonder  
that no man then shall be glad  
Of his fellow's fall and mishap  
to snatch at the work he had.  
For that which the worker winneth  
shall then be his indeed,  
Nor shall half be reaped for nothing  
by him that sowed no seed.  
O strange new wonderful justice!  
But for whom shall we gather the gain?  
For ourselves and for each of our fellows,  
and no hand shall labour in vain.  
Then all Mine and all Thine shall be Ours,  
and no more shall any man crave  
For riches that serve for nothing  
but to fetter a friend for a slave.  
And what wealth shall then be left us  
when none shall gather gold  
To buy his friend in the market  
and pinch and pine the sold?  
Nay, what save the lovely city,  
and the little house on the hill,  
And the wastes and the woodland beauty,  
and the happy fields we till;  
And the homes of ancient stories,  
and the tombs of the mighty dead;  
And the wise men seeking our marvels,  
And the poet's teeming head;  
And the painter's hand of wonder;  
and the marvellous fiddle-bow  
And the banded choirs of music:  
to all that do and know.  
For all these shall be ours and all men's  
nor shall any lack a share  
Of the toil and gain of living  
in the days when the world grows fair.*

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## SHOSTAKOVICH — THE 11th SYMPHONY

"Creative activity is fruitless unless the writer, artist or composer has very close ties with the life of the people. Only he who feels their heart-beats and the spirit of the times can truly express the thoughts of the people; no big work or realistic art is possible under any other conditions." These are the words of Dmitri Shostakovich, the great Soviet composer whose ability to fuse intellect and emotion into musical masterpieces is unsurpassed today. Not for him the self-inflicted exile into the remote "Ivory Tower" of so many Western composers.

Nowhere are Shostakovich's "close ties with the people" more in evidence than in his 11th symphony, first performed in a series of concerts given in honour of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution. It is concerned with the revolutionary events of 1905, and in particular the tragic incident of January 9th, Bloody Sunday, when an unarmed worker's demonstration was shot down in front of the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. Throughout the symphony, Shostakovich uses several revolutionary songs.

The 1st movement, entitled "Palace Square" begins quietly with a theme on the strings, and perfectly conveys the image of a cold winter's morning before an immense square. Bugle calls pierce the stillness and in a plaintive melody on the flute one senses the mood of hopelessness. Later on, a grim tune on the lower strings is heard, and it is as if a whole people is groaning in unbearable anguish. The music throughout the movement is full of foreboding and sinister undercurrents.

A swirling maelstrom of sound ushers

in the 2nd movement—"January 9th, 1905." Against this background, the people's prayer to the Czar is heard: "O Czar, little father! Look around you. Life is impossible for us because of the Czar's servants, against whom we are helpless." The music works up into a frantic climax which projects the anger and despair of a people driven beyond endurance. The tumult dies down and the ominous Palace Square music returns. This is dramatically interrupted by gun-fire, realistically conveyed by staccato side-drum effects, and a savage, brutal fugato ensues. This hellish, cataclysmic music ends abruptly and once more the Palace Square is quiet, the "bloody deed is done."

The noble strains of a funeral march follow—"Eternal Memory," based on the famous "Workers' Funeral March." The grief and sorrow of the strings give way to the sullen anger and defiance of the brass and the music works up into a tremendous and very moving climax.

"Tocsin," the finale, begins like a loud call to arms, and the ensuing tumult seethes with energy and optimism. Strains of the famous "Whirlwinds of Danger" are heard and suddenly we are plunged back to the Palace Square. Against this music the cor anglais sings a meltingly tender tune, as final homage is paid to the heroic dead. The tune is transferred to the brass and now rings out, determined and majestic, as the symphony ends in a welter of orchestral grandeur.

This great symphony won Shostakovich a Lenin Prize in 1958.

V. Wilson.



# THE MEANING OF UNITY

An extract from the speech by Comrade Enver Hodja to the meeting held in Tirana to celebrate the 20th Anniversary of the Liberation of Albania.

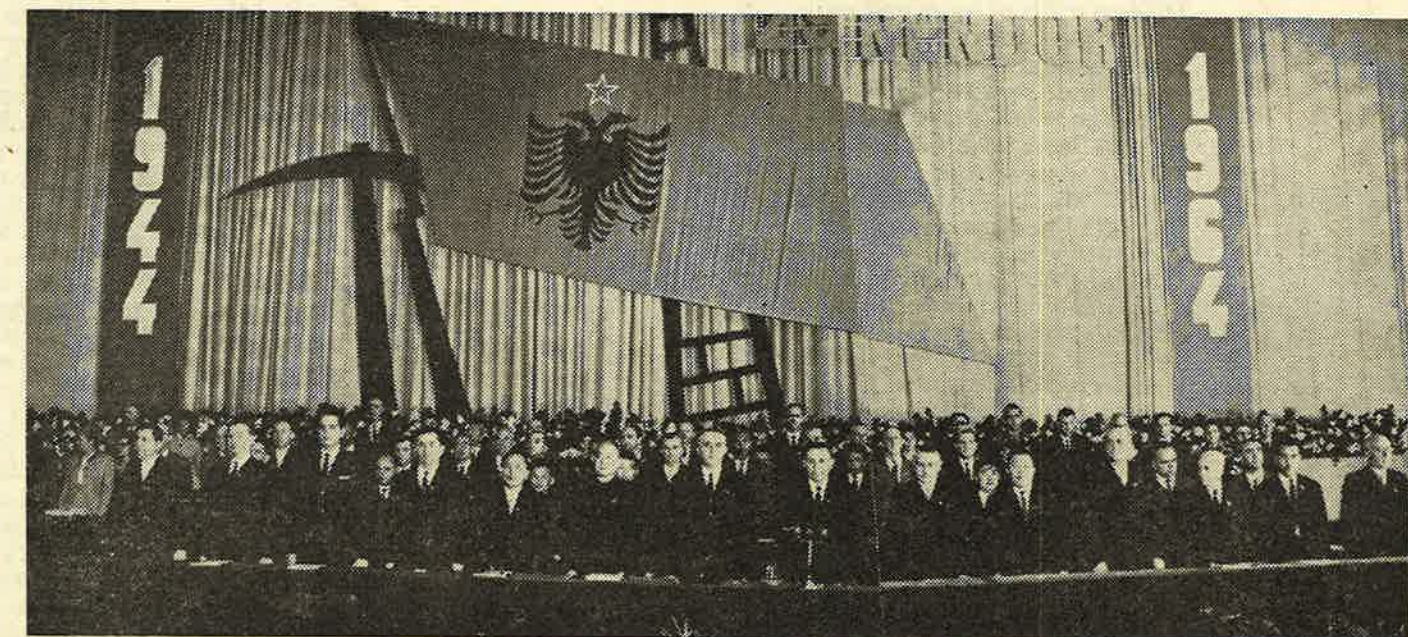
THROUGH their anti-Marxist attitude and acts, the revisionists have created many distorted conceptions on the meaning of unity itself and on the role and tasks of the various parties to safeguard and strengthen it. Thus, in practice, the existence of the "conductor," of the "mother" party, which is "infallible," and can solve every problem, while the other parties should tag behind it and can err; the existence of the opinion that only one party is capable of interpreting Marxism, while the others are not, and so on and so forth, all of these have become "sacred" rules, though never written anywhere. As a result of these rules and of the so called liberalism which revisionists have set up, tendencies of "autonomy," not from the conductor, for the revisionist leaders are bound to him from head to foot, but from Marxism-Leninism, from proletarian internationalism, have sprung up and are making headway.

Without categorically discarding these anti-Marxist, revisionist and chauvinist views, and without placing the dots on the "i" in these matters, all attempt at solid unity in the international Communist movement is sheer formality and will bear no fruit.

Marxism-Leninism is a great universal truth. It is not a dogma, but the truisms of Marxism-Leninism cannot be misused to humouring whims of one or the other, under the guise of the correct slogan: "apply them to suit the place and the time." Marxism-Leninism is the compass of action for every party. Every party can and should apply Marxism-Leninism to suit the conditions and circumstances of its country, but the compass shows the cardinal points in an unerring way. But if you try to force it to show the north in the south and the west in the east, no matter how loud you may shout that you have a compass in your hand, it may be anything else, but not a compass. This is also the case with applying the universal laws of Marxism correctly.

The teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin cannot be the monopoly of certain parties. They are the heritage of mankind, of Communists the world over. There are parties or persons who try to speculate in order to draw anti-Marxist profit from the fact that Marx and Engels were of German nationality or that Lenin and Stalin were members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From this fact, these parties and persons claim that whatever they and their leaders say, regardless of the fact that they blubbar revisionist twaddle, is allegedly the law of truth and an authentic interpretation of the ideas of the classics. This view should be discarded for it is an anti-Marxist conception.

In order to lay the groundwork for solid unity in the Communist movement it is necessary to discard the idea cultivated by the revisionists on the necessity of a "conductor," or of blindly pursuing the line of one party. Our Party is of the opinion that Marxism-Leninism is the sole conductor of Communists; it guides them; it and the principles of proletarian internationalism unite them in their great battle. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and solidarity with fraternal parties, with comrades and friends, who are loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the great cause of socialism and Communism, is a sacred duty of each revolutionary party. Our Party stands firmly on these principles. At the same time and abiding by Leninist norms, every party should courageously criticize the errors and faults of another fraternal party. Our Party has done and will do this always in a comradely way and without fear. It has criticized and will criticize those parties



or comrades who, according to its opinion, are in the wrong and it will fight without mercy and to the last against those who betray. We will always behave as Leninists towards those parties and persons who own their mistakes, correct them, and give ample proof of this.

By conferring these rights to our Party we at the same time entitle every fraternal party and every Communist to behave in the same way towards us when they think that our Party has erred. If differences are not settled, the best judge to pass sentence on who is in the right is practice, time. But not time filled with "calmness," filled with "silence" and "indifference," but time filled with polemics based on facts, on documents, revolutionary and constructive polemics, not on slanders and lies.

No solid unity can be re-established without understanding aright, without admitting and without creating real effective conditions for exercising these rights of the Communist parties. These rights and duties are admitted in principle and in words even nowadays, but it is a fact that when our Party used them at the Bucharest Meeting, or at that in Moscow, N. Khrushchev's group and their followers hurled all the thunderbolts on us.

Experience has shown that every Communist party, small or big, may err. Therefore, the party that errs, be it small or big, should be subjected to criticism, should admit its mistakes in order to correct itself. This is the only Marxist way. To refrain from criticizing this or the other; this is opportunism and does

a lot of harm; not to criticize the small party is unjust; to criticize the small party and to neglect the bigger one, this is servility; to hush up the faults of the bigger party and refrain from criticizing them, this is the source of all evil, for a big party, pursuing an erroneous line, causes immense harm.

True unity requires comradely relations between parties, for every party stands in need of the support and experience of other parties. The experience of every party is a great heritage of all and should be taken advantage of by all. But no pressure can and should be exerted by one party to impose on other parties this or that experience. This by no means excludes comradely advice, or reproaches towards him who violates principles.

Without defining the norms of relations between parties in an explicit way, there can be no assurance of attaining the unity, which true revolutionaries and Marxists desire. It is clear that when we,

promises about the application of Leninist norms, but for their application in practice.

Our Party is of the opinion that a line of action of this kind creates favourable conditions for settling differences, helps to re-establish unity and paves the way for a successful meeting of International Communism. Our Party will keep up its fight with persistence for such a meeting, for a militant Marxist-Leninist unity, in the days that lie ahead.

True unity of the Communist Movement will be achieved through a determined principled, stand by Marxist-Leninists. The victory they scored in ousting N. Khrushchev will undoubtedly be followed by other major victories. Marxist-Leninist forces are growing speedily. Our Party hails the establishment of Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties of Belgium, Australia, Brazil, India, Ceylon and others with all its heart. We greet all the revolutionary Communists who have joined in anti-

Marxist-Leninists, speak of unity, we imply unity on a Leninist basis of principle and not on a revisionist basis of compromises. We want, we are in favour of and fight for a unity in which neither revisionism, nor dogmatism may find shelter.

True unity can be achieved and strengthened only under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and with the joint efforts of all fraternal parties. It cannot be achieved either through meetings and talks between two parties alone, or through talks between leaders who do not express the real opinion and will of the Communist masses. Effective unity is only the one that is decided upon between peoples, between parties which are intimately acquainted with one another's sentiments, views and aspirations.

Khrushchevite revisionists have tried their utmost to separate peoples and Communists from one another, to keep them in the dark and in complete ignorance of contradictions, of the views of comrades and brothers on the other side of the barricade. Therefore, our Party has always been and continues to be of the opinion that the first step to take, prior to the meeting of leaders, is to acquaint the parties and Communists in full with the ideological differences, not according to the whines of primed "agitators," but on the basis of the main written materials of fraternal parties, designated by the parties themselves, which should be circulated among all Communists. In this way alone can the party itself pass sentence, can it decide and dictate to its leadership what to do. There is no more need for solemn

revisionist groups like those of Italy, France, Austria, England, the Netherlands, the revolutionary Spaniards, Portuguese, those of Chile, Columbia and other countries. Our Party greets all Communists who fight for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in the ranks of the Communist and workers' parties, where revisionists hold sway in the leadership. The revolutionary activities of the parties and groups that have been set up, have created serious alarm within the ranks of the modern revisionists. The perspective for the struggle and victory of revolutionary Communists is very good. The future belongs to them while the revisionists are doomed to fail.

The Party of Labour of Albania will consolidate its Marxist-Leninist unity with the Communist Party of China and with other fraternal Parties which stand faithfully on revolutionary Marxist-Leninist grounds, a militant unity in defence of the purity and principles of the great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Our Party considers its internationalist duty to strengthen its collaboration and solidarity with all revolutionary anti-revisionists. It will stand by and support the comrades, brothers and fellow fighters for our great cause with all its strength.

In this new phase of our fight against revisionism our Party is fully convinced of the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line and is fully confident in the inevitable victory over the most ruthless foe of mankind, American imperialism, and over the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, over Khrushchevite, Titoite revisionists and those of any other brand.

## PUBLIC MEETING COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNIST UNITY (WALES)

Bowchers Hall, Blind Institute,  
Newport Road, Cardiff

FRIDAY, 18th DECEMBER, 1964  
at 7.30 p.m.

### PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE — WHAT KIND ?

Chairman: CLIFF ROBERTS  
Speakers: To be announced

## PUBLIC MEETING CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE LONDON

7.45 p.m. December 11th

### SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE CONGO AND VIETNAM

Speakers: Johnnie James, Michael McCreery  
Chair: Dave Volpe

# INDIAN TRIUMPH

AT the close of a vast congress organised by the Indian Marxists-Leninists, Comrade Basapunniah declared before 200,000 people: "We represent the true Communist Party of India."

Speaking of the Revisionists he called them "Bourgeois Agents." The congress has adopted a new programme which foresees fundamental changes in the Party's constitution: re-establishment of the revolutionary character of its organisation with cells as its basis and a central committee of 38 members at its head. He has furthermore proclaimed their independence from all other Communist Parties.

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