

VANGUARD

Politics
Economics
World News
Literature
Polemics 1/-

VOL. 2 NO. 2

MARCH 1965

A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

EDITORIAL

ONE quarter of 1965 is almost over. Enough signs already exist to guide us to an estimation of what the rest of the year holds for the political struggle.

We say at once, that from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninists, from the standpoint of the working people in Britain and of the working people all over the world, the situation is favourable.

The contradictions between the imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., and the camp of Socialism; the contradictions between imperialism and the raging National Liberation Movement, the contradictions between capitalism and the working-class in the capitalist heartlands; the contradictions between Marxist-Leninism and renegade revisionism — all are maturing — unevenly but inexorably — in favour of the new and progressive forces.

Strategically, in essence, there is every cause for optimism.

IMPERIALISM

The "tiger's" claws, threshing in desperation, can still do much harm. U.S. millionaire gangsters, using the twin tactics of terrorism and bribery, threats and cajoling, are shedding the blood of thousands of good brave people.

British imperialism, frantic at the prospect of the fall of its two main bastions of colonial exploitation in "Malaysia" and the Persian Gulf, has decided to tread the same path as its American "henchman" — to the grave. In this it is using a most willing instrument — the Labour Government, in the classic traditional way, to divide the working peoples from their brothers in other lands.

The British modern revisionists hum and ha and equivocate, instead of ruthlessly exposing this detente of deceit, and helping to mobilise the working class for mass struggle in pursuit of its historic tasks.

What can this lead to except the liquidation of the Communist Party in all save its name?

What substitute has really ever been found for the hard ideological struggle within the Labour Movement?

CLASS ENEMY IN DISARRAY

What after all, is there so formidable about the exploiters?

The U.S. chieftain has more troubles than there are stars in the sky. In every city and town where his tattered flag flutters, it is besieged and assaulted.

He is quite at a loss to even put things to rights in his own house where the Negro emancipation struggle storms on, where 5 to 6 million remain workless and where abject poverty afflicts 30 million Americans.

For Wall Street and Washington, the chickens are swarming home to roost.

BROTHERS IN WOE

The British exploiters are brothers in woe. Their entire gold reserve hardly equals the balance deficit for 1964. Without doubt, their attempts to shrink the pay-packet; to reduce the Social Services; to depress the peoples living standards, will reap a whirlwind.

More than ever before, the situation in our country is pregnant with the need to reconstitute the ideology and cause of Marxism-Leninism.

SOCIAL EVILS

No thinking man or woman can but be seriously concerned about the harmful phenomena of social life.

Human values are kicked away by the obscene jungle-law of capitalism. Almost every facet of crime is on the rampage. Embarrassing mediocrity in the arts, literature and entertainment is at a premium, whilst those who slave away in our Health Services are brutally underpaid.

All the multi-coloured paraphernalia of hire-purchase, fattening the pockets of parasite usurers, serves to hide from our people the flimsy transient structure of the British economy today.

Nonetheless, beneath the surface, the positive is engaged in combat with all that is negative.

No matter what lies ahead, the outcome is certain.

Victory for those who want the new life, the triumph of the clean over the sordid.

LET US IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND WALES set to the fray.

Our allies are all the exploited peoples of the world.

Cut the "tiger's" claws one by one, oppose imperialism and speed forth the day when the working men and women of Britain will indeed be masters in their own house.

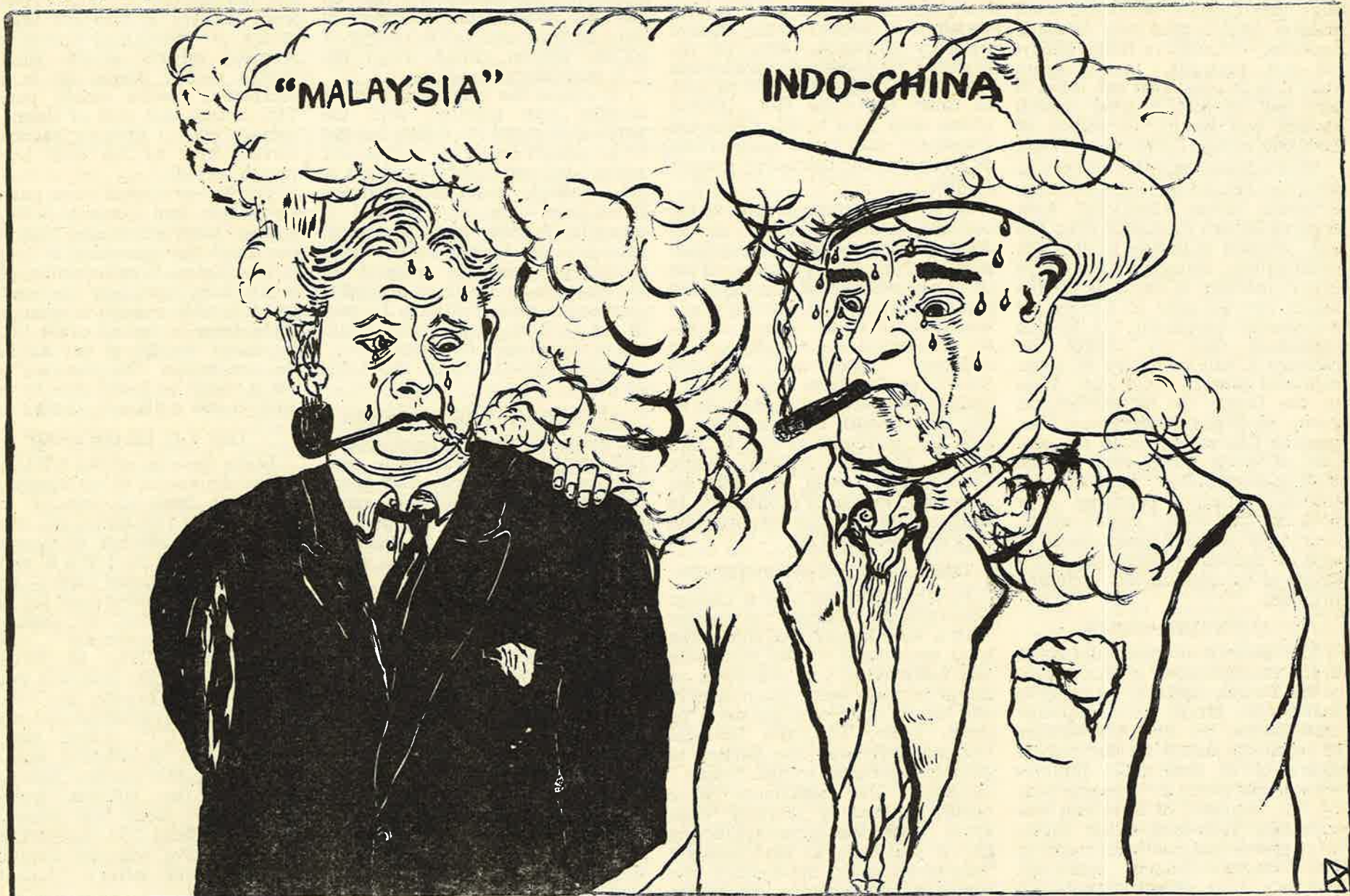
SHASTRI! RELEASE THE 1,000 JAILED INDIAN COMMUNISTS!

Public Solidarity Meeting

**CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1
Tuesday 9th March, at 7.45 p.m. Adm. FREE**

SPEAKERS — PAUL NOONE, JOHN JAMES, DAVE VOLPE

Committee for Communist Unity



Harold — I guess we'd better give up smoking!

WILSONS GOVERNMENT — SOME COMMENTS

by Paul Noone

TO understand the economic policy of the Labour Government during its first hundred days of office and thereby to understand Labour's role in the present phase of the Class Struggle in Britain, it is necessary to examine the general economic situation in which the Labour Government came to power.

THE CRISIS OF BRITISH CAPITALISM

British capitalism is in decline and has been for at least the last five decades but its rate of decline has increased considerably since the last world war and especially with the re-emergence of West Germany and Japan as major capitalist powers.

The tremendous increase in the productive capacity of the whole capitalist world since the last world war's damage was made good is outstripping the growth of markets in which manufactured goods can be sold. Thus steel production is running well below present capacity and this in spite of the colossal arms industries in West Europe and the U.S.A.

Competition for the available markets between capitalist powers is on the increase leading to a sharpening of contradictions between the various capitalist powers. Moreover, competition for the available resources of the colonial and neo-colonial territories is on the increase. For the capitalist power which commands the cheapest raw materials is able to undercut its rivals—and the cheapest raw materials by and large are obtained from the colonies and neo-colonies where labour costs and production costs are minimal.

EXPORT OF CAPITAL

But the increasing exploitation of cheap colonial raw materials involves the export of ever-increasing quantities of capital from the Metropolitan countries to exploit these colonies. An example of this comes from January's "Economist." Ten years ago I.C.I. had one fifth of its total £400 million capital invested overseas. Last year one quarter of I.C.I.'s £900 million total capital was invested overseas—mainly in India, Malaysia and Australia. In ten years time it is forecast that one third to one half of I.C.I.'s total capital (which will be in the region of £200,000 million) will be overseas.

This striking example illustrates what lies behind the ever-recurring economic crisis which has been dogging British capitalism since the war. Britain is unable to compete satisfactorily enough in the world export markets to earn the credits which can be used to finance its imperialist expansion. If British capitalism fails to exploit the colonies it will be ousted by those capitalist powers which can. Thus in the Congo the British-Belgian group of Union Miniere and Tanganyika Concessions is in the process of being taken over by the Morgan-Rockefeller financial interests. Katanga produces over 60% of the Wests cobalt needs, over 10% of its copper needs as well as industrial diamonds and a range of valuable metals including uranium.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

The balance of payments crisis is the manifestation of this failure of the British capitalist economy to match its rivals in imperialist exploitation. In 1964 the balance of payments deficit hit the critical figure of at least £800 millions while exports fell in the same year by 2%. Imports of food and raw materials increased while industrial production has been more or less stagnant since mid-1960. Britain's share of world trade fell from 21% in 1953 to 15% in 1964.

Compare this with West Germany whose volume of exports of manufactured goods rose 54% between 1958-63 while production only rose 37%. Britain is being displaced in the world export markets.

The 1951 £1 was worth only 13/9 in real terms by March 1964 while prices have risen 50% in the period 1951-64. The blame for increasing prices is laid, by capitalist economists, at the door of the working class. It is claimed that increased prices are caused by increased wages and shorter working hours. But this is manifest nonsense. The average length of the working week in the U.K. is estimated to be 47 hours per man, compared with 44 hours in Germany and 40 hours in the U.S.A. Moreover wages have increased more rapidly in these countries than in Britain. On top of this the U.S.A., Japan and Italy all have more days lost through industrial disputes than the U.K. . . . three times as many in the U.S.A.

INCREASING PRICES

The root cause of increasing prices is the tendency of monopoly capitalism to push up prices so as to maximise profits. Anything which can serve as a pretext for this manoeuvre is greedily seized on. In the last few weeks the food combines and road hauliers have used the sixpence extra tax on a gallon of petrol to push up their prices disproportionately so as to increase profit margins. Extra costs is the figleaf used to try and cover the naked avarice. Another flagrant example of this kind of profiteering was provided by the National Incomes Commission in February 1964 when it published the following. The engineering employers had granted a 5% wage increase to their employees in November 1963 and as it is estimated that Labour costs in that industry constitute 40% of the prices of its goods, it was assumed that prices might go up 2 to 2½% to cover the wage rise. Instead prices went up 4 to 5%. Thus the employers used the wage increase as an excuse for extracting greater profits.

As we can expect, in spite of the national economic crisis during 1964, profits generally were greatly increased on 1963's figures. Thus in recent editions of the capitalist press we read that Barclay's and Westminster Banks' disclosed profits rose about 30% to £8½ and £5 millions respectively. United Steel's profits were up to £15½ million compared with £8½ million for 1963. South Durham Steel & Iron Co. increased profits to £8.2 million from £5 million. While Turner and Newall, the asbestos monopoly, increased profits 23% to £13½ million although turnover had only increased by 12%.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

In November we saw a Labour Government returned to power with a bare majority of four. The total percentage of the electorate who bothered to vote was down on the percentage which voted in 1959 and this in spite of a big drive by press, radio, T.V., the National Opinion Polls and the parties to stimulate interest in the "close" election. The abstainers were chiefly in heavily working class areas. There was a general feeling of the similarity in kind between Tory and Labour: the election presented a bogus choice. Of course the Conservative Party represents

the party through which the capitalist monopolies prefer to rule if economic circumstances allow: however, if the economic going gets tough and the class struggle sharpens, then the monopolies prefer to rule through Labour—as evidenced by the "Economists" outright backing of Labour prior to the election. This is because Labour, through the way it poses as the party of the working people, can attack the workers' living standards with greater vigour than the Tories dare, without evoking a militant response. In its anti-working class activities the Labour Party is heavily dependent on its Trade Union basis.

Before the election among the promises of houses, hospitals, pensions, schools and what have you for the people, Wilson had promised a dynamic first hundred days to get Britain on the move again.

REVITALISING CAPITALISM

As the Labour manifesto said, Labour would "revitalise and modernise" the whole economy. That is, Labour were going to perform a rescue operation on British imperialism and capitalism in an attempt to resuscitate it. They would revitalise and modernise capitalism and imperialism, using if necessary greater direct intervention in the economy by the capitalist state. Labour would modernise industry to make it more competitive in the world export markets; Labour would educate more technicians and scientists for the same reason; Labour would cut out wasteful nuclear arms expenditure because British imperialism really needs more conventional arms to try and contain the colonial national liberation movements. In the subsequent capitalist boom Labour fondly wishes for, some scraps can be thrown to the workers to bribe them off—higher pensions, enough houses, better facilities. In the meantime Labour had the harsh realities of the balance of payment crisis to deal with as well as the super added problem of a speculator's rush on the £1. Catastrophe was averted only by the massive borrowing of \$3,000 million dollars from the U.S. and Central Banks.

Of course the burden of this six months loan together with the balance of payments deficit has got to be passed on to the people and in the long run exports have got to be increased. Under capitalism the latter can only be achieved if exporting is made more profitable: therefore the demand by the home market has got to be reduced. In the final analysis what is needed is increasing productivity on the part of the workers coupled with a falling in their real living standards.

How have Labour gone about this task?

ATTACKING THE WORKERS

Firstly, the imports surcharge of 15% which affected a whole category of imported consumer goods previously within the price range of the working class pay-packets. The surcharge helps to push up prices generally and reduces working class purchasing power.

Next, the Callaghan budget which involved, (a) Increased employees' National Insurance contributions amounting to an estimated £170 million a year. (b) Increased employers' National Insurance contributions which are passed on as increased prices. (c) Increased income tax. (d) Increased petrol tax estimated to decrease consumer expenditure by at least £92 million. But as pointed out above the manufacturers are using the increased petrol tax as they will use their increased N.I. contributions as an excuse to maximise profits.

The sugar coating for these bitter measures directed against the living standards of the working class—and not only them but also against the lower middle class as well—was made up of a derisory 12/6 pension increase which won't come into effect for three months, after the winter is over, when it is reckoned that a tenth of the present potential beneficiaries will be dead anyway! The added puny measures of increased widows' pensions and the abolition of health service prescription charges will be more than covered by the increased taxation and N.I. contributions.

In short the budget was reckoned to cut the people's purchasing power by at least £200 millions. But even this wasn't enough and now the bank rate has been increased to 7% and has resulted in mortgage rates going up to a post war record of 6½% (which makes a mockery of Brother Brown's pre-election promise on this point).

THE MAIN TASK

However the main task remains: to freeze wages while encouraging increased production and this is the main criterion by which the Labour Government will be judged by its capitalist masters.

Labour has made a start on this delicate task with the Declaration of Intent signed by Government, Employers and Trade Union representatives. But the Trade Union officials in the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions have gone even further in betraying their rank and file. The recent package deal with the employers commits the unions to a 3 year agreement in which time two general increases of 5/- per week will be granted (apart from some other minor raises for certain badly underpaid sections constituting about one tenth of the total engineering work force). Two extra days holiday a year will also be granted in two instalments! The workers will not be entitled to negotiate a further increase unless the cost of living index goes up 5% during the 12 month period from January 4, 1965 and this increase is maintained for 3 consecutive months within such a twelve month period or in any succeeding twelve month period. This means that cost of living increases, even if 4½% e.g. cannot be carried over to the next twelve month period!

Yet the employers have guaranteed their own interests with an escape clause which says that they can break the agreement if "legislation relating to industrial employment adds seriously to costs" which is wide enough to mean anything from increased profit tax to increased benefits of any kind for the employees. (Engineering profits it might be noted rose by over 15% or £98 millions in 1964.)

THE T.U. LEADERSHIP

Leslie Cannon, of the E.T.U. one of the signatories of the agreement and fresh from his triumph over the C.P.G.B. (his union got 19 out of 20 E.T.U. officials to renounce membership of the C.P.G.B. rather than lose their union posts—without evoking a protest from the rank and file!) writes in January's "Socialist Commentary" under the heading "Why an Incomes Policy?" that the Incomes Policy and increased exports are crucial to Labour's programme and urges that the T.U.C. should play a positive role in creating and administering this incomes policy.

Clearly the militant workers must learn from this treachery that the official T.U. leadership is hand in glove with the Capitalist Class and the latter's "Labour" Government.

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REVISIONISM AND THE LABOUR PARTY

by Jack Angel

JUST over 100 years ago, the International Workingmen's Association, commonly known as the 1st International, was formed. Since that time, there have always been two trends in the ranks of the proletariat, the reformist trend and the revolutionary trend. Because of objective conditions, the reformist trend has predominated in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. That was because capitalism was strong in these areas and as a consequence, capitalist influence and ideology was correspondingly strong among the workers of these countries.

The reformist trend is nearly always represented by the classical type social democratic party. Almost anybody can join and membership means very little. An indication of the very low level of political understanding among Labour voters is the fact that so many of them can be so easily influenced by racialist poison. The primary task of these parties is to fight elections for the purpose of winning seats on local government bodies and especially, in Parliament. Their highest aim is the winning of a majority in Parliament so that they can form a government, but if this is not possible, most of them will agree to forming coalitions with open capitalist parties. Although many social democratic governments have been formed in various countries in the past, there is no case where such a government has ever achieved socialism, and there is no case where any social democratic type party ever led the workers to power. In fact, there is not a single case in history where the victory of socialism has been achieved without a revolution.

The first successful socialist revolution took place in war-torn Russia in October 1917, but in the years leading up to that revolution, there had been a fierce ideological battle going on inside the workers' movement between the reformist and revolutionary factors, between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. It was only because the Bolsheviks, under the great, inspiring leadership of Comrades Lenin and Stalin, permanently shattered the Mensheviks as an ideological force and at the same time, all other bourgeois and petty bourgeois trends in the working class movement, that the victory of October became possible.

STRUGGLE AGAINST REFORMISM

It was Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, who said long ago that religion was the opium of the people. In modern, sophisticated, capitalist society, reformism is the political opium of the people, and the social democratic party is its church. Reformism exercises the same function under capitalism that religion did in more primitive societies. It is the opium of the people, it fills their minds with illusions about the nature of society and the way to change it. In such a society, where reformism is the dominant trend, it is only by means of a long drawn out struggle by the Marxist-Leninists against reformism, that capitalist influence and ideology can be defeated. Unless reformism is vanquished, all talk about

the victory of socialism is so much hot air.

Thus, it is absolutely essential for any Communist Party worthy of the name to conduct a fierce day to day struggle against reformist social democratic ideas. But the CPGB does not do this, does not expose the social democratic leaders and their role in the ranks of the working class, and refuses to make a class analysis of the nature of the Labour Party and the official Trade Union machinery. It wilfully and consciously refuses to do this, because it is trying might and main to integrate itself in the Labour Party. Thus, instead of making a clear distinction between Marxism and social democracy, the CP is doing all it can to blur the differences.

The CP leaders claim that their line is one of support for all that is progressive in Labour's policy and opposition to all that is reactionary. But this, in itself, is a monumental deception, which deliberately creates the impression that the Labour Party has positive and negative features and can go one way or the other, either to the right or to the left. It deliberately ignores the essentially reactionary character of the Labour Party. Under the guise of support for the left wing against the right wing, under cover of support for what is progressive against what is reactionary, the CP leaders are deceiving the masses and attempting to lead them up the garden path.

CLASS COLLABORATION

Marxists never compromise their principles. He who compromises his principles is a traitor to his cause. Can it be said that the CP is adopting correct tactics towards the Labour Party and is not betraying principles? No, it cannot. Because the CP leaders are not really Communists at all, they are just concealed social democrats masquerading as Communists. They have sold out, all right.

The Labour Party is a capitalist party and social democracy is capitalist ideology. By integrating itself with the Labour Party, the CP is integrating itself with capitalism, is practising class collaboration.

There are many CP members and sympathisers who still think subjectively about the CP leaders. They think they are misguided. Don't shoot the pianist — he's doing his best. They cannot believe that the revisionists have sold out. There are others, however,

who treat the revisionists as a joke, who think that the CP leaders have shot their bolt and are harmless. Yes, they are harmless, all right, but they are harmless to the capitalists, harmless to all the enemies of the working class. But so far as we are concerned, the revisionist splitters have done enormous harm to the revolutionary cause, and they are still capable of doing plenty of damage. They have taken upon themselves the performance of a very important function for the capitalist class, namely, to wean the working class away from their Marxist-Leninist ideology, and to put obstacles in their way when they are ready to embrace it. Who can say that in this, the revisionists have not had a large measure of success?

Many years ago, Comrade Lenin made a brilliant Marxist analysis of the character of reformism and the Labour Party. Did Lenin support the Party? Yes, he did, but certainly not in the shameful, obsequious fashion that the modern revisionists do. Discussing the attitude to be taken by British Communists towards the Labour Party, Lenin said:

"If I as a Communist come out and call upon the workers to vote for Henderson against Lloyd George, they will certainly listen to me. And I will be able to explain in a popular manner not only why Soviets are better than Parliament and why the dictatorship of the proletariat is better than the dictatorship of Churchill (which is concealed behind the signboard of bourgeois democracy) but also that I wanted to support Henderson with my vote in the same way as a rope supports the hanged — that the establishment of a Henderson government will prove that I am right, will bring the masses over to my side, and will accelerate the political death of the Hendersons and the Snowdons as was the case with their friends in Russia and Germany."

Left Wing Communism, 12 vol. Edition Selected Works Vol. 10 pages 130-131.

REVISIONISTS FOR HIRE

The miserable revisionists at King Street would never dare to speak the language of Lenin, in their dealings with the Labour Party. You do not speak in such a way to a potential employer. The employer does not consider that he wants them or needs them yet. Thus, the CP leaders have placed themselves in the position of a man who applies for a job and is rejected by the boss, but the man will not accept this rejection and he keeps bouncing back over and over again like a rubber ball trying to prove to the boss that he has the right credentials. Never mind, Mr. Gollan maybe they can use you yet, but perhaps (dreadful thought) they will never be able to use you at all, or maybe, by the time they are ready to avail themselves of your services, you will by that time be too old.

In contrast to the revisionists, we Marxist-Leninists stand by Lenin. His attitude towards the Labour Party was right, then — it is right now. The ensuing period of Labour government will

prove conclusively which line is correct, whether it is the proud proletarian line of Comrade Lenin, which we support, or the grovelling petty bourgeois line of the CP leadership.

Sterling crisis is not over

According to City reports, during one period in December, £200 million of British Government securities were sold by holders abroad.

Nothing the Government has done up to now, has in essence contributed to a real alleviation of the sterling weakness.

In the opinion of the "City Press" — "it (the Government) cannot succeed — the result must be that in the long run, a more serious process of deflation will have to take place."

This is traditional capitalist jargon for a reduction of the labour force (unemployment), resulting in a still firmer resistance on the part of the employers to wage-claims; a reduction in domestic spending-power and a general lowering of living-standards for the mass of working people.

"Huge fortunes have been made out of inflation" goes on the "City Press" — "with far too little effort," — "but the men concerned can't be blamed for taking advantage of a situation, which resulted only from Government policies." This is a frank and refreshing admission, coming from such a source.

Vanguard has repeatedly warned that the "Labour" Government will attempt to "solve" the troubles of capitalism at the expense of the working-class and sections of the middle-class. The "Incomes Policy" is one lever towards this.

Already foodstuffs, clothing, toilet goods, fares, mortgage rates, etc., etc., are on the increase. If, as George Brown insists, incomes (that is, wages and salaries) must be "hinged" to productivity, then what is he prepared to do to halt and lower the cost of goods, apart from writing plaintive questionnaires to the capitalists?

Or do he and his cronies in the T.U.C. expect that the workers will agree to a wage-freeze in the face of persistent increase in the cost of living. The people can't eat the "Declaration of Intent." It just doesn't taste good. We warn yet again.

Let all Trade Unionists, all wage and salary earners, particularly of the working-class and lower professional classes, unite to defend and advance their living standards.

Let the capitalist exploiters, who have made the mess, now pay for it since they can never clean it up, whether "Labour," Tory or Liberal occupy Westminster.

M.P.

Wilson's Government — from page 2

Before the election the Labour Party promised to tackle profits and dividends and capital gains and so on — as part of the incomes policy. It was all talk meant to mislead the organised workers. A camouflage under which the T.U. leadership could capitulate and collaborate with the capitalist class. The city is breathing relief that the "wealth tax" is a non-starter and that the "corporation tax" is just another name for what existed before. There is to be no actual increase in the amount of taxation imposed on profits and unearned incomes.

THE EXPOSURE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Nevertheless the Labour Government is exposing itself as the handmaiden of capitalism — which fact is made obvious by the two recent by-elections. At Nuneaton where Cousins, in a Trade Union stronghold, had only half the majority Labour got at the Election; and more emphatically, at Leyton, where Gordon Walker lost a safe Labour seat and has been forced to resign as Foreign Secretary. Why did he lose? There is talk that racialism in the working class accounted for this: but this is what the capitalist press wants to believe. Racialism was not an issue in Leyton in spite of Jordan's

intervention. On the night before the voting Jordan was beaten up by the local people before the stewards could get to him: in fact they saved him from being seriously injured. The openly racist candidate, Lynch, got a miserable 150 votes. This is nothing compared with the 3,500 polled by the Fascist at Southall during the General Election. Much as the capitalists want to believe that racialism led to Gordon Walker's downfall the truth is that only 60% of the electorate bothered to turn out to vote compared with 80% at the General Election. This 20% fall represented disenchanted working class people who realise that Labour in office is no different, to Conservatism. The choice between them is bogus. What does it matter which of these parties "rules"? The system of exploitation is unchanged.

REVISIONISM'S ROLE

What alternative is there to Labour? The workers turn in vain to the C.P.G.B. for a Marxist lead. The C.P.G.B. is not trying to expose social-democracy. The C.P.G.B. is doing its best to cover up for the Labour Government, to explain away its downright anti-working class activities as mere lapses or deficiencies. It encourages militants in the delusion that Labour

will mend its ways and become a socialist force if only enough pressure is brought to bear on it by "left forces." The C.P.G.B. confines its attack to what it calls the "right wing" leadership of "Callaghan, Jay and Brown" and calls for "socialist unity" with what it calls "left wing forces" within the Labour Party . . . (Greenwood? Castle? Swinger? Foot?)

As the recent C.P.G.B. executive meeting put it: "We communists (sic!) want the Labour Government to survive and win victories for the people. We will support any progressive measures it takes. . . Any criticism we make will be to strengthen the Government and its standing with the people." Thus the C.P.G.B. will perform an invaluable role for capitalism in that it will effectively silence militants so as not to rock the boat.

"Comment" on January 16 remarked "So far, there have been no far reaching measures to tackle the root causes of Britain's crisis. The steps taken are very much 'the mixture as before' under the Tories." What does the C.P.G.B. leadership mean . . . "So far"! What were they expecting! In the way they refuse to face the facts of social democracy, the C.P.G.B. leadership is doing inestimable

harm to the working class struggle in these islands. Their vulgar betrayal of every Marxist-Leninist principle only serves to disarm the advanced sections of the working class ideologically. They constitute the revisionist tail to the social democratic dog and fancifully they try to wag the dog. The tragedy is that the working class militants as they see through the social democratic hypocrisy of Labour are going to turn to the C.P.G.B. and have their militancy futilely wasted in a vain attempt to transform the Labour Party.

THE WAY AHEAD

The need to put a correct Marxist-Leninist line inside and outside the C.P.G.B. is more necessary than ever and this necessitates in turn a concerted attempt by all anti-revisionists to seek unity on a correct analysis of the British situation. This analysis will only come about through Marxist-Leninist education in practical struggle as well as in theory. This is why the Committee for Communist Unity exists. To serve as a rallying point in the exposure of revisionism and social-democracy. Our task is to try and formulate the correct, collective line of mass struggle against monopoly capitalism and imperialism and for the eventual smashing of the capitalist state and the establishment of socialism in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

DRV GOVERNMENT STATEMENT

Denounces U.S. plot

HANOI, 1965

IN the "special war" they are waging in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have sustained one defeat after another and have been ever more vigorously condemned by the world's peoples including American people. In order to extricate themselves from their flounder and isolation, they are trying their best to intensify and expand the war of aggression in that zone.

The air and naval forces of the United States and its South Vietnamese agents have staged repeated war acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The U.S. air force has brazenly bombed and strafed many areas in Laos, thus intensifying aggression in that country and carrying the war beyond South Vietnam's borders.

Acting on U.S. orders, on January 26, the so-called South Korean national assembly sanctioned the dispatch to South Vietnam of 2,000 South Korean troops. At present, the United States is trying to entice its allies and press its satellites to send troops to the South Vietnam war.

It is clear that the United States imperialists are carrying out step by step their scheme to expand the war of aggression in South Vietnam, thus increasing the danger of a big war with incalculable consequences in this part of the world.

This is a most vicious war scheme, and a most brazen challenge to the peoples of Vietnam and other Indo-Chinese countries, and to peace-loving peoples of the world, who are struggling to stamp out the flames of aggressive war kindled by the U.S. imperialists. It constitutes an extremely gross violation of the 1954 Geneva conference on Indo-China, the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and international law, which the U.S. Government has undertaken to respect.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam vehemently denounces to public opinion the world

over these schemes and acts of the U.S. Government and resolutely demands that the latter put an immediate end to the aggressive war in South Vietnam, correctly implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, strictly respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, and refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people.

The powerful wave of protest of the peoples of Vietnam, Korea and the world against the dispatch of South Korean troops to South Vietnam constitutes a stern warning to South Korean and other cliques of puppets. If they do not heed the voice of reason, they will share the U.S. imperialists aggressors' lot of ignominious defeat.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam requests the co-chairmen and the participating countries of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China to take firm and effective measures with a view to safeguarding the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, and defend peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam calls on the peace-loving governments and peoples of the world to raise in time their voices and to take positive actions against the scheme of the U.S. imperialists and their agents to expand the South Vietnam war.

The more the U.S. imperialists unmask themselves as aggressors and warmongers, and as the most dangerous enemy of the peoples of Vietnam, Indo-China and the world the more they will hasten their total defeat.

LATIN AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR D.R.V.

Workers and Students of several Latin American countries have held demonstrations in protest against new U.S. aggression on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (D.R.V.).

In Argentina, the young people demonstrated in the capital, Buenos Aires, on February ninth, shouting "Yankees, get out of South Vietnam!" "We condemn U.S. crimes in South Vietnam" and other slogans. While passing before the U.S. Embassy, they burned a U.S. flag in front of the Embassy gate.

In San Jose, capital of Costa Rica, a group of workers and students yesterday posted a picket in front of the U.S.

Embassy, holding placards expressing support for the Vietnamese people and protesting against new U.S. war provocations.

Panamanian workers and students yesterday paraded in front of the U.S. Embassy in Panama City. They carried placards demanding that the U.S. withdraw its troops from South Vietnam and Panama and cease its war provocations against North Vietnam.

In Managua, capital of Nicaragua, slogans appeared yesterday on the wall of the U.S. Consulate reading "down with the murderers of the Vietnamese people", "down with the aggressors of the world".

Portuguese troops killed

PORTUGUESE troops were alleged to have lost nearly 150 men in four days of fighting in Portuguese Guinea with the revolutionaries of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Island (PAIGC).

The claim was in a PAIGC communique published in Conakry broadcast over "The Voice of the Revolution". The nationalist communique also claimed another 100 Portuguese were killed in various brushes.—A.F.P.

REJECT the Labour government's surrender to United States capitalist domination and military occupation of Britain! Withdraw Britain from N.A.T.O! Out with all Yankee bases!

Committee for Communist Unity.

Socialist Yugoslavia Today

From Mr. James Murray in Belgrade (writing in The "Sunday Express" (Extracts) 7th February, 1965).

THE hotel was elegant and plush. In the dining-room well-dressed customers were tucking into caviar and lobster Newburg attended by impeccable waiters.

At one table a matronly woman was complaining bitterly to her companion about the servant problem. "You just can't get a good maid nowadays," she said.

It was a typical bourgeois scene of leisurely comfort and affluence.

For the sights and sounds and smells of Western-style affluence dominate the capital city of Belgrade.

Cinema posters advertise such decadent Western films as *Lolita* and *Hud*.

The dance bands in the night clubs play wicked Western music. When the patrons get up to dance they shake to the vicious Twist.

The grip of the State is being relaxed. Every little factory and enterprise is being encouraged to pursue the profit motive in its own way on a competitive basis.

It is now even possible for Yugoslavs to become modest capitalists.

Some of the richest people in the community are self-employed shoemakers and dressmakers who do a roaring trade in Government and professional circles in Belgrade.

In agriculture the collective system has been recognised as a failure and 80 per cent of the land has been returned to the peasants.

Already a new, wealthy class is emerging in Yugoslavia.

They are party and Government officials, artists, journalists, doctors and industrial leaders, many of whom own their own houses, drive their own cars—and even employ servants.

The new acquisitive society produces new problems, however. For instance, young people are having to be taught to respect private property.

So far, of course, the affluent society is enjoyed by only a small section of the country.

The vast majority of Yugoslavs have still a long way to go before they have even the basic comforts.

Many winter on a diet of beans, pickled cabbage, and bread.

The average annual income in Yugoslavia is still a staggeringly low £175 a year.

Most wives work — the children are checked in at factory nurseries in the morning — and the majority of the men need two jobs to make a living wage.

Even Russia is adopting the incentive motive of more pay and promises of consumer goods for the workers.

"But out of this argument will come the true interpretation of Marxism."

It could just be that the great debate will one day lead Yugoslavia and the rest of the Communist world to democracy.

Mr. Murray's observations are much nearer accuracy than the renegade revisionists' assertion that "Yugoslavia is a Socialist Country" which utterly contradicts the 1960 Moscow Statement.

All Afro Trade Unionists meet

Accra, February tenth (hsinhua) — the first meeting of the executive bureau of the All-African Trade Union Federation opened here this morning with delegates from seventeen African countries attending.

The meeting which is expected to last three days will discuss a programme of

support for the national liberation movements in those territories still under colonial rule and South Africa, assistance to the African labour movements against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and the creation of a committee of solidarity with the people of (Leopoldville) Congo, according to a spokesman of the meeting.

We may, we will, we must, we shall be free

WE may be free! 'tis ours the mighty power
To speak in tones both terrible and loud,
Nor will we crouching and obsequious lower
To worship baubles and adore the proud;
The titled tyrants, who, with plunder'd might
Have thrones erected on the grave of right.

Ah! no; we seek for freedom, and our claim
Is bas'd upon our birth. Our native land!
The land of glory and of butchering fame
We seek to rescue from the bloody brand
With which proud conquerors have its name begor'd,
Those meek vice-regents of a righteous Lord!

We will be free! applauding reason smiles
Her simple acquiescence; and the just,
The patriot noble, need no courtier's wiles
To shroud the truth within a hideous crust
Of black perversion; such as priests and knaves
Have used to model and to mould us slaves.

We must be free! for all the varied springs
Of dark oppression, now would seem to lose
Their potency; as on her bliss-imparting wings
True knowledge soars abroad, disturbing the repose
Of ancient error, and diffusing light
Where nought existed but the gloom of night.

We shall be free! aloud the truth proclaim,
From east to west let freedom's name be heard;
Let tyrants hear it! that her virtuous fame
Will shine unsullied, though they would retard
With puny effort her majestic sway,
A nation wills it and who dare gainsay?

Then hark! O countrymen! awake ye dead!
Ye who have slept in apathy profound,
Arise! arise! by freedom's pole star led,
March nobly onward till with success crown'd
You reap the comforts which your deeds have gain'd,
And cease to struggle as do slaves enchain'd.



STALIN

A TRIBUTE

J. V. Stalin (died on March 3rd, 1953)

BY DAVE VOLPE

JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH STALIN was born in Gori, Tiflis, on December 21, 1879 (the son of a poor Georgian cobbler and a peasant-serf mother).

At the age of 15, Stalin had already joined an illegal revolutionary group, studying Marxist literature. At 18, he was leading Marxist study circles at his school, from which he was expelled in 1899, and a year later formally joined the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, which later was to split into two distinct organisations. The Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, the latter under the leadership of V. I. Lenin.

Stalin increasingly was influenced by Lenin's writings and in later years, when the main responsibility for conducting the Socialisation of the U.S.S.R. fell upon him, repeatedly asserted that he "was a pupil of the great Lenin, no more, no less."

From the age of 20, Stalin threw all his energies and talents into the cause of Lenin's revolutionary programme. He engaged in propaganda agitation, led workers' demonstrations, and completely identified himself with the first publication of Lenin's newspaper ISKRA (The Spark) in December, 1900.

"My opinion of Lenin from that time," said Stalin in 1946, "was that here was not a mere leader of the Party, but its founder—head and shoulders above his colleagues—a mountain eagle who knew no fear in struggle and who boldly led us forward along the unexplored paths of the Russian revolutionary movement."

FEARLESS FIGHTER

The Tsarist police sought to arrest him and Stalin went "underground." From then on he lived the life of heroic underground effort, striving to unite the conscious Socialist theory of revolution with the spontaneous Russian working class movement, now beginning to gather momentum. Stalin was arrested, imprisoned and exiled more than twelve times and one report has it that he contracted T.B. in Siberia, but (fortunately for the working peoples of the whole world) made a near miraculous recovery.

By 1903 Stalin, from his prison, was in correspondence with Lenin, and thereafter worked in accordance with Lenin's directions.

Thus right through the rising storm up to 1917, together with Kirov, Molotov, and other leading Bolsheviks he emerged as a foremost leader of the proletariat within the Tsarist colonial empire—the class which was destined to be the first in history to shatter the chain of imperialist slavery which hitherto had appeared impregnable.

Stalin was in London in April, 1907, staunchly standing with Lenin at the fateful Congress at which the victory of the Bolsheviks over the petty-bourgeois Mensheviks, who planned to liquidate the Party, was sealed.

It was with the rail-workers of Tiflis (Georgia), and the oil-workers of Baku (Transcaucasia) that he received "my first baptisms of revolutionary fire." "Practical activities and theoretical thought must merge into one," wrote Stalin, "and thereby lend the spontaneous Labour Movement a Communist character. Our duty is to introduce Socialist consciousness into the movement and so deflect it from the path of narrow Trade Unionism."

His writings constantly received Lenin's approval.

INSURRECTION

Stalin was in the hands of the police when the Tsar was deposed by the revolution of February, 1917. On his release

he immediately set forth for Petrograd, revolutionary capital of Russia. The C.C. of the Party instructed him to take charge of Pravda, since Lenin was still abroad.

Together with Molotov he directed the activities of the Central Committee in those crucial days when the question of transforming the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a Socialist revolution hung in the balance.

Together with Lenin he resolutely opposed the opportunist line of Kamenev, Rykov, Trotsky and Co. and prepared for the October Insurrection. The insurrection began on October 24, and the following evening the Soviet assumed governmental power.

Stalin was elected a member of the 1st Council of Peoples' Commissars and until 1923 was in charge of Affairs of the Nationalities.

His work "On the National Question" is regarded as a classic of Marxist teaching. With Lenin, he transformed the Tsarist Empire into a free voluntary Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In January, 1918, he organised a Conference of the revolutionary wings of the Socialist Parties of Europe and the U.S.A., which led to the formation of the 3rd Communist International.

CIVIL WAR

Immediately, foreign reaction organised the assault by 14 states together with the White forces in Russia, aimed at strangling at birth the first Socialist country.

J. V. Stalin vigorously organised the resistance of the Red forces and did outstanding work in the defence of Tsaritsyn (Stalingrad)—since renamed by the Khrushchovite renegades from Communism, Volgograd.

Later, together with Voroshilov, he again did heroic work on the Ukrainian front, in the liberation of Kharkov and Minsk, and the creation of the Byelorussian Republic.

Throughout the 3 years of civil war, Lenin despatched Stalin to the most important fronts as a political and military leader.

"Wherever confusion might develop into catastrophe," wrote Voroshilov, "there Comrade Stalin was sure to appear."

On November 27, 1919, on Lenin's personal motion, J. V. Stalin was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner.

IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE

By 1920, the Red Army had been forged and steeled in battle. 21 years later it was destined directly under Stalin's command, to bear the brunt in stopping Hitlerism from murdering all Europe.

In January, 1924, V. I. Lenin died and it fell to Stalin, by decision of the Central Committee, to take up the banner and carry on.

The enemies of Socialism tried by every means to deflect the C.P.S.U. (Bol-

sheviks) from Lenin's path, and thus pave the way for the restoration of Capitalism. Stalin and his comrades staunchly defeated one after the other.

"It is our duty to bury Trotskyism as an ideological trend," said Stalin. His famous theoretical work, *Foundations of Leninism*, completed in 1924, played an enormous role in defeating Trotskyism!

This brilliant, lucid and profound exposition of Marxism-Leninism deserves the closest study by all progressive workers today.

His explanation of *Historical and Dialectical Materialism* remains the best yet published. Every anti-revisionist will find anew, substantiation for his or her principled stand, on perusing this historic work. It fell to Stalin to wage an indomitable struggle against those who opposed the Socialist industrialisation of the U.S.S.R., for only when the capitulationist trend represented by Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and Kamenev was routed, could the Party do its job effectively.

Again in 1928 Stalin led the fight to defeat a Rightist deviation in the C.P.S.U. (B.) typified by Rykov, Tomsky, Bukharin, which aimed to restore capitalism.

In 1930 Stalin, by decision of the C.C. wrote his article "Dizzy with Success" a famous polemic against "leftist" distortions of the Party Programme.

HEIGHTEN VIGILANCE

By 1933 the First 5 Year Plan had been fulfilled. Stalin reported that "our country has been transformed from an agrarian into an industrial country with an advanced Socialist agriculture. The remnants of the exploiting classes are scattered over the face of the land and are struggling against the Soviet regime by stealth. We must heighten vigilance, to wage a fight to protect Socialist property and to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat to the utmost."

"We must not lull the Party but sharpen its vigilance, not disarm it but arm it and hold it in a state of mobilization for the next tasks."

To the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B.) in 1934, Comrade Stalin delivered his famous *Report on Soviet Foreign Policy* in a world rumbling with distant thunder. "The U.S.S.R. held firmly to its course of peace. We threaten nobody. We attack nobody. We stand for peace but are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the war mongers blow for blow. Those who try to attack our country will receive a crushing repulse to teach them not to poke their pig snouts into our Soviet gardens."

REVISIONIST "TURNCOATS"

There is no need to record here the unprecedented success of the 5 Year Plans, which are the material and technological basis of Soviet economy today.

The victory of collective and State agriculture in the face of incredible difficulties; the tireless struggle for collective security against the Hitlerite menace—a struggle sabotaged by the Munichites of Britain, France, etc.

The unparalleled valour of the Soviet forces in defence of the Soviet land and indeed, all civilisation: the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements designed to forge a lasting peace in Europe and prevent German militarism; the rapid reconstruction of the U.S.S.R. from the rubble of Nazi occupation and rape. In the mainstream of all these tumultuous affairs, Joseph Stalin played a leading part. His concern for the Soviet Union and all the working peoples of the world is written into 50 years of history. No hysterical distortions, no slanderous defame, mouthed and parroted by a host of grotesque pygmies can really diminish the stature of this Communist leader. The capitalists always hated him like poison.

The modern revisionist renegades from Communism shattered his statues—outdid the capitalists in their spleen. But his mightiest monument they cannot shatter, try as they may. It is the Soviet Union and the millions of Communists who learned and are still learning from the teachings of Stalin, Marxist-Leninist fighter against the exploitation of man.

PAMPHLETS FROM PEOPLES CHINA

Workers of All Countries, Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy	5 0
The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. and Ourselves	1 0
The Fighting Task Confronting Workers in Philosophy and the Social Sciences	1 0
People of the World, Unite, for the Complete, Thorough, Total and Resolute Prohibition and Destruction of Nuclear Weapons!	4 9
How To Be A Good Communist	2 9
The Truth About How the Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Have Allied Themselves with India Against China	1 0
The Struggle Between Two Lines At The Moscow World Congress of Women	1 0
The Sino-Indian Boundary Question	5 9
Peaceful Coexistence — Two Diametrically Opposed Policies	9
Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace	9
On the Question of Stalin	6
Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?	1 0
The Leaders of the C.P.S.U. ARE the Greatest Splitters of Our Times	1 0
A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement	9
Apologists of Neo-Colonialism	9
Revolutionary Dialectics and How to Appraise Imperialism	6
The Proletarian Revolution and Khrushchov's Revisionism	1 0
On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World	1 3
Why Khrushchov Fell	3
Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in Reply to the Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Dated July 30, 1964	6
Obtainable from Lit. Secretary "Vanguard" (Postage 3d. extra)	

UNITE AGAINST RACISM!

OVER the last few years racialism has been on the increase in Britain. The demands of the working class in Britain for better living conditions have not been met and accusing fingers are pointing at the coloured people who have emigrated from their homelands to England as if this were an answer to these demands.

Working People of Britain. Do not be distracted from your demands.

Examine the facts for yourselves.

WHY DO PEOPLE EMIGRATE?

Many of the coloured immigrants come from lands of sunshine — their homelands, where their friends and families live. Obviously they would not leave these countries in large numbers and emigrate were it not for the fact that the conditions they are forced to live in are desperate.

The conditions in the homelands are the direct result of capitalist exploitation. For many years the class which is still exploiting us has been exploiting them in a most inhuman way.

For example:— In the Caribbean they imported slaves and indentured labour. This in order that they should extract the wealth of these countries for themselves. They have created one-crop economies; they have brought poverty, unemployment, starvation to the descendants of those they transported across the world to work for them. From this many Caribbean people seek to escape. In India, they destroyed highly developed handicraft industries in order to develop capitalism. They have divided the people of the Indian continent against one another and strife continues. They have created conditions in which the population of a vast, fertile, and one-time prosperous country face starvation — many of them dying in the streets daily. British imperialist investment and extraction of profits has increased since "independence." From this many Indians and Pakistanis seek to escape.

THE RESULTS OF IMPERIALISM

The distortion of the economies of these countries, the super profits made from the toil of the people, misery, is the result of imperialism. The capitalists drain the wealth from these countries in the form of raw materials or unprocessed agricultural products — for which they pay little — and send in return expensive manufactured goods. They never allow the development of self-sufficient industries in these countries for they would thereby forfeit their supply of cheap raw materials. The working people and peasants of these countries are therefore completely at their mercy. If e.g. the one-crop happens to be sugar, they must starve while the cane ripens and there is no work. If market prices fall they must suffer wage cuts.

Some of the big monopolies who operate in the colonies and neo-colonies are household names — Tate and Lyle, I.C.I., Unilever, etc. Do not believe that the imperialist exploitation of these countries has ended. One out of every three pounds invested by British capitalists is invested abroad. Nor does exploitation end with "independence." The ruling class which exploits us here and exploits the working people of other lands, has stooges in these countries to do their bidding — for a small bribe!

In the so-called "Commonwealth" the people have been brought up to think of Britain as the "mother country." Their own cultures and customs have been destroyed so that their loyalties can be controlled by these capitalists. Their "Britishness" has been impressed upon them. Being misled, they believe that if they come to Britain they will be welcomed, that they will escape the misery of exploitation.

Many never get here because the Immigration Act debars them. It is in effect a colour barrier!

HERE IN BRITAIN

They leave behind unemployment, starvation . . . they find here racial discrimination.

Yet many perform vitally important jobs in this country. They constitute a large section of the workers in transport and on building sites. They staff our restaurants, our laundries, work in factories. Were it not for the coloured doctors (3,600 in number) and nurses our health services would collapse.

Landlords and usurers make super-profits out of them. Houses are hard to find because of racial hatred. They face discrimination, hostility at work, in schools, in pubs, because they were born with pigmented skins. They are beaten up in the streets because of their skin colour.

DIVIDE AND RULE

A ceaseless effort is directed towards building up race hatred to which the fascist thugs give their active help.

This age old tactic of the capitalist ruling class has a twofold effect. First, it serves to break the unity of the working class. The ruling class has long known that if it must control people whose numbers are much greater than its own, sheer physical strength is not enough. The ruling class must DIVIDE in order to RULE. Meanwhile they distract the working people of Britain from their own plight.

TOWARDS WORKING CLASS UNITY

But the working class must remember that in their unity is their strength. That the strength of the working class is all powerful because it is based on the determination to end all oppression, all exploitation of man by man, and to oppose all subjection of man on grounds of colour, or creed. Unlike the unity of the capitalists it is based on a total and enduring unity of interests. But in the absence of working class unity, the strength of the capitalists is greatly increased.

SO WE MUST FIGHT VIGOROUSLY AGAINST RACIALISM IN ANY FORM.

WE MUST DEMAND THAT THOSE WHO SEEK TO REPRESENT OUR INTEREST TAKE A FIRM AND PRINCIPLED STAND AGAINST RACIALISM.

WHEN THEY DON'T WE MUST EXPOSE THEM FOR THE HYPOCRITES THEY ARE.

For example, the Labour Government who hit at the living standards of the working people at home with rising prices and a wage freeze and pursue a neo-colonialist policy abroad, sometimes talk against racial discrimination, but in fact do little about it.

Even the Communist Party of Great Britain which we remember fought so vigorously against racialism in the thirties in not doing enough. Where were they at Smethwick, at Southall, at Slough? Where are they now, while fascist bullies walk arrogantly and unafraid in a working class area?

When the ruling-class leadership say: — "The immigrants are coming into your country," we answer: —

YOU, THE CAPITALIST AND IMPERIALIST CLASS, MUST GET OUT OF THOSE COUNTRIES FROM WHICH OUR COLOURED BROTHERS AND SISTERS COME. YOU MUST CEASE YOUR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EXPLOITATION OF THESE COUNTRIES WHICH RESULT IN THOSE PITIFUL LIVING CONDITIONS FROM WHICH THEY SEEK TO ESCAPE. WE WILL GIVE THEM EVERY SUPPORT IN THROWING YOU OUT.

When they say: — "The immigrants are taking your jobs," we answer: —

THIS IS A LIE. IT IS THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM WHICH CAUSES UNEMPLOYMENT AS IT DID IN THE 1920s and 30s, WHEN THERE WERE VERY FEW COLOURED PEOPLE IN BRITAIN.

When they say: — "The immigrants are taking your houses," we answer: —

GIVE US MORE HOUSES AT REASONABLE RENTS. END THE UNEARNED INCOMES OF LANDLORDS AND PROPERTY SPECULATORS, THERE WILL BE ENOUGH HOMES FOR ALL.

When they say: — "The immigrants are marrying your daughters," we answer: —

YOU WILL NOT DESTROY THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS ON THE GROUNDS OF COLOUR, CREED, OR SEX. IN OUR UNITY LIES OUR STRENGTH TO FIGHT AGAINST YOU. WE WILL RESOLUTELY OPPOSE RACIALISM IN ANY FORM.

LONG LIVE UNITY.

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, OF ALL COLOURS, UNITE!"

From a leaflet issued by C.C.U. Available on request. Price 4/- per 100.

News Comments

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN EDUCATION

THE COUNCIL FOR THE REDUCTION OF TAXATION recommends that compulsory education should be limited to the age of 14. "That is an excellent suggestion," according to the City Press. "Far too many young boys are deprived of the essential education and disciplines which arise from the necessity to earn a livelihood at an early age."

Shades of Charles Dickens and David Copperfield!

Why, we are still awaiting the full implementation of the 1944 Education Act!

DEAR OLD PALS, JOLLY OLD PALS

So goes the old English music-hall song.

Mr. John Freeman, ex Labour M.P., Editor of "New Statesman," has been appointed High Commissioner to India. The "Daily Telegraph" is engagingly frank when it says:—

"Mr. Freeman has maintained his old friendship with Harold Wilson. It was often assumed that he would be found a Ministerial post in the Labour Government."

Both he and Wilson resigned from the Labour Government in 1951 over increased arms commitments—if you please! Now the Wilson Government is spending about double the 1951 figure on arms, etc. Heavens portals will be closed to these two gentlemen!

MODERN REVISIONISTS PROGRESS BACKWARDS

According to the "Daily Worker," organ of the C.P.G.B. — "there are only 3,000 seats at the Royal Festival Hall" (where the D.W. holds its annual rally in November this year). "2,000 fewer than at the Albert Hall, where the rallies have been held in recent years."

ANOTHER SUPERMAN?

We learn from the City Press, organ of the finance-centre of London, that Mr. Enoch Powell, a prominent ex-Tory Minister, is "probably the only man who can save the Nation from an economic catastrophe of unparalleled proportions." "In default of a return to a free trade and sound money policy, the £ must collapse."

Whenever bankruptcy stares capitalism in the face, they "create" some tinpot idol whose job it is "to unite the Nation" and divert the working-class from its historic course. If its going to be Enoch, then they must be pretty hard-up.

MODERN REVISIONISM PROGRESSES BACKWARDS. No. 2

Mr. Etienne Fajon, director of

"Humanite," and member of the political committee of the revisionist French Communist Party has revealed that the circulation of the six party newspapers, including "Humanite," has dropped from 800,000 to 400,000 since 1955.

No doubt the unfortunate Branch Secretaries of the F.C.P. will get the chopper for that one.

We must have been mistaken, but we thought that Khrushchevite revisionism launched in 1956, was "a creative strengthening of the World Communist Movement!"

Perhaps France is something quite different.

HEADLINE IN A LONDON DAILY PAPER

Alec Hume Backs Wilson's Policy on Malaysia.

When it comes to defending imperialist interests, what difference is there between the two?

"Birds of a feather . . ."

WILSON-BROWN WAGE-FREEZE TABLETS ARE EASIER SWALLOWED THAN THE TORIES

Lord Thompson of Fleet thinks that although Wilson's position is precarious, a change of Government would be a disaster.

"A new Tory Government would quickly get into difficulties with Britain's labour force", he said, speaking to businessmen in Canada.

He hoped that Labour would carry on and expressed confidence that the current economic crisis would be overcome through traditional British "will- ingness for self-sacrifice. Necessary measures would prove unpopular (sic) and difficult to apply . . ."

"There would be some form of wage-restraint. There will be a slowing down of business with resulting unemployment."

(We believe that Lord Thompson is a millionaire and that he, personally, would not face unemployment, or for that matter be eligible for National Assistance.—Ed.)

MEMORABLE LAST WORDS!

Mr. Ted Hill, "left-wing" President of the BOILERMAKERS SOCIETY, discussing his retirement:—

"I shall re-assess my values to society and see if they can still be of use to the working class, whether in the House of Lords or elsewhere." (From the "Daily Worker.")

A broad enough hint to Premier Wilson, when the next Honours List comes up.

Baron Hill of Bermondsey might prove an intriguing acquisition to the "leftist" trend in the British Upper House.

TOM FLINT

TOWARDS 2,000

by EILEEN BAGLEY

FOR many years the British Communist Party has been attempting to win the workers of Britain for Marxist-Leninist ideas — at least, that was the general idea! The members within the organisation have been (and still are), exhorted to make more recruits, (the mass-party routine) and to get out and sell the "Daily Worker," (the increased-readership routine)! Members are also asked to please remember the traditional methods of the British Labour Movement and that they support the Labour Party, with a view to a Labour/Communist majority in the present House of Commons. I would ask — "What have traditional methods to do with revolution"? Would there, by any chance, be a contradiction and conflict of purpose in such a statement?

I recall the time when it was, I think, true to say that most comrades in the C.P.G.B. felt that they really were fighting for a socialist Britain. There was comradeship and a good feeling of unity of purpose within the ranks, and discussion and argument were the order of the day! Now, owing to changes in policy and an increasing encroachment of opportunist ideas, together with the proof of lack of integrity in leading and other members of the party; the refusal to properly discuss recurring crises within the world socialist movement, (20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. Secret report, Hungary, etc.) and a refusal to acknowledge mistakes and the lessons of mistakes made by other parties and the C.P.G.B., there is a breakdown of the unity essential to progressive activity and to a revolutionary political movement.

GRIEVOUS DEFICIENCIES

Even allowing for the frailty of human nature, together with the effect of such historical events as mentioned above and all the anti-communist propaganda, it has become apparent to all but the fanatically faithful and the non-understanding that there are grievous deficiencies within the C.P.G.B. itself and lack of clarity as to what the British working-class leadership should be doing in this period of historical development. More and more comrades are leaving or are being expelled from the ranks of the C.P.G.B. and democratic centralism is dead within the organisation.

Why is this so in an age when, above all others, we are seeing the breaking up of capitalism and imperialism happening daily before our very eyes? Why? — when, whichever way they turn, the capitalists are unable to solve their problems, and the basic law of capitalism — maximum profit — is proving harder and harder to maintain? Even the Labour Party, that Social-Democratic bulwark holding back the tide of revolution, priding itself on its knowledge of the workings of capitalism, cannot solve the very deep crisis into which all capitalism has slipped. The problem is insoluble, because the whole of the Western capitalist countries are so tied to each other, economically, politically and militarily that they all stand or fall together and the attempts to solve the problems of any one of these countries only aggravates and creates further crises within the block, which again reflects back upon the original country in an increasingly vicious circle.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Do we ourselves understand that there is a desperate necessity for a truly revolutionary party of the working class today, and do we look at the problem in a truly revolutionary manner, or are we all too bogged down in a labyrinth of petty bourgeois ideology, out of which we find it impossible to struggle? We must, by some means or another, get right outside the framework of petty bourgeois and social-democratic "establishment" habits of thinking and view the problem in an entirely different manner.

All truly revolutionary workers are visionaries and what is needed in our political work today is the inspiration of a visionary leadership that can talk of a society that we have not yet experienced, but which is knowable and possible within the concepts of our sum total of knowledge to date.

We talk of the socialisation (or nationalisation), of the land and the means of production, but what do such terms actually mean to a worker who, in Britain today, in many instances, can buy his family the basic requisites for the living of an acquisitive life? We, in this country, in ever-increasing numbers, do have television, washing machines, refrigerators, telephones and even cars. House ownership has been forced upon many because of the shortage of housing for rental at reasonable prices, so acquisition is further increased. Money is the God and acquisition is the aim. To keep up with, and where possible, pass the Jones's is the basic pursuit of the "establishment" today. Our social services — housing, schooling, medical services, transport, etc. lie almost in ruins around us, but H.P. and the wage packet are our Saviours! Morals and responsibility for one's fellow human beings have been abdicated and cultural activity is shelved in order that the time may be spent in chasing the ever-elusive "affluence" we all are supposed to have! This is Britain, 1965 and yet out of it

all we find that the greatest sicknesses afflicting us are "emotional and mental" disturbances. The sickness is society itself, and to cure the people, society itself must be changed.

I repeat, we talk of the need for a change to the socialist ownership of the land and means of production, the taking over of the state apparatus and the building of the new society. But what new society are we offering British workers in 1965? The majority of people do not understand what is possible, although they know that much that they see around them is undesirable. Practical experience tells the worker that he is being "done," but he can't quite see how. So many political parties, including the C.P.G.B. have now added their voices to the general confusion, that we are all wondering on whom can we rely and where we should turn.

All great revolutionary leaders are visionaries and are always able to project the "image" of what the fight is all about, in the same way that the great artist projects his image in his work. As Dave Voipe states ("Vanguard" No. 11) . . . "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." . . .

To win workers for the ideas of socialism, we must show them what the new society will be and it is here, I think, that we ourselves have failed to grasp the central factor of what the British revolution will be about, namely, as Marx stated, the changing mode of production. We must present a picture of a future that we can see and one that works!

AUTOMATION

On Tuesday Jan. 26 at 7.30 p.m. on the BBC Third Programme a man named Gordon Pask, in a broadcast called "Blueprint", presented just such a future, and our answer lies in the technological and scientific fields of automation and cybernetics. We can speak of the nation as a place where the production line has disappeared, 100% automation produces all the necessities and luxuries for economic and material comfort, cybernetics are put to work in all aspects of society — social, political and industrial. Man and woman will be free to choose that creative activity which appeals to them, out of many hundreds, families will be able to enjoy real family life — (over-tired and harassed Mums and Dads are not the best basis for family harmony), there will be time to stand and stare and, in fact, man will really control the environment he has so laboriously built up for himself. Man today is controlled by the machine and the clock — he is an appendage to them and this is quite ridiculous.

Now I don't know who Gordon Pask is, or anything of the organisation of which he is the founder — Systems Research Ltd., but I intend to find out, if possible, and to obtain his talk, either via *The Listener* or in pamphlet form, if it is available, in order to more thoroughly digest the content of his broadcast. Gordon Pask debunked the adage, "He that does not work, neither shall he eat" not only as being incorrect, but as downright criminal! Puritanism is the basis of the "hard work" we are all taught we must fill our lives with. But what does hard work mean to different people? To the Capitalist it means making his workers do more and more work at ever greater speed in order that his profits may increase. The worker speeds up his routine of drudgery in order to get a bigger pay packet and thereby get just a small proportion of the perks of life to which he is entitled. The artist, writer, scientist and all creative workers are the only ones who come nearest to achieving fulfilment in their work, and actually do it because they love doing it! So, hard work as a phrase, has many sides and meanings. We must abandon the Puritan principle that it is good "for the soul". What the industrial revolutionaries really meant was that it was good for their pockets!

The problem of leisure is a red herring. People on the whole, do not wish to sit around and do nothing. There will be no problem of leisure, with the opening up of all educational and cultural facilities to all people. When society is created for the good of society and is a community in the real sense — where people are prime and all else is subordinate to their interests, then we can say that man is beginning at

least to reap the benefits of the fantastic efforts he has put into the wonderful world of possibility within our grasp.

Revolutions in the past have been long, tedious and tortuous, but things, including revolutionary processes are speeding up today at a rate that will frighten us, if we allow ourselves to be frightened. Are we, perhaps, afraid of revolution itself? Economic and social revolution, I mean. Are we afraid to exchange the old for the new? If we are, we have no place in a revolutionary movement, because Capitalism will die if it does not introduce automation and the workers will die if full automation is introduced within the confines of Capitalist society. There really is only one answer, surely?

WORK

Scientists and technicians are seeing where, in a matter of just a few years, the new technologies have brought us. The Capitalists are seeing it and America is confronted now, with this immense problem of being on the verge of abundance and not knowing what to do about it. Jobs are actually being created in America in order to keep people at work! "On the one hand sixteen men produce all the light bulbs required by the whole of the American economy and on the other hand at 4.30 every week-day morning, 40 farmworkers race like mad towards a rickety bus. They know that if their legs do not carry them fast enough, they face another day's starvation. For only the first 10 into the bus get work. And in America, generally, if you don't work, you don't eat." (This passage comes from the *TV Times* and the programme presented by Intertel on Wednesday, 27/1/65 — "America — on the edge of abundance"). I quote it to illustrate the possible effects of automation on any large scale within the framework of Capitalism.

Britain can be in a similar position very shortly unless we understand these facts and present them as quickly as possible, fairly and squarely. We must

survive, but they just won't work under Capitalism — they are the Socialist means of production, so here then should surely be the kernel of our inspiration and the vision of a new and exciting world. The new revolution is under our noses and we, as Marxist-Leninists are falling down on the job!

Young people today in ever-increasing numbers are actively 'agin' the establishment, but they see nothing with which to associate themselves. Are we not going to offer them their heritage and show them what they can be 'for'?

The countries we are pleased to call under-developed do not any longer require to go through arduous years of expansion and economic errors in the old way. Their's too can be a new and wonderful world. Communications are an essential factor in the developing fields and automation can be understood and used by all countries, to the greatest advantage. The old cycle is broken — we are on the threshold of things that men and women have dreamed of, but never dared to think could be.

Are we then prepared, ourselves, to radically change our concept of what social revolution is about today, and, using the correct teachings of Marxism/Leninism, begin to work our way to formulating short-term policies which make real sense and open up the prospects of 'the city beautiful' and a life of abundance and mental satisfaction for all, in a way that can be envisaged by ourselves and the working class.

If this all sounds like 'pie in the sky' — I repeat — we have the technological and scientific revolution here on our doorstep — we have only to stop dreaming about the 'Academic and Philosophic mysteries of life' and step into scientific thought, of which Marxism is an integral part. By doing this, we shall find the way forward. A new, united Marxist/Leninist party will arise and from practical knowledge of the working class it will work out its theories and, in turn, translate them into action along our road to revolution.

[Comments on this article are invited. — Ed.]

IN SAUDI ARABIA

THE discovery at the end of the twenties of an ocean of oil under the hot sands of the Arabian peninsula brought first British and then American oil firms to Saudi Arabia.

The more powerful American monopolies gradually ousted their British rivals, and in 1933 they set up the Aramco (Arabian American Oil Company), which in the course of the years, acquired concessions covering practically the whole country. In 1961 the Americans pumped more than 68,000,000 tons of oil out of Saudi Arabia.

U.S. influence at the court of King Saud grew correspondingly. With American connivance more than half of the huge sums flowing into the treasury from the oil royalties, are spent on the personal needs of the King and his entourage. No wonder the court is content to be the vassal of the American oil barons.

Ordinary people gain nothing from the oil. Three quarters of the population live still in the same primitive conditions as their forefathers of a thousand years ago. For the American employees of the oil company however, air conditioned villas with swimming pools were set up. Of the 8,000,000 Saudi Arabians hardly 10,000 are relatively well off. The rest live in abject poverty; they suffer from hunger and disease; they are deprived of all rights and constantly tyrannized by those in power. There are no political parties, no trade-unions, no free press — they are all forbidden.

The lives of those pioneers for Saudi Arabia's progress are in grave danger. They are even denied communication with their families. All one knows, is that they were taken into the so-called "Rubh al-Khali", the empty quarter, deep in the heart of the desert.

The subtle hand of the ARAMCO.

Most of those detained are intellectuals, students and workers. The political oppression has recently been stepped up and there is no doubt, that behind the black rule of the palace is the subtle hand of the Aramco and certain Americans, who see in every Arab, who wishes to better the conditions for the ordinary men and women of his country, a menace to U.S. vested interests. This explains also why police repression is particularly harsh in the Kateef province, in the

neighbourhood of the oil-fields.

\$530 million

The U.S. magazine FORTUNE reported a few years ago that "oil was the greatest single source of American wealth". The profits of the ARAMCO Oil Co. alone amounted to \$530 million in 1960, and according to the "TIMES" of February 1, 1962, "£375,000 of stock of Standard Oil of California, whose operations are conducted in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Sumatra, and Venezuela" is owned "by Mr. McCone the director of the Central Intelligence Agency".

It appears, as if the heads of these American Oil Trusts would regard any sort of freedom, any step forward by the people of Saudi Arabia, as incompatible with their own interests.

We strongly protest against the arbitrary rule and against the abysmally inhumane treatment to which innocent men, men of courage and of good intentions are being subjected.

ADEN "PROTECTORATE"

A future Labour Government will not maintain military bases in any part of the world against the wishes of an elected Government or of the people who live in the lands where these bases now exist.

Well, what about it Anthony Greenwood?

Breach of Trust: the U.K., entrusted, to act for the welfare, benefit and interests of the Arab people, has committed breaches of trust, ranging from negligence to active oppression, which has caused death again and again. Chaos, ignorance, poverty and disease are the dominant features of our national life. Chronic unrest and inter-tribal warfare prevailed. Written legislation and personal security are unknown in the greater part of our territory.

There exists no region in the world, with so few inhabitants and so many "Heads of State" as in the Aden Protectorate.

The aims of the Arab people are not contradictory to the aims of the people of Britain. We cannot drink our oil. We want to trade with it; we want to exchange it for the good things of the world.

— by courtesy of "Free South Arabia."

FACTS ON THE INTERNATIONAL OIL CARTEL controlled by:

Standard Oil of New Jersey,	Rockefeller.
Socony Mobil Oil	Rockefeller and Chicago financial interests
Standard Oil of California	Rockefeller and Morgan.
Texas Oil Co.	Mellon Empire of the U.S.
Gulf Oil Co.	50% owned by Brit. Government, the other part is owned by the big five banks an dseveral Brit. monopolies.
British Petroleum	British, French, Dutch and U.S. capital.
Royal Dutch Shell	Rothschild and other big French business interests.
Co. Francaises des Petroles	by courtesy of "Free S. Arabia"

ASIA - MIGHTY CITA

LIBE

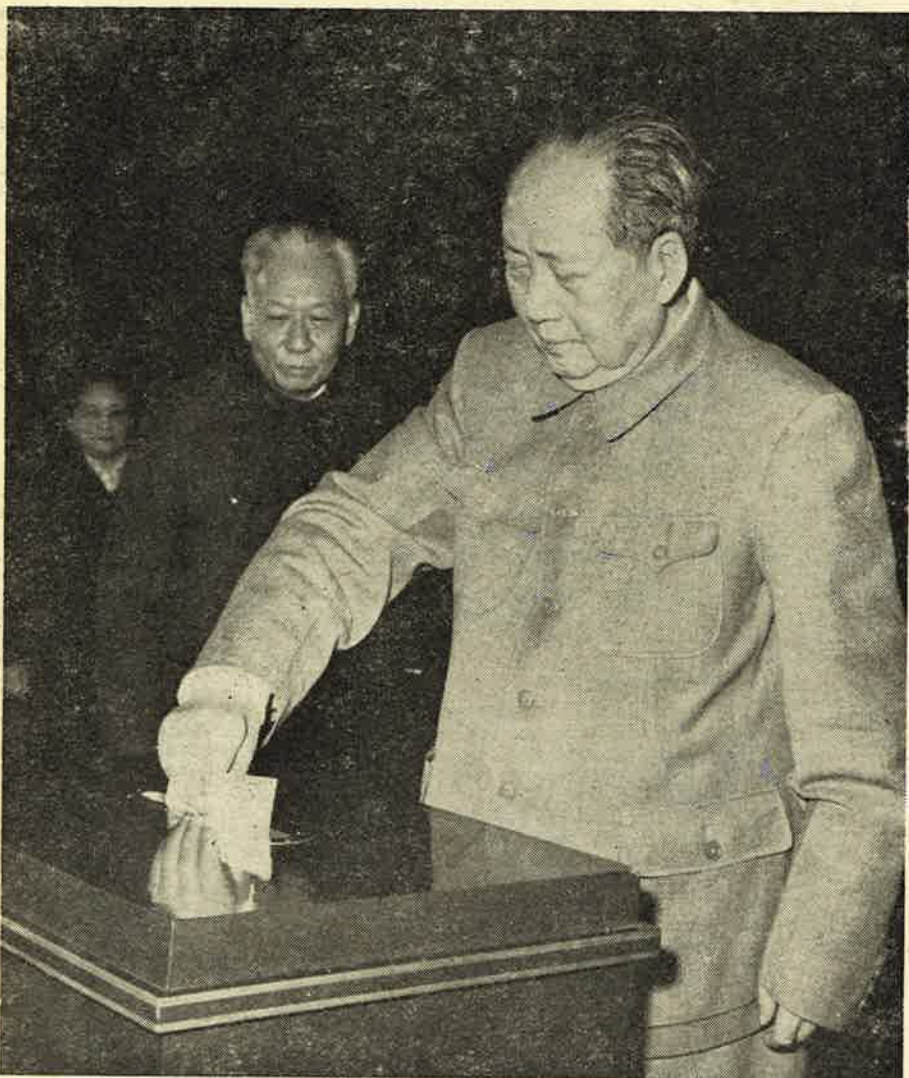
IN



New generation of Tibetans.



Fighters of South Vietnam standing on top of

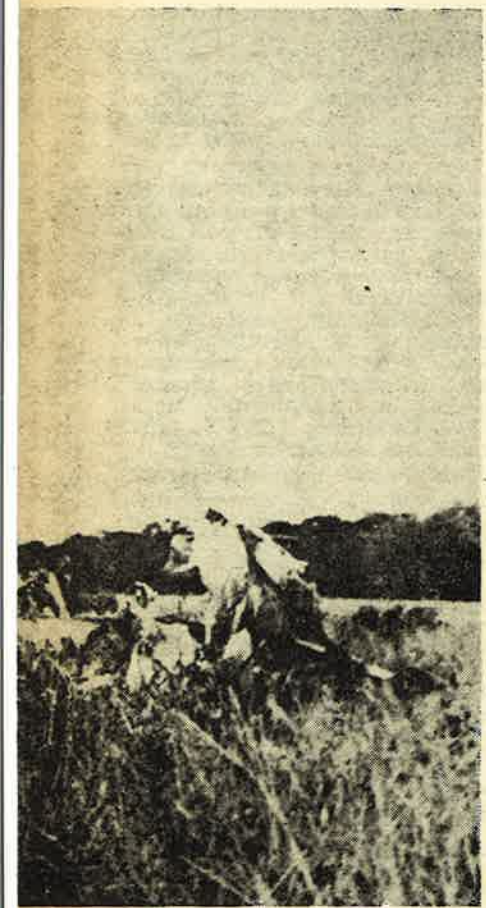


Chairman Mao Tse-tung casts his vote at recent National People's Congress session to elect state leaders of China. Following him are Liu Shao-chi and Soong Ching Ling who were elected Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China.



Some of the former down-trodden Tibetan deputies to the National People's Congress organ of state power.

MODEL OF NATIONAL LIBERATION FROM IMPERIALISM!



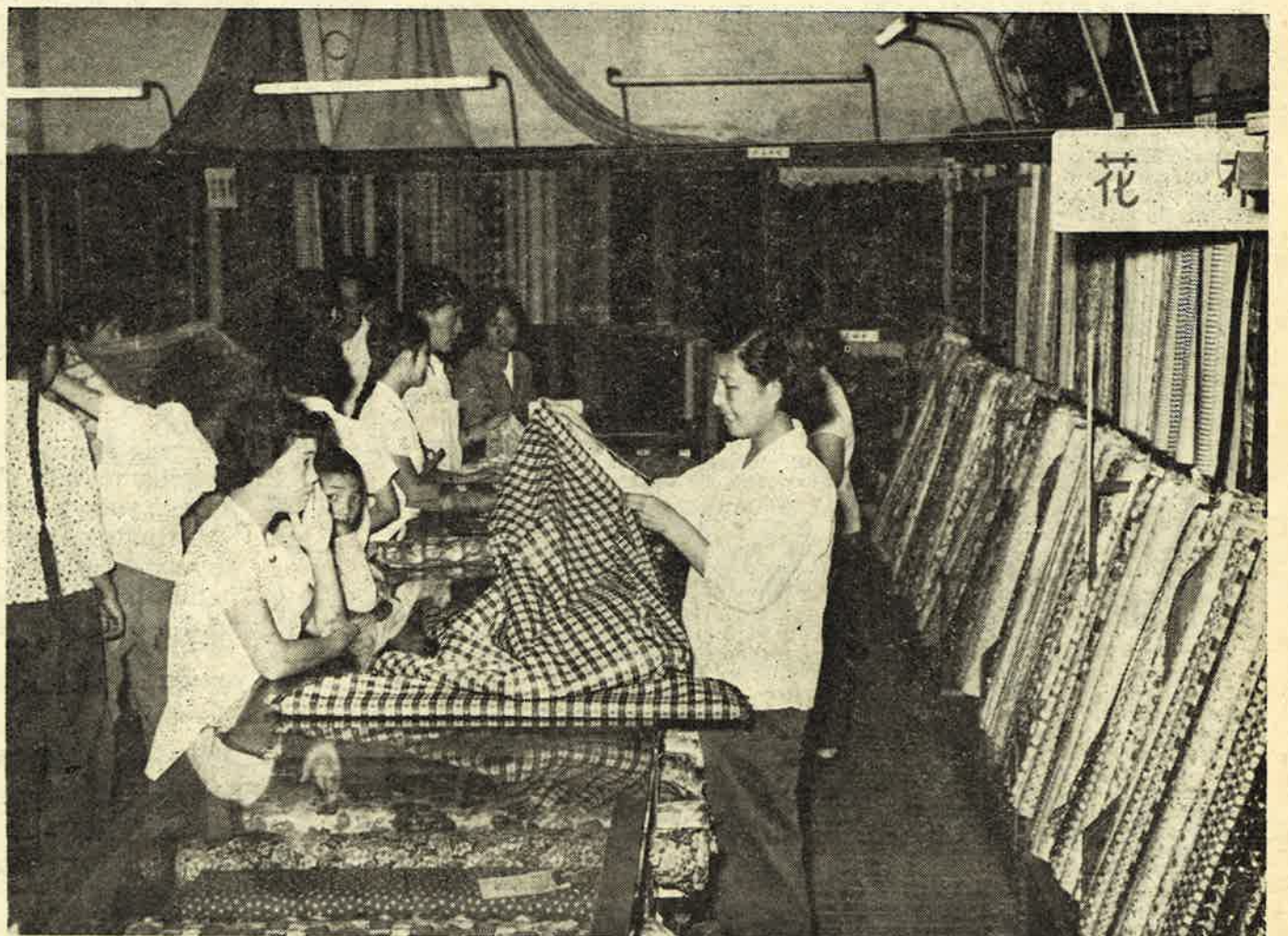
Wreckage of a downed helicopter.



People in Saigon demonstrate against puppet police dispatched to suppress them.



Peasants who are now serfs who are now free, China's supreme



China — A sign of better economic situation, more varieties of textiles on sale.

DESTROY THE OLD TO BUILD THE NEW

A comment on the state, revolution, and the C.P.G.B.

by
MICHAEL MCCREERY
(A Pamphlet, published on November 1963)

A CRITIQUE OF THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Part 1. (Part 2 will be published in the next Vanguard)

THE British Road to Socialism was first published in 1951. Since then it has been re-drafted, but it still retains those ideas which provoked such controversy when it first appeared. In this programme the main break with earlier Marxist thought lies in the claim that it is now possible for the working-class to *win control over* the capitalist state in Britain, by constitutional means, and then *transform* this capitalist state into one which will meet the needs of the working-class. Thus:

"At a time of mounting class struggle, when the entire working class is brought into action and is supported by other sections of the population, a general election fought on the issue of a socialist solution to Britain's problems could bring decisive results. It could return to Parliament a Socialist Labour and Communist majority and establish a Socialist Government which, with the backing of the people, would begin to carry through a fundamental social change.

In this way, using our traditional institutions and rights, we can transform Parliament into the effective instrument of the people's will, through which the major legislative measures of the change to socialism will be carried. Using the rights already won in the Labour movement's historic struggle for democracy, we can change capitalist democracy, dominated by wealth and privilege, into socialist democracy, where only the interests of the people count . . .

Working class power is the essential condition for far-reaching social change. The programme of a Socialist Government must therefore aim to consolidate that power, and put an end to the political, economic and social power of the capitalist class. Only a working-class state, with the full support of working-people, can carry through the measures that will open the way to socialism."

How is the capitalist state, which serves the interests of monopoly capital, to be transformed into a working-class state, which will serve the interest of the working-class?

"(The Socialist government will achieve the) consolidation of the political power of the working people by ensuring that those in commanding positions in the armed forces and police, the civil service and diplomatic services are loyal to the Socialist Government and increasingly representative of the people; and by demo-

cratic electoral reform, democratic ownership of the press, and control of broadcasting by the people."

In other words, the *structure* of the state will not be modified, but there will be a purge of all those in high places whose loyalty lies with monopoly-capital.

Why is this programme controversial? Because it is just this line of argument which Lenin tore to pieces in *The State and Revolution*, written in 1917, and *The Proletarian Revolution and the renegade Kautsky*, written in 1918. Thus, from *State and Revolution*:

"If the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonism, if it is a power standing over and above society, and *increasingly alienating itself from it*, then it is obvious that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but *also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class and which is the embodiment of this 'alienation.'* The Com-mune especially proved that *the working-class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes* (my italics M. McC.). The words 'to smash the bureaucratic military machine' briefly express the principal lesson of Marxism in regard to the tasks of the proletariat during a revolution in relation to the state."

Again and again this point is driven home.

"It was Marx who taught that the proletariat *cannot simply conquer state power in the sense that the old state apparatus passes into new hands* (my italics M. McC.). As we have seen, Marx meant that the working class must smash, break, shatter (spren-gung-explosion, the expression used by Engels) the whole state machine."

Lenin emphasises, and we in the working-class movement in Britain in particular need to remember, that

democracy is a form of the State.

"A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism, and therefore, once capital has gained control of this very best shell . . . it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that no change, either of persons, or institutions, or of parties in the bourgeois democratic republic can shake it.

We must also note that Engels is most definite in calling universal suffrage an instrument of bourgeois rule. Universal suffrage, he says, obviously summing up the long experience of German Social Democracy, is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present day state.

The petty bourgeois democrats, such as our own Socialist-Revisionaries and Mensheviks, and also their twin brothers, all the social-chauvinists and opportunists of Western Europe, except just this 'more' from universal suffrage. They themselves share, and instil into the minds of the working people, the false notion that universal suffrage 'in the modern state' is really capable of ascertaining the will of the majority of the toilers and ensuring its realisation."

It follows that Parliament must not be regarded as the means whereby the working-class win power. In criticising a statement of Kautsky's which read: "The aim of our political struggle remains, as hitherto, the conquest of state power by winning a majority in Parliament and by converting Parliament into the master of the Government," Lenin wrote, "This is nothing but the purest and most vulgar opportunism, repudiating revolution in deeds, while accepting it in words."

The real road to power for the proletariat and its allies, Marx, Engels and Lenin maintained, was not into the Parliamentary cul-de-sac but through proletarian dictatorship. As Lenin wrote in *The Proletarian Revolution and the renegade Kautsky*:

"The formula 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is merely a more historically concrete and scientifically exact formulation of the proletariat's task of 'smashing' the bourgeois state machine, about which both Marx and Engels, in summing up the experience of the revolution of 1848, and still more so, of 1871, spoke for forty years, between 1852 and 1891."

The capitalist state machine will be broken up by the working-class, who will use *their own* organisations to achieve this. It is these organisations which will constitute the main weapon whereby the capitalists are overthrown;

these and not Parliament. It is these organisations which will form the nucleus of the new working-class state; these and not Parliament. (Although, of course, *once power has been won*, and the dictatorship of the proletariat firmly established, Parliament can be transformed into an instrument of the people's will.)

Until the final and decisive struggle for power we cannot be sure just what forms these working-class organisations will take. They may be councils of action, shop stewards' committees, trades councils, or some new form of organisation. But in essence, whatever their form, they will be *centres of working class power* (Soviets); the means whereby the working-class exerts superior force against the capitalist state in order to win power. This is why Lenin wrote, in *Left-Wing Communism*:

"Gallagher . . . fully understands that only workers' soviets and not Parliament, can be the instrument whereby the aims of the Proletariat will be achieved. And of course those who have failed to understand this up to now are hopeless reactionaries, even if they are most highly educated people, most experienced politicians, most sincere Socialists, most erudite Marxists."

On the question of whether this road to Socialism was likely to be a peaceful or a violent one, Lenin was equally adamant. In 1918, when commenting on Marx's view, expressed in the 1870's, that a peaceful transition *might* be possible in England and America, he wrote:

"The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is *violence* against the bourgeoisie, and the necessity of such violence is *particularly* created, as Marx and Engels have repeatedly explained in detail . . . by the existence of a military clique and a bureaucracy. But it is precisely these institutions that were *non-existent* precisely in England and in America and precisely in the 1870's when Marx made his observations. (They do exist in England and in America now!)"

And in the 1960's have they disappeared?

For this leads us to consider the developments in the world since Lenin's time. We have seen that *the British Road* adopts, on this question of the relation of the state to the proletarian revolution, an attitude which is identical in essentials with that advanced by right-wing opportunists in the past. But since the 1920's there have been immense changes in the world as a whole and in Britain. Do these changes justify us today in contradicting Lenin's teaching?

—ANNOUNCEMENT COMRADE MICHAEL MCCREERY

Comrade McCreery, Secretary of the Committee for Communist Unity and Co-Editor of *Vanguard* has been "off-duty" since December last, under strict doctor's orders for a complete rest and medical treatment. He will be undergoing medical treatment for a complaint associated with the liver, for several weeks yet. All

friends and supporters of the C.C.U. and readers of *Vanguard* will, we are sure, join with us in wishing Michael McCreery a complete and speedy return to full health and continuance of his work.

The Secretary C.C.U. and Editorial Board of *Vanguard*.

HOME OR WILSON— TAKE YOUR PICK!

Mr. Harold Peake, Chairman of Lloyd's Bank —

"The tradition of the City of London is to give whole-hearted support to the elected Government of the country, regardless of Party. I am convinced that this tradition is as strong today as ever."

Mr. Peake went on to reveal that the Bank increased its profit from £4,788,351 to £5,757,913 in one year. In addition, a revaluation of the Bank's premises show that this has nearly doubled in recent years to a figure of £43,488,861.

Trade Unionists will want to remind Mr. George Brown of all this when he resumes his sale of his 'Incomes Policy'. THERE IS STILL MONEY IN STOCKS AND SHARES — FOR THE CAPITALISTS!

A glance at a City financial page reveals the following—

Issuing House — Gwent and West of England.

The Gwent issues have appreciated 100% since 1961.

An investor who had put £100 into Gwent itself would now have a holding worth £490.

Anglo-Auto.
£100 investment in 1959 would now be worth £450.

L. Ryan
£100 in 1961 would now be worth £450.

Joseph Webb. (S. Wales Properties)
£100 in 1962 would now become £200.

According to Peter Zinkin, *Daily Worker* Political Correspondent, "Sir Alec Douglas-Home seems to be intent on setting out his (Tory) Party stall with policies fostering racialism."

He then tells us that "The Labour Government's reaction, with their decision to tighten up entry regulations for Commonwealth immigrants, gives cause for concern"

Now everyone knows that when in Opposition the Parliamentary Labour Party made protesting sounds opposing the Immigration Bill — calling it "sordid", "murky", etc.

Since assuming Government Wilson and Co. have renewed it and their only amendments are aimed at making it watertight. Is this so surprising?

A Government which sends thousands of troops, airmen and sailors to protect imperialist investment Eats of Suez cannot but include a measure of racism in its domestic policies. Premier Wilson in a recent T.V. interview pretended that he liked our Commonwealth immigrants — he only wanted to make sure that he did better than the Tories in keeping them out!

The general theme of Zinkin's article is to give the impression that there is an essential difference between Tory and Labour in Westminster on the racial question. He alludes to the "Right" of the Labour M.P.s and implies that the Tories have taken a "Rightward lurch" since the departure of R. H. Butler's "restraining hand" — presumably his "Left hand".

Thus, modern revisionism constantly uses Right and Left phraseology when appraising a concrete situation.

This serves to obscure the essences of the problem and divert people from a concrete class-analysis.

The roots of racialism, whether practised by Tory or Labour lie in imperialist exploitation and can only be effectively overcome by class-struggle—mainly outside of the House of Commons.

Zinkin's attitude and indeed that of the CPBG leadership is a reflection of their un-Marxist onesided pre-occupation with the 'Parliamentary Road' being the only one to peaceful transition to Socialism.

This attitude is opportunism in practice and does nothing at all to combat racism in Britain. This struggle must be an integral part of that against imperialism at home and abroad.

Announcement — Subscriptions to *Peking Review* can be placed through Literature Dept. Vanguard.

ERRATA

In the Jan.-Feb. "Vanguard" p. 14, column 1, under the sub-heading —

"Social Democratic Links with Modern Revisionism"

the concluding sentence should have read — "The *Daily Worker* is quite wrong in confining its criticisms of the Labour Government to waffling anaemic respectable reproaches."

On p. 14 *From progressive labour* should have read *From "Progressive Labour"* whose Editor's address can be obtained from us.

In "My Fight for Irish Freedom," Gally should read "Galty," and O'Donovan Dossa should be Rossa.

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COLLETT'S BOOKSHOP
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and
HAMMERSMITH BOOKSHOP LTD.
LIFFORDS PLACE, HIGH ST., BARNES
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and modern revisionism

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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.)

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

UNITY OF THE LEFT

by Roy Grant

THE question of the unity of the Left has for decades occupied the thinking of Marxist and other groups working within the Working Class Movement. Today the efforts of Marxist-Leninists are increasingly concerned with the formation of policies leading to correct definitions of unity.

Since the introduction of the journal "Vanguard," propositions concerning the policies necessary for building the foundations of unity have generated new discussion and thinking within the Left.

Much of this discussion has been directed towards the Communist Party membership. It is apparent, and it must be recognised, that the anti-revisionist group do not yet propose solutions acceptable to the progressive left as a whole on the vital issues of unity.

There can be no doubt however that the emergence of the new Marxist-Leninist party is an event of major importance, and of particular significance for the C.P.G.B. For the first time in many years there is offered the prospect of discussions and action on the questions of Left unity as a necessary preliminary to the effective establishment of the Marxist-Leninist Party. The question is asked as to how the unity of the Left, which for so long has divided and neutralised active sections of the progressive movement, may be achieved. The answers will not be forthcoming outside the struggles of the working class. When there is talk of unity there must be collective principled decisions on the Marxist-Leninist Policies to be pursued. In terms of the Working Class Movement the sectarian quarrels of individuals and the small political "experiments in Marxism" on the part of certain groups, seeking a special identity, means very little. A reference to any period of our working class history provides evidence of the struggle against revisionist, sectarian and opportunist individuals and groups within the Left. It is common knowledge that grave damage has resulted from such anti-Marxist exchanges within the movement. Unity can never be, for the Marxist-Leninist, the simple arithmetic totals of all progressive forces, all working class groups, all enlightened sections of the people within society. Unity includes all sections of the people opposed to capitalism but with the important qualification as to the "Leadership" of the movement.

It is clear that a Marxist-Leninist Party, a Communist Party, arising out of the struggles of the oppressed masses must become the focus around which real unity is forged. In the broadest sense the unity of the struggle against capitalism and imperialism on a world scale. But before the Party can bring the issues before the people, antagonisms within the progressive Left must be resolved. The British working class are not involved in the struggle against revisionism, there is little or no interest in the Revisionist Party as far as the workers are concerned. For such a Party ceases to serve the working class, ceases to have any identity with it, ceases eventually to confront the people with the fighting policies necessary for the advance to socialism. Rather, the Revisionists call upon all sections of society and as a consequence to none.

ESTABLISH PARTY

It goes without saying that in order to establish the anti-revisionist Marxist Party it is necessary to involve the masses at all levels of activity in the common struggle. There can be no "Party" without the direct involvement of the working class. To establish the Party is to establish the political and ideological arm of the movement or it is nothing.

To attack the leadership of the C.P.G.B. and not understand that the roots of the anti-revisionist Party must be firmly planted within the working class is to waste words and effort. The nature of the struggle against capitalism requires that the revisionists be exposed and especially is this necessary on the industrial front. An alternative programme to that of the C.P.G.B., a Marxist-Leninist policy, must be advanced by Marxist-Leninists as an essential pre-requisite for the leading position of the Communist Party amongst workers and progressive organisations. The alternative programme must be a dynamic call to the working class, a call for the unity of the Left around the class issues facing the people. Such policies will emerge only from the correct analysis of the objective class relations within our society and it is this to which Marxist-Leninists must direct their energies and abilities. It is an historical fact that the day to day struggle against capitalism does not wait for the emergence of the Party to lead it, but without the Working Class Party gains are not consolidated, struggle is non-revolutionary, is lost.

Lenin, writing to Sylvia Pankhurst in 1919 made the following observations on the role of the Party at a time when progressive groups, some with massive working class support, were pre-occupied on questions of tactics and principle.

"It is essential for the Communist

Party that it should be intimately and continuously associated with the mass of the workers, that it should be able to carry on constant agitation among the workers, to take part in every strike, to answer all questions in the minds of the masses. This above all is necessary in a country like England where so far (as indeed in all imperialist countries) the Socialist movement and the Labour movement generally have been exclusively guided by cliques drawn from the aristocracy of Labour, persons most of whom have been utterly and hopelessly corrupted by reformism, who's minds are enslaved by imperialistic and bourgeois prejudices."

The question as to whether the C.P.G.B. today fits Lenin's definition of the Party of the working class must be answered in terms of the objective position of the party in the struggles carried on by the working class at this time, the nature of the class struggle during the final phase of capitalist expansion. It is thus necessary to study the policy of the C.P.G.B. in detail and to formulate the alternative programme of advance.

MARXIST ANALYSIS

The Committee for Communist Unity, through the pages of "Vanguard" are attempting such an analysis at a time when the international Communist Movement, led by the Chinese and Albanian parties, underline the fact that unity can only be based upon a principled Marxist-Leninist stand against the enemies of progress both within and outside the parties of the working class. Despite the local successes of the C.P.G.B. leadership on questions of international Communist Unity, (the success that is of the revisionists grip on the Party structure), the issues facing the rank and file of the C.P.G.B., confronting also the revisionists, are precisely the issues of principle upon which courageous, honest and informed decisions are necessary in the establishment of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class. Upon the strength and resolution shown in the fight for the unity of all progressive forces will depend the safe birth of the Marxist Party and its developing position as the vanguard of the British working class.

It is important that the policy document of the C.P.G.B., the British Road to Socialism, is exposed as a collaborationist policy, as the reformist and discredited programme of those who occupy such political and class relations with bourgeoisie society that they are incapable of revolutionary thought or desire. The attempt by the C.P.G.B. leadership to undermine understanding of the real nature of the class struggle in Britain, to offer reformist solutions acceptable to all and to none, should not be thought to be acceptable to the membership of the C.P.G.B. because there is no immediate mass defection from revisionism in the light of the sharpening ideological position of the international Communist Parties. There is evidence that the failure of the C.P.G.B. to win mass support amongst the workers has affected the industrial wing of the Party. There can be no Shop Steward within the Party who does not question the present Party leadership; who believes that the failure of the Industrial Programme of the Party is related only to the existence of powerful opposition, to the prevalence of social democratic ideas amongst the working masses. Many such have dramatically exposed the Party and revisionism from the shop floor. Only a Marxist-Leninist Party is capable of the correct analysis of the problems facing the industrial worker, giving the correct leadership, and it is the Party of the working class because it is formed and disciplined within the Industrial Labour Movement. The conscious political development of the class struggle encompasses all revolutionary activity, all mass action. The anti-revisionist movement has made possible the world advance to Communism, has sharpened the issues; the need for unity. Let the unity of progressives then be based upon the fight against imperialism, upon the collective direction of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and let the fight for unity of progressive groups in Britain be principally around the establishment and defence of the Marxist-Leninist Party. The individual interpretation of this struggle should be in favour of the collective development of the Marxist-Leninist Party within the factories, shops, and offices of the people, among the working class in every day conflict with the exploiting minority. In conclusion it would be incorrect to see the C.P.G.B. as the well from which

the finest elements of the working class are to be drawn. The appeal made to the Party member does not discount or diminish the tremendous role of the Party's membership in the past and present struggle. The call for unity does not ask that the Party member buries history, forgets and puts aside the motives which brought him into the ranks of the C.P.G.B., but to consider rationally, in the light of present developments whether the Party now is qualified to claim the leadership of the working class movement. Accepting the Marxist-Leninist imperatives regarding the role of the Communist Party it is only necessary to refer again to the British Road to Socialism to expose the impossibility of the present Communist Party leadership ever taking the Party on a revolutionary road to Socialism.

The position of the Party on such important questions as the present Sino-Soviet dispute, the electoral emphasis of the Party's home policy and the abysmal lack of activity on the industrial front all serve to illustrate that the Party leadership pays lip service only to the ideas of Marxism, have damaged the image of the "Communist Movement," and have split the C.P.G.B. irrevocably. The position of the C.P.G.B. in relation to the organised Labour Movement must be examined, and can only be judged by the precedence accorded the struggle of the masses in daily opposition to capitalism, the fundamental struggle of the organised working class in building and defending the interests of workers.

CHANGE IMPOSSIBLE

Were the C.P.G.B. prepared to objectively examine and make available to its members the substance and detail of the issues confronting the International

Communist Movement, before arriving at premature and undemocratic decisions as to how best to put forward a non-revolutionary line; cease the persecution and ridicule of Communists to whom it owes years of support and at least the democratic rights of examination before the Party membership, by conference or even by resolution; then there would be hope of attacking revisionism within the Party.

The leadership effectively stifles discussion at all levels in the hope that the problems facing them will solve themselves. This sort of thing does not stop in favour of a Marxist approach; therefore it is not possible to say that the C.P.G.B. must be defended.

The impossibility of effecting the necessary change within the Party adds new emphasis to the development of the anti-revisionist movement and comrades should be aware that the facility with which the movement came into existence was primarily because the C.P.G.B. refused to accept the actions and arguments of loyal Communists, refused to allow those arguments expression within the Party at a time when the International Movement erupted into the ideological dispute between revisionist and anti-revisionist positions. The fight for unity within the progressive movement will take on real meaning during the establishment of the Marxist-Leninist Party. At this stage the first victory is needed and it is the victory of collective rather than individual action. Collective rather than individual expression, collective rather than individual unity for the destruction of capitalism and imperialism, for the victories of Marxism-Leninism through the Party of the working class.

(Comments are invited.—Editor.)

AUTOMATION SUPERCEDING COLONIALISM

WITH the everdecreasing power of the main Imperialist and Colonial powers there remains but one source by which the ruling classes can in their final and ultimate moments derive their super-profits. Matching machines against men.

The present tendency is but a prelude to the final crash where the contradictions are sharpened and met with such force as to create the conditions which will bring about the final destruction of the capitalist system.

In their greed, blind avariciousness and murderous policies, greater demands will be made in euphemous terms for less restrictive practices. Meaning of course, less staff for more capable machines.

Some of the working class will argue in the terms of Reuter of the U.S.A., that the ruling class would never do such a thing because they could never get the machines to buy the goods. In adopting such an argument, have these people troubled to reflect back from now to the past?

After all, the working class produce many many times what they can buy back. For instance, a man earning £20 per week in wages has to produce at least a hundred pounds in commodities. Has this process stopped the capitalist class from actively automating their plants as fast as capital pours in?

Look for instance at the great car firms. They have automated their plants to the highest degree possible under existing circumstances, but they still use every attempt to cut down on labour costs. This process is applicable to every industry dominated by capitalism, all of which are.

Instead of the workers gaining the direct benefits of automation, they are sacked. With the inception of highly automated machinery, the workers should be given the benefit of greater social, scientific and leisure times. "No! We must increase profits," say the capitalists. "That machine can do the job of ten men. Sack nine and leave one to operate it."

It is only by smashing the capitalist system that the workers can gain "But!" cries the British working man. "Look at the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries that have become Socialist. There conditions aren't as good as ours."

Bearing in mind that the present Socialist countries did NOT start off with a highly industrialised state to capture, can one honestly wonder at the hardships experienced, especially as the capitalists powers are intent on destroying them openly and actively.

During the industrial revolution in England, even without the interference of external Imperialist nations, the British working class suffered grievously. Many fields around London alone at that time took into their soil the bodies of many thousands of men, women and children who died under the terrible and remorseless trudge of Industries painful birth.

The British, the American, the German and French working class have a fully developed industrialised country to take over. After all, they created this wealth,

made it with their own bare hands. It was not created by some nobdog laying back on the French Riviera or in the Swiss Alps.

It is yours workers! Disposes the dispossessors! Take it, and build Socialism. Your future.

A. CROSS

Engineers condemn sell-out!

Bristol Siddely engines workers held a mass meeting recently under the leadership of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee. The meeting was addressed by T.U. officials and leading stewards concerning the recent "package deal" and holiday negotiations. A T.G.W.U. official, representative of the Engineering Confederation had, as he put it, "the unenviable task" of explaining the details of this National Agreement. He was followed by leading shop stewards who universally condemned this "sell out" by Carron and Co.

A strongly worded resolution from the Joint Stewards Committee deplored this "infamous deal" in view of "rocketing profits and prices, and also the indecent haste with which this agreement was signed without recourse to the views of the membership. This resolution was subsequently passed unanimously by the meeting.

Further motions and agenda were proposed in the course of vehement speeches of protest from the floor. Every one attacked the 'package deal' and called for militant action to smash this agreement. The Joint Stewards Committee were instructed by unanimous vote to push ahead with demands for three weeks holiday for all workers after one years service with the company, in defiance of the restrictions contained in the "deal."

Other points raised included increased sick pay; and the recent award won by French engineering workers of four weeks paid holiday. Mention was also made of the continuing attempts by union executives and employers to hamstring the work of the shop stewards, who had done more for the workers' interests than union "leaders" who signed agreements like the present one. Doubts were expressed that a union leader who acquires a knighthood for his services could hardly be of much service to the workers, and this statement drew the loudest applause of the meeting.

In opposition to strong pleas made by full time officials, the meeting passed, with only two or three votes against, a resolution moved from the floor, expressing a vote of no confidence in the Engineering Confederation, Executive, and in the Executive Councils of the Union who supported this squalid package deal. As one speaker put it, "The employers' organisation made the proposals and Carron dutifully signed it."

The chairman closed the meeting by urging workers to take a militant stand, be prepared to act, and continue the struggle at all levels.

By a Correspondent.

The reviewer reviewed

Dear Editor,

In last month's "Vanguard" (Vol. 2, No. 1), we read with great interest the excellent article "Organise at the Place of Work" by Comrade E. Follis, which was a review of Michael McCreery's pamphlet of the same name. With most of it, we agree wholeheartedly, but we cannot agree with the comments under the caption, "The Great Days of the C.P.G.B." To quote Comrade E. Follis, he says:

"One looks back with pride on the work of thousands of active C.P. members who fought the class struggle in factory, mine and mill, in Trade Union branches and the Shop Stewards' Movement during the great days of the Party's leadership, which began with its formation in the early twenties and lasted till the mid-forties.

"To their eternal credit some C.P. members still carry on in this manner. Men like Kevin Halpin of Dagenham, Jack Dash, beloved by thousands of London's dockworkers for his work on their behalf, the brothers Moffat of the Scottish mineworkers, Jock Kane, Berridge of the engineers, Tom Ahearne of the railwaymen and a few others—but all too few—inspire us all. No matter what party label they wear nor who they slant and who they don't slant, these men are Communists in the finest sense of the word. But their like today is the exception not the rule."

He specifically names seven C.P. members who are said to inspire us all. We admit that these and others have been good Communists in their time, and may have tried to do their best under the difficulties imposed by revisionist leadership in the past. But can this excuse them for deserting the interests of their class at present?

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

"Rodong Shinmoon," organ of the C.C. of the Korean Workers' Party, April 4, 1964.

It is nearly 4 years now since Khrushchev made his brutal public attack on the Albanian Party of Labour and started off the great debate in the international Communist movement between revisionist and Marxist-Leninist positions. The C.P.S.U. leaders have had their say, the C.P. of China has replied to them, and the C.P.G.B. has also taken its public stand for square on the side of revisionism, and capitulation to and accommodation with imperialism. It is now 20 months since the C.P. of China published its "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement." In this country, our paper, "Vanguard," has been coming out for over a year.

Presumably, these so-called "Communists in the finest sense of the word" have not been asleep, they know what is going on. They do not walk about with their eyes and ears shut, and they are not fools. Yet what has been their reaction? Either they have given their complete support to revisionist positions or they have kept their mouths shut. Neither the former nor the latter course of action is the course of action of a Marxist-Leninist. The former course is betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working class, the latter course is cowardice. These people have put their misplaced loyalty to the revisionist leaders above their loyalty to the working class. Is this how good Communists behave, Comrade Follis?

Neither can it be said that there is no link up between the revisionist policy of the C.P.G.B. and the practice of these men. In fact, the revisionist policy of the C.P.G.B. cannot but influence and determine the practice of these men. Politically, the brothers Moffat have backed up and supported the revisionist stand on every issue, and have persuaded the Executive of the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers to follow suit. Even in the Trade Union sphere, they merely make the reactionary T.U. machinery function and in practice, they act in exactly the same way as the right wing T.U. officials. Is this how Communists behave, Comrade Follis? Out of a false sense of loyalty to the King Street opportunists, Kevin Halpern sacrificed his job without a fight, and instead of relying on the working class principle of "one out—all out," relied on the T.U. negotiators to get him and the other victimised trade unionists their jobs back at Fords. As regards Claude Berridge of our own union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, he voted in favour of the infamous 3-year package deal at the York meeting of the Executive of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

Therefore, in contrast to the view of Comrade Follis, we prefer the judgment of your other contributor Jack Tyrrell, who, in his article "The Big Sell-Out" on page 5, accuses Berridge of assisting the right wing in their designs and of condoning and participating in the betrayal of all engineering workers. Is this the action of a good Communist, Comrade Follis? We think not. We appreciate that to have voted against the package deal at the York meeting, Ber-

ridge would have been breaking his mandate and would have risked losing his office only one year before he was due to enjoy an honourable retirement. But isn't this the action of a Communist? Others risk their lives, let alone their jobs. Yes, it is all right for twenty-one C.P. officials of the Electrical Trades Union to sacrifice their jobs for nothing when they are no longer of any use to the C.P. leaders. But to risk their offices in the interests of their members by making a popular gesture with which thousands of trade unionists would sympathise and support, that's a different kettle of fish.

As regards Jack Dash, he is not a full-time T.U. official, but represents the dockers at rank and file level. He acts like any good militant, but as a prisoner of the revisionists and without a revolutionary perspective, he cannot act like a Communist, linking up the immediate tactical demands of the workers with their strategic revolutionary aims. Therefore, it is not surprising that he and others like him "founder on the rock of economism."

We contend that these men eulogised by Comrade Follis, may have been "Communists in the finest sense of the word" at one time, but that this is no longer true. They have had plenty of time to think things over. They have made their choice. They are not going to risk losing their offices, nor will they challenge the revisionist leadership. They put the preservation of their jobs and misplaced loyalty to the revisionist leaders above the interests of their class. Good Communists do not act in this way.

We hope that Comrade Follis accepts this criticism in the friendly and constructive spirit in which it is intended. One likes to say nice things about people if it is possible, but a Marxist-Leninist must consider the facts all the time and must never lapse into erroneous judgments based on subjective wishes. As we said at the beginning, the rest of the article was excellent, and we sincerely hope that Comrade E. Follis will continue to write many more of such excellent articles for our paper in the future.

Yours sincerely,
Two Surrey Trade Unionists.



Let them be warned

Dear Editor,

The infamous package deal which the Amalgamated Engineering Union executive has foisted on to engineering workers, must inevitably lead to bitter struggles at factory level to defend wages and conditions.

Militant workers should watch closely the actions of A.E.U. District Committees, when local pay claims are being pursued. Many Communist Party members who sit on these committees, will have the opportunity of supporting these claims, and of helping to smash the phoney package deal to smithereens. Such action will probably incur the displeasure of the A.E.U. executive, and so it will involve the calculated risk of being disciplined. But unless these delegates do make a stand, they will find that the A.E.U. members will draw the conclusion that the presence of C.P. members on District Committees is of no use to them at all.

C.P. delegates on District Committees should openly and courageously back up rank and file struggles without equivocation, even if they have to suffer the imposition of disciplinary measures as a consequence. Too many times in the past, have they sheltered under the protection of the Rule Book. Let these delegates be warned that an equivocal stand will be regarded by us as evidence of betrayal.

P.T.,
(Walton-on-Thames).

From India

Dear Comrade,

As a regular reader of Vanguard I am much inclined to suggest that it should publish verses by younger poets of Asia, Africa, Latin America, U.S.A. and Europe. Those poets who are fighting for a new Socialist civilization.

Here in Calcutta, the young poets have a magazine (quarterly) of verse. It will be available in English from January '65.

Let us have close relations,

Yours comradely,
M.B.

(L. Karnak, Poetry-Peace Council
23, Janak Road, Calcutta 29, India)

Scientific revolution

Dear Editor,

I think that the future of a Marxist-Leninist Party does not lie in the possibility of a Labour/Communist majority in the House of Commons, nor do I at this stage see it becoming a probability!

The proletariat contain the core of the militant vanguard of the British working class, or more precisely the organised militant members of the Trade Unions and Trade Unions are where we should be developing the political maturity required for the progress towards the Socialist revolutionary cause of England, Scotland and Wales.

I think that articles on the new scientific revolution that will eventually affect every known aspect of working conditions and life as we know them today are urgently required and of the utmost importance.

Perhaps more of us should read the *New Scientist* instead of the *New Statesman*!

Can you attempt to get some letters into Vanguard on these subjects. They would provoke thought and action I feel.

I enjoy reading Vanguard. I intend to send a regular donation towards the costs.

World events are moving at a faster pace and I am confident that *Communist Unity* will become not only a reality, but an absolute necessity in the not too distant future.

Greetings to you all — you have taken a courageous and difficult stand, but I am sure it can only help us move towards left-wing unity and purpose of action.

Fraternal Greetings,
E.B. (Croydon, Surrey)

Dear Editor,

"Vanguard" is the most wonderfully produced and thoughtfully edited paper I know.

With best wishes,

C.E.,
Oxford.

Dear Editors of "Vanguard,"

Congratulations on first anniversary of "Vanguard." Hope "Vanguard" will continue to grow in readership and contributors.

Fraternally,
R. Alderson,
Manchester.

Fight racialism

Dear Editor,

I am old enough to remember pre-war days in the East End of London, and how the Communist Party of that period reacted to the violence and terror of the Mosley fascists.

We did not merely ask the government to pass laws against racial incitement, as the modern revisionists are doing. We did not merely call upon

Light dawns on King Street

"UNLESS there is a transformation in the attitude of the Government, the fight for a change must and will grow." A bold revolutionary statement indeed (by John Gollan, in the *Daily Worker* 6.1.65). Can it be that light has dawned in King Street? Perhaps the hope of Socialism through the ballot box has faded and we are to fight for a change in the social system, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. *Not at all*. The change we are to fight for is a change in the policy of the Labour Government.

It appears that Comrade Gollan is beginning to have doubts. He struggles, of course, he gives the Government the benefit of the doubt, but slowly and reluctantly he is coming to believe that perhaps Labour policy is not developing on the right lines. However wooden the head, the penny drops at last. Perhaps there is hope for Comrade Gollan after all. He not only has doubts; he wants to do something to set those doubts at rest. So we are to raise a mass movement and bring pressure on the Government. To do what? To persuade Mr. Wilson to go ahead at full speed with a social programme, tell the monopolies that no price increases will be tolerated, drop the "incomes policy", cut military spending, etc. — a whole list of social-democratic reforms.

Even if all these changes, desirable enough in themselves, were made, we should not be one step nearer to Socialism. The structure of capitalism would remain unchanged. Gollan himself says that "Big business, British and foreign, is seeking to carry out its imperialist, financial and social policy, including financial and political pressure." In fact, Big Business is not only seeking to do this — it is succeeding, with the wholehearted co-operation of the Labour Government. This government inherited serious economic problems from the Tories, and now they are trying to solve those problems at the expense of the workers, as capitalist governments always do.

This seems to surprise Mr. Gollan, though every Marxist predicted, even before the General Election, that this was what would happen. A social-democratic government, tied to the maintenance of the capitalist system, has no choice but to carry out capitalist policies. The steps

various organisations to unite in committees to promote "inter-racial harmony," as the present C.P. leaders are doing. We did not make the same pious and futile appeals to the National Government to promote a campaign against racialism, that the present Central Committee of the Party is making to the Labour Government. We organised on the streets. We held meetings every night, we took collections and promoted all kinds of resistance to fascism. Our campaign was so successful and engendered such mass support that Mosley hardly dared show his face in the area and when he did, he was always accompanied by bodyguards and protected by masses of police. When he attempted to march through Aldgate on that never-to-be-forgotten Sunday, October 4, 1936, 250,000 Londoners including a good body of dockers, barred his way and prevented Mosley and his Black-shirts from coming through, using the slogan, "They Shall Not Pass." The C.P.G.B. won such prestige in that area during those years in the struggle against fascism, that, relying on that prestige, Phil Piratin was able in 1945 to enter the House of Commons as Communist Member of Parliament for Mile End constituency.

Yet contrast that with the position today. There are only a handful of fascists now compared with pre-war, yet they get away with murder almost. They go to places like Smethwick, Southall and Leyton to stir up their racist poison, they daub swastikas on synagogues, they even tried to burn down the house of Wolfe Busell, the Jewish taxi-driver. The C.P. leaders, with their behinds sunk deep in comfortable armchairs in King Street, can only call on everybody else to do this, that and the other, but are afraid or unwilling to get out on the streets and lead a mass campaign against racialism, as we did before the war. In fact, they are terrified of spoiling their new image of a respectable party. All they can do is to get their baton-following burkes to go canvassing for such as Gordon Walker in Leyton.

Surely, it is high time that all anti-fascists (and especially, those groups directly threatened by racist terror such as negroes, Jews, etc.) got together to form a defence organisation? Perhaps your movement could give a lead on this question. What a pity you couldn't put up a candidate in Leyton like you did at Huyton. I feel sure that any organisation which has the courage to lead the campaign against racialism will receive broad mass support, including financial support. It is no good looking to the revisionist leaders to conduct such a campaign. At Smethwick, they were nowhere to be found. At Perry Barr, Southall and Leyton, likewise. They are miles and miles away from where the fight is hottest. They just don't want to know. A lead in the struggle against racialism and fascism is urgently required. Can you provide it?

Anti-fascist East Ender.
(We distributed 500 anti-racist leaflets at Leyton by-election.—ED.)

the Government has taken (increase in Bank Rate, imports surcharge, etc.) are not, as Gollan seems to think, mere mistakes which can easily be put right if we just point out to Wilson the error of his ways. They are integral parts of the attempt to bolster up a collapsing capitalist economy.

Comrade Gollan observes, with a note of hurt astonishment, that "there is no sign yet of cutting the monstrous arms bill." But how could there be, when Britain is committed to N.A.T.O., the M.L.F. and to support of American imperialism?

"There is certainly no challenge to the dominant position of the monopolies. The declared official policy is co-operation with the dominant monopoly interests." Here Gollan answers his own criticism. Why should you expect that a government whose declared policy is co-operation with the monopolies would attack those same monopolies?

This government never promised that it would carry out Socialist policies. It was elected on a milk-and-water programme of mild reforms. Its strongest electoral appeal was to the widespread anti-Tory feeling, and even this only gave it a tiny majority. It is surely unreasonable to expect that such a government will embark on a programme of radical social change. You might as well order tea and then complain that you aren't given vodka.

This government is committed to capitalism, which means that even the feeble improvements advocated by Gollan are almost out of the question. "Tell the monopoly firms that no price rises will be tolerated." This would mean introducing new legislation to curb the freedom to charge the highest prices the

continued on page 3

LETTERS continued

public can be forced to pay, which lies at the very root of the capitalist system. "Extend nationalisation". But most of the unprofitable industries have already been nationalised (and the former shareholders are doing very well out of it). To nationalise, for instance, the highly profitable steel industry wouldn't go down at all well. "Drop the incomes policy, which can only help big business." This is just what it is intended to do. Wilson can rely on the fact that workers will suffer things from a Labour Government which they would never tolerate from the Tories. "Cut military spending drastically." Not while Britain remains an imperialist country, and an American satellite.

Supposing it was possible for such a policy to be carried out by a capitalist government, how are we to persuade Wilson to meet our wishes? At this point Gollan becomes a little vague. We are to "develop sustained political pressure", to "go into action", "do everything possible" and "rise to the occasion". How, exactly? We are not told. One practical proposal Comrade Gollan does make. This is that a renewed effort should be made to get people to join the Communist Party. If the Communist Party was really leading a struggle against exploitation, this might be a useful and sensible suggestion. But since in fact the hands of Communist Party members are tied by worship of the Labour Party, the value of the Communist Party's contribution to a mass struggle is bound to be somewhat marginal.

Gollan claims that the Communist Party is "the main organised force of the Left" and that "it can, and does, make the running on policy because of its Socialist convictions." Yet there is not one word of Socialism in the article under discussion.

The political change needed is not a change of heart by Wilson. It is a change in the social system, the abolition of capitalism. Only when this has been done will it be possible to carry out policies which are genuinely in the interests of the workers. The great monopolies cannot be appeased, or persuaded to forgo their profits — they must be taken over. Military expenditure cannot be reduced by an imperialist country, but a Socialist Britain will have no colonies, and no need for enormous armies to carry on colonial wars. Whether the Government calls itself Conservative or Labour, the result is always the same; the workers are exploited so that a small class of property-owners can make a profit. The only advantage of having a Labour Government is that it enables workers to see these facts more clearly, by destroying their illusions and opening their eyes to the nature of capitalism.

This is the lead that the Communist Party should be giving to the people of Britain. Not "encourage the Labour Government to be progressive" but "throw them out and be rid of them for good". A party which fosters the illusion that Socialism can be achieved through "social democracy" has no claim to be a Marxist party. The Communist Party will not do the job that it was created to do. A new revolutionary Marxist/Leninist Party must be re-created which will start the task of leading Britain to Socialism, not through the ballot box, but by mass struggle — the united force of the working class and its allies.

Yours sincerely,
K. MARTIN.

Stop the war in Vietnam

Dear Editor,

The bombing of North Vietnam by U.S. planes on February 7, 1965 was an outrageous act of aggression against a country with whom the United States is officially at peace. This vicious bombing attack was carried out at the very moment that Soviet Premier Kosygin was in discussion with the leaders of North Vietnam about strengthening the country's military defences. The timing of Johnson and Taylor was calculated to evoke a military showdown with the Soviet Union which entails the greatest risk of starting World War III.

The Johnson administration has concocted a ridiculous lie about "retaliating" against "aggression" by Hanoi. The U.S. government finds nothing aggressive about providing two million dollars a day worth of the most modern military hardware to its fascist, puppet regime which is universally hated by the population. But when a friendly nation allegedly offers simple field weapons to the National Liberation front of Vietnam to fight against fighter-bombers, napalm bombs, tanks and poisonous chemicals the hypocrites in Washington try to tell us that this is "aggression." This transparent fraud is completely discredited among the peoples of the entire world.

The plain truth is that the U.S. has lost the "conventional" war because the entire population hates U.S. imperialist domination of their country. Rather than retreat and leave the Asian people to determine their own destiny, Johnson and his general staff want to cover their defeat and provoke a nuclear holocaust in Asia.

The Johnson Administration has concocted the phony slogan about "not seeking a wider war," which they repeat after each new vicious attack on North Vietnam. This almost surpasses the Nazi "big lie" about "preserving the peace" which was pronounced by Hitler every time he invaded another European country and eventually triggered World War II.

But more and more people are beginning to see through Johnson's "talk peace and make war" tactics. Sunday, only hours after the invasion was announced over 120 people turned out on two hours notice to demonstrate with Youth Against War and Fascism against the war in Vietnam. This militant demonstration in Mid-town Manhattan which lasted for over three hours in the pouring rain was overwhelmingly attended by youth. It is a harbinger of things to come.

We call upon the youth of the United States to repudiate the war-mad generals and their treacherous Commander-in-Chief who called for peace in November, but makes war in February.

We call upon the youth of the United States to reject, oppose and condemn the U.S. war of aggression on the peoples of South-East Asia.

Yours sincerely,
Youth Against War & Fascism,
New York,
U.S.A.

From Africa

Dear Editor,

What are the leaders of the C.P.G.B. playing at? What has gone wrong in the British Party? That is what the revolutionary movement in Africa and other parts of the world are asking.

I would say that it is revisionism's capitulation and that the bourgeoisie has taken over the British Party leadership. That is the meaning today of Gollan, Cox and Emile Burns.

Some people, calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, have screamed out against the Chinese Communist thesis that all reactionaries are paper tigers. We African revolutionaries are observing with great interest events in Britain since the Labour Party have come to power.

Modern revisionism in Britain, as elsewhere, means betrayal of the working class and proletarian internationalism.

The present C.P.G.B. leaders sing socialist slogans but their policy plays into the hands of imperialism.

A new leadership is required which will proceed from the basis of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism — only this can really serve the British workers.

Palme Dutt blamed the absence of TV and radio broadcasts for the poor result of the C.P.G.B. in the General Election.

Why does a revolutionary Party of a new type need to depend on these organs of the State apparatus for a major advance? Is Gollan correct when he plays for the survival and victory of a Labour Government, without any analysis of the class enemy?

These revisionist leaders have for years helped to plant their "ideas" in the labour-movement, in the former British colonies, i.e. Nigeria, where tribal parties of Ibo, Hansa and Yoriba are kept a power over all the four regions.

Revisionism in Britain is a disservice also to the oppressed people of Africa. Fight against modern revisionism and for genuine Marxist-Leninist unity.

Yours sincerely,
E. V. E.
Lagos, Nigeria.

Trick used by imperialists

Dear Editor,

The forcing down of coffee and rubber prices by the United States and other imperialist countries in recent years has brought great losses to the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that export these commodities.

The price of coffee dropped from U.S. \$47.6 per 100 pounds in 1951 to U.S. \$29.7 in 1962 — a 37.6 per cent decline. In the same period rubber prices plummeted from U.S. \$55.3 per 100 pounds to U.S. \$25.6 — a 53.7 per cent decrease. On the other hand, the prices of goods sent to these countries by the imperialist countries kept rising. In the past 11 years the price of machinery and industrial equipment has averaged a 31.3 per cent rise.

Proceeds from the sale of 27.3 bags of coffee (60 kilogrammes per bag) could buy a motor car in 1951. More than 54 bags were needed in 1962. 188.7 bags could be exchanged for an electric motor of 200 or more horse power in 1951. 370.2 bags were needed in 1962. A little more than 35 bags could be exchanged for a diesel engine of 200 horse power in 1951. It was 61.3 bags in 1962.

The proceeds from the sale of 1.4 tons of rubber could buy a motor car in 1951. In 1962, 3.8 tons were needed. 1.6 tons of rubber could be exchanged for a wheeled tractor in 1951. It took 4.6 tons in 1962. The price ratios between coffee and rubber on the one hand and industrial goods on the other have become

increasingly more favourable to the monopolists of the imperialist countries. As a result such countries as Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Ethiopia, whose coffee accounts for 50 to 70 or more per cent of their export trade, have suffered great economic losses. Indonesia, whose rubber constitutes a great portion of its export trade, has suffered because of the manipulation of prices by the imperialist powers.

Yours,
Teh Kao.

Day nursery crisis

Dear Editor,

Whilst sympathising with the doctor's demand for a higher income (although not necessarily endorsing their tactics) there is also a very strong case for higher wages for nursing staff.

We have to attend to the constant needs of infants (up to 5 years of age) from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., and due to the terribly low wages (less than £8 per week) are more often than not, short of staff.

This means that often, one assistant has to do the work of two — (no extra pay for that) caring for 15 or 20 babies.

Some L.C.C. Day Nurseries are on the verge of closure. It is merely by the efforts of the heroic one or two "stickers" that they are still open.

Under these conditions, it is useless to talk of expanding Day Nurseries in London. Yet they are vital to the health of thousands of infants who have no-one to care for them during the day.

Only higher wages will attract more staff, and thus prevent illness and injury to infants who would otherwise be adding to the duties of family doctors.

The entire Health Service needs drastic improvement. Let the Government reduce its military expenditure, and stop excessive investment overseas. Tax the rich more: stop up the "tax-fiddle" gaps — then there would be more to spare for all Health and Social Service staff, doctors, auxiliary nurses, etc. I hope that *Vanguard* will devote more space than hitherto to this matter.

Yours truly,
L.C.C. Day Nursery Assistant,
East London.

Revisionists' defeat

Dear Editor,

What a distaster 1964 has been for the revisionist leadership of the C.P.G.B., and indeed all the revisionists in the world.

Setback after setback. Defeats in the E.T.U. and A.E.U.

In the General Election in October, not one of their candidates could muster enough support to save the deposit.

In 173 contests since the war only 13 C.P.G.B. candidates have got their deposits back, and most of these were during the 1945-50 period.

Their revisionist influence on the British working class gets less and less.

All comrades must question for themselves. Do you still want to be fobbed off with the anti Marxist-Leninist British Road to Socialism? Khrushchev no longer leads the C.P.S.U., but his lackey Gollan, still leads the C.P.G.B.!

I consider *Vanguard* a fine journal in the struggle against modern revisionism.

Could we not have another one — a fortnightly, which would spotlight the attacks on the living standards of the workers — rents, prices, wages, and so on?

It could be circulated in the factories and would help increase support for the C.C.U. and the fight for unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Yours sincerely,
I. McEwen,
Manchester.

We welcome letters from readers and wish to print as many as possible — including those critical of our opinions. We would ask that in view of pressure on available space they are kept fairly brief. Thank you.—Ed.

To Mr. David Kwesi Jawara,
Prime Minister of Gambia,
February 16, 1965.

We wish to extend greetings and our best wishes to you, Mr. Prime Minister, the Government and people of Gambia, on the occasion of the independence of Gambia.

With all respects,
The Committee for Communist Unity
and Editorial Board of *Vanguard*.

Answer the racist rubbish!

According to the Registrar General announcing figures for the whole of the British Isles, during 1963, 172,000 people entered the country, while 230,000 people left for overseas. There was a net loss of 2,500 nurses.

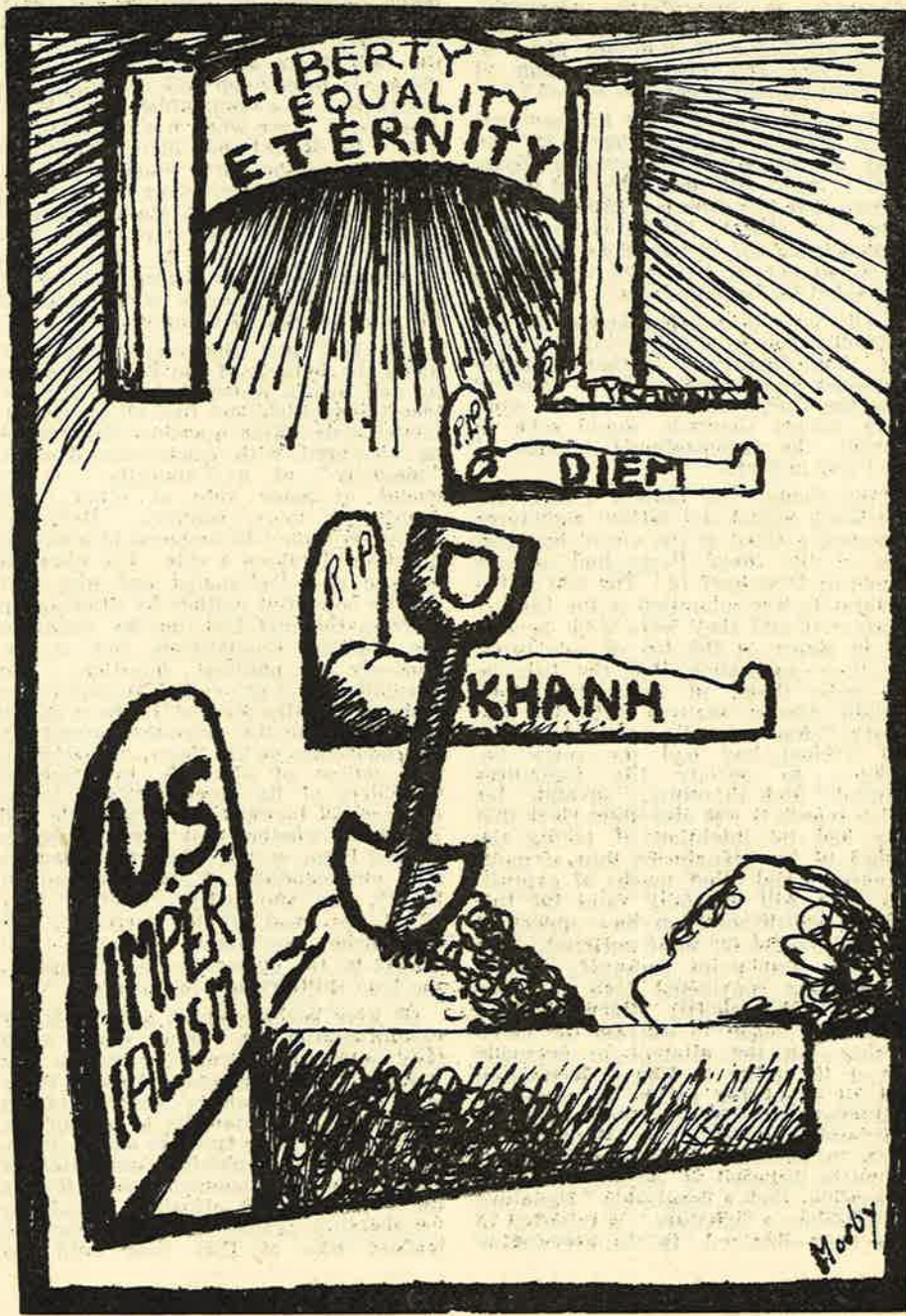
There can be very few hospitals in Britain, if any, which are not largely staffed by coloured nurses.

Vanguard takes this opportunity of not only helping to refute the downright lies concerning "immigrants taking away our

jobs and homes," reminding all and sundry that many hundreds of thousands of Britons are permanently domiciled abroad, but also wishes to emphasise our respect and admiration for the coloured nurses and indeed all our working brothers and sisters from overseas.

They are a greater credit to Britain than all the wretched ignorant racists put together, regardless of colour of skin. We are very glad that you are here.

D. VOLPE.



Mass expulsions in CP of Austria

(Reprinted from Rote Fahne, No. 26)

THE managers in the Central Committee are obviously bent upon pushing matters to a head—even if it means the end of the Party. Revealing an imperious contempt towards the wishes of those thousands of Party members, who, after the fall of Khrushchev, had demanded and expected that the disciplinary measures against opponents of Khrushchev's revisionism would finally cease, and that those expelled or otherwise victimised would once again have their rights restored to them, the bosses of the Party apparatus have now directed and organised a series of new expulsions in feverish haste. In the industrial city of Steyr alone, an old revolutionary centre in which opposition to revisionism is therefore particularly strong, a further five Party activists of long standing have been expelled in one putsch-like operation in recent weeks, among them four members of the former Area leadership and one former member of the provincial leadership of Upper Austria.

The instigators of the expulsions, particularly C.C. member G. Moser, and Area Secretary O. Tremel, were, however, only able to carry out the orders of their superiors in Vienna by flagrantly violating the Party statutes, and indeed the most elementary rules of inner-Party democracy—but the order was carried out nevertheless. Because the expellees have close ties with their branches and all enjoy a high prestige there, Moser and Tremel could find no other way out than to ignore the branches and to carry through the voting on the expulsions in the Area Committee—which had already been "cleansed" at the last Area Conference and in which the managers reigned supreme. In almost all cases the relevant branch was brusquely advised subsequently that the machinery for expulsion had already been set in motion against Comrades X and Y, and that a decision would be taken by the higher levels without consultation with the branch! This is the Marek and Fürnberg version of "inner-Party democracy," this is their conception of "Leninist norms of Party life," thus they express those sensitive democratic instincts which they revealed at the time of Khrushchev's removal—too sensitive indeed to find satisfaction in rules and statutes. Have we ever seen before such impudent contempt, such unashamed double-dealing?

When, some weeks ago, as the expulsion orgies in Steyr began with the illegal expulsion of Comrade Franz Schmidberger, who is also an elected Councillor for the Gemeinde, the Steyr Comrades decided to issue a Warning and Declaration of Protest, which was immediately signed by dozens of Party members and activists, and is currently circulating amongst the Steyr Party organisations. This declaration states: "We the undersigned Communists of Steyr make energetic protest against the expulsion of Comrade Schmidberger. He and a number of other Comrades had demanded impartial information and adherence to inner-Party democracy. The removal of N. S. Khrushchev and the errors attributed to him are proof of the correct and principled action of Comrade Schmidberger and others."

"Comrade Schmidberger has been expelled because of his struggle for the unity of the World Communist Movement in word and deed. We are of the opinion that this senseless expulsion will bring our Party heavy losses. The responsibility for this must be borne by the Comrades of the Area Committee, who voted for the expulsion."

"The decision to expel means that the revisionist course is still being followed, and that, therefore, further valuable Comrades and activists will be expelled from the Party. The result will be what every honest Comrade would seek to prevent: the organisational collapse of our Party in Steyr!"

Even though the protest actions are still being waged and further signatures collected, a third of the entire membership of the Steyr Party had already signed by December 12! The text of the declaration was submitted to the District Secretariat and they were even permitted to glance at the list of signatures, but their suggestion that the lists be left with them, in order that they "might discuss matters with the signatories" was naturally rejected. Moser and Tremel had had the sorry impudence to declare the signatures "illegal" and, therefore, "invalid," for which reason it was also quite clear that they had no intention of taking the wishes of the signatories into account! Signatures and other means of expressing one's will are only valid for this type of politician when they appear in their name and for their purposes. This ignorant stand-point however, doesn't appear very convincing even to themselves, so that shortly afterwards they themselves began to canvass the membership—in the attempt to persuade one or the other to sign a declaration that all and every earlier or otherwise expressed signatures be "repudiated" or "declared invalid." In twenty-seven cases, in the main those where the revisionists disposed of certain means of persuasion, such a despicable "signature to invalidate a signature" is reported to have been obtained. In the overwhelm-

ing majority of cases, however, the Comrades are energetically maintaining their stand, and are demanding the immediate annulment of the expulsions.

One aspect to be regretted is that a number of good Comrades are reacting to these expulsions by resigning from the Party, and that some of these Comrades cannot be dissuaded from this politically incorrect step. How can one struggle within the Party, so ask these Comrades, when the C.C. bosses so demonstratively scorn the will and opinions of the rank and file! The revisionists are eager to provide new proofs to support this argument. In actual fact, they reveal themselves as only too pleased at these resignations, because the more there are who resign voluntarily the fewer there are left to expel, and, therefore, the fewer difficulties there will be with the uncritical sycophants who remain.

This proves anew to be correct what we have already declared many times before: it is not the Marxist-Leninists, not the class-conscious revolutionary Communists, not those who even today keep faith with the basic teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and who, because the revisionists have appropriated all official organs and platforms of the Party, have created for themselves an organ, the Rote Fahne—it is not these Communists who are splitting, weakening, and dissolving the Party. The true splitters, enemies of the Party and disrupters are the revisionists and their accomplices!

Because the revisionists control the leading positions in the Party and in its organisational and financial apparatus, and reign there like absolute monarchs, there results the abnormal situation where the most dangerous spoilers of the Party are to be found at its head, where the most eager and uninhibited splitters of the Party actually live off the Party funds. The saboteurs of the Party like to use arguments about the supposed "factionalist activities" of those who cannot simply stand idly by whilst the Party, to which they have devoted the best years of their lives, falls to pieces, is broken up and condemned to destruction as a Communist Party. What demagoguery! Since when was it "factionalism" to defend and hold high those principles of the Party which have been tried and tested over many decades, the revolutionary ideas of Marxism/Leninism? Since when did "struggle against factionalism" mean to deny, misrepresent, falsify and distort those basic principles and theories which embody the very essence of Communism?

The fact that the revisionists command the heights of the Party does not by any means prove that they are the true Communists and that all others are factionalists! This question also cannot be answered with arguments about a "majority" or a "minority" or by means of some vote or other. The reality is more complex. Marxism/Leninism cannot be reduced to a simple question of taking a vote. The question of who is a factionalist and who isn't can be answered neither by drawing up a Party Honours List, nor by voting in the Control Commission, but is exclusively a political question. The champions of a principled, revolutionary and consistently Marxist/Leninist policy will always be the defenders, protectors and guardians of the Party, its backbone and source of strength, the rightful upholders of its great heritage, borne and carried forward out of struggle and sacrifice—whether they have a majority behind them or not. And the falsifiers and emasculators of Marxist/Leninist theory, big and petty—whether they sit at the head of the Party, or, like Khrushchev, are already in limbo—will always be the despoilers and disrupters, the true splitters and factionalists.

Or were perhaps Lenin and his fellow revolutionaries, in those years when they were still struggling within the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and possessed neither control of an apparatus nor a majority of supporters, nothing more than splitters and factionalists? Were Kopenig and Honner splitters and factionalists when, during the twenties, they organised the Party membership against those unprincipled leaders who at that time held the

apparatus in their hands and abused it?

If, in a Communist Party, a group of functionaries breaks with the historically proven and tested principles and basic theories of Marxism/Leninism, if they abuse the Party apparatus in order to impose their betrayal upon the whole Party, if they monopolise the entire Party press, Party schools and means of propaganda for their own purposes and apply the Party statutes as a tool and weapon against all Communists who oppose such a policy—then there can be no doubt that this is factionalism, quite apart from how rapidly or otherwise the mass of Party members and activists come to understand this. This standpoint is correct and valid even if these factionalists adhere formally to the statutes and appear on the surface to stick to them to the letter. And how much more is this the case, when the managers obviously do not even consider it necessary to maintain formal appearances, and proceed with naked repression.

These men are firmly convinced that they can trample with impunity upon the feelings, views and demands of hundreds, even of many thousands of Communists, that they can declare impudently to their faces: "Well, if you don't like it, then you can always go!" They have no scruples in either effectively disbanding or officially winding up whole Party organisations (such as occurred at Ried, Inn District), if their purpose is to beat down opposition to their line. But does the working class itself also mean nothing to them? Do they not repeatedly declare that they are seeking to convince and win over precisely this working class, indeed all progressive sections, with such a policy?

We held a discussion recently with some left-wing Socialists. They told us how difficult life was made for them in the Socialist Party, of the pressures to which they are subjected. But all unanimously said: "what have we to tell you, you know all this much better than we from your own Party!" These Socialist Comrades see in us fellow sufferers who are in an even worse position than they themselves! Will one ever be able to convince them otherwise so long as the policies of Fürnberg and Marek above, of Moser and Tremel below, prevail?

The Party activists work themselves to the bone day in, day out, to attack the undemocratic conditions in Austria under the Coalition, they write long articles, and draw up plans for action in the "struggle for democracy." For these ends they talk themselves hoarse. But what does democracy look like in that little world in which today Fürnberg and Marek set the tone? Do they really believe that the public does not see, that, the workers do not notice, what they are concocting and how they are manoeuvring? Is there anything more shattering than a Communist who for decades has fought for the victory of the Party and who today fearfully asks: what would happen if those people within the Party who today are seeking to ruin and destroy me by all means and do not hesitate to use any slander, any intimidation—only because I am unwilling to become as unprincipled as they are—what would happen if they were to win positions of influence outside the Party as well? If there are Communists who think in this way, how then are other people thinking?

In other spheres as well the lack of principle and repressive nature of the revisionists makes itself crudely felt. One of the expelled Comrades was Treasurer of a Tenants' Association in Steyr, that is, of a non-Party mass

organisation for which he had worked devotedly and unselfishly. Hardly, however, had the Comrade in question been expelled from the K.P.O. than he was also "relieved" of his functions in the Tenants' Association and asked to produce a balance sheet on the spot. The same sort of thing occurred in the case of Comrade Nigl who has many long years of active work in the League of Democratic Women behind her. Even worse: immediately after it had been decided in the Steyr Area Secretariat to "finish with" Comrade Franz Schmidberger, the Area Secretary Tremel sent a message to Frau Schmidberger (who hadn't even been expelled from the K.P.O.) that she should immediately surrender the membership lists, accounts book, and funds of the L.D. Women to the Area offices of the K.P.O. Even the Christmas Party of the L.D.W., which had already been organised down to the last detail, was sabotaged as a consequence, in order to ensure that this activist of the League who had fallen into disfavour with Moser and Tremel, would not again appear in public on behalf of the League! One can imagine what a positive effect these and other unsavoury details which are making the rounds in Steyr, not only in the Party but also in the mass movements concerned, will have in promoting the prestige and standing of these organisations amongst the population! The revisionists prattle on endlessly to the effect that "we must broaden our base, we must not isolate ourselves from the masses," should not cling onto "narrow conceptions," etc., and in practice they destroy in a few days whole mass movements, which others have built up as a result of years of painstaking work. They are not only splitters and factionalists, they are also sectarians!

Not only the happenings in Steyr but also events in other branches, concerning which we will shortly report in full, demonstrate that our Austrian Khrushchevites have abandoned all restraint, and that they now believe themselves capable of pushing their line to its ultimate conclusion—just at a time when, in Moscow, the discredited policies of the discarded Khrushchev are being so energetically revived. We declare emphatically that they are in error! The result will most certainly not be the one they hope for! Genuine Communists, not those who only call themselves such, are made of different stuff! One simply cannot eliminate them from politics, spirit them away, or relegate them to a rubber stamping office! They will continue to fight! And as the extent of their opposition grows, their determination and strength will grow correspondingly.

In this spirit we greet our steadfast Comrades of Steyr, and we promise them that we will never desert them. They may have been expelled from the company of Moser and Tremel, but they are, and remain, Communists nevertheless, members and activists of the great world wide Communist movement, which will most definitely triumph.

We appeal simultaneously to all true Communists of our country, in Steyr, in Upper Austria, and in all the other Länder, to declare their solidarity with those Comrades disciplined by the revisionists and to campaign with all possible force for the immediate lifting of the repressive measures taken against them, and the unconditional cessation of all expulsions and suspensions. FIGHT THE REVISIONIST MANAGERS BEFORE THEY DESTROY THE PARTY.

HELP US WITH MONEY

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

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

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

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

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

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

Please send what you can to:—

The Treasurer,
"Vanguard,"
Flat 3,

33 Anson Road,
London, N.7.

(Receipt and acknowledgment by return of post.)

THE EDITORS.

LITERATURE and ART

ART AND MARXISM

by Paul Noone

ART, especially literary art, is the concrete expression, usually in part, sometimes in whole, of particular universal outlooks (philosophies) with all possible nuances and emphases. It is the means of relating one's overall ideas of history and science—class struggle, imperialism, the development of the means of production and etc.—to one's actual, personal life—the job one does, one's personal relationships, the daily happenings. Thus the content of art is people as historical—material growth affects them in their everyday life. But if it is that (literary) art grafts the living flesh of concrete reality onto the abstract bones of philosophy so it is that philosophy provides the basic interpretative structure for the flux of the particular without which the latter would be an amorphous mass devoid of significant pattern or purpose.

MARXIST WRITING

The Marxist writer will inform his narrative of the particular and the personal with his dialectical-materialist outlook not in any over-simplified, slogan-mongering way for if this writer really does grasp the richnesses, the dynamic of his professed outlook then it will be manifest in his whole way of thinking. Moreover, art is magnificently equipped for stating the truth in all its complexity of thought and feeling—its many-sidedness—often giving insights which cannot be grasped easily by sheer "cold" thought.

The Marxist artist's task will be different in pre-revolutionary times to what it will be in post-revolutionary

times and his technique will to some extent depend on the cultural heritage of the society in which he happens to be working, for his consciousness reflects the social conditions under which he lives. It follows that the artist must be criticised in relation to his social and historical conditions: there are no such things as eternal abstract artistic criteria—criteria are relative to historical, social and materialist considerations.

ALIENATION

Perhaps one of the key features of art under capitalism is the divorce between artists and the mass of the people—the creative artist is commonly thought of as a lonely individual of exceptional

sensitivity working in isolation. Successful living artists are usually creatively dead even by the standards of the bourgeois intelligentsia, for success depends in the final analysis on commercial criteria. Much as an artist may object subjectively, his work has only market value in this society. Someone, publisher or gallery owner, has to be making money out of the work of art if it is to reach the public. There are professional apologists who can find artistic merit in what sells and who can to some extent dictate artistic fashion.

"KITCHEN SINK" ART

The hiatus between the working class and the artist in capitalist society is complete except insofar as the so-called "kitchen sink" school deal with "working class protagonists" as literary subjects (Braine, Wesker, Sillitoe, Delaney, etc.). But it is all for the intelligentsia's consumption. They are presented with the working class as victims of capitalism, held captive, unable to act as the agent of any social revolution. In short, despite muted personal "triumphs" in this sort of artwork, the prevailing ideology is one of pessimism. The only reason why this art is preferable to the normal run of complacent bourgeois writing (Rattigan, Waugh and so on) is in the limited way it shatters the "conventional illusions" and "optimism of the bourgeoisie world." But nothing is put in the place of the debris of this world: one is left with nihilism and defeatism. Jimmy Porter, the intellectual spokesman as it were for the post war "left intellectuals," is made to say "There are no big brave causes left to fight for anymore"—at a time when the National Liberation struggles are achieving successes the world over, when the U.S. is defeated in Korea, the French in Indo-China, when Cuba takes the revolutionary road and in Britain itself capitalism is degenerating at an unprecedented rate. In times of social crisis under capitalism nihilism only leaves the way open for fascism: in this connection it is interesting to note that the capitalist state does not prohibit nihilistic writing despite its apparent negation of the existing order.

Nihilism and cynicism help to disarm the working class ideologically. The real problem with these "kitchen sink" artists, as with most other members of the British intelligentsia, is that they are out of touch with the working class—whatever their personal class origin—and in particular they are out of touch with the organised, militant sections of the working class. These intellectuals accept the propaganda peddled about the "affluence, apathy and conservatism" of the working masses: they relish the sad role they play, brooding on the

"eternal" problems of suffering, death and personal and social inadequacies.

FORMALISM

In the visual arts we see another symptom of this alienation of the artist from class society as it really is in the "abstract tendency"—the final rejection of reality for a metaphysical world of abstracted personal emotion or else abstracted qualities of form. The subjugation of content to form is always, in any society, a sign of cultural (and social) degeneration: it represents the attempt to negate reality. Abstraction and formalism in art is not modern—late Egyptian classical art, late Byzantine art, late Gothic art for example, all tended this way correlating with the stagnation and decay of the economic and political structures of these societies in the face of changes of economic and political content.

ARTISTS UNDER SOCIALISM

Any true Marxist artist before or after a socialist revolution must be involved in social work, in working class struggles: he cannot live in splendid artistic isolation in a country villa or in a colony of fellow artists. He must be just another worker with a certain skill to offer the community. He must be part of the working masses. How else can be hope to create dialectical-materialist art? As Mao Tse-tung said at the Yenan Forum, the artists "must go into fiery struggles, go to the only the broadest, the richest source to observe, learn, study and analyse all men, all classes, all kinds of people, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle and all raw material of art and literature, before they can proceed to creation."

It is one of the main tasks of socialism to overcome the contradiction between "brain" work and manual work and this includes the distinction between artist and artisan. This distinction grew up under capitalism and was accelerated by the industrial revolution. In previous societies this distinction had not been so marked—if present at all. The men who were employed, for example, in constructing such magnificent gothic cathedrals as Durham were most certainly artists as well as craft-workers. But capitalism led to the separation of productive, physical work from the "arts" and with the Romantic Movement grew the notion of the artist as a special individual whose talents or "genius" was the result of some inborn magic—"a touch of the divine." Artistic impulse was no longer seen as the product of enriching social relationships.

Art will become truly social, for and by the working people, only through the socialist revolution. Only then will the barriers between the artist and the working man be broken down.

KHACHATURYAN

THE composer of the world-famous "Sabre Dance" was born in 1903, of poor, Armenian parents. When young, he was much interested in the folk music of the Caucasus region—Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan—and this folk music is part and parcel of all of Khachaturyan's compositions. This man, who has said that "the aim of music is to serve the people", and who has exhorted young composers "to pay heed to the voice of the people, to study life, to derive inspiration from the nation's fight for peace, truth and happiness", is now one of the greats in Soviet and world music.

LENIN

When, in 1947 he was asked to compose the music for the film: Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, this is what he had to say. "I was deeply moved when I learned that I was to compose music for the documentary shots of Lenin's death. I re-lived the feeling of desolation and irreparable loss I had experienced on those cold winter days in 1924 as I walked along the bonfire-lighted Moscow streets. Endless streams of people, crushed by sorrow just as I was, were moving to the Hall of Columns. I had to try to express these feelings in music." Later, Khachaturyan re-worked this music into the symphonic Mourning Ode: In Memoriam V. I. Lenin, and in it he successfully portrayed the "feeling of desolation and irreparable loss". It is a very moving piece of music, and it is interesting to note that here, as always, Caucasian folk music makes its influence felt.

FOR THE PEOPLE

In 1943, Khachaturyan composed his Second Symphony. "In my symphony", he said, "I strove to express the ideas and feelings of our people."

The symphony begins dramatically with the loud clanging of an alarm bell, followed by a sorrowful, drooping melody on the violas, oriental in caste, and yet another, even more Caucasian, on the bassoon. The ensuing turmoil faithfully and horrifyingly portrays the grim advance of war over the Russian countryside. The cataclysm eventually subsides and a beautiful, yearning episode, very moving, leads into a restatement of the original melodies. The movement ends quietly as, against descending string passages, the baleful tolling of the bell is heard.

The second movement is a wild, exciting oriental dance, somewhat in the style of a lezhinka. Under the surface, the music is troubled and anxious, and a slower central section emphasises this. Towards the end however, the atmosphere lightens somewhat.

A mighty funeral march follows as a lamenting bassoon sings out against a pizzicato accompaniment. The melody

is very reminiscent of the improvisatory style of Caucasian folk music, and in fact it is an Armenian song which the composer heard his mother sing in his youth. (This music, along with excerpts from the 1905 symphony of Shostakovich, is frequently used as background music to the "Ghent War" serial on B.B.C. T.V.). The grim mood deepens when Khachaturyan introduces the mediaeval chant, Dies Irae (The Day of Wrath) into the music. The Armenian melody is then contrapuntally combined with this chant, and it is as if a whole nation is expressing grief and anger (the composer's comment on this movement was that he wanted to express the inconsolable grief of a mother over her dead soldier son). Bugle-like fanfares on the oboe herald in a majestic, awe-inspiring version of the folk song given out by the entire brass section against the clamour of the rest of the orchestra and the movement sinks to a quiet close. The music in this closing section is definitely hopeful, for the first time in the symphony.

SPIRIT OF VICTORY

It is a continual source of wonder to me, that Soviet composers could, in the midst of war and the Nazi occupation of large areas of their country, conceive of ultimate victory. Many Western composers, in a similar position, would in their music have reflected hopeless despair. Khachaturyan, being "a son of his people, a man of his time", foresaw victory, and this is reflected in the last movement of his great symphony. Bright fanfares on trumpets and horns usher in a majestic, joyous anthem, which rings out on the brass, and when, near the end, the drooping melody of the first movement, and the bell theme make a reappearance, they are utterly transformed. Victory, though not yet achieved, is in sight, and the symphony's final chords proclaim that joyous vision.

MAN OF HIS TIME

"There is nothing to compare with the joy of communing with the people, for whom we compose our music and from whom we borrow inspiration and strength for our work", says Khachaturyan, and this view is evident, not only in the Second Symphony, but in all of his music. His music, as one eminent Soviet musicologist has remarked, says: Let there be joy and light! "I am an artist", said the composer, "and I do not create for my own times, but for posterity, which will appreciate me".

"I, too, am an artist", said the baker, overhearing him. "But should I adopt the same philosophy?"

Khachaturyan, like all great composers, strives to be, in his own words, "a man of his time". His greatness is evident NOW; posterity can only confirm it.

VINCE WILSON.

MY BROTHERS

*You, who rise to fight from the fleshless shell of hunger,
You, with the eyes that have tongues,
and the bellies that have voices,
You are my brothers!*

*You, in the heat strangled jungles and the life sucking swamps,
You, in the mud huts and the grass sheeted cane legg'd beds,
Where death groans from waiting bones,
You are my brothers.*

*You in the long cold night of promise,
paralysed by waiting, weakened by hope,
cursed by conditions, maimed by neglect,
you, fleeing in spirit from hard chasing death
You are my brothers.*

*You, with the guns of rebellion
and the soft footed tread of plot,
You, in the faithful undergrowth
crouching, and waiting and watching and hoping,
You are my brothers.*

*You, the hope of the hot damp climates,
where thieves fan the heat of their tempers
and hollow, misled flunkies, scared of the truth,
trained by the fascists to throw the mud owned by cleaner hands,
You are my brothers!*

*You, brave in the youth of your convictions
strengthened by the training of suffering
pushed by the hands of determination,
reborn into purpose and aware of others
You, the children of sanity,
You are my brothers.*

RAY TURNER

MARXISM—LENINISM WILL TRIUMPH IN EUROPE

From "Zeri i Popullit" — organ of Albanian Party of Labour

"THE revolutionary traditions and victories of the workers' and Communist movement in Europe are brilliant," the article said. "However, this is only one of its aspects. History has proved that, as the principal stronghold of capitalism and world imperialism, Europe and North America are also the cradles of opportunism and revisionism in the international workers' movement."

After describing the struggles waged by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin against the various forms of opportunism and revisionism in the history of Europe, the article said: "Europe has remained the field of violent battles between revolutionary Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and opportunism and revisionism on the other. The example of Europe has proved better than elsewhere that the struggle of opposites is the basic law of development of the Communist and workers' movement: wherever there is revolution, there will also be counter-revolution; wherever there is Marxism, there will appear openly or in disguise anti-Marxist currents; and wherever opportunism and revisionism raise their heads, a struggle against them by revolutionary Marxists becomes inevitable."

"The struggle of opposites between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and opportunism and revisionism on the other is going on. Today, it has become more acute than ever. Modern revisionism, particularly Khrushchevian revisionism, has taken over the mantle of the old anti-Marxist trends. As a direct sequel to all revisionist and opportunist currents in the past, Khrushchevian revisionism today has become the greatest danger known in the history of the international Communist movement, a danger that has brought and is still bringing great damage to it. The great danger of this revisionism lies in the fact that it has appeared in the oldest and most authoritative Party in the world—the Communist Party founded by Lenin, that it affects the first and most powerful socialist country of the world—the Soviet Union, and that, being a revisionism in power, it resorts to all the means at the disposal of the socialist state to realise its traitorous purpose."

The article went on to analyse the cause of the spread of revisionism in the Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe and North America after World War II. It said: "The spreading of revisionism in the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe and North America became more serious particularly after Stalin's death, when the renegade Khrushchev group appeared on the scene and hoisted its revisionist banner at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U." Europe today had become the main bulwark of revisionism of the most rabid type, it declared.

"The revisionists are bent on paralysing the fighting will of the European working class, making it depart from the path of revolutionary struggle and become apathetic by spreading all kinds of pacifist and reformist illusions. The revisionists try to push their line of betrayal to turn some European Communist and Workers' Parties with glorious traditions from Parties carrying out the social revolution into parties for social reforms, from militant, organized and disciplined revolutionary vanguards of the working class into amorphous organisations, with no clear objectives and devoid of sound Party discipline, where all kinds of bourgeois elements, careerists and opportunists can join or leave as they please."

The article pointed out that having made common cause with imperialism, monopoly bourgeoisie, the Tito clique, the chieftains of the socialist democratic parties, Christian or Catholic democratic parties, and all kinds of reactionary forces, "the European revisionists have unleashed a rabid attack on the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour, all other Marxist-Leninist parties, and all the healthy forces of the revolutionary Communists in their Parties and countries." "They gave unreserved support to the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and splittist activities of betrayal of Khrushchev and his group and themselves committed numerous acts undermining the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement," it added.

European Revisionists entirely responsible

"With their opportunist, traitorous and divisive line and manoeuvres, the European revisionists are entirely responsible for the grave situation created in the world communist movement, and, in particular, for the great harm and damage done to the European workers' and communist movement."

The article continued: "The revisionists of Western Europe demand that the revisionists of the socialist countries quicken their steps on the path of degeneration from socialism to capitalism and of rapprochement with imperialism."

Referring to the European revisionists' reaction to Khrushchev's downfall, the article said that "the European revisionists tied to Khrushchev's war chariot have shown great anxiety over the

inglorious end of their chieftain and unanimously expressed their regret and disapproval at the fall of Khrushchev." "The present Soviet leaders—Khrushchev's old collaborators," it said, "hastened to reassure the revisionists of all shades and in all places that they would unswervingly and faithfully follow the line of their chieftain, Khrushchev."

"The European revisionists, who are in the service of the monopoly bourgeoisie of their countries and U.S. imperialism, are deeply disturbed by the mounting struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. In order to hide their true colours and enhance their influence in their own countries, the revisionists sometimes had to make a statement or a gesture pretending as if they were in support of these struggles. But if their policies and activities as a whole are examined, their real attitude towards the national-liberation movement becomes quite evident: the European revisionists adopt a completely anti-Marxist attitude and spread all sorts of harmful illusions. They are in fact aligned with the imperialists and colonialists in opposing, obstructing and suppressing the national-liberation movement."

The article continued: "The attitude of the modern revisionists towards the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of these continents is clear proof of their betrayal of the cause of world revolution, their chauvinism and their assistance to the imperialists and reactionary forces in stifling the just struggle of the peoples."

"The revolutionary movement of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national liberation has great historic significance not only for their own destiny but also for the destiny and future of the people of Europe and for the progress of mankind."

"One can say with certainty that Europe which breeds revisionism can never free itself from the yoke of capitalism without defeating modern revisionism completely, without uniting the revolutionary forces in Europe with the anti-imperialist struggle for liberation of the oppressed people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and without a decisive victory by these people in this struggle."

New revolutionary upsurge

Forecasting that a new revolutionary upsurge will take place in Europe, the article stressed: "The revisionism that Europe breeds today will not last for ever. There were periods in the past when opportunism and revisionism became the predominant current in the European workers' movement. That was during the Second International. At that time, the European imperialist bourgeoisie clapped their hands and raised a hue and cry that Marxism-Leninism had been buried and that the revolution in Europe had come to an end. Before long, however, their joy was rapidly turned into sorrow. The opportunist and reformist parties were replaced by new revolutionary parties of the working class, and the treacherous Second International by the Third Communist International. It was Marxism-Leninism, and not opportunism and revisionism, that triumphed, and the ebb of the revolution gave way to the great revolutionary torrents which began with the October Socialist Revolution."

"Likewise, the ebb of the revolution in Europe today will change eventually. A new revolutionary upsurge will emerge. It will not be checked by the temporary 'boom' of capitalism in Europe, by the fascist-type bourgeois dictatorship, or by the demagoguery and acts of betrayal on the part of the Khrushchevian revisionists, Titoites and others."

"Historical experience shows, as it did in the past, that an upsurge in the revolutionary movement of the working class does not come by itself. It is

necessary to fight and work for it every day. The main obstacle on the path of revolution in Europe today is Khrushchevian revisionism which strangles revolutionary enthusiasm, paralyses the fighting will and spirit of the working class and all other working people of Europe, and keeps the Communist Parties of Europe far away from the revolutionary path. Therefore, without a resolute struggle against opportunism and Khrushchevian revisionism of today in all their forms and manifestations, the European workers' movement and its vanguard, the Communist Parties, will not be able to shake off their evil influence, a genuinely revolutionary workers' movement will not be able to take shape and the great cause of the working class cannot be guided to victory."

"The imperialists and Khrushchevian revisionists try their utmost to stamp out completely the revolutionary spirit in Europe and make Europe and North America the citadel of political and ideological reaction in an attempt to suppress the revolutionary movement and revolutionary ideas throughout the world. But they will never achieve this. The Europe of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Europe of the Communist International, of the heroic Paris Commune and the Great October Socialist Revolution, of the Spanish War and the anti-fascist war of resistance, possesses inexhaustible revolutionary force and energy that have not died out nor ever will. In the communist and workers' movement of Europe are found the tremendous forces of Marxism-Leninism, for ever full of vitality and fighting with growing determination and vigour."

"The struggle of the revolutionary Marxists of Europe and North America, as a component part of the struggle of all the Communists in the world, is of particular international significance today because this is carried out inside the citadel of modern revisionism, a citadel which must be demolished and smashed to smithereens."

"With their organised legal and illegal forces, the Marxist-Leninists in Europe are carrying out work inside and outside their Parties, to oppose the propaganda and organisation of the revisionists, forming and strengthening Marxist-Leninist groups and new Parties and carrying on inner-Party struggles to defend the principles trampled upon by the revisionists, combat their tactics, reduce the sphere of their activity, expose their line and aims, isolate them from the masses of Communists and finally eliminate them."

Vigilance towards 'silence' of revisionists

The article continued: "The Marxist-Leninists should be especially vigilant towards the 'lull' and 'silence' that the Khrushchevian revisionists in power in the Soviet Union are striving to maintain. The present Soviet revisionist leadership is in serious difficulties, beset by concerns resulting from Khrushchev's downfall. The economic difficulties brought about by Khrushchev's anti-Marxist policy and methods, the purge of hundreds of thousands of staunch, revolutionary cadres in the Party and state, the sordid calumnies against Stalin, the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the shameful policy of capitulation and submission to imperialism which has discredited the authority and prestige of the Soviet Union, the rapprochement and alliance with U.S. imperialism and diverse reactionary forces detrimental to the interests of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the peoples, the chauvinist and divisive line of the Khrushchev group in regard to the international communist and workers' movement, the frantic attacks on and hostile attitude towards China and Albania, and the entire revisionist and treacherous course of Khrushchev stubbornly pursued by the present Soviet leadership—all these have aroused profound discontent among the Communists and people of various nationalities in the Soviet Union, opened

the eyes of millions of persons who followed blindly at first, awakened them in the struggle against revisionism, and evoked resolute opposition and principled struggle by Marxist-Leninists of all countries."

"The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the Soviet Union are awakening and waging an active and determined struggle on all fronts against the Khrushchevian revisionist leadership. On the other hand, as a result of his policy of dictating to others, calling to them to follow the 'baton,' Khrushchev caused serious breaches among his allies and the revisionist groups, and there have emerged tendencies to detach from the Soviet Union, to be more independent and to have more freedom for rapprochement with imperialism and the bourgeoisie, all of which have not only gravely damaged the authority and prestige of the Soviet revisionist leadership but also created new economic difficulties for the Soviet Union. The present Soviet leadership is at a transitory stage of finding a way out and determining new tactics so as to avoid struggles and blows from the Marxist-Leninists, affirm its fixed revisionist line and retain its friends who, if not remaining under its direct leadership as before, should at least not be allowed to pursue a policy independent of the Soviet leadership and over its head."

"It is precisely because of this difficult position and the contradictions with which they are confronted that the present Soviet leaders are trying to maintain 'silence' or 'lull.' In appearance, they try their best to present themselves as being more restrained than their chieftain, N. Khrushchev, creating a false impression that they can mend their ways while in reality they stubbornly pursue the original Khrushchevian line."

"Such a period of 'lull' and 'silence' benefits the imperialists and revisionists but harms the communist movement and the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, because in this period the revisionists endeavour to consolidate their positions with a view to launching more violent attacks on Marxism-Leninism. On the other hand, under this situation of 'lull,' imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, continues to be very active in its relations with the revisionists and brings manifold pressure to bear on them in order to force them to make new concessions and rapprochement with imperialism. The Soviet leaders, for their part, take advantage of this situation of 'silence' to re-establish all the ties and accords Khrushchev had with the imperialists. They have never disassociated themselves from these ties and accords or renounced them. Therefore, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary Communists should not be taken in by the new manoeuvres and tactics of the Khrushchevian revisionists, should not fall into the trap of 'silence' set by them, should not entertain any illusions about the present Soviet revisionist leadership and should not confuse this leadership with the Soviet Union and its revolutionary people but should wage consistently and unshakably the struggle of principle to unmask modern revisionism."

Unity

The article concludes: "Now is the time for revolutionary Communists to combat treason, liquidate modern revisionism, and re-establish the original Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist unity of all Communists of the world. This unity has brought many victories to the proletariat, consolidated the positions of socialism and communism and dealt fatal blows to imperialism and reaction throughout the world."

"Khrushchevian revisionism is an ulcer on the healthy body of the revolutionary movement and communist movement in Europe and the rest of the world, an ulcer that revolutionary Communists must remove with resolution and courage. Like its predecessors, modern revisionism is doomed to inevitable and ignominious defeat."

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

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