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A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

RHODESIA

EDITORIAL

IAN SMITH AND HIS RACIST REGIME, HAVE, AFTER ALL, DECLARED U.D.I. THEY INTEND TO CONDEMN THE AFRICANS TO PERPETUAL SLAVERY. BY SO DOING, THEY EXPEDITE AND MAKE EVEN MORE CERTAIN THEIR OWN EXTINCTION.

THE ENTIRE AFRICAN CONTINENT, ONCE KNOWN AS DARK AFRICA, IS NOW A CONTINENT OF MORE THAN 300 MILLION PEOPLE AFLAME WITH DESIRE FOR FREEDOM. THEY WILL NEVER REST UNTIL THEY WIN IT.

RAPIDLY, THE AFRICAN PEOPLE ARE LEARNING THAT GENUINE FREEDOM IS NOT SOME GIFT TO BE PATRONISINGLY BESTOWED TO THEM BY IMPERIALISM. THAT FREEDOM WILL BE WON ONLY BY EVERY CONCEIVABLE KIND OF STRUGGLE.

SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT THE EUROPEAN CAPITALISTS AND LANDLORDS REALLY WISH TO GIVE FREEDOM TO AFRICA "GRADUALLY" — FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE "BACKWARD" NATIVES.

THE UNFOLDING OF THE WILSON-SMITH FANTASMA, SO FAR FROM RE-INFORCING THIS NOTION, SHOULD SERVE TO SMASH IT TO SMITHEREENS!

THE result of the much-vaunted visit of Harold Wilson to *Salisbury*, gave every indication of the outright betrayal of the four million Africans of Rhodesia. "A ROYAL COMMISSION" was to be set up, (apparently comprised of two white Rhodesians and one Briton) to examine what "modifications can be made to the 1961 Constitution."

There is a grim and pointed saying in Britain, that if you want to avoid a decision, play for time, then appoint a *Royal Commission!*

It is worth-while tracing the history, tragi-comic as it is, of these "negotiations," which, in our view, are designed, from first to last, to hoodwink the people that the "Labour" Government is really concerned to assist the Rhodesian Africans to genuine majority rule.

The October visit of Ian Smith to London, created quite a stir. This white-racist leader gambled on obtaining Wilson's immediate agreement to his scheme to subject the black majority to slavery, ad infinitum. He had, after all, good reason to expect a not-too-difficult passage with Harold Wilson. Was it not this same Wilson who brought in the infamous *Immigration Act*, the real meaning of which is discrimination against the coloured Commonwealth citizens and whose motivating force was the ignorant Chauvinistic prejudices of a particular section of British public opinion? Was it not the same Wilson whose Government can fairly lay claim to an admirable constancy in the service of United States and British imperialist interests?

What coquettish fate, then, was it, that sent Mr. Smith, apparently empty-handed, back to his fellow racists in *Salisbury*?

This particular fate is named — neo-colonialism. When we get not only Harold Wilson, but President Johnson and the West German Government threatening Smith with dire sanctions, then it is time indeed for all friends of African liberation to reach for their thinking caps.

There was a time when the white bosses in Africa and elsewhere, could merely order a gunboat or battalion of marines and swiftly put paid to any just aspirations of their colonial victims.

The sun has long set upon that day.

Mr. Smith's tragedy is that he was born thirty years too late. To use a popular colloquialism — he isn't quite "with it," regarding the latest imperialist techniques.

It is not whether to keep mighty Africa tied to Imperialism that divided Smith from London and Washington, it is what special knot to use. Neo-colonialism has become the historically necessary strategy and tactics of imperialism in the era of vast national-liberation struggle.

It is the method of using silken cord, where the old-time chains have rusted and cracked. It is a cord made up of "capital investment," "economic aid," military aid "joint enterprise" and the careful maturing of an indigenous bourgeoisie. Wilson and his masters count on finding in Rhodesia the phoney cards that will make up the full card-sharp's pack.

U.D.I. will wreck havoc with the whole flimsy fabric of neo-colonialism, so assiduously spun by the imperialists over two decades. It could create chaos in U.N.O., since open revolt on the part of the Afro-Asian bloc would cause further deterioration of that organisation — much to the discomfort of Washington, (not to mention Pope Paul!)

It could split the "Commonwealth" wide open, since the black members would be compelled to demand the despatch of British troops to Rhodesia. It could expedite the day when the black Rhodesians liberate themselves, by armed force.

Hence, the pseudo-humiliation of Ian Smith by his "kith and kin." Hence the Wilsonian scurrying hither and thither in order to justify his role as super-salesman of neo-colonialism at the behest of his imperialist sales directors. Hence the threats and bluster to Smith of dire sanctions, should he obstinately defy the overall interests of imperialism's strategy of chaining Africa to its economic chariot.

We are given to understand that, in gangster circles, the small thug is severely chastised by the "big boss," if he jeopardises the latter's interests. In certain political circles, it would appear that the similarity of this punitive technique is indeed remarkable!



Organise at the place of work

by MICHAEL McCREERY (late Secretary of CDRCU)

FOREWORD

This statement was prepared as a speech for the London District Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain in the Spring of 1962. An application to speak was rejected. The statement was subsequently submitted to, and rejected by, the London District Committee of the C.P.G.B. - (ED).

I WANT to speak on the need to build the factory branches, and on the reasons for past failure to build them. Why do we need factory branches? More correctly, why should we have the bulk of our members organised at the point of production rather than in the localities?

In general, because it is at the point of production that we can most effectively wage the class struggle.

Firstly, our Party is above all the Party of the industrial workers, the organised working class. And all experience shows that those who work in industry just do not find it so easy to undertake political work where they live, as opposed to where they work. The factory branch can meet just after work; and before comrades go home. The local branch usually meets at 8 p.m., and it is more difficult to prise yourself away from a warm fire after you have had a meal and begun to relax after a hard day's work than it is to attend a meeting on the way home.

Partly for this reason, all too often, factory branches do not succeed in drawing many industrial comrades into regular political discussion and activity. The result may be a political atmosphere in the local branch which is a little bit out of touch with the realities of the class struggle. And this atmosphere, in its turn tends to discourage industrial comrades from participating in their local branches, so that, for lack of political discussion, they under-emphasise the political, as compared with the economic aspects of the struggle against the capitalist class.

Argument and Agitation

Secondly, it is at the point of production, the place of work, that Communist argument and Communist agitation is most effective. Why?

Because at the place of work you come up against the class enemy, or his stooge, directly, in person. He emerges as a real enemy, not just an abstraction. But only if the political point is made — only if the Communist is there to point him out as a member of the exploiting class.

Because at the place of work we are known to our fellow-workers; not Communists in the abstract, but Joe, who is also a Communist. People listen to friends; listen to work mates more readily than to a stranger who calls at the door.

Because at the place of work there are five days in the week, maybe six, in which one is inevitably drawn into contact with one's fellow-workers; into conversation with them. But unless there is a Party Branch, no matter how small, meeting to plan Communist argument and Communist agitation, these regular contacts will be so many politically wasted opportunities. It is not as a rule sufficient to leave this to individual initiative, to each individual conscience, it needs the collective, the branch, to encourage and organise Daily Worker and pamphlet sales, leaflets etc. It needs collective effort to ensure to our Communist understanding of the class-divided world of the 1960's.

Leadership

Thirdly, and most important of all, unless we have active Party branches in all the main factories and depots in Britain, branches which have won the confidence of the workers, we shall not be able to lead the working-class into action at the decisive moments in the economic, and still more the political battle against the capitalist class. And when the next potentially revolutionary situation develops — as in 1919 or even 1926 — and the possibility of seizing power is placed on the agenda; then above all, unless we can lead the decisive sections of the working-class into action at the decisive moments (general election or no general election) there will be no revolution — but defeat for the working-class; as in 1919 and 1926.

We have had plans to build the factory branches; introduced at District Congress after District Congress, and National Congress after National Congress for years past. But time after time these plans have crumbled away when it came to the task of implementing them. Very inadequate leadership has in practice

been given on this issue by the District and the Executive Committee. In the last five years, for instance, for most of which time I have been on the Central London Area Committee, there has been practically no lead, no plan, no pushing and prodding from the District on this issue.

Symptomatic of our whole approach has been the repeated contrast made in the District Bulletin and elsewhere, between Party Branch and Factory Group. There is no mention of the term group in Party rules — the Branch is the basic unit, in factory or locality. Use of this term inevitably suggests a second-class status for factory branches. I know that many factory branches are very small, and maybe don't meet regularly to plan political activity. But that is no reason for calling them groups (which merely confirms them, as it were, in their inactive state) rather for throwing some energy into helping them develop into active branches.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. About one comrade in nine, in London District, is organised at his or her place of work. Quite possibly this is an all-time low, except for that disastrous period from 1945 when the Executive Committee actually disbanded the Factory Branches altogether. And if you excluded those factory branches that exist on paper in District and Area offices, but don't function as branches, the proportion would be even lower.

What is the reason? It would be correct, in a sense, but a superficial judgment, to blame the comrades in leading positions for their failure to give a firm and sustained lead on this question. What we should rather ask is, why have they failed to give a firm lead? Why has the Party as a whole failed to follow up its good intentions in this matter?

The Constitutional Road

In my view one cannot escape the conclusion that the practical failure to organise at the place of work is inseparably connected with the Party's general policy, its general line of advance as expressed in the British Road to Socialism. If you believe in the possibility of a legal revolution, with a general election achieving a Communist and left-labour majority, which forms a Government, and proceeds to legislate in Socialism, then your Party organisation must tend inevitably towards the localities rather than towards the factories. One cannot escape the fact that a Party based mainly upon the local branches is best able to organise the constitutional fight, best able to wage the fight for electoral advance.

Factory Branches have their place in this picture of constitutional advance towards Socialism, but it is one subordinate to, as it must be, the Party's general line of electoral advance for Communists and left-labour. As the discussion article circulated to branches prior to this Congress put it. "We need to work in a way which will make electoral work the continuous centre of Branch activity, local and factory." One cannot dodge the logic of the British Road to Socialism. The constitutional development of the revolution demands a traditional, electoral-type, organisation for our Party;

and the Factory Branch just does not fit neatly into this pattern. The class struggle, which the Factory Branch is best designed to wage, does not fit neatly into the constitutional pattern, it is an unruly beast, forever rearing its ugly head when least expected.

So long as we concentrate almost exclusively upon the constitutional road to Socialism it would be wrong not to recognise the fact that we cannot base ourselves, as a Party, mainly upon the factories. Policy limits room for manoeuvre in terms of organisation much more closely than one might suppose. The latter is determined by the former. Within our Party's present policy I do not believe that we can in practice achieve an appreciable advance in the proportion of our membership organised on a factory basis or work-place basis. It would amount to a re-organisation of our Party which would not best serve the constitutional aims of the British Road to Socialism.

The decision to dissolve the factory branches which was taken in 1945 was only carrying to its extreme conclusion the logic of the constitutional advance to Socialism, with the order to industrial comrades to abandon their factory organisations and get cracking in the electoral field. Partially rectified later, this great mistake has never, to my knowl-

edge, been adequately analysed by the Party; and the correct conclusions drawn from it.

Do we over-estimate the possibility of winning Socialism by Constitutional means? I believe that we do grossly over-estimate it. I do not believe that the second most powerful capitalist class in the world would allow itself to be legislated out of existence, within the framework of the laws, the constitution, which it has drawn up for its own preservation. As the 1960 statement of the World Communist Parties states. "In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against the people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to Socialism should be born in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily."

Sometimes when I hear comrades talk about the Parliamentary road, the constitutional road to Socialism, I think of the foolish biblical virgins who were caught on the hop when the bridegroom did finally arrive. I think we need to prepare our party more thoroughly for the coming struggle for power — and that means above all building the factory branches.

COMMENTS ARE INVITED FOR PUBLICATION — (Ed.)

A SUMMARY OF THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE

by Commentator

ON THE surface, little has changed during the past few months. The three major parties, **Conservative, Labour and Liberal**, remain in an unchallengeable position so far as voting power goes. The revisionist **Communist Party** remains stagnant in this respect, despite its orientation towards the attraction of votes at "local" and general elections and its efforts to present a "respectable image" to the electorate.

British foreign policy, in essence, under the "Labour" Government is exactly the same as under a Tory Government. That is, it reflects the basic interests of British monopoly capitalism, whose dominant sector still relies on United States monopoly capitalism for patronage, credits and, above all, the underwriting of the value of sterling.

This is not to under-estimate a "rebel" trend among some British capitalists, whose economic interests are being constantly undermined by the United States imperialists both in Britain and overseas. A noteworthy feature is that such "rebellion" is more clearly reflected via the Tory party than via the "Labour" government.

The fundamental planks of British capitalist economic policy are (a) her desperate attempts to pursue the highest maximum profits on finance capital (investments). (b) her desperate attempts to maintain her diminishing position as a colonial power, characterised by her military actions in "Malaysia" and Aden. (c) her struggles to increase her diminishing share of world trade in the face of growing competition from West Germany, Japan, France and the U.S.A., among others.

It will be seen then, that these planks are rotten, are doomed to certain collapse, bringing down the complex and brittle superstructure, not only of British finance capital, but seriously affecting its main associate and competitor — United States finance capital.

The contradictions between capitalist Britain and capitalist U.S.A. are intensifying and will, in our view, determine both the extent and speed of the impending western economic crisis, whose probability is further enhanced by the increasing alienation of the "Common Market Six," from both the United States and British financial interests.

It is in order to ensure the survival of the capitalist system that the "Labour" government has pinned its hopes on increased productivity by the workers, whilst reducing their real incomes. It is precisely the increased profits from their labour power which are intended to underwrite British monopoly capitalism's existence in the era of its gravest predicament.

Hence, the "Incomes Policy," legislation against wage claims and "unofficial" strikes. Hence, the threat of mass unemployment. Hence, the very existence of a "Labour" government which, with only a majority of three, is carefully kept in "power" by capitalism, to do a particular job at a particular time, which the Tory Party would find well-nigh impossible to perform, since this involves the sharp depression of the workers' living standards.

At both the recent Trades Union Con-

gress and Labour Party Conference, the most reactionary foreign and domestic policies advocated by the "Labour" government leaders were carried. The revisionist leaders of the British Communist Party, instead of making an honest and careful analysis of this grave state of affairs and drawing the correct objective conclusions, prefer to make much of the minority opposition votes. For as long as memory serves, there have always been sizeable minority oppositionist votes at these conferences and even sometimes, majority votes against the platform. At no time, have these expressions of dissent had any essential effect on the line of a "Labour" government. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that this position will be appreciably altered.

Why is this so? Because Social-Democracy, and social-democratic parties in the environment of a capitalist country, basically, have a line which serves monopoly capitalism, divides the proletariat and confuses its ideological approach, generates idealist-gradualism, heads off and stifles any real, important struggles and divorces the workers from a revolutionary ideology, from Marxism-Leninism.

Britain today is no exception to this process. The dereliction of duty, amounting to outright betrayal, on the part of the Communist Party of Great Britain's leaders, lies precisely in the fact that, for many years, they have assisted social-democracy in its divisive and negative actions; have nailed their banner to the utterly false concept of a "united social-democratic 'left'" have utterly replaced revolutionary strategy by pragmatic, opportunist tactics, and have grossly overestimated the strength of imperialism, headed by the United States imperialists, and refused to recognise imperialism's rapid degeneration and have grossly underestimated the power of the world national liberation movement and its allies. In a word, this is a desertion of Marxism-Leninism and the adoption of a general line of conformity with the social-democratic 'left,' not only in tactics, but also in content.

This revisionist betrayal was long ago recognised by a number of British Marxist-Leninists, who commenced to struggle against it. Foremost in this principled struggle was our late Secretary and co-Editor of VANGUARD,

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Michael McCreery, to whom the main credit must go, for the important fact that, in Britain today, there exist organised groups of anti-revisionists, whose work consists of the re-establishment of revolutionary ideology and the re-constitution of a Leninist vanguard party. McCreery's work, so tragically cut short by premature death, remains the most outstanding basis on which Marxist-Leninists will build the new Communist Party. It is worth noting that his work is regarded by the Communist Party of Great Britain's leaders, as the very antithesis of their own line — no mean compliment to Michael McCreery!

A new and outstanding feature that emphasises the moral and political degeneration of the Labour party, is that it has officially adopted racialism as a matter of policy. The "Labour" government's Immigration Act, in its anti-colour content and its aim of capturing votes from large sections of lumpen-chauvinistic British public opinion, marks a new low in these creatures' machinations. Ideologically, it is a vivid reflection of the degeneration of the bourgeoisie, in the era of its galloping decline.

Even the Liberals, who openly oppose Socialism, are moved by their radical origins and a vague sense of shame to criticise this infamous off-spring of 'the Mother of Parliaments.'

Quite logically, this Act is being used as a trump card by the Rhodesian White Racialists, in their negotiations with Harold Wilson, for a White supremacist Rhodesia. At the time of writing, these confrontations between political morons are continuing. We are in no doubt, however, as to their outcome.

This will be the 100% betrayal of the black Rhodesians to the tender mercies of the white minority and a treacherous stab at African nationalism, the like of which could not be surpassed by any Tory government.

Thus there are important responsibilities in the hands of British Marxist-Leninists. It is impossible to over-rate these responsibilities. A basic line of strategic and tactical struggle needs to be swiftly agreed upon, if we are to discharge them with honour and credit.

The objective situation, developing and maturing with each passing day, demands that we accomplish the tasks set before us in the shortest possible time.

at a time when many workers and intellectuals are beginning to see through the Labour party, to see it as no different in essence from the openly capitalist Conservative party. The empirical dissatisfaction of the militant workers and intellectuals must be imbued with Marxist-Leninist class consciousness. This is our task. This is why the CDRCU was formed. To win the militant workers and intellectuals to the need for the soonest possible reconstruction of a genuine workers party based on uncompromising Marxist-Leninist ideology.

To this end, Vanguard is published as the organ of the CDRCU: to this end, we produce and distribute pamphlets hold meetings, contribute to the inner party struggle; to this end we take part in the Broad Movements; to this end we propagate our line at our place of work and within our trade unions. We are also doing all we can to forge international links with our working class brothers and oppressed people in all parts of the world.

In two years we have extended our influence throughout the entire country and have consolidated our ranks, cleansing them of left and right opportunists

and disruptors. The objective importance of the latter point cannot be over-emphasised. Moreover we must be determined to wage a relentless struggle against opportunism of all kinds if it arises within our ranks. Only by doing so will we gain real strength.

At present our main difficulties stem from (a) our shortage of cadres and (b) our consequent shortage of funds to extend our activities. Our urgent work ahead is to patiently build our organisation group by group to cover the entire country: to raise our own and our newly won cadres level of political consciousness. We can never afford to be content with ourselves as Marxist-Leninists. Arrogance and complacency are not proletarian qualities. We must go to the workers and patiently carry to them a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world and the way forward for them. We must learn to talk to them in their own language: we must above all learn from them how to conduct ourselves as Marxist-Leninists. With this honest, objective approach we shall win.

Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in England, Scotland and Wales!

THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE CDRCU AND URGENT WORK AHEAD

NOVEMBER 1965 is the second anniversary of the formation of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity, CDRCU. It is the second anniversary of the month when certain members and ex-members of the CPGB, who up until then had been carrying out an inner party struggle against the revisionist leadership, made the first public stand against revisionism of the modern variety in this country.

This open, public struggle against revisionism was a qualitative development of the struggle which had been waged previously within the party. It was based on the following points:

1. The "British Road to Socialism" of 1951, the programme of the CPGB leadership, was and is an outright betrayal of the interests of the British working class. Although camouflaged with Marxist terminology it is essentially anti-Marxist-Leninist for it abandons the revolutionary road to socialism and substitutes instead the illusion that the working class can win socialism by peaceful parliamentary and trade union struggle within the confines of the laws and rules laid down by the capitalist ruling class!
2. In keeping with this reformist strategy, the revisionists had progressively abandoned factory branches of the party to concentrate on residential branches — a development in keeping with electoral considerations.
3. The CPGB leadership, through its basic renunciation of Leninism and its consistent failure to recognise the class-nature of the state, refused to expose the social democratic Labour Party including its "Left wing" to the masses as a capitalist party posing as a workers' party. Instead the CPGB leadership urged unity with the Labour "left" in order to transform the Labour Party into an organ of the people's will. This means that the CPGB emasculates itself and tails feebly behind the treacherous left labour demagogues. No mass revolutionary line is put to the masses. Thus for example the Peace Movement is orientated towards pacifism instead of against Imperialism the source of war.
4. The CPGB leadership has continually failed to appreciate the right and need of the Welsh and Scottish nations to self-determination. Again this error stems from their incorrect analysis of the nature of the British state.
5. The revisionists had opted out on their international proletarian duty with regard to the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. These struggles against imperialism (the common enemy of the working class and oppressed people the world over) and for genuine independence, peace and socialism are the storm centres of the world revolution. By weakening imperialism they bring nearer the day of liberation of the metropolitan working class. It is our duty to give them every assistance on

the basis of equality and mutual respect. But the revisionists try to imply that the liberation struggles endanger world peace! They try to divide the metropolitan and colonial struggles and encourage chauvinistic and patronising attitudes towards the colonial workers among the metropolitan workers. Thus they assist the Imperialist and capitulate to imperialist warmongering provocation. As a corollary to this betrayal of the anti-imperial liberation struggles, the revisionists have failed to stand up against racism from fascists; Tories and the Labour Government directed against those colonial and neo-colonial workers, our coloured brothers, who have been forced by imperialist exploitation in their homelands to seek employment in the metropolitan country. Instead of explaining the workings of imperialism and the divide and rule tactics of the ruling class to the British workers and instead of developing working class unity against racism, the revisionists peddle petty-bourgeois notions and try to get the Labour Government to enact "legislation," which in essence is a diversion from the real struggle which centres on independent working-class action.

6. The revisionist leadership have also abandoned democratic centralism as the norm of party organisation and party life. They have introduced bureaucratic methods and have stifled real criticism of their theories and practice.

Thus the only way forward for the cause of the proletariat in Britain was the open stand and ideological struggle against revisionism and the reconstitution in due course of a genuine Marxist-Leninist workers' Party. This process was catalysed by the development of the international struggle against revisionism within the international Communist movement. On the one hand there were the Marxist-Leninist protagonists . . . the Parties of China, Albania, Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia and New Zealand; on the other hand the revisionists . . . the Congress-corrupted party leaderships of the Soviet Union and many of the Eastern European Peoples' Democracies and the parties of Western Europe and the USA, chief of which were the French and Italian revisionists. As the international struggle against revisionism developed genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties were reconstituted in a number of countries including India, Brazil, Belgium, Spain, Australia etc. Everywhere the Marxist-Leninists rallied support and won victories; everywhere the revisionist controlled "parties" suffered reverses and degenerated still further.

In many countries including England, Scotland and Wales there is no genuine Marxist-Leninist Party as yet, while the revisionist controlled CPGB is the mere shell of the good party it once was. It daily loses its roots among the militant sections of the workers. And this is at

JAPAN ANTI-BOMB CONGRESS Message to CDRCU

Dear Friends,

We wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to you for your message of greetings addressed to the 11th World Conference against A and H Bombs. Your message brought encouragement and support to all who took part, 174 delegates from 50 countries and 9 international organisations in addition to 80,000 Japanese delegates.

The 11th World Conference adopted three international documents which we are sending to you under separate cover. These include "Resolution on Strengthening International Joint Action," "Resolution Denouncing U.S. Imperialist Aggression in Vietnam and in Support of and for Strengthening Solidarity with the Vietnamese People in their Struggle" and "Strengthen Mutual Support among the Peoples for the Prevention of Nuclear War and in Defence of World Peace."

In accordance with these decisions of the 11th World Conference, and with the strength of increased international solidarity, the Japanese peace forces

have already held national united action involving one million people. "Stop U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam," "prevent the ratification of the Japan-R.O.K. treaties" and "defend life" were among the main slogans of the meetings and demonstrations held on September 12.

We are sure that in the days to follow, our peace forces which have achieved such great success in the 11th World Conference and are already achieving greater successes in the follow-up common action, will still further intensify their efforts to contribute to the world struggle.

The prevention of nuclear war, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, relief of A-Bomb sufferers, the struggle against the war forces headed by U.S. imperialism and for national independence, and the defence of world peace are our aims. In all these we depend on your continued support.

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,
Yoshikiyo Yoshida, Chairman.

The Pope does not Protest

Well, the Pope has been to New York and has made his appeal for no more war — big deal. Everybody applauds, from the American war chieftain, LBJ, to the miserable, baton-following revisionists at King St. At a time of world revolution, when the U.S. imperialists are armed to the teeth with diabolical weapons of mass destruction which they do not hesitate to use as required, it suits them to tell their victims not to make war, to accept their lot.

The Pope's chaplains are in south Vietnam blessing the U.S. occupation troops in their use of terror against people who want their freedom badly enough to fight for it with arms in hand. The Pope does not protest. But a nice, sanctimonious appeal for peace in the abstract is quite in order — what a wonderful man he is!

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33 Anson Road
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Let us Fight Fight Fight

What are our contemporary, hit-parade folk singers on about? They tell us that the world is terrible, full of injustice, shame, shame, shame. Four innocent black babies killed in a church in Alabama. Let us cry, cry, cry.

Let us tell them to go to hell with their weeping and their crying. Let us tell them to go to hell with their maudling, psuedo, — humanitarian sentiments which save the consciences of all the well-fed do-gooders. What good does that do the oppressed negroes? What good does that do the working class? Let us fight, fight, fight for the emancipation of the common people.

STATEMENT

South Vietnam National Front For Liberation's Statement On US Barbarities

SOUTH VIETNAM, Sept. 25, 1965

IN ORDER to stave off danger of complete failure, the U.S. imperialists have in the last few months, massively brought more than 100,000 U.S. and satellite expeditionary troops and many kinds of modern weapons and other war materials to South Vietnam. At the same time, they have been expanding their "war of escalation" in North Vietnam and stepping up their acts of sabotage and provocation against Laos and Cambodia. They are creating a very tense and extremely dangerous situation in Indochina, South East Asia and the whole world. Progressive opinion in all five continents has been voicing vehement condemnation of the U.S. imperialists' brutal acts. But in complete disregard of these warnings, the U.S. imperialists are stubbornly running headlong on their criminal road by employing over 100,000 U.S. and satellite expeditionary troops together with the puppet army to massacre the South Vietnamese people. Finding these not enough, they have recently switched over to other war acts and war means of extreme inhumanity in the hope of forcing the 14 million South Vietnamese people to yield to their brute force. Moreover, the U.S. imperialists have also deployed their air force and artillery to carry out wanton bombardments in a barbarous manner never seen before in any war with the aim of destroying whole regions and razing to the ground whole villages in South Vietnam.

More recently, they even employed B.52 strategic bombers to carry out this barbarous scheme. From Guam, an island thousands of miles away from Vietnam, dozens of these planes are flying almost daily to South Vietnam to drop thousands of tons of bombs on villages, schools, pagodas and churches in South Vietnam.

After each of these brutal air raids on villages in South Vietnam which are causing so much suffering and death to the people, the U.S. and puppet propaganda machines invariably boasted about the so-called "victories" of the U.S. air force over the "Viet Congs." It must be pointed out that this is not only a cheap propaganda stunt which cannot fool even a child, but also a manoeuvre to cover up the dark scheme of legalising the use of bombs and guns to massacre the people and destroy the villages in South Vietnam.

Over the past few years, the U.S. imperialists have used villages, hamlets and fields in South Vietnam as a test ground for their chemical warfare. Hundreds of thousands of people have been affected and thousands of others killed, including many women and children. Large expanses of crop fields and gardens were burnt out or devastated by toxic chemicals, napalm bombs, insects and arms spread on South Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists. Recently, at Vinh Quang hamlet, Binh-dinh province, the U.S. expeditionary troops themselves used poison gas to poison our houses and air raid shelters, killing or wounding hundreds of people. In face of the indignation of the people at home and abroad, at first, the U.S. imperialists tried to make round about denials but of late they brazenly challenged public opinion.

On September 22, 1965, the U.S. Defence Department publicly declared it had authorised the utilisation of poison gas in South Vietnam. On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists are stepping up preparations to launch a bacterial warfare against the South Vietnamese people.

By resorting to extremely inhuman means and acts of war in their aggressive war in South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists have themselves exposed to the whole world their odious nature of the most cruel gendarme of imperialism who is frantically opposing the movement of the nations to win the right to self determination and independence, they have brazenly trampled underfoot the most elementary laws of mankind, brazenly violated the 1925 Geneva Convention prohibiting the use of chemical weapons and poison gases and brazenly trampled upon the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and Indochina which

they recently hypocritically claimed to recognise as "the basis for a peaceful solution in Vietnam."

On behalf of the 14 million South Vietnamese people, the Presidium of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation Central Committee denounces to world public opinion these most inhuman war acts of the U.S. imperialists. Once again we remind the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen that no weapons, tactics, nor means and acts of war of theirs can save them from failure in South Vietnam. Their inhuman schemes and manoeuvres certainly cannot subdue our people, on the contrary, they only pour oil on the flames of hatred of our 14 million people which is day and night, burning their criminal and murderous regime in South Vietnam.

It is obvious that, defeated and bogged down in South Vietnam the U.S. aggressors have not hesitated to resort to the most savage war manoeuvres. They sabotaged the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, and violated international treaties and laws. Their odious acts are being severely condemned by public opinion in the United States and in the world.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam vehemently denounces these crimes, and resolutely demands that the U.S. government stops the use of poison gas and toxic chemicals as means for a war of annihilation against the people of South Vietnam.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam fully supports the legitimate actions taken by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation with a view to defending the rights of the people of South Vietnam to live and work peacefully. It opposes the wholesale massacres of civilians by the United States. It also opposes the savage terrorism applied by the U.S. aggressors and their agents against South Vietnamese patriots.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam calls on all governments, international democratic organisations, progressive personalities, and peace and justice-loving people of the world to raise their voices in time and stay the hands of the U.S. war criminals in South Vietnam. The U.S. government must bear full responsibility for all con-

sequences arising from their savage war acts.

By intensifying wholesale massacres of civilians, the U.S. imperialists all the more clearly admit their ignominious defeats, and display their wicked and bellicose nature. The people of South Vietnam, filled with hatred for the U.S. aggressors, will fight all the more vigorously, and together with their compatriots throughout the country, they are sure to defeat them completely, and to win back national independence and peace.

While sending tens of thousands of U.S. and satellite troops to South Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists have never ceased to peddle the so-called "peace negotiations." Experience has shown the very time they spoke of "peace" the U.S. imperialists became more cruel and ruthless in their aggressive war in South Vietnam. Therefore, the Presidium of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front Central Committee deems it necessary to declare solemnly once again that if the U.S. imperialists refuse to withdraw their troops and dismantle their military bases in South Vietnam but continue to send more troops and build new military bases, refuse to stop all war acts but continue to use B.52 and other aircraft and artillery to carry out wanton bombardments against the South Vietnamese people; if they refuse to stop using chemicals and other lethal gases; refuse to stop their bloody repression of unarmed people's demonstrations and definitely put an end to their public execution or acts of murder of prisoners of war, political detainees as well as demonstrators; if they do not respect and implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam in the spirit of respecting the independence and sovereignty of the South Vietnamese people, and leaving the latter alone to settle their own affairs; if they persist in their stubbornness, there can be no contact nor political solution with them. It is impossible to have conditions leading to a real and guaranteed peace in South Vietnam as long as the South Vietnamese army and people have not yet completely defeated the U.S. aggressors and completely liberated their country.

Concerning the repeated acts of white terror and public executions on unarmed demonstrations in South Vietnam

by the U.S. and the Thieu-Ky clique, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has on many occasions warned them to put an end to such acts. But aggressors and traitors do not heed these warnings. They have just committed another heinous crime. On September 22, 1965 they executed 3 persons who had taken part in a demonstration in Da-nang. The Presidium of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation Central Committee once again serves them a strong warning on this matter and declares: up to now and from now on, the Front's policy toward prisoners of war and enemy troops who cross over to the people's side always remains extremely humanitarian. The Front never tortures or maltreats them, instead is lenient to them and it has in fact released tens of thousands of puppet troops who had been taken prisoners or crossed over to the people's side and on many occasions done the same with U.S. troops.

As a further warning to the U.S. and its henchmen, the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has instructed the Front's Committee and the Liberation Army Command in the central part of Central Vietnam to take practical actions to answer the enemy. This has no other aim but to awaken them and force them to stop forthwith all their vile acts of white terror.

Compatriots and fighters of the heroic liberation armed forces, in their pangs or death, the U.S. imperialists are nurturing the illusion to use legionary troops and their means and acts of war of utmost barbarity to force us to surrender.

One again, let us use practical deeds to teach them another due lesson on the heroic will and dauntlessness of our Vietnamese people.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front Central Committee calls on all strata of the people in the countryside and cities of South Vietnam, old and young, men and women, belonging to all nationalities, religious communities, social strata, . . . together with the South Vietnam people's Armed Forces to strengthen their solidarity and resolutely struggle to foil all schemes and manoeuvres of the enemy and win still more resounding victories.

No matter how many troops the enemy may deploy, whether they are American or puppet troops or mercenaries of U.S. satellites, and whatever kind of weapons they may use, including the most up to date, however, inhuman the means and acts of war they may resort to, we are determined to defeat them and completely liberate South Vietnam.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front Central Committee takes this opportunity to call on the North Vietnamese people and the peoples of the world and in the U.S.A. to severely condemn and check the above inhuman acts of war of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and demand that they respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and the 1925 Geneva and the Hague International Conventions, withdraw the troops of U.S. and its satellites together with their weapons, and other war materials and means of war from South Vietnam, dismantle their military bases there and respect the right to self determination of the South Vietnamese people.

Let the U.S. imperialists harbour no hope of finding in South Vietnam any situation favourable to them by stubbornly stepping up their war of aggression and Hitler type brutalities. The South Vietnamese people and their liberation forces have pledged determination to fulfil the glorious historic tasks of the nation, even if they should go on fighting for 5, 10 years or longer, they would be resolved to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors, liberate South Vietnam, defend North Vietnam and reunify the Fatherland, thus contributing to the struggle for national independence and peace in the world.

US—Japan Plot To Invade CHINA and KOREA

THE PLAN FOR JOINT JAPAN-U.S. INVASION OF CHINA AND KOREA WAS LAID BARE YESTERDAY BY SOCIALIST DIETMAN KOBAYASHI, AT A MEETING OF THE JAPANESE LOWER HOUSE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE "JAPAN-SOUTH KOREA TREATY," ACCORDING TO A TOKYO REPORT.

IT WAS MADE KNOWN THAT THE PLAN WAS MAPPED OUT ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT A WAR BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA BROKE OUT.

The plan envisages the introduction of a wartime mobilisation system in Japan at the initial stage on the assumption that the U.S.-China war will begin within thirty days. Communications will be switched to a code system while personnel at the U.S. military bases in Japan will be placed on an around-the-clock and three-shift system.

At the second stage, units of the U.S. fifth air force and Japanese air "self-defence" forces will be assigned to

the Itasuke air base for operation against China. Units of the ground "self-defence" forces which will be placed under the joint U.S.-Japan command will be moved to Okinawa and South Korea.

In the course of the operation, the "self-defence" forces would be equipped by the U.S. armed forces.

Staff officers of the U.S. forces in Japan and the "self-defence" forces began gathering materials in October 1963 and after secret deliberations it was completed last year.

"It was indicative of the dangerous nature of the 'Japan-South Korea treaty' in view of such a secret plan for an aggressive war on North Korea and China," Kobayashi said.

In answer to Kobayashi, "defence agency" director Matsuno declared that the "self-defence" forces were obliged to make all necessary research together with the U.S. armed forces in order to meet any event promptly and effectively.

Matsuno refused to produce the secret document, saying that he had no obligation to make known plans for operations or military activities concerning the United States forces end.

1st Caribbean October Congress (Commemoration)

THIS CONGRESS attended by over 120 Caribbean Working People, Students, Intellectuals, housewives, from nearly all Caribbean Territories including delegates from the various Caribbean Organisations from fraternal African and Asian organisations and British organisations, met for two days; discussed many problems facing the Caribbean Working Peoples and working people generally.

Many important messages and telegrams of solidarity were received.

The theme of the CONGRESS is:—

**UNITE AGAINST WORLD IMPERIALISM, led by
the U.S. imperialists,
for INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY and
SOCIALISM**

The Congress after two days of serious examination and discussion of the imperialist problems facing working peoples in the Caribbean/Latin American area, Africa, Asia and elsewhere; on the questions of the struggle against World Imperialism led by the U.S. imperialists adopted the following Resolutions.

CARIBBEAN LIBERATION

Congress states that up to now, the Caribbean countries have been used by the western imperialist powers as a source of raw materials, being sometimes balkanised, sometimes "assimilated" or sometimes federated.

In spite of so many natural links on the geographical, historical and cultural grounds, in spite of their common or complementary exigencies from the economic point of view; the desires and appetites which had broken loose under the cover of "civilising missions," which were intended to bring "culture and humanism" with them, had led to the political division of the Caribbean group of countries.

Our countries were shared out according to laws which had nothing to do with their geographical situation. Governments which did not and do not now represent our peoples were created for them; also captive economies were subjected to those of the British, French, Dutch and U.S. imperialisms; cultural elements were imposed which were a mechanical imitation of those of the imperialist states; political status as diverse as those of "overseas departments," "colonies of the crown," "dominions or politically independent states," "self-governing federations," or associated states were created, BUT THE ONLY COMMON FACTOR REMAINED, the economic subjection to WORLD IMPERIALISM.

CARIBBEAN UNITY AND THE CARIBBEAN ENTITY

An harmonious development of our different societies being impossible by the actions of the imperialists, that Caribbean Identity which can be observed through so many facts, could not develop itself.

Congress cannot stress enough the enormous and criminal responsibility of the western powers, of world imperialism, which has worked unceasingly at dividing the Caribbean area into compartments, at creating artificial, vertical links. They have been and are using the power of their armies, confining everyone of our countries in the framework of their system, in the narrowest economic dependence and political tutelage, and therefore they have fostered within or frontiers a number of political and economic intermediaries, sorts of lackeys, of parasites, whose main work is to maintain confusion, to make people believe that our countries normally have their future in the continuation of these secular relations with imperialism.

Now, this Caribbean Entity really exists and is grounded on the same geographical, cultural, economic and human data which can be found from Cuba to the Latin American Coast, to Guianas and Venezuela included. It is not now based on any existing political unity — since that one has been imposed from the outside, neither can it be founded on a community of language, because in that case also, there are facts which have been imposed by the European powers.

By depriving us of that idea of our cultural richness, world imperialism today led by the U.S. imperialists, hope to destroy in our minds the will to get rid of it definitely out of our lands. By feeling, beyond our present cultural dispersion, the existence of a common cultural stock, totally different from the European or African or Asian cultures, we create other reasons to militate for the reconquest of our countries.

CARIBBEAN RE-ASSEMBLANCE AND MODERN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

At the same time as they were drawing immense profits from our region, the imperialists asserted that our countries would not consider the possibility of a modern economic development without them.

Congress have considered modern economic development without imperialist subjection, based on scientific socialist principles, on self-reliance and mutual reciprocal trading arrangements with our brother countries and other friendly states.

In spite of the imperialist myths which are used to justify the exploitation of our extreme wealth, it appears clearly that the Caribbean area possesses the essential economic basis, without which, ideas of modern economic development would really be an intellectual discussion exercise.

It is only by putting in common use - our agricultural and mining resources; our hydro-electric potentialities; our human riches, that we shall be able to break the informal cycle of underdevelopment and forever put an end to the misery and ferocious exploitation of our people. The complementarity of the Caribbean economy does exist even if it is not perfect and allows us to consider the establishment of a real independent industry. The natural fields for the harmonious and quick development of our agricultures and industries are inside the Caribbean area. It is this geographical basis which offers the best possibilities of exchange and the only guarantee of expansion.

Without making a catalogue of the richness of all our countries, there exists important raw material sources such as petroleum, limestone, sugar-cane and its by-products, rice, bananas, sulphur, peat-bogs, fibres, iron, copper, chromium, manganese, bauxite, gold, diamond, copra, tobacco, cotton, sisal, etc., whose planned and rational exploitation, once the imperialist tutelage is broken, would allow us to create and develop new industries, factories and manufactures; e.g., chemical industries in Cuba, Venezuela, Trinidad, Guadeloupe; shipbuilding in Martinique, Cuba, Guyana, Puerto Rico; textile industries in Haiti; industries of hides and leather, sugar refineries, manufactures of tobacco, production of wood pulp, bauxite and aluminium etc., light industries and industries of transformation in various other countries.

Besides, the exploitation of the numerous forests, of animal breeding, of fishery with modern implements, constitute so many economical openings which are not used at present, because the capitalist states which are "administering or controlling" our countries, consider that such development is contrary to their national economies and to their interests.

Our economic development is possible only in the context of a Caribbean Re-assembling, where such national economy will dispose of a protected market; all our countries from Cuba to Venezuela 1,500,000 sq. km. (580,000 sq. miles) and over 23 million inhabitants — where each new born industry will find encouragement — because it will benefit by this immense market without hindrance.

Economic inter-Caribbean relations would allow us to dispose of the material basis which is absolutely necessary for a middle or a heavy industry, the sole guarantee of a modern economy, totally independent from those of imperialist powers. It is inconceivable to hope to create such industries inside anyone of

our territorial units, in a strictly isolated way. Because, these industries would be adapted to their national markets; the average population for each of these markets (except for Cuba and Venezuela) is scarcely 2 million. Only a few light industries and industries of transformation can be considered in such a chauvinistic prospect. Because, we would be obliged to call upon the "help" and "aid" of the imperialist system for all our heavy material, for their supplying us with the means of production; this they would not consent to provide without a heavy mortgage, economic and political. And when from a political independence and sovereignty which could be real, we would be obliged to enter a zone of unilateral exchange with imperialism, we would be obliged to open our frontiers to it and therefore to nip in the bud any new national industry; we would only come to an apparent political independence and strengthened economic dependence on imperialism.

Congress states that the only way to avoid the maintenance, under one form or another of the economic tutelage, resides in the Caribbean Re-assembling where equivalent economic relations with reciprocal advantage, would be established between each of our brother territories. There is no other guarantee for the respect of national independence and sovereignty of any of our countries.

As regards various products for exportation, instead of competing with each other, the Caribbean Re-assemblance would allow Caribbean States to found pools, which will give them, not only the possibility of negotiate on equal terms with such powerful blocks as the European Common Market etc., but also to possess their own merchant ships and therefore to achieve their total independence. An internal market of over 23 million Caribbeans will allow us to have in view consumer goods industries which would not be possible in a narrower framework. The Caribbean Re-Assemblance once imperialism is defeated will make it easier for us to work in closer collaboration and co-operation with our other Latin American brothers and sisters.

The countries of the Caribbean basin cannot remain any longer in such a manifest contradiction with their geographical reality their economic and cultural needs and their own historical necessities.

Congress states that there is only one fundamental obstacle to be surmounted, to be beyond this contradiction, our economic, political, cultural and military subjection to world imperialism, whether U.S., British, French or Dutch.

A NATIONAL AND UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The problems which our peoples are facing and which must be resolved now, are the direct results of imperialist domination and exploitation, supported inside by the conciliating and reactionary upper class (developing national bourgeoisie) which is organically connected with foreign imperialism. No real liberation, no social emancipation, no struggle for the overthrowing of the dictatorship or reactionary governments, can succeed without a national and united struggle against imperialism the main enemy.

The essential problem nowadays in the Caribbean Area, for all the forces which are struggling against oppression, tyranny and misery, is not the problem of the Caribbean Re-Assemblance (Caribbean Nation) now, it is before all, that of the anti-imperialist liberation with the imperious necessity of co-ordinating our efforts.

Congress states that all genuine Caribbean Socialists must understand their Vanguard Role in this struggle, must understand the two modes of anti-imperialist struggle, that is necessary for victory against imperialism.

Now, and henceforth such a necessity, which rejoins, in a longer period of time the Caribbean Re-Assemblance that we are recommending, must be proposed as a means of struggle and presented as a normal form of revolution, the natural guide to our whole future. Nowadays, the prospect of the Caribbean regathering, that of Caribbean Unity, are concrete elements in the struggle against imperialism, because on the one hand they are opposed to the present state of things which particularly favours such interests which have nothing to do with the interests of our peoples, and because

on the other hand, world imperialism today led by the U.S. imperialists, have done all they could to destroy any political, economic and cultural independence and sovereignty, any Caribbean personality and even any consciousness of our mutual and natural solidarity.

Congress states clearly that the anti-imperialist struggle cannot be conceived separately, within precise frontiers and based on the tempo devised by imperialism. The rising Caribbean Unity will be made around this struggle for Liberation, or will never be made.

INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY a democratic and popular State

This anti-imperialist struggle, at the same time as it ruins a past of exploitation brings in itself the progressive elements without which any revolution is impossible nowadays. We must fight for the suppression of the seizure of our countries by foreign capitalists and for certain measures which must inevitably lead to Socialism based on genuine Marxist-Leninist principles orientated to our people's way of life and living. The first step is to establish an independent, sovereign, democratic and popular state, which will be charged with putting an end to the exploitation of one class by another and to build the material base of the socialist societies.

The anti-imperialist struggle implies a ruthless struggle against the presence on Caribbean soil of foreign armies, of military bases or atomic zones belonging to any power because these bases constitute a source of tension, of generalised conflicts and mainly a precise threat for all the other brother states, capable of putting into jeopardy again, and at any time, our real national independence and sovereignty.

Such are the fundamental elements of the programme which must unite our different peoples. It is around this programme that Caribbean Unity must be realised, that Caribbean Unity must build itself.

Congress call on all Caribbean working people to play their full part and accept their full share of responsibility in making the victory against imperialism realised in the shortest time possible.

This current of unification exists and is strengthening itself in proportion as colonialism, neo-colonialism - imperialism is being progressively eliminated. In the whole history of the world, there has never been a case of a dominated nation or people which has not won its liberation, of an oppressed people who have not recovered their dignity or of a balkanised region which did not assert its unity against imperialism. The Caribbean Area would not constitute the historical exception, as the necessary phenomena which will lead to our total liberation are in action and have support of very broad masses.

Congress states that its objectives are:

- (i) to drive imperialism out of our countries, not to peaceful coexist with it;
- (ii) to finish with the conciliatory upper-class (developing national bourgeoisie) as a class;
- (iii) to impose an economic, cultural, political development in harmony with our people's interests and needs;
- (iv) to work for the reconversion of the balkanised and divided Caribbean territories in conformity with our most profound realities and realises that an unequivocal exigency is imperative - the collaboration and co-ordination of our efforts in the general struggle of the Caribbean Peoples against world imperialism led by U.S. imperialism.

FORMS OF STRUGGLE

Congress have examined and analysed very carefully the various forms of anti-imperialist struggle open to us and have further seriously considered the oft asked question - WHAT FORM OF STRUGGLE WILL BE WAGED AGAINST OUR MAIN AND COMMON ENEMY.

Congress states quite clearly that this question needs no clever intellectual and diplomatic answer. The bloodthirsty nature of imperialism, today led by the U.S. imperialists, has decided long ago in the past and without a doubt has shown our African and Asian brothers and other oppressed people today, the form of struggle that has to be waged against it, to defeat it.

The Caribbean People alike peoples all over the world will experience, will learn, that ultimately there is only one form of struggle that imperialism respects; that is resolute determined revolutionary struggle WITH ALL THE MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL.

Congress concludes that Caribbean People have a history of revolutionary struggle behind them, from CAONABO in the 15th century, the century to our of the 16th — 19th century to our heroic Cuban Brothers and Sisters of the 20th century, and their slogan must be our slogan.

OUR FATHERLAND or DEATH.
WE SHALL WIN.

Michael K. Brown/Secretary
for PRAESIDIUM 1965/1966
1st. CARIBBEAN OCTOBER CONGRESS,
London, 30th/31st October, 1965.

UNITY OF CARIBBEAN ORGANISATIONS

That Congress will make it a point of its duty to find out about all other Caribbean movements and their objectives, so as to avoid confusion of ideas in the act of getting through to the Caribbean people as a whole, in the struggle toward liberation.

CARIBBEAN WOMEN

The 1st. Caribbean Congress after a thorough study of the situation of the position of Caribbean women declares:

1. that the position of Caribbean women is caused by the bad economic situation in the area;
2. that the immoral exploitation of the working class women can only be liquidated by a complete structural change of the Caribbean Society;
3. that the Caribbean women can only gain real emancipation in independent democratic republics.

IMPERIALIST ORGANISATIONS

The 1st Caribbean October Congress takes into consideration the following: The history of all Caribbean Peoples from the beginning have been characterised by imperialist domination and outrageous colonist exploitation by European and American capitalism. By brutally crushing and curbing the Caribbean Peoples' opposition against this, and by disregarding the morals of international law, up till today the mentioned powers keep interfering in the national affairs of these Peoples and deny them the right to manage their own affairs.

Because of this, time and time again political bodies such as the Caribbean Commission and the Caribbean Organisation have been formed, consisting of the governments of the United States of America, Great-Britain, France and the Netherlands and their stooges. These organisations, operating under the guise of concern for the Caribbean peoples, but linked to agencies of the United States which carry out acts of subversion and counter-revolution in the whole Western Hemisphere, are only meant to serve the interests of the mentioned governments, so as to secure their hold on these territories.

This Congress, however, takes into account:

- that these governments consistently keep forming neo-colonial political structures, such as the British West-Indian Federation, the French Communeaute, the American Caribbean Commonwealth, the Organisation of American States (O.A.S.) and the Dutch Kingdom New-Style, which are meant to prevent and to replace Caribbean sovereignty;
- that these governments in the United Nations and otherwise support American imperialist atrocities against the revolutionary peoples of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and other Latin American countries;
- that the mentioned imperialist and neo-colonialist powers are united in the so-called North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), which is directed against the freedom and peace loving peoples of the world.

Congress states explicitly that:

1. the mentioned political structures can never be regarded as representing the Caribbean Peoples and their interests, and their participation in these should be rejected, opposed and replaced by revolutionary means.
2. it is determined to carry on the struggle against every form of imperialist domination in the Caribbean and to educate and unite the Caribbean Peoples for that end.

FOREIGN MILITARY BASES

The 1st Caribbean October Congress takes into consideration the following: Since the beginning of Spanish, Brit-

ish, French and Dutch colonisation of the Caribbean, foreign military bases have been established in this area. These were meant for defence of the seized territories and colonialist exploitation of them. Consequently they were erected for oppression of the inhabitants of these regions, and therefore they must be understood as being tools of imperialist domination.

The application of the American fascist Monroc-doctrine, which tried and tries to subjugate the Caribbean peoples to the United States of America, makes use of these bases, extends them, and so maintains the violation of territorial sovereignty of the said peoples. In present-day imperialist policies these military strongholds act as staging areas for counter-revolutionary activities in the whole Western Hemisphere.

For that reason, airports in the whole area have been made fit — through loans — for use by jetplanes of the American Military Air Transport Service (MATS), such with the traitorous co-operation of reactionary stooge-governments.

In Coronie province in Surinam and in the Kurou area in Cayenne, furthermore, rocket-firing ranges have been recently erected, respectively by the paramilitary NASA of the US and the French Army.

This first Caribbean October Congress, stressing its principle of Caribbean and Latin-American solidarity and sovereignty, strongly condemns this state of affairs and resolves to vigorously protest against and oppose the piratical use of the Caribbean territories for imperialist aggression.

This Congress fully understands to what dangers these bases expose the Caribbean Peoples and further resolves: that every effort should be made to drive those "strategic hamlets" from the Caribbean territories and resolutely demands that the concerned foreign and local governments dismantle them.

CARIBBEAN WORKERS/STUDENTS AND LIBERATION

This 1st Caribbean October Congress, meeting in London, October 30th/31st, 1965, having heard and analysed the reports of the representatives of the various Caribbean Territories; states that the workers and students of the Caribbean area are being dominated and exploited by British, Dutch and French neo-colonialism and United States imperialism; and further considering:

- our geographical identity and common historical background;
- the similarities of the present political, economic and social problems, that is to say,
- (a) the denial of the right to govern ourselves,
- (b) the underdeveloped economics dominated by foreign and local monopolies to the exclusive benefit of the metropolitan powers and fundamentally opposed to the interests of our peoples,
- (c) societies characterised by sharp social inequalities, racism, chronic unemployment, general under-employment, subsistence wages, and tragic malnutrition,
- (d) cultural alienation and subjection, an undemocratised educational system reserved for a privileged few and geared to perpetuate foreign domination and exploitation

Congress:

- states that French, British, Dutch neo-colonialism and U.S. Imperialism and its lackeys are entirely responsible for this status of servitude and the division of the peoples of our Caribbean area;
- reaffirms the irrefutable right of our peoples to determine their own future;
- supports resolutely the attempts of workers and students of all Caribbean countries in their struggle by the side of their peoples against colonialism neo-colonialism and imperialism;
- appeals for the active solidarity of all the workers and students of the Caribbean area for the struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism;
- mandates the Praesidium to seek every and all possible help to gain Unity for joint activities of the movements of our various countries in their just struggle for national liberation.

RACISM

The 1st Caribbean Congress states that:

1. the colonial and neo-colonial education and political domination is not only

aimed at robbing the Caribbean people of their raw materials but also at maintaining and where necessary introducing racism;

2. the function of racism in this area is to keep the people divided in their so-called racial positions;
3. racial groups may be of importance to cultural anthropologists but do not basically influence the economic and social conditions of the Caribbean societies;
4. the Caribbean societies are fundamentally based upon class relations;
5. it is of the greatest importance for the imperialist to deny the class character of the Caribbean societies and to stress and do everything to heighten racial differences.

Congress states:-

- that the only way to fight racism successfully is to expose the class relations in the Caribbean area,
- that all efforts must be made to introduce political class consciousness in the Caribbean area especially among the working peoples,
- that based upon political class consciousness only, a struggle against imperialism can be brought to a successful end.

CARIBBEAN AND AFRO-ASIAN WORKERS IN ENGLAND — INDEPENDENCE FOR ALL REMAINING COLONIES

This 1st Caribbean October Congress having examined and analysed the terrible imperialist working and living conditions of Caribbean and Afro-Asian peoples in England, have found that generally the British Workers and their Trade Unions do not show, the necessary political class consciousness and solidarity with coloured workers. As again was recently proven by their condemnation of the just struggle of Pakistani Workers against their greedy employers in the Textile Industry.

In addition the British "Labour" Party Government's 'WHITE' paper on Immigration — seeks to restrict the entry of immigrants from the coloured Commonwealth countries and furthermore there is clearly an adoption of the "Colour Question" as an electoral issue during elections for Parliament.

Congress therefore calls for:

1. resolute struggle to bring about an immediate end to 'Racism' in Britain and indeed throughout the world,
2. demand immediate Independence for (British) GUYANA, HONDURAS and other colonies in the Caribbean and elsewhere,
3. strongly protest against the 1966 Caribbean Royal Tour by Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip, which Congress views as downright imperialist hypocrisy and call on all Caribbeans and other peoples to oppose this tour.

SURINAM AND GUYANA

The Surinam and (British) Guyana delegations to the 1st Caribbean Congress and Congress itself after a thorough study and discussion of the so-called Surinam-Guyana border dispute, declares that:-

1. the so-called border dispute is an instrument created by the British and Dutch imperialists in order to hinder the unity of the peoples of these countries and also to influence the political parties;
2. any historical imperialist disputes between the two countries can only be solved by their governments after their states have become independent democratic republics.

GUYANA

Congress rejects the idea of a (British) Guyana constitutional conference to discuss independence, with a government which is not representative of all the people of Guyana but was imposed by British Imperialism, while emergency regulations are still enforced, and Guyanese people are still being detained.

This Congress call on the present (British) Guyana Government to ensure:

1. the withdrawal of foreign troops from Guyana;
2. the withdrawal of the emergency; and
3. the release of all detainees; before entering into such discussions.

(FRENCH) GUYANA, THE ISLAND OF REUNION, GUADELOUPE AND MARTINIQUE

The Congress demands for (French) GUYANA, the Island of REUNION, GUADELOUPE and MARTINIQUE . . . a LAW OF AUTONOMY, which recognises the right of the people to govern themselves.

The law must permit :-

1. election by universal adult suffrage of parliament.
2. the installation of a government which is responsible before the parliament.

3. the installation of an organisation which is responsible for the co-operation between France and the countries involved on a basis of mutual respect for the autonomy of (French) GUYANA, the Island of REUNION, GUADELOUPE and MARTINIQUE.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Congress has examined the political, social and economic position of the working people of the Dominican Republic and states that U.S. imperialism in its 'hitlerite' quest for world domination refuses to recognise the Independence and Sovereignty of the people of the Dominican Republic, other Caribbean/Latin American and Afro-Asian countries.

Congress vigorously deplores and denounces U.S. Imperialist aggression in the Dominican Republic and demands the immediate withdrawal of U.S. and all other foreign troops.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Congress having considered the Trinidad and Tobago Report presented,

1. pledges its resolute support to the Oilfield workers Trade Union and its leader Comrade George Weekes, in their just struggle to defend their hard won Trade Union rights in the face of attacks by imperialism and its local lackeys.
2. vigorously condemns the reactionary Industrial Stabilisation Bill which attacks the democratic rights of the Trinidad and Tobago working peoples and support the workers in their determined struggle for its immediate withdrawal.
3. pledges its full support and solidarity with the Trinidad working people in their struggle against the McCarthyite "Committee to Investigate Subversive activities" and for "the immediate removal of the U.S. Imperialist Bases" from Trinidad.

RHODESIA

This Congress resolutely supports the Zimbabwe African People in their just struggle against the fascist white settler minority — imperialism, and further support the principled demand of the people for one man one vote in Zimbabwe.

Congress denounces imperialism and specifically denounces the British imperialists in their reactionary role as peace maker.

OMAN AND SOUTH ARABIA

This Congress, noting that the British Government's militarist policy "East of Suez" has led to imperialist oppression and atrocities committed against many peoples of Asia,

1. Strongly condemns the British imperialist occupation of Oman, Bahrain and Southern Arabia, as well as the neo-colonialist British military presence in N. Kalimantan.
2. Demands the immediate evacuation of all British troops from these oppressed areas whose inhabitants should be granted full self-determination.
3. Strongly condemns the savage atrocities, reminiscent of the worst methods of Nazism, which the British Army is committing against the inhabitants of Oman, Bahrain, South Arabia and North Kalimantan.
4. Pledges its warmest solidarity, admiration and support for the heroism of the peoples of these oppressed areas in conducting the struggle against imperialism.

OMAN

Congress deplores the Barbarous action of the British Government against the People of Oman and South Arabia.

This Congress condemns their actions and calls for the immediate removal of British troops and the return of Democratic rights to the People of Oman.

ASIA

This Congress pledges its solidarity with the people of Malaya (including Singapore) and North Kalimantan in their resolute struggle against the neo-colonialist federation of "Malaysia."

The so-called "independence" of Singapore is an imperialist trick designed to mislead the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples; it is merely a new form of the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" which should be opposed.

We call upon Afro-Asian and Latin American governments not to accord diplomatic recognition to the so-called "Malaysia" and the so-called "independent Government of Singapore."

We condemn the Tunku Abdul Rahman and Lee Kuan Yow regimes in the "Malaysia" set-up as US-British imperialist puppets which are suppressing the Malayan and North Kalimantan's peoples.

We are confident that in the near future the Malayan and North Kalimantan peoples will successively rid their countries of US-British imperialism and their puppets.

INDONESIA

The 1st Caribbean Congress having carefully studied the political developments in the Republic of Indonesia, states:—

1. that all military actions in Indonesia now are directed against the progressive men, women, youth and their organisations;
2. that the Indonesian army is now openly trying to establish military rule;
3. that a government dominated by the Indonesian army will try to compromise with the imperialist countries and will also try to stop the development of all progressive organisations in Indonesia.

Congress therefore, condemns the actions of the Indonesian army as treacherous and murderous and express their full solidarity with the Indonesian people in their struggle for democratic rights and the continuation of the Indonesian Revolution.

LONG LIVE THE INDONESIAN REVOLUTION!

VIETNAM. "THE U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS MUST GET OUT!"

Congress view with indignation the U.S. imperialists' continuing intensification and extension of their aggressive war in Vietnam and the British "Labour" Party Government's support of the 'hitlerite' U.S. atrocities committed there.

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

of the U.S. armed forces, violating all norms of international law and jeopardising the independence and sovereignty of a democratic, free and peaceful state.

Congress energetically condemns these criminal activities of the U.S. imperialists while hailing the heroic struggle of the South Vietnamese people. Expresses its deep admiration for the brilliant victories recorded by the people and army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in fighting against the U.S. imperialists' aggressive actions. Holds that the just struggle, waged by the Vietnamese workers and people (South and North) against the U.S. imperialist gangsters sets a great example and constitutes a considerable support for the Caribbean Liberation forces and the liberation struggle of all oppressed peoples, and a great contribution to the maintenance of peace in South-east Asia and the World.

The Congress fully approves the five-point stand expounded in the statement of the U.S. armed forces, violating all National Liberation Front and the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam expounded on April 8, 1965, and holds that they are the only valid basis for the settlement of the Viet nam question.

Congress has decided to step up the struggle of the Caribbean working people and their organisations at home and overseas for:—

- the immediate ending of U.S. aggression;
- the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, and dismantling of U.S. military bases in South Vietnam;
- the immediate cessation of bombings, strafings and other aggressive activities against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;
- the respect for and implementation of, the 1954 Geneva Agreements by the U.S. Government;
- the settlement of South Vietnam's affairs by the South Vietnamese people themselves without any foreign intervention, on the basis of the political programme of the South Front for Liberation;
- the recognition of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the only genuine representative of South Vietnamese people;
- the settlement of the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, without any foreign interference.

from JACK TYRELL

VISITING ALBANIA

HERE IN TIRANA we visited the newly built factory for Tractor Spare Parts, then we went up in the mountains to see a Hydro-Electric Power Station which supplies water and power to the city and we went to see the Stalin Textile Combinat which employs 5,000 people of which 3,300 are women. We also visited the towns of Durres, Fier, Vlora, Lushnje, Berati and Cytete Stalin. In these places, we saw how Socialist Albania was constructing a base for industry to serve agriculture. In Vlora, we saw the Cement Plant and Asbestos Plant both in production and the Costic Soda Factory, which is due to go into production in 1967. In Berati, we visited the great new Mao-Tung Textile Combinat, which will employ 6,500 people, 70% of whom will be women. We also visited State Farms in Durres, Lushnje and Berati. At the top of a hill overlooking the Usnova State Farm, Berati, we saw 200,000 olive trees and 500,000 fig trees, we visited the oil city of Cytete Stalin, which once had only 3 engineers and now has more than 500, and also possesses 6 schools, 4kinder-gartens, 6 nurseries, a cinema, a Pioneer House and a Palace of Culture.

We saw brand new machinery everywhere generously and open-heartedly supplied by the great People's Republic of China in a spirit of genuine mutual aid. Although the Chinese comrades supplied Albania with the very best they had, they never boasted about it in a chauvinistic spirit, unlike the revisionists who supplied a load of rubbish and then broke all their trade agreements with Albania in order to make her bend her back and submit to their pressure. "No, Mr. Khrushchev," said little Albania in 1962, "we may have to eat grass but

we will never surrender." But the people of Albania did not have to eat grass, and where is Khrushchev now? Chucked out, because he was too stupid in the crude methods he used. Khrushchev was a bad revisionist.

Everywhere we went, we saw land reclaimed from the swamp, that dreaded source of malaria which used to wipe out so many people. Durres State Farm, reclaimed from the swamp. The towns of Fier and Vlora, large parts of which were also reclaimed from the swamp. Now under socialist rule, malaria is gone and the swamp is either going or gone.

THE ENGLISH BROADCASTS of RADIO TIRANA

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

FIRST broadcasts:

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

SECOND broadcast:

from 6.30 a.m. till 7 a.m. G.M.T. on 41, 31 and 95 metres
or 7265 KC/s and 9390 KC/s

THIRD broadcast:

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

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Comments on broadcasts should be sent to:— English Broadcasts, Radio Tirana, Albania
Comments are also welcome with interest by Vanguard at our address

SPEECH BY JACK TYRELL On Leaving Albania

"On behalf of my wife and myself, thank you all for your magnificent generosity on this, our first visit to Albania. I am proud, particularly for the organisation I represent, the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity, which in two short years of existence, has proved itself to be a true friend of both the People's Republic of China and the Albanian People's Republic.

This is not because we follow any baton, not because we say things with the intention of ingratiating ourselves with you, not because we blindly follow you, which we do not.

Why, then, has the CDRCU proved itself a true friend of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian Government and people? Because we are Communists in deed as well as in words, we try to think for ourselves as Comrade Aidit told us to do, we try to do as Comrade Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung and Enva Hoxha either did or are doing, i.e., apply Marxism-Leninism to our own local conditions.

We have met a lot of people here during our stay in Albania. They have not all be Communists. Some have been merchants and employees of embassies of various countries who express the ideology and interests of their own ruling class. They have said that you are suspicious people and that you do not trust anybody. I told them that history and geography combined to make you suspicious, surrounded as you are by capitalism and revisionism and not very far away from the lion's den.

Of course, it is possible for Albania and China to have equal relationships with countries which have a different social system. Albania and China do not

insist that other countries must become socialist before there can be equal relationships between the two sides. But what they do insist on is that both sides must treat each other with mutual respect, respect each other's frontiers and not try to take unfair advantage one over the other. So there can be friendship at various levels. There are some people with whom I have been friends for twenty years and yet I have never spoken to them about politics but about various subjects such as work, family and sport. I do not try to take advantage of them and they do not try to take advantage of me. I do not try to dominate them and they do not try to dominate me. So friendship is possible at various levels.

But what is so special about the friendship between the Marxist-Leninists of Britain and Albania? This friendship is based on the revolutionary theory of Marxist-Leninism. It is based on proletarian internationalism. In other words, it is true friendship at the very highest level.

But it is precisely because you are very cautious and have every right and reason to be and yet in spite of this have treated us as true friends of Albania, that I am so proud of the honour you have bestowed on us during our short stay in your country.

May I say on behalf of my wife and myself, thank you very much.

LONG LIVE THE INVINCIBLE THEORY OF MARXIST-LENINISM.

LONG LIVE THE ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOUR.

LONG LIVE THE CAUSE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM BOTH IN ALBANIA AND IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Subject:
SOVIET AID TO
NORTH VIETNAM

SOURCE: People's Voice — N. Zealand.

Subject:
AGENCY, USA.

SOURCE: New York Times.

The C.I.A. of the United States "spends approximately £360 million annually. Its headquarters contains one million square feet of working space."

Subject:
INDIA-PAKISTAN
WAR

STATEMENT BY C.P.N.Z.

The India Pakistan conflict marks a new stage in the emergence of India as a neo-imperialist power. The military adventures of the big capitalists who run Indian affairs give the lie to their professions of non-alignment. They have a three-fold purpose: First, towards satisfying a growing national imperialism by annexations; second, to divert the starving and poverty-stricken population from revolt; and third, to obtain still bigger financial and other backing from the big imperialist powers.

"US SOVIET COLLUSION"— Albanian Party Of Labour

NO ILLUSIONS should be cherished about the new Soviet leaders and the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism must be carried through to the very end, says a long article carried in Zeri i popullit, organ of the Albanian party of Labour, on October 16.

A year has passed since the revisionist chieftain Khrushchev disappeared from the political scene, the article notes. The downfall of Khrushchev and his political fiasco are a great victory won by Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism. They are the result of the unflinching, through and principled struggle waged by all revolutionaries of the world against the ideology and activities of the modern revisionists, the result of relentless and thorough exposure of that intriguer and swindler, and the result of courageous and resolute fight in defence of Marxist-Leninist theories and proletarian-internationalist principles.

But it would be wrong to think that the disappearance of Khrushchev from the political scene would also mean the disappearance of his ideological, economic and organisational lines, the article stressed.

"The present leaders of the Soviet Union are among the closest collaborators and most devoted followers of Khrushchev. The new Soviet leadership has ousted Khrushchev from power not because of any divergence of principle with him but because Khrushchev was completely discredited in the eyes of the Soviet and other peoples, because his charlatanism and indecent adventures had endangered even the ruling positions of his closest collaborators. Their motive in removing Khrushchev was for a better application of his revisionist line, repairing the damage done to them by Khrushchev and averting still more serious catastrophes. They have replaced Khrushchev but preserved Khrushchevism. Indeed, if there is any change at all, it is that the new leaders have gone farther in executing the Khrushchev revisionist line, intensified their fight against Marxism-Leninism and revolution, and drawn closer to, and collaborated more intimately with U.S. imperialism.

"The present Soviet leadership is much more cunning and demagogic than Khrushchev. Demagoguery, cynicism, and chameleon-like behaviour have become the principal methods of the present Soviet leadership's perfidious activities.

"The present Soviet leaders have, in every respect, inherited Khrushchev's revisionist line, i.e. the line defined by him at the 20th and 22nd congress and officially embodied in the C.P.S.U. programme. They have continued to make redoubled efforts to revise further the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and snuff out its revolutionary spirit. They have not abandoned their aims at replacing dialectic materialism by subjective idealism and at repudiating revolutionary dialectics and, in general, the revolutionary practice of the working masses. They have become Zealous partisans of pragmatism and the bourgeois theory of evolution. In their theories and practice, the Marxist-Leninist teachings of class struggle, proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship have been replaced by class reconciliation, counter-revolution and the disintegration of the socialist order."

They have obstinately insisted that the nature of imperialism has changed and Lenin's tested theses on imperialism have lost their value. They have clung tenaciously to Khrushchev's line of "peaceful coexistence," continued to consider it the "general line of the foreign policy of the O.P.S.U." and have spared no effort to impose this opportunist and capitulationist line on others.

For demagogic objectives, they have professed that they "support the movement of national liberation." But in fact they have pursued the line of negating the movement, of collaboration with imperialism, and of crushing and eliminating the movement. The present Soviet leaders have become the apologists of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and numerous facts have shown that they have begun secret negotiations with imperialism for the domination of the world by the two great powers.

SLIGHT TACTICAL CHANGES

The articles says that in order to better apply Khrushchevism without Khrushchev, the new Soviet leaders have had to make slight tactical changes, but they have loyally defended and further

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developed the Khrushchev revisionist platform. In these circumstances, the Marxist-Leninists will fail to fulfil their lofty task if they do not mobilise all the forces to oppose firmly through open struggle this treacherous line pursued today by the Khrushchev revisionists.

The article condemns the new Soviet leadership for continuing the anti-Stalin movement, widening and deepening the split in the international communist movement, holding the schismatic march meeting in Moscow, continuing to attack fraternal countries which do not submit themselves to its dictate and fraternal parties which loyally defend Marxism-Leninism, continuing to interfere crudely in the internal affairs of fraternal parties and conduct schismatic activities in their ranks, giving all-out support to the renegade group of Dange and other splitters, and sliding completely into the positions of the Tito clique.

With regard to Albania, the new Soviet leadership has carried out the same chauvinist and vilifying policy which after the 22nd Congress, Khrushchev had pursued before. Khrushchev revisionists have become more rabid in whipping up the aligned China campaign. They have aligned themselves on a common front with imperialism and other reactionaries to slander and discredit the utterly revolutionary policy of the great people's China.

All this and many other facts confirm that all the appeals made by the new Soviet leadership for "common fight against the enemy," "unity of action" and other similar slogans are nothing but demagoguery, a mask to conceal their policy of co-operation with U.S. imperialism for their two-power domination of the world, to cover up their chauvinist position and their schismatic activities.

The Soviet society is heading for bourgeois degeneration. This is the inevitable consequence of the opportunist internal and foreign policy pursued by the Khrushchevian leading clique, and of trampling underfoot the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism in state building and economic leadership. They have intensified the measures contributing to further degeneration of the Soviet system to capitalism. The more they approach and collaborate with U.S. imperialism, the more they want to destroy the socialist system and the more eagerly they desire to undermine the great revolutionary fruits and bring about bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet society.

The new Soviet leadership has carried out still more obstinately the Khrushchev policy of rapprochement and co-operation with U.S. imperialism. The general line of the Khrushchev revisionists is Soviet-U.S. co-operation for world hegemony of the two powers. They are now on a common front against the revolutionary movements in various parts of the world; they work together to oppose China and undermine the socialist camp; they both aid India and the reactionaries of various

other countries; they both try to create under the U.N. flag the international gendarmerie; etc. Like the imperialists, the revisionists themselves now also speak of spheres of influence and commonwealth interests in different parts of the world, common responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, the special responsibility of the two big powers and their special missions etc. By skilfully exploiting the opportunist and capitulationist line of the Soviet leaders, U.S. imperialism is drawing them forth more and more to make new concessions and further capitulation.

CAPITULATION

To create the impression that Khrushchevian "peaceful coexistence" was a success and to encourage the Soviet leaders to continue along the road of co-operation with the United States for world domination, the American imperialists have to create the illusion that they are making certain concessions to the Soviet Union in the direction of relaxation of the "cold war" and of the policy based on the "position of strength." They began to appeal for "the building of bridges" to unite the two worlds which were "divided" as a result of "misunderstanding." All these imperialist manoeuvres suited the Khrushchev revisionists who have raised them high as the banner of success of their foreign policy and as proof of the application of their "peaceful co-existence." The rapprochement with American imperialism begun by Khrushchev has been realised by the new Soviet leaders through the establishment of total co-operation in all domains.

"If Khrushchev was adventurous and capitulationist, his successors are only capitulationists. By their policy of concessions without principle, of fear and of retreat, they have encouraged American imperialism to increase and intensify their efforts to eliminate the socialist camp and the revolutionary and liberation movements of the world." At present there is no important international question on which there was no previous Soviet-American agreement or talks and co-ordination between them on tactics although one observes the demagogic attitudes that were adopted for various political reasons. "The United Nations is a very clear-cut example. It has been turned into a theatre where the imperialist and revisionist actors recite the lines they have learned beforehand by heart."

"The American imperialists and the Soviet revisionist leaders compete in whipping up the anti-China campaign and slandering and defaming the revolutionary, basically peaceful policy and principles of the people's republic of China." The Khrushchev revisionists "accuse China of being 'bellicose.' They keep silent in face of dangerous plans of the United States in the far east. They sabotage the liberation struggles and the anti-imperialist United Front of the peoples. In co-ordination with American imperialism and in a planned manner, they aid the Indian reactionaries to get into the saddle again and encourage them to oppose China. The entire revisionist policy in Asia and all its activities in this region are directed against China."

The Soviet leaders' anti-Leninist, capitulationist and hypocritical foreign policy and the line of Soviet-American co-operation for world domination find expression in all nakedness in the Soviet leaders' position towards the glorious liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. They pay lip-service to support for the Vietnamese people and sometimes even utter some words against the United States, but in fact they help imperialism to hang on in Vietnam, to turn Indo-China into a base of aggression against China and to keep that country under colonial yoke permanently. They concentrate all their efforts in putting the solution of the Vietnam question in the framework of Soviet-American co-operation. The Soviet leaders try with the greatest zeal and by every possible means to support the "peace initiative" of Johnson, Wilson, Tito, Shastri and their ilk who are seeking to subdue the Vietnamese people and to intimidate other peoples who are combating imperialism valiantly.

SECRET PLAN

"It is now proved that there exists a secret plan on Vietnam between the imperialists and the modern revisionists. For the American imperialists, a defeat in Vietnam would be not only an isolated defeat in a particular country but also the beginning of disintegration of the entire global strategy of the policy based on the 'position of strength,' threats and blackmail." The Soviet leaders fear that the Vietnamese people would solve the question by force of arms. They see in the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam the defeat of their revisionist policy of capitulation and submission. Johnson understands very well this situation and he knew very well what he meant when he declared that "the United States and the Soviet Union have common interests in Vietnam."

The Khrushchev revisionists want others to believe that they aid and support the Vietnamese people. They try to pass themselves off as anti-imperialist and shout noisily about "unity" and "joint action" and so on. They claim themselves to be friends of Vietnam, but seek to sabotage its struggle. They exert pressure in order to paralyse the patriotic and fighting spirit of the Vietnamese people. They help American imperialism to get out of the impasse it is in.

The Soviet leadership ranges itself with American imperialism to aid the aggressors. In their present difficult political, economic and military situation the Indian reactionaries would not have dared to launch open aggression against Pakistan if they were not egged on by American imperialism and the Soviet leaders. Not only had they adopted an entirely unprincipled attitude towards this conflict, but they were also directly responsible morally and materially for India's aggression against Pakistan.

Not only have they not denounced Indian aggression, not only have they called black white, but they have also tried to exploit the Indo-Pakistan conflict to vilify China and its policy of peace. The Soviet leaders and their friends, Tito and Shastri, have now launched a rabid campaign against the people's republic of China. They have acted madly because the people's republic of China has pointed out who is the aggressor and who are behind the aggressor and because it has thoroughly exposed the dangerous designs of imperialism and revisionism.

"Whether in Vietnam or in Pakistan, in Cuba or in the Congo, in Indonesia or in the Dominican Republic, the Khrushchev revisionists have assumed and continue to assume a counter-revolutionary stand. Obstinate chanting the capitulationist slogan of 'unconditional peace,' they have denied just struggles and supported aggression. Despite their 'neutral,' 'arbiter' and 'anti-imperialist' masks, the new Soviet leaders are in fact aiding an abetting imperialism's war of aggression and undermining the cause of peace."

UNITED NATIONS

Drawing attention to the manoeuvring of the new Soviet leadership at the current United Nations general assembly, the article notes that Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, in his sophistry at the United Nations, asked U.S. imperialism and its allies to give their word of honour and make a "declaration" that they would not intervene in the internal affairs of other countries. Even if such a "declaration" is adopted at the United Nations, can the peoples sleep tranquilly in the belief that their security is ensured? Can they believe that the United States will change its policies of aggression and war because of the good advice of the revisionists? Has the United Nations ever considered an aggression as an aggression, not to say condemn it? What has the United Nations done to make the peoples believe that it is competent?

To fit in with the policies of U.S. Gromyko put forward a proposal for non-proliferation of nuclear arms. Behind his demagoguery for the non-proliferation of nuclear arms are the real objectives of association between two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, for establishing atom monopoly and imposing their dictates upon other peoples. This is a new conspiracy of imperialists and revisionists, which, like the notorious Moscow treaty, is aimed at disarming the peoples of various countries to make them defenceless before the

Continued on page 9

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blackmail and threats by U.S. imperialism.

The new Soviet leaders are intentionally spreading illusions over the declarations and speeches made at the United Nations. They are trying hard to give the false impression that imperialism has changed so that one can reach an understanding with it and believe its words. Their aim is to deceive the peoples and lead them away from their struggles to expose U.S. imperialism and oppose its policy of aggression.

The article goes on to say: "time and events since the fall of Khrushchov have proved the correctness of the resolute and principled fight of the Albanian party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist parties to unmask the demagogue's features of the new Khrushchovian leadership.

"Since then, the Marxist-Leninist parties have developed comprehensive public polemics with the new Soviet leadership and the polemics have contributed greatly to the repudiation of its demagogic tactics and enabled the peoples to understand that it is a revisionist clique still more dangerous than Khrushchov himself.

"At present, the Khrushchov revisionists are retreating everywhere, but this does not mean that they have laid down their arms. They are still endeavouring to look for new methods and open new fronts to attack Marxism-Leninism, split the socialist camp and the international communist movement and undermine peace. Today, its most favourite weapon is demagogy, the utilisation of phoney revolutionary phrases, secret diplomacy and subterfuge.

"The present differences between the Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchov revisionists are not questions that have arisen from misunderstanding or differences in interpretation, as some people allege. They are differences between the road of defending Marxism-Leninism and that of destroying it, differences which mirror the struggle on an international scale between the two antagonistic classes — the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. These differences are irreconcilable and will be resolved only when modern revisionism is shattered both politically and ideologically . . . between the Khrushchov revisionists and the Marxist-Leninists there is nothing in common, either as a whole or in part

. . . and compromise between the two lines is out of the question.

"No Marxist-Leninists or other revolutionaries cherish any illusions about the new Soviet revisionist leadership . . . the true communists and all those who have Marxism-Leninism and revolution at heart, know full well that to indulge in illusions about their so-called 'changes,' 'turnings,' 'corrections,' etc. is to take demagogy for reality, and this constitutes a grave danger to the communist movement and to the national-liberation and revolution movements

POLEMICS

"The Khrushchov revisionists have made enormous efforts to end the polemics and to compel the Marxist-Leninist parties to cease the principled struggle against them but the revolutionaries will never fall into the revisionist trap. The fight against Khrushchov revisionism is an historical task which must be carried through to the end. A stoppage of this struggle would be a great help to the revisionists who would thus be able to press further ahead without hindrance along the road of confusing the peoples, sabotaging revolution and splitting the socialist camp. The public, courageous, principled and consistent polemics must be carried through to the end steadily and mercilessly. The interests of Marxist-Leninists and those of modern revisionists are diametrically opposed to each other and irreconcilable. We must fight with might and main and carry the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end in order to carry on revolution, persist in revolution, successfully combat imperialism and defend Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp."

Concluding, the article says: "since the new Soviet leadership came to power, it has suffered numerous defeats and its demagogic mask has been ripped open in many places. But this does not mean that it has lost for good. The struggle against revisionism is a long-term one and in its development it will always assume new aspects and take new forms.

"In the fight against imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism, the Marxist-Leninist forces have been tempered and reinforced. Marxism-Leninism will advance while overcoming the numerous complicated obstacles and difficulties" end.

From Finsbury Communist

Whose land in Rhodesia?

HANDS OFF RHODESIA

WE should like to know how many of our readers have relatives with any of the following qualifications:—

1. Owns over 175 acres of best agricultural land or a tobacco farm with abundant cheap labour.
2. Lives off shares in gold mines.
3. Has at least two servants.
4. Held the rank of colonel or above in the Armed Forces.
5. Moves in the same social circle as such people.

We do not expect many replies.

Yet that is the life led by the people the capitalist press call our "kith and kin" in Southern Rhodesia.

200,000 whites share 35,000,000 acres of the best land between them—175 acres apiece.

4,000,000 blacks share 40,000,000 acres of the worst land—10 acres apiece.

British, American and Rhodesian bosses make vast profits out of tobacco, gold and minerals.

The Africans are forced to live in primitive conditions and to work hard for low wages.

A difference of opinion has arisen between our ruling class and the ruling class of Southern Rhodesia.

The Ian Smith government, representing the white farmers, wants to keep the Africans down for ever so that they will continue to supply cheap labour for the white minority.

The Wilson government, representing the British and American mineowners is more crafty. They see that they can only stave off a black rebellion, which may well deprive them of their mines, by

building up a privileged black upper-class to deceive the Africans.

So Smith and his gang have revolted to maintain white minority rule at all costs. They are taking no chances with Wilson's schemes.

Poor old Wilson is scared of one thing only—that the Africans may revolt, throw out minority domination for ever, and take over their own country.

So he does not dare to weaken the Smith government by really effective sanctions, such as cutting off oil supplies.

Wilson will not get rid of the Smith government by force. If he did he would have got rid of the white ruling class without being able to replace it by a tame African ruling class. Minority rule would then have to be maintained from outside by the British Army—a very costly process. However, if a rebellion were to show signs of overthrowing Smith the British Government would use this as an excuse for invading Southern Rhodesia and putting down the rebellion.

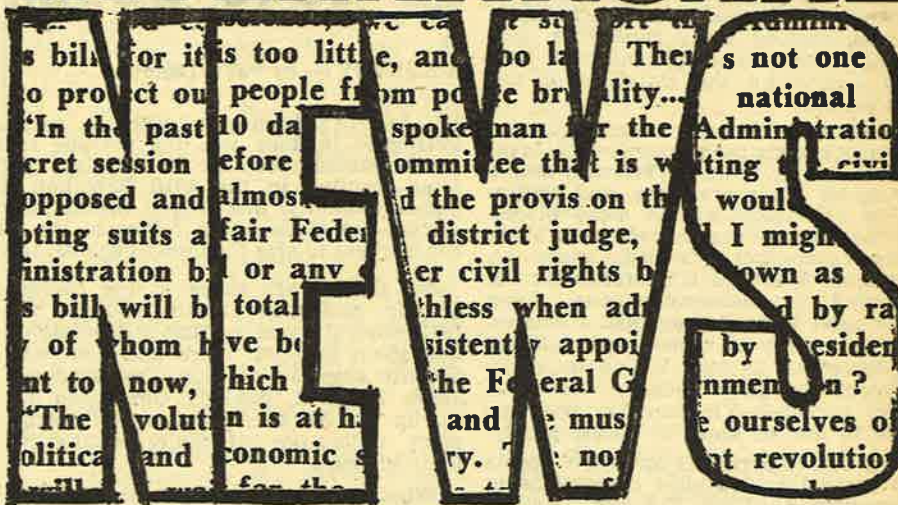
Wilson is being assisted by the leaders of the British Communist Party and certain Africans who demand that British troops be put into Rhodesia or that a United Nations force be sent.

The overwhelming majority of the Rhodesian people will settle the hash of Mr. Smith and his gang without any assistance from British or U.N. troops.

It is in all our interests that the wealthy officer class which runs Southern Rhodesia should be defeated; that the working people should run their own country.

The efforts of the British people should be devoted to ensuring that no goods at all reach Rhodesia.

INTERNATIONAL



KARACHI — The collusion of the United States and the Soviet Union in the United Nations security council to obstruct a reasonable settlement of the Kashmir question and to back the Indian attempt to permanently occupy Kashmir was laid bare by the Pakistan press recently.

The Pakistan Times reported that when the U.N. security council discussed on October 25, the Indo-Pakistan question, U.S. Delegate Goldberg and Soviet delegate Fedorenko, through the Uruguayan chairman of the Security Council, conspired to confine the discussion to the withdrawal of Indian and Pakistan troops and ceasefire violations.

They acted in India's favour and denied Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto his right to speak on Kashmir.

It was when Bhutto made it known to the members of the council that if he was allowed to speak on Kashmir, Pakistan would withdraw from the United Nations then and there that he was allowed to resume his speech.

According to Dawn on October 27, when the Security Council resumed its discussion on the Indo-Pakistan question, India refused to attend and the Soviet Union came out to obstruct the debate on Kashmir. Soviet delegate Fedorenko said that since the situation had been created in which one of the parties had found it necessary to leave the council, he thought that the discussion in the Security Council was scarcely likely to lead to positive results.

Pakistan public was highly indignant at the big-power manipulation of the United Nations, protecting India's occupation of Kashmir and depriving the Kashmir people of their right to self-determination.

The Evening Star in an editorial said, "India is being encouraged and even supported in its obduracy and defiant behaviour by the world's two super-powers. Both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. delegates at the Security Council not only made no attempt to dissuade India from its unjust course or denounce it for its defiant action, but even tried to appease it by making an off stage attempt at restraining Bhutto from referring to the worsening situation in Kashmir . . . this patronising and helpful attitude of the two big world powers to India is very much at the root of new Delhi's continued intransigence over Kashmir."

The National Awami Party of Karachi

WHO BENEFITS?

The United States leaders are now spreading a story that the Vietnamese offered to negotiate in 1964.

These leaders say that they rejected the Vietnamese offer. "Left" Labour M.P.s are making this story an excuse to demand negotiations. The Daily Worker is advertising this story and this demand.

Thus the Daily Worker is losing sight of two vital points:

1. Only the losing side ever wants negotiations.
2. The Vietnamese people are not losing, so they have never asked for negotiations. Quite rightly their demand is that the Yanks get out of Vietnam. The immediate effect of this absurd story is to discredit the United States and increase the demand for negotiations.

But the United States does not mind being discredited.

On the other hand it wants negotiations very badly in order to be able to cling on to part at least of Vietnam.

So the long-term effect would be to benefit the U.S.A.

in a resolution adopted, declared that Pakistan should quit the United Nations if it failed to solve the Kashmir question. The United Nations had become a tool in the hands of big powers. It was futile to look towards the United Nations for a solution of the Kashmir dispute," end.

THE SEPTEMBER issue of "Yugoslav Life" comments editorially on "how to achieve peace in VIETNAM." It manages to write some 200 words, without once mentioning the cardinal demand of the patriotic Vietnamese people — namely: the complete withdrawal of every U.S. soldier, marine and airman, from South Vietnam, before any political settlement can be reached. True, it urges that "the bombing of North Vietnam be discontinued." True, it hypocritically calls for the presence of the N.F.L. of South Vietnam at any conference. This only proves that the renegade Titoists wish to inveigle the N.F.L. in a "peace" conference, while the United States gangsters still occupy their country. This suits well the objectives of Johnson, Wilson and the Moscow revisionist apologists for imperialism.

The editorial repeatedly attempts to scare people by the "increasingly dangerous trend of the situation," on the plea "that, if a larger war is to be averted, the only alternative is a political settlement etc., etc."

The crimes of the U.S. imperialists are not once mentioned, nor its vile Hitler-like attack on the Vietnamese people.

These Yugoslav paid imperialist agents are energetically being pushed through the back door of the world Communist movement by Breznev-Kosygin and their lackeys in various places. Their counter-revolutionary economic and social policies, designed to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism, are faithfully being copied in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in E. Europe.

Without a shadow of doubt, this massive betrayal of the working people, of Marxism-Leninism, will result in even more massive resistance on the part of Communists everywhere and all incorruptible fighters for national-liberation and genuine world peace.

STATEMENT

BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM REGARDING THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS' SAVAGE WAR SCHEMES IN SOUTH VIETNAM

HANOI, September 28, 1965. OF LATE, the U.S. imperialist aggressors having sustained heavy defeats, have all the more frenziedly resorted to most savage war schemes in South Vietnam.

From July to mid-September 1965, the cruiser "Oklahoma City," the destroyers: "Ingersoll," "Stoddard," "Orleck," "Craig," "Henderson" and other ships of the U.S. seventh fleet repeatedly shelled with heavy guns many populated coastal areas of South Vietnam. On numerous occasions, they fired hundreds of shells on a small area for several consecutive hours.

Meanwhile, Guam-based B.52 strategic bombers multiplied massive bombing raids on Thu-dau-mot, Bien-hoa, Ba-ria, Ca-mau, Ben-tre, Quang-tin provinces, etc. . . . from June 18 to August 16, nine raids, and from August 24 to September 24, 1965, 22 raids. One area in Quang-tin was attacked six times, and the former zone D, 16 times.

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

continued from page 9

The above naval shellings and high-altitude bombings were indiscriminately directed at villages, schools, churches, pagodas, causing many casualties, destroying houses and crops, and most seriously hampering the activities of the local people.

Along with massive bombings, the U.S. imperialists used toxic chemicals on an even larger scale in Trà-vinh and a number of other provinces, and continued to use poison gas in many places. The most savage case happened in Vinh-quang (Binh-dinh province) where on September 5, 1965, a U.S. unit under the command of lieutenant-colonel Leon Utter used toxic gas against a shelter, occupied mostly by women and children. On September 21, the U.S. defence department cynically declared that U.S. troops in South Vietnam had been ordered to use all kinds of poison gases.

The U.S. imperialists and their agents also carried out ruthless repressions in Quang-nam, Gia-dinh, Trà-vinh, Cán-tho-Tây-ninh and many other places, when the people of those areas staged demonstrations to present their legitimate demands for the discontinuance of air and naval attacks, and the use of toxic chemicals and poison gas. They arrested and tortured hundreds of people. On September 21, 1965, panic-stricken in the face of the people's indignation, they executed three patriots in Đà-nang, in the hope of curbing the fighting spirit of the people of South Vietnam.

Cambodian Paper Refutes Soviet Insult

PHNOM PENH, (Hsinhua) —

The "Cambodian Despatch" in an editorial denounced Moscow for calling black white and failing to admit its error.

The editorial was commenting on the Tass statement of October 19 which defended the cancellation by the Soviet Union of its invitation to Prince Sihanouk, head of state of Cambodia, for a visit to that country.

Khmer opinion was deeply disappointed by the statement. "No fresh detail or explanation was given to clarify the mysterious behaviour of the Soviet leaders towards us. On the contrary, the mystery becomes more baffling with the publication of the Tass statement."

It said, "we are not astonished beyond measure. Because since the advent of Khrushchevism in Moscow, they have cultivated the cult of being indefinite, nebulous and vague, in a word, particularly inexplicit. If they speak of imperialism, they are wary of mentioning U.S. imperialism. They talk all day long about proletarian internationalism, but they abstain from fulfilling their obligations when U.S. imperialism attacks fraternal countries or friendly countries. They preach peace and extol peaceful co-existence with U.S. imperialism but they throw a figleaf to cover up the the atrocious bombing which daily brings deaths in South and North Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. They accuse of "deviation" those who resolutely march forward in the struggle against imperialism, but they themselves weave garlands and laurels for leaders in Washington. They betray the interests of the peoples desiring progress and justice, but they boast about having done useful things for the safeguarding of peace. In a word, those in Moscow neither understand nor admit their error."

It added, "modern revisionists and chauvinists should at least have the courage to shoulder their responsibilities. They should never call black white and turn the accused into the accuser, because this is merely a tactic of imperialism and its lackeys." The editorial said, "they seem to have forgotten what has made the greatness of the October revolution and the Soviet Union, namely, Marxism-Leninism."

JIM LARKIN AND THE 1913 DUBLIN LOCK-OUT

A SURVEY — by Pat O'Donovan

IF, AS HAS been said, that the workers' revolt and unsuccessful uprising in Petrograd in 1905 was the prelude to the Russian Revolution, then the same can be stated about the violent class conflict in 1913 in Dublin, which three years later resulted in the 1916 Rebellion. It was the Irish Citizen Army, led by James Connolly, that played the major role in 1916, the army that was incepted during the trade union rallies in the streets in 1913 when it became necessary for workers to arm themselves against the violence of the police.

But there were times in the course of the prolonged labour struggle in 1913 when it appeared that a Revolution was about to start, there and then, especially when Jim Larkin, the principal figure involved, publicly threatened to set up 'A Workers Provisional Government' unless the authorities desisted in their violence.

What were the main issues in 1913? In essence the principle point at stake was the right of the unskilled workers to become unionised, to join the Transport Union, which some years earlier had been founded by Larkin and Connolly "to raise the toiling slaves up from their knees, to give them dignity, to make them into men."

Hitherto, trades unionism in Dublin and throughout the country had been confined to skilled workers, to tradesmen organised into British based unions. But in forming the Transport Union or, to give it its full title, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, a new chapter was opened in advance. What is more, much to the discomfort of the British T.U.C., the new union in Dublin had the great advantage of being led by militant socialists, Larkin being a syndicalist — in the very best sense of that term — and Connolly a Marxist.

The first employer to wage war on the I.T. & G.W.U., was a man named William Martin Murphy who owned the cities trams and the 'Irish Independent' chain of newspapers — a real tiger was he, in fact! Later, in 1913 Murphy was joined by four hundred and four other big bosses. They proceeded after a meeting at which, in the words of James Connolly, they "bound themselves by solemn vows, and by still more binding pledges," to smash, as they called it, "Larkin's Union."

The method used for this purpose was to intimidate their employees by insisting that they sign a document to the effect that under no circumstances would they join the I.T. & G.W.U. So, when the workers overwhelmingly refused to sign this wretched slip known as the "scabs ticket," the scene was set for the inevitable lock-out.

What followed afterwards is now part of the glorious record of the Irish working class history. The great meetings addressed by Larkin throughout the city;

the fierce clashes with the police (Royal Irish Constabulary); the rising temper of the toilers as new urges and horizons, stimulated by the Spartan orator at their helm, now began to dawn before their very eyes. Yes indeed, they had been "raised up from their knees."

ANTI-CLIMAX

But as the weeks went by in this turbulent year of 1913, the sad and terrible anti-climax, so typical of all such workers' struggles everywhere, began to descend on Dublin. With no dole, "national assistance" or alms, fierce poverty and starvation became rampant amongst the struggling workers. They could not pay their rent, they had no money for food or heating. Yet still, they stuck it out.

Now it was at this stage, to their great credit, that British trade unionists came to the rescue of their brother workers in Dublin. Campaigns were incepted in Britain to raise cash and food. The Miners' Federation began sending £1,000 a week to Ireland. Two foodships arrived, the SS "Hare" in September and the SS "Fraternity" in October. Whilst the Trades Union Congress, after some hesitation and doubting, eventually raised over £90,000. In all, around £150,000 was subscribed from Britain, equivalent to almost £1 million at present-day values. Also, some starving children from Dublin were sent to Britain, where ordinary workers took them into their homes. This most humanitarian act led to an outcry amongst the Roman Catholic clergy, who thundered that the children will be "turned away from God." Precious little help though, had the same clergy given at home, only to condemn the trade unionists at every turn, denouncing them for not signing the bosses document, which would have been "a Holy act of humility."

For his part in the lock-out, Larkin was gaoled whilst most of the workers were eventually compelled to return to work. But at the same time, they secretly joined the union, so that from 1913 onwards, it really grew until today, headquartered in a skyscraper, it is the biggest union in Ireland. Mind you, in the meantime, incredible though it may seem, Larkin was expelled from this union, but that is another story, which will be dealt with at another time.

NEWS from SCOTLAND

Recent weeks in Scotland have seen some inspiring events. On the technical side, the putting into production of the pumped storage scheme at Loch Awe, in conjunction with the atomic power stations, make this the most modern and efficient atomic power set up in the western half of the world. This will raise our per. capita consumption of atomic power, which is already the world's highest.

The other bright spot is the lead of our scientists and workers, in the field of desalinisation of sea-water. It is strange that while we Scots are almost washed away at times, with an excessive rainfall, we have led the world in this field and supply over 80% of all such plants and a new research centre is being built. This break-through could ease to some extent the world food shortage, if adopted widely enough.

DEBIT SIDE

On the debit side, there have been some disasters, in the ship-building industry. One large slice, not unexpectedly, has been taken over by the "American Marine and Machinery Co." — namely the dredger firm of Fleming and Ferguson. This is we believe, the first big

take over, in shipbuilding, by U.S. capital. U.S. Capital domination is expanding daily, but this is particularly serious, since this is a special industry of Scotland.

Another set-back is the collapse of Fairfields of Govan Shipbuilding Co. This firm employed 2,500 men in the yard, but many more are directly involved. What these trends will mean for The Clyde cannot be foreseen, in the short view, but there are grave misgivings among the men who live by building ships.

DELINQUENCY

One disquieting facet of the moral degeneration that marks the economic and social twilight of capitalism, is the riots on Glasgow buses and elsewhere! This became so serious that two of the garages closed at 8 pm each Friday and Saturday. There are no buses from these garages after these times because the crews could not obtain official protection from hooligan elements. This caused great hardships to many people and seems almost an incomprehensible situation in Scotland's biggest city.

Val Sutherland,
Scottish C.D.R.C.U.

TOM FLINT Column

The capitalist Press and the modern revisionists have made the most of the Pope's meanderings in New York. U.S. imperialism, U.N.O. and the Catholic Church, all were in sore need of a stimulant. His Eminence dutifully obliged. The revisionist renegades could hardly contain their jubilation—short of adopting the Pope as **Honorary Empirical Ideological Secretary** for their respective parties.

We gather that next on the Eminent Agenda is an official visit to Poland. Also envisaged according to reports, is an official Kremlin invitation to Prince Phillip, consort to Elizabeth II. It must be a difficult life for the poor branch secretary in a revisionist party!

* * *

Story going the rounds: We just thought we would pass it on! The Pope, on arrival at U.N.O. HQ. was graciously receiving the greetings of the delegates from Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. It was noticed that Mr. Gromyko entered into much longer conversation with the Pope than his erstwhile collaborators (sorry, colleagues!); a nearby wag remarked: "Ah! it appears that Gromyko has even more to confess!"

* * *

Quote from "Sunday Telegraph 31st October, 1965." There are increasing signs that Russia and her Communist allies are earnestly engaged in trying to persuade North Vietnam and the Viet Cong to negotiate with America and end the present hostilities "... A (U.S.) Administration spokesman has declared that Russia is now "privately eager" for "a conference."

It then refers to statements on both Radio Prague and Radio Zagreb supporting the Johnson-Kosygin-Tito ruse for "unconditional negotiations now" and viciously attacking People's China.

The C.D.R.C.U. and "VANGUARD" even last July, issued a public leaflet, warning all sincere friends of Vietnam of this vile betrayal. The Soviet leaders and their despicable lackeys are the worst traitors to national liberation and Socialism that have ever befouled the pages of history. Each day bears witness to their treachery and their servility to their imperialist masters. To bare these creatures to the gaze of all honest people has become a paramount duty of all communists.

According to the "Wall Street Journal" recently the U.S. gangster Administration has decided on a programme which includes (i) expansion of U.S. forces in Vietnam to 250,000 by 1966. (ii) expansion of the Navy, Airforce and Marine Corps. (iii) call up of the national reserves. (iv) a further supplementary appropriation of 2 billion dollars now and "a lot more money" later. While Khrushchev walks with his "Camp David spirit," his foxy successors seek to give it flesh — thus deceiving the Soviet people and all who struggle for a lasting world peace.

* * *

"More Patrol Police are needed in Rhodesia" ... runs an official advertisement in a London Paper — "with excellent prospects of promotion to the highest ranks."

The way things are shaping out there, the aspiring young applicants won't have to wait very long for this "promotion" — right up to the Elysian gates of St. Peter!

"I would like to congratulate you on the quality now achieved in "VANGUARD" and the comprehensive coverage obtained"

A.D.

London, E

OUR DELEGATE IN ALBANIA

ON THE invitation of the *Albania Party of Labour*, the Central Committee sent Comrade Jack Tyrrell to Albania, accompanied by his wife. Below is a speech delivered by him.

Comrades,

This is my first visit to Albania, and I can say most sincerely that my wife and I are absolutely overwhelmed by the courtesy and hospitality shown towards us by the *Albania Party of Labour*, the *Albania Government* and by yourselves, the courageous and hard-working people of Albania.

When I knew I was to visit Albania, I decided to try to learn a few words of Albanian so that I could converse a little with the people, even if I could only say Yes and No and How are you? So I went to our local library and I borrowed this old Albanian grammar book which was published 33 years ago. Some of the phrases therein give us some idea of the mentality of the ruling circles of the time. For example:

"We're walking in the King's garden. Don't pick the flowers."

I am sure that ex-King Zog doesn't worry any more about the flowers in his garden. Another example is contained in Exercise 13:

"Who are you?

I'm a servant (maid).

Why have you come here?

I've come to find employment, Sir.

Where do you come from?

I come from Elbasan.

What's your name?

My name is Vangjel.

How old are you?

I'm eighteen years old.

Do you know English?

I don't, Sir, but I can do cooking and housework.

How much are you asking?

I want two napoleons a month with board and lodging.

You are asking a lot, but will you do the housework properly?

Yes, Sir, I'll do my best.

All right. You'll get two napoleons a month. When will you start?

I'll come at once, if you wish, Sir."

By their successful socialist revolution, the *Albanian workers and peasants* under the correct leadership of the *Albanian Party of Labour* have seen to it that no longer do they have to beg for work in such a humiliating manner.

By what we have seen here these days, terrific progress and advances have been made since the bad old days when this book was published.

I am here as fraternal delegate of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity, and we are now in the stage of tortuously and slowly, step by step, building up anew the vanguard of the British working class from very modest beginnings. Due to the revisionist treachery of the leaders of the revisionist Communist Party of Great Britain, we are having to rebuild everything almost from nothing.

Our country has had a year of so-called Labour Government, and this year has proved without a shadow of doubt that in all fields, the Labour Government is just as much the representative of monopoly capitalism as was the former Conservative Government. Comrade Stalin once pointed out in his great classic work "Foundations of Leninism," that so long as the old order is allowed to remain, a Labour Government "cannot be anything else than an apparatus serving the bourgeois order, a screen to hide the ulcers of imperialism, a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement of the oppressed and exploited masses."

The aims of the British capitalist class at present under a Labour Government are essentially and fundamentally exactly the same as what they were under the Conservatives. They are:

1. to extract maximum profits from investments
2. to maintain its position as a colonial power
3. to increase its share of world trade.

To even maintain its position without advancing, the British capitalist class has to struggle against growing competition from West Germany, Japan, France, the U.S.A. and others. The British capitalist class is losing this struggle all along the line, it's position is becoming weaker and it is rapidly on the decline.

Britain is still a colonial and neo-colonial power and still has enormous investments all over the world and

these are even increasing. Although Britain is in a very inferior position in the so-called partnership with the U.S.A., although Britain is increasingly disturbed at American attempts to use the United Nations to push Britain out of her colonies and neo-colonies so that they can step in and replace her, although the British capitalists are having their noses rubbed in the dirt by the Americans, nevertheless the dominant section of the capitalist class still pin their hopes and rely on U.S. imperialism for patronage, credits and the underwriting of sterling.

There is a "rebel" sector of the British ruling class which would like to "do a de Gaulle" but this sector is represented more in the Conservative Party than the Labour Party. If anything, Wilson, the British Prime Minister, is more subservient to the American overlord than even his predecessors, Sir Alec Home and Harold Macmillan ever were.

So Britain is passing through a situation of growing crisis. How does the British capitalist class, whether under a "Labour" or Conservative Government, attempt to resolve this crisis? By attacking the working class, its wages, living standards and democratic rights. That is the meaning of the Labour Government's incomes policy and its proposed legislation against unofficial strikes. However, it suits the capitalist class as a whole to have a Labour Government at this particular time because, shielded by their "socialist" cloak, they may be able to push through unpopular measures and legislation which the Conservatives would find difficult and well-nigh impossible to push through.

In this situation, the working class needs a Communist Party which exposes social democracy and the reactionary role of the Labour Party and Government. It is the historic role and function of social democracy to keep the working class mate, to stop it being revolutionary, to sidetrack it and lead it down blind alleys. The CPGB should be exposing social democracy. However, its leaders are mortally afraid to do so. Why is this? Because in essence, the revisionist leaders of the CPGB are playing the same role as the social democratic leaders of the Labour Party. In exposing them, they would be exposing themselves. The revisionist leaders of the CPGB are politically and electorally weak and treated as a joke by everybody. Nevertheless, they have done the working class enormous damage in the past; they are still capable of doing harm now and in the future in their evil revisionist work of betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working class.

This revisionist betrayal was long ago recognised by a number of British Marxist-Leninists who started to organise against it, and foremost among these was Comrade Michael McCreery, our late beloved Secretary and Co-Editor of our paper VANGUARD, who visited your country just before he died. It is to his great work that to a very large extent, we owe the existence of organised groups of anti-revisionists today.

This is not the time nor the place to go into the details of the struggle against revisionism inside the CPGB and the consequent expulsion of many comrades. The fact is that in our country today, the CDRCU exists. It has been in existence for 2 years and during this period, we have gathered very valuable experience and learned some very important lessons.

Our biggest achievement in this period is that we have been able to develop a sound and dependable collective leadership. This was no easy achievement. We had to go through fire and water to learn how to cleanse our embryo organisation and free it from opportunism of various types. Long ago when I first became a Communist, I used to read about the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Comrade Lenin's fight against various opportunist trends, Menshevism, revisionism, anarchism, populism, economism, Otzovism, Trotskyism, the lot. It meant little to me at the time, but these last 2 years taught me the value of Lenin and Stalin's struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism because in our small way, we also had to fight all these opportunist trends.

Vic Wilcox

Speech in Tirana

TIRANA, October 22 (Hsinhua) —

Comrade V. G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, dealt with a number of major problems in the struggle against modern revisionism in his speech delivered on October 11 at the Lenin Higher Party school in Tirana.

Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the central committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, accompanied comrade Wilcox to the school and made a welcome speech in honour of him. Hoxha paid tribute to the Communist Party of New Zealand for adhering to Marxist-Leninist stand and carrying on a principled, steadfast and correct struggle.

Wilcox in his speech said: in the struggle against imperialism headed by the U.S., "the new factor was the emergence of the modern revisionists headed by the leadership of the CPSU, the modern revisionists who try to take, in the interests of imperialism, the revolutionary core from Marxism-Leninism, who want to co-operate with imperialism, to compromise with them, inevitably to reach with imperialism full agreement."

He pointed out that "the modern revisionists in theory and in practice work to make ineffective the communist parties of the whole world — they are working to finally liquidate them as Marxist-Leninist parties."

"Of course they will fail."

"They are the traitorous agents of imperialism."

"Against the words and subversive activities of the modern revisionists led by Khrushchev (the Arch-revisionist) and now the new leadership of the CPSU, our party has stood firm on Marxism-Leninism. We have refused to be coerced or flattered away from those basic principles," he stressed.

Referring to the Moscow schismatic meeting in March, Wilcox said: "to us it is useless to call for unity on the basis of the abortive 19 party meeting in Moscow in March this year. The basis of this appeal was that there are more things to unite us than divide us. For us it is not words but policy, actions, that in the final analysis decide whether one is a Marxist. From that point of view how can one unite with a policy of compromise with imperialism, posed under the heading of long-range peaceful co-existence? How can one unite with a policy that conceives that the greatest possibility for advance to socialism when one sees the repressive and military actions of the United States and other imperialist powers against all progressive forces? How can one spend a major portion of one's activity trying to get a 'world without arms, a world without our' while imperialism exists? How can one expect to get it in collaboration with imperialism? How can one unite with those whose policy in spite of their words allows U.S. imperialism to pour arms, and men into Vietnam and South East Asia, to bomb not only South Vietnam but also socialist North Vietnam — and respond in the main with only wordy protest?"

He stressed: "such unity would be a false unity, a unity for unity's sake. Unity will come but it must be fought for. It will come on principled agreement on policy and action based on Marxism-Leninism."

He added: "It can only come when the leadership of the CPSU have made a critical and self-critical examination of their revisionist errors, have changed their revisionist policy and have recognised the harm their influence in our world movement has done." "In fact we don't think they will do that because our view is that they have become the agents of imperialism. So we say that the ideological battle must be continued with full vigour. It must be continued openly; the battle against modern revisionists must continue."

He said: "the modern revisionists are splitting the international proletariat. As already said, this does not mean of necessity an immediate breach on a

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The Albanian Road To Socialism

by JACK TYRRELL

THE MODERN revisionists are very fond of saying that revolution may be appropriate for continents like Asia, Africa and Latin America, but is irrelevant and impossible in Europe. They keep talking about the peaceful road to socialism, by way of the ballot box, and they organise their parties so as to win millions of votes. Typical of these parties are the Communist Parties of France and Italy who would like us to believe that millions of votes cast for these parties during elections represent magnificent victories. Yes, they may represent magnificent victories for the modern revisionists who are ambitious to be well represented in capitalist parliaments, but of what use are they to the working class? Where, in what country, have the people ever achieved socialism as a result of a numerical majority in parliament? Has there ever been any occasion where a capitalist class has resigned power because it has been outvoted? The answer is No!

No ruling class, certainly no capitalist class, has ever voluntarily given up their power because they were outvoted — they usually have to be pushed out of their positions of power by the newly emerging class, the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, the working class slowly gathers strength until a revolutionary situation develops. But sometimes the ruling class is deposed and defeated in war, in which case the working class has to lead the armed, patriotic struggle for liberation from foreign occupation.

Such was the case in Albania. Albania is a magnificent example, an excellent model as to how a genuine working class party can apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to local conditions so as to lead the people to socialist power. And Albania is in Europe. This is something the modern revisionists don't like, it sticks in their gullets and for this reason they are silent as the grave about the heroic 5-year struggle of the Albanian Party of Labour against the Italian fascists and German Nazis and their local Quislings. The example is too near for comfort. Here, we are not talking about Asia; we are talking about Europe.

The modern revisionists scream their heads off about the millions of votes cast for them in France and Italy. They get a few more representatives in parliament and they scream victory. But it is not victory. These people are not revolutionaries but counter-revolutionaries, prettifying capitalist parliaments and playing the parliamentary game. Just the way the ruling class want it played. Socialism will never be won in this manner. These parliamentary cretins are actually sitting ducks as for all their votes they have no power. The capitalist class can squash them any time they like without too much trouble.

They don't do it mainly because the modern revisionists are no threat to their power. Not only this, they create confusion in the ranks of the working class diverting them from their historic, revolutionary role. Thus, they are actually objectively placing themselves in the service of the capitalist class. What need is their for the capitalist class to squash such humble and willing tools?

But the Albanian Party of Labour were not sitting ducks. They looked after their leaders and cadres, defended them, saw to it that defence lines were left open to them when the need arose. Thus, during the 5-year War of National Liberation, the Albanian Party of Labour was able to lead the people to socialist victory against foreign invaders and all other enemies. Slowly, they built up real strength while their enemies got weaker and weaker. This is the way, the only way the working class will achieve power, here in Europe as well as in other continents.

The conspiracy of silence about Albania's 5-year national liberation struggle must be ended. We must publicise it, so that the European working masses can learn the lessons of this heroic struggle.

SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN REVISIONISM

by Benedict Graham

PART ONE AND TWO WERE PRINTED IN THE OCTOBER ISSUE.

THE HARMFUL advice thrust on the Algerian party by their French "Parent" party resulted in the Algerian party's isolation from the National Liberation War, in following their policy of "negotiating under peaceful transition," and their virtual extinction as a political force in Algeria. The C.P.G.B. once held a series of presumptuous discussions on our attitude to the colonial peoples once a "socialist" government had been established in Britain. It was decided that the colonial peoples could not be entirely trusted to see to themselves, but a paternal eye would still have to be cast over them in some sort of "special" association with the mother country. It did not occur to these morons of course that the Colonial peoples might decide to throw off the imperialist yoke before we had our "socialist" government in Britain!

The policy of the Khrushchev clique toward the new emerging states has displayed the most woeful ignorance of the precise nature of the governments in power. Since the end of the Second World War the imperialist front first breached by proletarian revolution in

October 1917, has been further weakened by the victory in East Europe, by the great Chinese revolution, the Cuban revolution, together with the national liberation struggle in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This national struggle against imperialism is an integral part of the general international proletarian revolution; and the one cannot be separated from the other. It is here that our modern revisionists wallow in a mire of error and misunderstanding.

National liberation of oppressed countries is the preamble to proletarian victory. In East Europe and Cuba the two stages were telescoped into a fairly short period. In China the intricacies of the struggle took twenty odd years culminating in the victory of 1949. In many countries national liberation progressed little beyond formal political independence as in India, "Malaysia" and many of the African states. This has long been the pattern for the United States Empire in Latin America. The most blatant example of this type of neo-colonialism is Tshombe's administration in Leopoldville, together with the Abdul Rahman government of "Malaysia" and the puppet

clique which succeed each other with such rapidity in Saigon and Vietlane. In Africa we trace the decline of the once majestic Kenyatta into a senile sad pathetic shadow: a whisk waving cloth crowned clown, glad to maintain himself in power by imperialist troops. Rather than relying on the support of his own people. The same judgment must be made on Dr. Banda. The once progressive role played by him has changed to the role of a little pip squeak puppet of Imperialism.

Egypt's Abdul Nasser on the other hand, by and large, still plays a progressive role in world affairs. Representative of the comparatively more developed and powerful Egyptian bourgeoisie, he pursues their own interests often to the discomfort of the principal imperialist states, thus weakening the international imperialist front. This national struggle has been further intensified by Indonesia, directly confronting with armed force the neo-colonialism of "Malaysia." The watershed progress and reaction and a more or less stable equilibrium is sometimes difficult to determine exactly: impossible for the modern revisionists with their metaphysical static thinking. Their analyses are based on superficialities and fixed mechanical assessments. "India is progressive" they assert "and worthy of massive military aid. Pakistan is reactionary: a military dictatorship. A member of C.E.N.T.O." Actually their judgement should be nearly reversed! Nehru reached his "watershed" in 1959 after years of relative progressive equilibrium; neo-colonialism has been allowed to spread its tentacles in India in form of dollar loans and military aid. The price paid was anti-communism and armed incitement on the Sino Indian border. The Indian bourgeoisie has thrown its lot in with international imperialism. By a curious twist Pakistan, in the C.E.N.T.O. Pack, has felt threatened by the Indian military build up and concluded agreements with the Peoples' Republic of China, thus weakening the imperialist front against communism. Our modern Revisionists however have no idea of a world which is "matter in motion." They would do well to remember Lenin's pronouncement that the feudal king of Afghanistan was playing a more progressive role in world history, by resisting British invasion of his country in 1919, than the so called socialists of Europe. There is hardly a government or a party in the broad national liberation movement, especially in Africa and the middle east which does not claim to be "Socialist." There is the Baath Arab socialist party and numerous other varieties; principally the "Arab socialism" of Abdul Nasser with its wider dreams of Islamism, and the "African socialism" of Nkrumah, Kenyatta and Sekou Touré. Those varieties of socialism have one thing in common, they all claim to be national, in effect petty bourgeois "socialism."

NKRUMAH

In his book, Nkrumah for instance claims to be a "Marxist-Leninist." But the underlying argument of all "African socialism" is that "orthodox Marxism" has no relevance to African conditions. "We have no industrial proletariat" observes Kenyatta. This is typical of those who learn their Marxism "by rote." It is true that the proletariat in the new African states is generally in an embryonic state of development and embraces a small minority of the population. But numbers alone do not determine the character and quality of the struggle waged in society; witness the character of the Chinese revolution and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. In any event the objective laws of capitalist development operate as well in Africa as in Europe. Increased capitalist exploitation of Africa will ensure that capitalism produces "its own grave diggers." This search for a third way epitomised as "the non-capitalist road of development" is a mirage. The only road of the oppressed peoples emancipation, The world over, is the Marxist-Leninist road. The term "non-capitalist development" is a phrase beloved of revisionists, and is typical of their own negative approach. If there is a non-capitalist way, why not state what it is? Must they shrink from using terms, such as revolutionary, Communist or even socialist? Or perhaps there is an additional hitherto undiscovered social system, a product of metaphysical imagination, whose

very name defies scientific statement, and which can be expressed only as a negation of capitalism? It seems probable that modern revisionism has immersed itself into all embracing "socialism" from Danish social-democracy to Abdul Nasser's Arab socialism.

The entirely wrong revisionist ideas of the nature of the national liberation struggle has involved modern revisionism in error after error; in their relations with it. They have in fact placed the struggle for national liberation in opposition to the proletarian struggle, instead of viewing it as a component part of the general world proletarian revolution. Perhaps because the armed struggle of the oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has directly refuted the revisionist thesis, the chief exponents of revisionism have resorted to any means, no matter how foul, to try and control the communist movement. In some parties they have done their best (as in Japan) to ferment dissension and division; in others where they hold bureaucratic control they stifle all discussion and criticism that means anything at all.

Many parties have been reformed by Marxist-Leninists (in Brazil, Ceylon, Belgium, Australia, etc.) Indian Marxists have met great success in rebuilding their party. Events swiftly prove to the people who are the Genuine revolutionaries and who are bourgeois agents. Some recent revelations in India have given startling impetus to the belief that the arch-revisionist, the notorious Dange, has been a government intelligence agent for many years.

LENINISM WILL GROW

The fight against revisionism will grow as oppressed people learn from the unfolding events of time, not only in the semi-colonial countries but also in the industrialised countries of western Europe and North America. The ossified parties of France and Italy will be challenged more and more as their bureaucratic leadership founder in a mess of their own making. Under the leadership of the late Thorez and Togliatti, the revolutionary will of the French and Italian proletariat has been cramped and thwarted for many years, in conditions of static impotence. Even today they have not analysed the full meaning of Gaullism and join in treacherous alliance with social-democracy in a defence of mythical "democracy." Their attempts to dampen the spirit of the French miners in their great strike was equalled by their revisionist counterparts in Belgium in the insurrectionary strikes following the collapse in the Congo.

No revolutionary lead was given to the workers, by the revisionists, and thus they built their own gallows, and have been succeeded by a powerful Marxist leadership headed by Comrade Grippa.

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Our Delegate In Albania

world scale but it does mean that historically this breach has matured. It faces all Marxist-Leninists for the future and our tactics to deal with it must be carefully considered."

Wilcox said: "In the Soviet Union there has developed a privileged class of bureaucrats, of managers, who are happy with their position, their privileges, who want things as they are. They do not want to advance and they do not want to fight imperialism. They only want to benefit themselves." This class outlook was expressed in the policy of the modern revisionists and it was expressed by their actions, he added.

Wilcox pointed out that "modern revisionists bow and remain inactive in the face of U.S. and other imperialist aggression while claiming that socialist strength is such that it has tamed aggressive imperialism." "the fact is they have capitulated to imperialism. The Soviet revisionists obviously aim at some agreement with the strongest imperialism — the U.S. — for a division of the world."

Wilcox recalled the bi-lateral talks between the CPNZ delegation and the CPSU leadership held in Moscow in August, 1963. The leadership of the CPSU then attacked Marxist's statements that the storm-centres of the world revolution were today in Asia, Africa and Latin America, asserting that the role of the working class in the main capitalist countries was belittled and underestimated in this approach. They also alleged that revolutionary action could succeed, not where imperialism had been weakened but in the strong-points of imperialism.

Wilcox said that those people were in fact "turning away from the revolution."

He said: "Czarist Russia was a weak link in the imperialist war. There in Europe was the centre of the world revolutionary movement. Today that centre has shifted, but revisionists ignore this fact. They say to the Communists and Revolutionary forces of the world, including those in areas where revolution has matured: 'you must wait until we can strike at the strongholds of imperialism.' That means: you must accept the status quo in all parts of the world indefinitely."

Wilcox said: "If we place that as the

first priority, illusions of peaceful transition to socialism everywhere are created. It fits in with waiting. We work for a 'world without arms, a world without war,' while imperialism still exists. It is an impossibility. The revisionists do not see the full significance of the victory of the national liberation revolution of a world scale."

Wilcox said: "the modern revisionists speak glibly of the key role of the working-class in the imperialist strongholds, but they call dogmatists or worse those who say flatly that for Socialism to be the agenda, further and complete victories must be achieved in what are the storm-centres today. They recently developed the story that those who hold the above views are not communist but just 'agrarian revolutionaries.' Thus they hide their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism."

Wilcox pointed out: "the Soviet revisionists at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU talked about their 20-year advance to Communism. It was rubbish to fool their people and the workers of the world. The CPNZ has no illusions about this. Full communism cannot be achieved while imperialism with state power exists in the world."

Wilcox refuted the Khrushchev revisionists' fallacies of "the state of the whole people" and of "peaceful transition" and their groundless attacks on Stalin. He condemned them for beautifying social democracy, their trend of evolution towards social democracy, and advocating merger with it. He praised the great successes scored by the Albanian party of Labour and the Albanian people in socialist construction while fighting against the open sabotage of imperialism headed by the United States and of modern revisionism and conducting a head-on struggle against the Tito clique of Yugoslavia on the borders.

Wilcox said: "as CPNZ sees it, we fight imperialism. We fight old social democrats. We fight agents of imperialism — the modern revisionists. It is quite difficult but we will win."

He pointed out that in the socialist world, in the old colonial world and in the newly-liberated countries it was imperative to fight against revisionists and that Marxism-Leninism was bound to win.

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