

VANGUARD

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World News
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A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

THE 'PEACE' TERMS OF A HOOLIGAN!

WITH a flourish of trumpets and typical American ballyhoo, President Johnson, in a speech at Baltimore on April 8th, "offered" the Vietnamese people a gratuitous insult and ultimatum rolled into one.

Headlined in the London *Evening News* on the same day: "L.B.J.'s Terms—Bombs or Banknotes?"

A succinct description and, we might add, for a capitalist newspaper, of surprising accuracy.

What, in fact, does Johnson's "liberal" attitude amount to?

"Let us," he says, "impose no pre-conditions on the proposed talks." This means precisely that the repeated and flagrant violations of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China by U.S. imperialism should be discreetly ignored—in particular by the Vietnamese people.

It is tantamount to a convicted homicide saying to the judge and jury: "Forget all about my murders and my victims—let's all go out and have dinner together!"

DEVIL'S BREW

According to Washington sources, Johnson has in mind direct discussions with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and even certain foreign countries, but would not speak to the South Vietnam Liberation Front.

Insofar as the essence of Johnson's despicable offer is a plain devil's brew of terrorism and bribery we would presume to doubt that the South Vietnam Liberation Front would speak to Johnson and we will let it go at that.

TITO AND MR. K

It is not without interest that the essence of Johnson's "peace offer" is exactly the advice given to him by the arch-revisionist Tito some few weeks ago. A curious coincidence that it follows hard on the renewed U.S.-Soviet understanding for a U.N.O. armed gendarmerie whose task it would be to poke its nose into any country which was fighting for genuine independence.

Thus a fleshy Tito and the energetic ghost of Khrushchev are proving in practice trusty prompters of Johnson's strategy.

BUY THEM UP

The London *Evening News* refers to the "twin carrots of negotiations or the stick of aerial bombardments." Again, well put!

This is in classic conformity with the modern pattern of imperialist approach in its quest to subjugate smaller countries.

In one hand a bag full of dollars—in the other, a gun!

Johnson expressed his intention to ask Congress for a 1,000 million dollar "aid" programme for South-East Asia—"if peace was achieved."

Without doubt all the contemptible lackeys of U.S. imperialism will joyfully hail this as yet another example of American generosity.

Let us briefly examine what this kind of generosity really amounts to.

According to the U.S. Government Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) in a Report on April 5th, 30% of the "assistance" that developing countries received in 1964 was wiped out by interest payments on past loans. In 1955 the figure was 8%. It revealed that the U.S. Treasury would put back 1.53 dollars per 1 dollar loaned.

Further, that the U.S. Export Import Bank was extracting 100 million dollars more from Latin America alone than it was putting in.

Further, that Turkey's debt payments in 1965 would absorb half of Turkish earnings from its exports. That India's foreign debt would rise to almost 6 billion dollars by 1966.

That is to say nothing of the private investment of U.S. capitalists and its huge extraction of loot from the labour power of recipient countries. Thus it is clear that Johnson's "generosity" is nothing else but a crude tactic to expand and introduce neo-colonialism.

"LABOUR GOVERNMENT"

Johnson's "earth-shaking" gesture, designed to shatter the coward and make corrupt mouths water, inspired, according to the Press, jubilant spirits among Britain's "Labour" leaders.

We are not at all surprised.

In the humble service of British imperialism in West Asia and the Persian Gulf, Mr. Wilson and Co., might be excused if they wistfully hoped that Washington's generosity could be extended also to those areas.

U.N.O. ROLE

The President hoped that U Thant would use the prestige of his high office in U.N.O. in order to further his conspiracy for South-East Asia. If this comes about it will only expose further the manipulation of U.N.O. as a political-military tool of U.S. imperialism.

UNITY FOR GENUINE PEACE

In this *Vanguard* we publish in full the Statement of the Vietnam Liberation Front regarding its attitude to the heinous crimes of U.S. imperialism.

We are 100% for this Statement.

It completely accords with the principles of a genuine peace, genuine national independence, and social justice for the South Vietnamese workers and peasants.

President Johnson's gesture is a big fraud from first to last.

We will never agree that a worthwhile peace can possibly be attained, based on prostitute ethics.

We will, with all our strength, expose U.S. international gangsterism, the collusion of the "Labour" Government and any revisionist trick which divides the true fighters for world peace.

Long live the South Vietnam peoples valiant struggle!



WILSON - AN EMPEROR WITH NO CLOTHES - IAN MACLEOD

THE NORTH EAST OF ENGLAND

THE North East of England has been designated a "development area" by the National Economic Development Council (N.E.D.C.) because of its "persistent high level of unemployment" and under-employment which runs well above the national average and is only exceeded in Scotland and Northern Ireland.

The bourgeois economists make out that the North East is a "depressed" area and that it is "depressed" because of its dependence on "traditional heavy industry" — coal, iron, steel, shipbuilding, chemicals and heavy engineering. This idea implies that the "heavy" industries are not "growth" industries but this is complete nonsense. As long as the whole economy is "growing" in volume the basic heavy industries must be expanding too. In fact with the exception of the coal industry in the North East, all these heavy industries are increasing in productivity but employment remains static or declines. Productivity per worker is increasing greatly and goes hand in hand with greater investment per worker. In short the unemployment crisis is basically due to increasing automation. Moreover, as will be shown in the course of the article, the designation of the North East as a development district and the measures taken to stimulate industrial growth there, are not acts of charity and humanity on the part of the successive capitalist governments we've had since the war, but in reality a shrewd exploitation of regional conditions in the interests of local and national capitalists and in part a precautionary move against allowing the workers' conditions to deteriorate too far so as to endanger "political stability."

GEOGRAPHY

The North East of England consists of the three contiguous counties of Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire (North Riding). Bounded on the east by the North Sea, on the west by the northern Pennines and Cheviots, it stretches from the Scottish border at Berwick down to the Vale of York. This area constitutes 5.9% of the total area of Great Britain and is inhabited by 5.6% of the total population (1963), roughly 3 million people. However, vast sections of the North East are but thinly populated and there is dense crowding in three main urban areas. There is the Tyneside-Wearside complex (Newcastle and Sunderland) comprising 1½ million people; there is the Teeside complex (Middlesbrough-Hartlepoons) comprising ¾ million people; and there is the central Durham belt (Darlington, Durham City-Bishop Auckland axis) comprising ½ million people. In short 9/10 of the population lives on 1/5 of the area.

INDUSTRIES

The North East accounts for 20% of the coal production of Great Britain, 15% of the iron and steel production (Dorman Long's, Consett, South Durham), 15% of the manufacture of chemicals and dyes and synthetic materials (I.C.I. at Billingham and Wilton) and over 20% of the shipbuilding and marine engineering. Moreover there is a large production of heavy engineering goods such as railway and mining equipment, oil and chemical plant, bridges, etc. In 1962 34% of all male jobs depended on coal mining, shipbuilding, chemicals and metal manufacture compared with 12% for Britain as a whole for these industries. An extra 11% of male jobs were dependent on heavy engineering. This means that well over 50% of the workers in this region are members of the industrial proletariat. But social democracy is very strong especially in the Unions which is one reason why mine closures have gone ahead in West Durham with very little organised protest from the miners. There is no correct militant lead being given in the region — an indictment of the C.P.G.B. in the area, considering the economic base and the issue of unemployment and job insecurity. The C.P.G.B. is weak, making no challenge to the strong Labour Party branches in the North East. 27 of the 34 parliamentary constituencies return Labour M.P.s, some with thumping 20,000 plus majorities. 8 of these 27 are in the Labour Government, including Bottomley, the Commonwealth Secretary, Willey, the Minister of Land and Natural Resources, and Fernyhough, the representative for Jarrow who is the Prime Minister's Par-

liamentary Private Secretary. Robens, the Master of the capitalist state's coal industry is a past Labour M.P. for a North East constituency and used to be an N.U.M. sponsored candidate! In fact a large number of the M.P.s from this area are Trade Union sponsored which only shows the way the Trade Union bureaucracy is thoroughly social-democrat in orientation and therefore a tool of capitalism.

UNEMPLOYMENT

During the 19th Century the North East was an area of great population growth — the regional population in 1921 being 6.3% of the total population of Great Britain compared with 4.2% in 1821. But with the prolonged depression of the late twenties and the thirties, symbolised by Jarrow "the town that died" and the hunger marchers — the North East became a "depressed area" with 130,000 workers emigrating to the rest of England in search of employment between 1931-39. Of course the war temporarily solved unemployment problems but the problem returned with "peace" and has worsened with creeping automation and the increasing competition between capitalist states. To try and alleviate the unemployment situation successive governments set up trading estates (at Team Valley near Gateshead and Newton Aycliffe, etc) in an effort to introduce light engineering and consumer industries in the area: these industries being labour-intensive as opposed to capital-intensive.

This is known as the "Keynsian" remedy for mass unemployment, the attempt being made to prevent total expenditure on goods and services falling to a level where general unemployment occurs. Thus the capitalist state is increasingly interfering in the "free enterprise" economy to try and iron out the cyclical crisis-boom nature of capitalism. The result is one of deflation-inflation or the "stop-go" stagnation which worries capitalists so much.

Male unemployment stands persistently above the national average: in 1962 it was 4.5% of insured workers compared with 2.4% and in 1963 5.1% compared with 2.1%, although certain towns of the North East had even higher individual levels of unemployment. Thus in the Hartlepoons the figure stood at over 10% in February 1963. Moreover between 1951-61, a nett figure of 80,000 insured workers emigrated from the North East to other parts of Britain, i.e. 3% of the working population. Outflow has increased since 1961. Yet the region's proportion of school children is greater than the national average and this implies greater unemployment problems in the near future.

These figures however do not give the whole size of the problem. For in the North East the underemployment of women workers is greater than elsewhere in Great Britain. This is probably because of the regional emphasis on heavy industry which is not a big employer of females. Thus the male/female ratio of insured workers in the North East is

68:32 compared with the national average of 64:36 (London and S.E. 62:38; North West England 63:37).

INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY

It is often suggested by capitalist economists that the North East is a dying area, that the "traditional" heavy industries are waning and that what is needed is a dose of consumer industry to bring employment and prosperity. It is calculated in the White Paper of November 1963 that the number of men employed in the region was barely higher in 1962 than it was in 1952! The paper also pointed out that employment in coal mining and shipbuilding has declined while employment is static in chemicals, heavy engineering and metal manufacture. But coalmining is the only one of these industries which is on the decline in terms of productivity in the North East. The mines in the west of Durham are being run down and closed, although the mines on the coast are still fully operative. This is largely because the former are older and out of date and would need extensive recapitalisation if they were to be as economical as the newer highly productive mines of the South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire coalfield. The whole process, moreover, of the N.C.B. at present is to step up productivity per man, keep wages down and close down less economical pits. If coal production remains around the 200 million tons level for the next 5 years this will only be achieved at the expense of the miners, as, with increasing automation and productivity the number of workers needed to produce this volume of coal will progressively decrease. (These considerations leave out of account the opportunity which could be taken of exporting coal to Western Europe. It is estimated that 30-40 million tons of coal (worth up to £150 million) will be imported by W. Europe in 1965 and this demand will increase in subsequent years. At the moment Poland and the U.S.A. supply this market but British coal could be competitive if production in this country was more than 200 million tons, when the economies of scale would come into play. This fact is mentioned only to indicate that coal extraction is not a dying industry and still serves as an essential basis for heavy industry.) The only other contracting industry in the North East is the railways. Thus, in Darlington especially, the workers have been hit by the running down and closure of locomotive works.

Meanwhile, the other heavy industries are growing considerably in terms of output. Thus in the period 1954-58 according to the Census of Production — the most recent figures — the Chemical and allied industries increased productivity by 60% in the North East, Engineering and Electrical industries by 50%, metal manufacture by 40%, shipbuilding and marine engineering by 35%. There was a temporary recession in steel and shipbuilding in 1962-3, but since then production has again been advancing. The rate of expansion of the Chemical industry has increased since 1958 with the enormous extension of the I.C.I. at its Wilton plant. But these heavy industries are capital intensive in nature, i.e. the average value of turnover of products per employee increases more rapidly than in the lighter industries generally. Thus the average value of product sold per employee increased by 37% in the metal manufacturing industry between 1954-8 compared with 24% for all manufacturing industries in Great Britain, and compared say with a figure of 16% for clothing and footwear manufacture. As the amount of capital invested increases, the productivity increases but the manpower employed remains static or decreases. Therefore the exploitation of the individual worker increases through increasing automation while more workers are thrown out of work.

"REMEDIES"

When unemployment reached the alarming 5% mark in the winter of 1962-3 the Government felt it had to take some action to "prevent (as the N.E.D.C. put it) unemployment in these regions (North East England and Central Scotland) from rising to politically intolerable levels!" The Local Employment

Acts of 1960 and 1963 were meant to provide incentives for employers to move in to the "depressed" areas. A 25% building grant and 10% grant for the cost of equipping factories were provided. An advertising campaign was begun, emphasising the advantages of the North East, such as the low cost of housing, the high proportion of skilled workers, the spare labour available and the small number of work stoppages compared with the rest of the country. The Government increased local per capita expenditure on public services such as water, gas, electricity, roads, rail and so on. All this to provide a better base for the operation of capitalism.

But this was not an act of charity, to bring relief to the unemployed workers of the North East. This was to be the springboard for the increased local exploitation of the workers. In April, 1963, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought out, on the advice of N.E.D.C., his Finance Act with its measure of "Free Depreciation" whereby ANY firm incurring capital expenditure on provision of new machinery and plant (other than mobile) for use industrially in a "development district" can write it off for tax purposes at whatever rate it chooses and not the rates prescribed by the Income Tax Acts. This is a radical departure from the old aim of supplying labour-intensive light industries in these districts, for it is a scheme aiming at increasing productivity in the region, not at increasing employment necessarily. Thus established industries can use this scheme to improve and extend plant with government aid directly as grants (from the working people in fact!) and as tax rebates, and indirectly as improved public services. But why should the state be encouraging the monopolies to increase productivity in the North East (albeit under the camouflage of providing employment)? Already it has been pointed out that there is plenty of labour to spare and that there are less work stoppages in the North East but, more than this, there is evidence to show that living standards and wages are significantly lower in the North East than elsewhere in Great Britain and such factors are vital in capitalist exploitation, especially when it is in the throes of competition with successful foreign rivals. Let us examine the evidence of the lower living standards and wages of North eastern workers.

LOWER WAGES

The average retail trading receipts in the North East for 1961 were £150 per head of population per year, while the corresponding figure for Great Britain as a whole was £175. Purchases of clothes, footwear, cars and luxury goods were all well down on national figures. Only food purchases were proportionately higher.

The average household income in 1949-50 in the North East was £383 compared with £414 for Great Britain as a whole. In 1959-1960 the figures were £689 and £735 respectively, a percentage increase of 28 for the North East and 30 for Great Britain as a whole. This indicates that the disparity is actually increasing.

In 1960 90% of all household incomes (plus overtime, etc.) in the North East were less than £999 before tax, compared with 84% for Britain as a whole.

The hourly earnings (including overtime, etc.) in January 1964, in the Engineering industries for manual workers in the North East ranged from 5/7 average for time-paid labourers to 8/7 for piece-work skilled men. The same figures for Great Britain as a whole were 6/- to 9/- average. In the Midlands the range was from 6/- to 9/11, average.

In iron and steel, the North East's range of hourly earnings was from 6/- to 8/5 average, while for Great Britain as a whole it was from 6/2 to 9/2.

In shipbuilding the manual workers' hourly earnings in the North East ranged between the average figures of 5/1 to 8/2 while in Great Britain generally the figures were from 5/5 to 8/2. (In the North West from 7/- to 8/3.)

In Chemicals the North East's figures were a range from 6/6 to 8/5 while in

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WE'LL STILL USE GAS. U.S.A.

THE U.S. Government yesterday made it clear that it would not desist from gas warfare in South Vietnam despite the world-wide shock at the revelation that gases were being used against the people there.

White House spokesman, George Reedy, told the press that the American brasshats in South Vietnam had the authority to use the gases if they so decided. He described the use of the prohibited gases as "a matter of pure routine."

He said that "for many years the use of riot control weapons has been relegated to area commanders" and that "it is not the sort of thing that came up for that kind of approval (approval by the president — Editor)."

A U.P.I. Washington dispatch said that "there is every possibility" that gases would be used again in South Vietnam.

"It is authoritatively reported that this was made clear to (Michael) Stewart (British Foreign Secretary then in Washington) by U.S. officials."

At a press conference, U.S. Defence Secretary Robert S. McNamara revealed that the United States had equipped the puppet South Vietnamese police and armed forces with three types of gases, beginning in mid-1962, and that such gases had been used on more than one occasion. He talked like a brute about what these gases would cause, including pains in the chest, choking and vomiting.

McNamara admitted that the U.S. government had been using gases as a

conventional weapon to attack oppressed peoples. He recalled that gases had been used against the American Negroes who rose against racial discrimination and the Panamanian people during their struggle against the U.S. occupation of the canal zone.

To justify this flagrant violation of international law, which the U.S. government had perpetrated more brazenly than the nazis and the Japanese fascists before it, McNamara said that the gases used in South Vietnam were agents "available in the commercial markets."

U.S. State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey reiterated that the use of the gases in South Vietnam "is not contrary to any international law."

But even the U.S. Senator, Wayne L. Morse, has acknowledged that the U.S. crime directly violated the 1925 Geneva protocol prohibiting the use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases.

McCloskey noted that the United States had never ratified the protocol. His remark made it clear that the United States refused to ratify the protocol because it wanted to have free rein in the use of gases as a weapon of aggression and war.

We want 'U.N. Armed Forces' says Soviet Government

Chief Soviet delegate to U.N.O., N. T. FEDORENKO, called for the establishment of "U.N. armed forces" and expressed readiness to partner the U.S.A. and share expenses for this international gendarmerie. (New York, 26 March).

It will be recalled that in July, 1960, the Soviet delegate (under Krushchov) backed a "U.N. peace keeping force" to intervene in the Congo, with results now known to all — Lumumba slain and the traitor Tshombe again in power under U.S. patronage.

In July, 1964, Krushchov himself called in a special memorandum for "U.N. Armed Forces."

Fedorenko recapitulated this memorandum by stressing that this force should be controlled by the Security Council.

In 1958, the late U.S. Secretary for State John F. Dulles also favoured this idea of a "gendarmerie" — in order to oppose national liberation struggles.

If the Security Council assumes sole and absolute authority over this proposed force, it is quite obvious that a joint U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. command would operate it under the U.N.O. flag.

"The question of U.N. peace-keeping" operations, said the Soviet Delegate, "is

a most important question." He was supported by D. LEKIC of Yugoslavia, who attempted to use the situation in Vietnam as an argument supporting the idea.

Now the situation in Vietnam is the absolute and direct fault of U.S. imperialism which has torn up the 1954 Geneva Agreements, poked its snout into yet another country and is attempting to turn it into a vast torture-camp for the Vietnamese workers and peasants. All that remains to the U.S.A. is to get out or be thrown out and the "situation" has nothing whatsoever to do with any plans for a jointly commanded U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. "peace-keeping force."

The U.S. gangster aggressors want to create an armed force under the flag of U.N.O. so as to suppress just liberation struggles throughout the whole world including the American continent.

Since already "Comrade" Tito has offered "wise" advice to President Johnson vis-a-vis Vietnam, perhaps he will give Johnson the best advice of all — quit Vietnam immediately.

In so doing, perhaps Tito will prevail upon certain other "comrades" of his to stop their courting of U.S. imperialism in U.N.O. and to expose it utterly for what it is, instead.

JAMES BRADLEY

THE NORTH EAST OF ENGLAND

Great Britain as a whole the range was from 7/- to 8/11.

In brief this means that workers in the North East are earning at least from £1 to £2 less per week than workers generally in Great Britain. When this amount is multiplied by the number of workers involved it becomes apparent that the capitalists are saving hundreds of thousands of pounds a year by operating in the North East. This means increased profits and better competitive power. No wonder the capitalist state is trying to attract employers to the North East of England, for there are unique opportunities for increasing exploitation there.

Now more than ever there is the need

for a correct Marxist-Leninist lead to be given to the industrial workers of the North East of England. Under the slogans of better wages, better conditions and security of employment these workers must be rallied to a mass struggle against the monopolies and the state which are exploiting them. In this way they will learn to cast aside social democratic ideas and leaders and rely on their own organisations. In this way they will come to realise, as will all British workers, that their own interests can only be served by the smashing of the capitalist state and the setting up of the workers' socialist dictatorship, in England, Scotland and Wales.

J. STRONG

COMRADE MICHAEL McCREERY

IT is with deep regret that we announce the death of our Secretary and Co-editor of "Vanguard," Michael McCreery, at the age of 36.

Michael died of cancer after a long and heroic struggle.

Knowing for some months that he had this disease, he worked on until he could work no more and was compelled to enter hospital. Even from his sick-bed every letter to his comrades was primarily concerned with the Committee, "Vanguard," the Marxist-Leninist Movement and the struggle against reaction and modern revisionism. He devoted for many years all his undoubted talents, all his time and strength to the cause of the working class and international working class solidarity.

We know that all his many friends and all true Communists share the immeasurable grief that besets his closest comrades.

Stricken down in the prime of life, his one wish was that the noble struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism should go on from strength to strength. No matter what happens, this will certainly take place.

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

INDIAN COMMUNIST PRISONERS AND DAILY WORKER

The following was sent to George Matthews, Editor of "D.W." No reply has been received:—

15.3.65.

The Editor,
Daily Worker.

Dear Editor,

On the 2nd of March, we sent the following advertisement to the Daily Worker:

"Solidarity with Indian Communist Prisoners." Public Meeting. 7.30 p.m. Tuesday, 9th March, Conway Hall, Holborn. Committee for Communist Unity.

and on the basis of our own efforts and an advertisement which *Tribune* did publish, was quite a positive action.

If you had accepted our advertisement even more people, we are convinced would have attended. By rejecting it, the *Daily Worker* in practice prevented people from even hearing about the Protest Meeting.

We strongly protest against the rejection of the advertisement and would be obliged if you would let us know your reasons as to why it was rejected.

Yours faithfully,
etc.

RESOLUTION TO INDIAN PREMIER

That this Public Meeting in London on March 9, 1965 condemns the action of the Indian Government in jailing 1,000 Indian Communists without formal charge or any trial.

It rejects the reasons given by the Indian Government as unacceptable.

It sees in this action a complete negation of democratic rights and a neo-fascist attempt at terrorism against the Indian workers and peasants.

It calls on the Prime Minister to order at once the release of the prisoners, and their compensation in respect of any income lost due to their imprisonment.

Committee for Communist Unity.

US & USSR STEP UP ARMS TO INDIA

INDIA is stepping up its arms expansion with U.S. and Soviet assistance, an annual report issued by the Indian Ministry of Defence on March 18 for the year 1964-65 has revealed, according to a report from New Delhi.

The Indian information service said in March, "a fifty thousand million (rupee) five-year defence plan was launched for 1964-65."

"Under the defence plan, the strength of the army is to be increased to 825,000 men . . . the strength of the air force is to be raised to 45 squadrons."

"The report also deals with the discussions held by the defence ministers in the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain. It points out that these countries have promised substantial material aid which would facilitate the implementation of the defence plan."

The *Daily Statesman* reported on March 20 that India had asked the United States for a number of F-5 supersonic aircraft in addition to an earlier request for F-104s.

The report of the defence ministry adds that "an agreement has been concluded with the Soviet Union for the supply of Mig aircraft to equip three fighter squadrons."

"A surface-to-air guided weapons system is to be installed in some vital

areas. Negotiations for the purchase of equipment for this purpose have been completed."

The United Press International said that "the report did not identify the selling country but authoritative sources said that it was Russia."

Indian deputy-defence minister, S. D. Raji, told the Indian Lower House in March, that Soviet tanks were being delivered to India.

In reply to a question whether these tanks would be deployed in the North-East frontier area (i.e. a large tract of Chinese territory occupied by India in the Eastern Sector of the Sino-Indian border—editor), Indian defence minister, Y. B. Chavan, said that the tanks would be "useful for our operational purposes." He added that Indian technicians had been sent to the Soviet Union for training in the use and maintenance of light tanks.

DESTROY THE OLD TO BUILD THE NEW

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

by

MICHAEL McCREERY

(A pamphlet, published in November, 1963.)

A CRITIQUE OF THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Part I was printed in March "Vanguard"

Part II

LET us look at one of the most recent justifications. I quote from James Klugmann's article in *Marxism Today*, of October, 1960; "Within imperialism, ever more restricted by the growing socialist system, the general crisis deepens. Imperialism is weakened, it attacks all sections of the people — not only the working class, but the peasantry, town petty-bourgeoisie, intellectual and professional people, even the smaller capitalists. Imperialism becomes more reactionary. It tends, more and more, not only to attack the living standards of the people, but to attack the limited democratic rights that the working people have won within capitalism, to renounce national sovereignty, to reject and turn against all that is best and most progressive in its own cultural heritage. It becomes identified with a policy and strategy of nuclear war.

In this situation, more and more clearly, the working class stands forth as the truly progressive force of each nation, the leader in the defence of peace, national sovereignty, liberty and democracy, the cultural heritage. Opportunities arise, in a way that did not previously exist to the same extent, of developing a broad political alliance around the working-class for peace, democracy, independence, living standards and cultural progress. At the same time the ideas of socialism gain ground amongst the working people.

Externally the rise and strengthening of the socialist countries exercises a growing moral and ideological influence amongst the peoples of the capitalist countries. Moreover the stronger the socialist camp, the more opportunity there is for preventing imperialist interventions against countries that take the socialist road, the more opportunity exists for giving economic and cultural aid to the peoples building socialism. Imperialism is no longer able to threaten, blackmail and intervene in the old way.

The Conception of *The British Road to Socialism* was that, taking into account the new more favourable relation of class forces in the world and inside Britain, taking into account the specific traditions and institutions that have developed in Britain, it was now possible for the working class to win around itself a broad popular alliance to win political power, to win a Communist and genuine Socialist majority in Parliament, to transform (my bold M. McC.) the capitalist state into a state representative of the interests of the working people, and to build socialism in Britain, not without continuous class struggle, but without armed conflict."

This passage deserves a careful reading. The first three paragraphs outline, correctly, the main development since Lenin's time — the rise of the world socialist system — and the more favourable prospect which this has created for isolating monopoly capital in Britain prior to its final overthrow, and for preventing imperialist intervention to restore the old order after a successful socialist revolution. The prospect of toppling monopoly capital is greater than in Lenin's time; the prospect that the revolution can be achieved with a minimum of violence, and without prolonged civil war, also greater. But even on Klugmann's own analysis the prospect of a constitutional revolution, of a legal transfer of power, is smaller. For he himself emphasises that as imperialism weakens, and it is much weaker than it was at the beginning of the century, it "tends more and more... to attack the limited democratic rights that the working people have won within capitalism." We all recognise that Parliament plays a less important role within the constitution than in the past. If any conclusion is to be drawn from this it is that the possibility of using "the specific traditions and institutions that have developed in Britain" (our constitutional liberties), to win power by peaceful, legal, constitutional means is fainter than it was

in Lenin's time. If there has been a curtailment of constitutional liberties then constitutional advance to Socialism is less likely. In fact the conclusion which Klugmann seeks to draw in the fourth paragraph simply does not emerge from the preceding evidence.

"Imperialism," writes Klugmann, "becomes identified with a policy and strategy of nuclear war." But what does this entail? Greatly increased militarisation of the state. In fact, as all comrades know, the bureaucracy, the military and police, and the propaganda machine, have, together, been immensely enlarged since Lenin's time, as a direct result of the deepening crisis of capitalism. If the need to smash the capitalist state machine was particularly created "by the existence of a military clique and a bureaucracy" in the 1920's then this must be even more necessary today. This immense, top-heavy military and bureaucratic apparatus, which has been built up by British imperialism to contain the growing contradictions, which threaten to disintegrate its system, can never be transformed from within, by legal means. It must be smashed from without, by force.

Let us look at just what is involved in achieving power by constitutional means. "At a time of mounting class struggle, when the entire working-class is brought into action, and is supported by other sections of the population, a general election fought on the issue of a socialist solution to Britain's problems could bring decisive results." What an assortment of wishful thoughts! Consider the situation envisaged by the *British Road* in this passage. When is "the entire working class," or even a major part of it, "brought into action?" Only during a widespread, or general strike. There have not been many such situations in British history. The general strikes of 1842 and 1926, the 1919 struggle, described so vividly in Gallacher's "Revolt on the Clyde," can be cited. They were all potentially revolutionary situations, which might have developed into revolution given correct revolutionary leadership of the working class.

At such times, as the capitalists well know, either the workers and their allies press on to seize political power and smash the bourgeois state machine, or the bourgeoisie re-establish their grip and crush the revolutionary forces. That class which can exert superior force, at the decisive moments, will win the struggle for power. That is why it is essential for the revolutionary leaders to maintain the initiative, preserve the cohesion of the revolutionary class and its allies, exploit every disagreement between different sections of the bourgeoisie, and, vitally important, win over decisive sections of the armed forces.

Hesitation and delay at such a time would be fatal. Yet this is the moment, when the Communist Party of Great Britain, instead of leading a revolution, will call for — a general election! What a farce! What a negation of revolutionary leadership this would be! For such a slogan, such a demand, surrenders the initiative to the ruling class. They can then decide whether or not acceptance would best serve their interests. In all probability the demand itself would cut very little ice on either side, and would

only serve to isolate the C.P.G.B. from the immediate, and unconstitutional, struggle. It would be like throwing a stone into mountainous seas. The two great classes locked in mortal combat and — the demand for a general election!

But if the C.P.G.B. could obtain mass support for such a demand at such a time might the ruling class not decide to follow their lead and hold a general election? For would this not give them a breathing space, of which decisive advantage could be taken? As a necessary preliminary the general strike would have to be called off. No general election would be possible with the country paralysed by a general strike. (One could not even print the ballot papers!) But once the strike is called off, the revolutionary enthusiasm and energy and activity of the masses must inevitably subside. Activity is followed by passivity. The masses are no longer controlling events, they are waiting upon them, as is usual in capitalist society. In fact, the class struggle could no longer be "mounting," it would be declining.

During the following days and weeks of the election campaign, the capitalists would close ranks, and unite most of the petty-bourgeoisie, the middle classes, and many of the less class-conscious workers around "the defence of the constitution and traditional British liberties." For note that this general election will be decided, according to the *British Road*, on the issue of socialism — for or against a socialist revolution. Day after day the press, radio and television would pour out a flood of calumnies and lies to bewilder and confuse the revolutionary masses. For or against red revolution. Liberty or tyranny. The united front between the workers and their allies would soon crumble. Opportunist leaders would waver, and then turn against a full socialist programme "at this stage." Before long the ruling class would be in a position to isolate, and strike hard at those who persisted in presenting the revolutionary alternative to capitalism. Indeed the moon will turn blue before we succeed in winning a majority to vote for socialism within the legal framework of the capitalist constitution, and with the bourgeois state machine unbroken.

But let us assume this blue moon. Parliament has been captured. The "Socialist" government has been duly summoned to Buckingham Palace, and sworn in. It then proceeds with the task of transforming the capitalist state into a working-class state. The purge of capitalist minded civil and military authorities begins. But they are all capitalist-minded and bitterly hostile to the new government. Will they meekly accept the order to "dismiss"? No-one in his right mind will assume that state monopoly capital would commit suicide. The *British Road* states:

"The capitalist class cannot be expected to surrender its wealth and power

without a struggle. The big capitalists, whose interests are threatened by the advance to socialism, are likely by every means in their power, constitutional and unconstitutional, to hold back the movement. At all stages in the struggle for progressive policies and for socialism, therefore, the working class and progressive movement needs to be vigilant and if necessary to use its political and industrial strength to defeat any attempts by the big capitalists to restrict democratic rights or block the road to democratic advance.

This will be of particular importance when the Socialist Government is established and begins to carry through measures to break the economic and political power of the big capitalists. The extent to which the working class is alert and prepared to use its strength in support of the Government's measures will determine whether the big capitalists accept the democratic verdict of the people or attempt to resist it by force."

In this passage we have recognition that the ruling class may use unconstitutional means of checking the revolution if constitutional means do not suffice. But what are "unconstitutional" methods. Quite simply, the use of force, the use of the army, to overthrow the constitutional "Socialist" government. How is this threat to be countered? By mobilising "the political and industrial strength" of the people. But political parties and trade unions cannot stand against an army. There is no escaping the need, at some stage of the revolution, for armed strength to back the political and industrial strength of the people. Only the people in arms can counter a putsch by the army. To ignore this fact is to ensure the defeat of the revolution. But it is ignored in *The British Road to Socialism*.

It has been said that those who criticise *The British Road* are dogmatists. But dogmatists are surely those who stick to a point of view in the face of all the evidence. A programme which revises basic Marxist teaching on the role of the state, which rejects the accumulated experience of the working class, is dogmatic beyond belief. With such an obviously false perspective is it any wonder that there is widespread reluctance within the C.P.G.B. to accept this document?

The *British Road* is like one of those mediaeval paintings, produced before the laws of perspective had been fully grasped. The foreground, our decaying capitalist society, is seen in all its ugliness. In the background a Socialist Britain stands out in full glory. But the middle distance, the intervening ground which links the two, and should give coherence to the whole picture, is somehow blurred. The perspective of advance is false. For this there is no excuse. The laws of perspective have been discovered — by Marx, Engels and Lenin — and we must apply them to Britain.

NEWS COMMENT

The British House of Commons recently underwent "ordeal by filibuster" — the session lasting 23 hours. We read that at 3 a.m. one Hon. Member was making a speech on doughnuts.

We sincerely trust that he desisted from any temptation to analyse the physical structure of the hole in the middle.

We observed in many newspapers during March (including front page *Daily Worker*) a most touching picture of Nikita Khrushchov, casting his vote at an election in Moscow. Furtively wiping a tear or two, and reflecting (not without a tinge of nostalgia) that no more will we be treated to a Khrushchov speech or earthy vulgarism, we wondered whom he might be voting for.

Of course, neither the *Daily Worker* nor we could possibly know.

But if there is still a relative or two knocking about? ? . . .

The eminent and Rt. Hon. Leaders of the Labour Party and Conservative Party, Mr. Wilson and Sir Alec Home respectively have been, believe it or not, having an argument. It would appear that one is accusing the other of stealing the other's "nuclear policy." As a rather

diffident contribution to peace between two giants we offer this formula. East of Suez, its yours Mr. Wilson, and West of Suez, its yours Sir Alec. Hows that, now?

Get Rich Quick Advice Bureau:—
Bright idea No. 1 for Spring 1965.

Start up a firm for mending broken windows and repairing American Embassies, Information Offices, etc. . . then get a long-term contract with the U.S. Government.

We read that the words of God, Shakespeare and Nikita Khrushchov, in that order, lead the list of translations of published work in 69 countries — according to the recent UNESCO report.

Mr. K. even outstripped Lenin (148), Marx (88) and Engels (61) with 155.

It is, perhaps, not inappropriate to allow the Bard of Avon his comment on this:—

"Man, vain man,
Clothed in the cloak of brief
authority,
And cuts such capers in the eyes
of heaven
As make the angels weep."

TOM FLINT

FORMS OF RACIALISM

QUOTES

by William Surrey

SOCIETY developed, became more complex and there arose great slave empires where one ruling class dominated millions of subjects of diverse ethnic origin, environment and pigmentation. So developed the technique of using racial differences to keep subject peoples and nations divided among themselves. The Roman motto was "Divide et Impera," Latin for "Divide and Rule."

In our own day, German Nazism utilized racial prejudices and hatreds in order to provide a scapegoat for the evils of capitalism. Defeated in war, burdened by reparations and confronted by a strong proletarian vanguard, the German monopoly capitalists were literally fighting for their very existence. Adolf Hitler was their instrument for dividing the working class, weaning it away from its ideology, then ruthlessly suppressing all opposition. In order to do this, Hitler and the Nazis used a pernicious form of racialism, namely, antisemitism and the Aryan master race theory, to win over the most backward sections of the proletariat and particularly, the vast masses of declassed petty bourgeoisie.

Traditional colonial powers like Britain, France, Belgium and Holland also used racialism as a rationale for the conquest and carve-up of all areas of the globe. There is the British theory of "the white man's burden." Anybody who served in His Majesty's Armed Forces can testify to the fact that racist ideas were rife in all ranks of the services and to the interminable references to Wogs, Wops, Dagoes, Fuzzy-Wuzzies and so on. And this was in the midst of a life-and-death struggle against world fascism, mark you. Even allies were not immune. While serving in Italy, the present writer complained to his Commanding Officer about the abusive attitude shown towards Italian women working in the Mess. "These people are human beings," I said. "You are wrong," the Major replied, "they are not human beings; they are animals and the Sergeant has every right to treat them like animals."

The mantle of racialism has been faithfully taken over by the United States imperialists, although because of their weakness and growing isolation, they tried for a time to pose as champions of anti-colonialism. In their own country, racial prejudice against Red Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and particularly, Negroes, is used by the American ruling class for the super-exploitation of these racial groups. The U.S. has arrogated to itself the role of world policemen, as a justification to go in anywhere in the world where the people resist their attempts at domination.

Right throughout history, from ancient slave society to feudalism, from feudalism to early capitalism, and from early

capitalism to imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, racialism has existed. German Nazism and European white chauvinism are most brutal and evil forms of racialism, in the era of declining capitalism. It would be erroneous to suppose either that European white chauvinism is the only form of racialism left in the modern world, or, alternatively, that it is the only form of racialism worthy of our attention. Below is a quote from an article entitled "U.S. Imperialist Savagery in the Congo" in the December 1964-January 1965 issue of Marxist-Leninist Vanguard, New York City:

"There is no such thing, nor could there be any black, brown, yellow or red racism. Racism is the ideological expression of the policy of the oppressor. All of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are non-white and that is why white chauvinism and racism represents the rationale for the exploitation and oppression of those peoples by the white ruling classes of the imperialist countries of Europe and North America."

The author makes a grave error in assuming that the only form of racialism in the world today is white chauvinism. It is certainly an especially brutal form of racialism, but it is by no means the only one. Racialism was not invented by the capitalist class, but they used it and continue to use it, for their own nefarious purposes. There are other forms of racialism such as, for example, the caste system in India, and the attempts of the Indian national bourgeoisie to obtain hegemony over areas such as Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal and Kashmir.

There is also the Black Muslim movement. At one time, it may have appeared that this movement was progressive. Therefore, it is necessary for us to

analyse the nature of this movement. What do the Black Muslims do?

Primarily a religious organisation, the Black Muslims pray in their mosques and read their paper, "Muhammad Speaks." They believe in a separate negro state with a black bourgeoisie exploiting the negroes, instead of a white bourgeoisie. They participate in no civil rights actions and they organise no opposition to the white power structure. To the American ruling class, they are no threat whatever. Moreover, the movement is anti-Socialist, and its essentially reactionary character could be seen when they opened up the Shabazz Restaurant in order to demonstrate that negroes could also be successful capitalists. They complain that Harlem is owned by white landlords and capitalists, and should be owned by black ones instead. The Black Muslim movement represents a section of the emergent Negro bourgeoisie and those negroes who aspire to be bourgeois. In effect, these elements are trying to blackmail the white ruling class. They say to them, "give us some gravy or we set the dogs on you." Thus, it is evident that the Black Muslim movement is thoroughly crooked and opportunist, and that there is nothing truly progressive about it.

The revisionist attitude towards the Black Muslims also confused many anti-revisionists. Running true to form, the revisionists failed to analyse the class nature of the Black Muslim movement. Nevertheless, they were terrified at the prospect of the Black Muslim organising the negroes in militant, revolutionary struggle. As it so happens, there was no basis for their fear.

Malcolm X saw through the Black Muslim movement, saw that it was essentially reactionary and of no use to the negroes, and that was why he led the breakaway. Although he was not a Marxist and did not understand the class nature of the exploitation of the negroes, nevertheless Malcolm X and his organisation were progressive and posed a real threat to the U.S. ruling class. That was why they hated him so vehemently. The result of the assassination of Malcolm X will be that the Black Muslim movement will be further exposed and discredited, and will rapidly lose ground to the Afro-American breakaway.

It is necessary for Marxist-Leninists to differentiate between, for example, Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X, between the Black Muslim movement and the organisation of Malcolm X. Our attitude to the Black Muslim movement is one of opposition to it, and we must expose its thoroughly crooked and reactionary role. In contrast, we recognise the essentially progressive, anti-imperialist and objectively revolutionary character of the Organisation of Afro-American Unity, although it is still a nationalist not a Marxist organisation. Our attitude to it, therefore, is one of unity and struggle.

SUBJECT:

WHICH ROAD TO SOCIALISM?

SOURCE: V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 25, Pages 459-460, Russian edition.

"The duty of the masses on strike," Kautsky used to say, "can never be to destroy the state power, but only to oblige the government to make concessions on a definite issue or to replace a government opposed to the proletariat with a government that lends it a hand. . . . But this" (i.e. the victory of the proletariat over the government opposed to it), "can never lead to the destruction of state power but only to a kind of replacement . . . of the ratio of forces within the state power. . . . Thus, the objective of our struggle remains as heretofore, the seizure of state power by winning majority votes in parliament and by making parliament master over the government." "Here," V. I. Lenin says, "we have opportunism in its purest and most vulgar form: here, though admitted in word, we have renunciation of the revolution in fact. Kautsky's opinion does not go further than a government which lends a hand to the proletariat, a step backward to Philistinism in comparison with 1847 when the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO proclaimed 'the organisation of the proletariat into a ruling class.' As for us, we shall draw the line with the opportunists; and all the conscientious proletarians will be with us in the struggle, not for a mere 'replacement' of the ratio of forces, but for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the breakup of bourgeois parliamentarism, for the democratic republic of the type of the Commune, or for the republic of the Soviets of the representatives of the workers and soldiers, for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

SUBJECT: PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE
SOURCE: "Essence of Khrushchev's 'Peaceful Coexistence' Line," commentary in "Akahata", organ of the GC of the Japanese C.P.

The present dispute over the question of peaceful coexistence is not about whether to endorse peaceful coexistence or to oppose it, but whether to adhere correctly to the Marxist-Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence.

Khrushchev held that the basic prerequisite in the contemporary struggle for socialism consisted of achieving its victory over capitalism through peaceful economic competition. This is a stand for maintaining the status quo, meaning that the socialist revolution is in fact cast to the winds and that, in contravention of the revolutionary viewpoints of the Moscow Statement, the national liberation movement is confined within the limits permitted by imperialism.

SUBJECT: THAILAND.
SOURCE: "People's Voice", organ of the C.P. of New Zealand.

Thailand's military dictator, Field-Marshal Sarit Thanarat, died last December. Washington wept and London lamented at the loss of this noble, upright heroic pillar of the "free world".

It turned out, however, that the marshal, like his near neighbour, Ngo Din Diem, of South Vietnam, had, among other things, dipped into the government till on a large scale. Besides this, 100 women laid claims to part of his estate. Among his mistresses, the marshal had scattered largesse in the form of villas, cars and other mementoes.

So great was the scandal that his successors set up a government committee to investigate. They reported that he had 20 million dollars in various bank accounts, a controlling interest in 15 companies with special monopoly privileges, owned some 50 cars and 30 villas, and a farm of thousands of acres.

Of government money the committee was able to trace 18 million dollars to his estate.

U.S. puppets are noted for their corruption. Sarit was no exception. No doubt his successors are looking for equal success in robbing the people under the protection of U.S. bayonets.

Pamphlets from CHINA, ALBANIA available from Literature Secretary Vanguard. Samples on request.

IMMIGRATION

We print the following extracts from a letter by Sir Cyril Osborne, Tory M.P. to the Daily Telegraph (24 March, 1965) in the belief that this is an important contribution to the exposure of double-dealing by the Labour Government with regard to Immigration.

"When and why did the Labour Party completely change its policy on immigration? When was it officially announced? Its original policy was of bitter opposition to any forms of restriction and control. I enclose a photostat copy of a letter from the Parliamentary Labour Party, on House of Commons paper, dated June 2nd, 1961, and signed by Frank Barlow, then Secretary, written on the special instruction of Hugh Gaitskell, then Leader of the Party."

It says:— "The Labour Party is opposed to the restriction of immigration, as every Commonwealth citizen has the right as a British subject, to enter this country at will. This has been the right of subjects of the Crown for many centuries and the Labour Party has always maintained that it should be unconditional."

Labour M.P.s voted 46 times against the Immigration Bill.

Mr. Gordon Walker called it "a ramshackle monstrosity."

The question is, why did the Labour Party re-impose this monstrosity—unaltered?

Why did none of its members vote against its re-imposition?

Mr. Gaitskell appealed to the Conservative Government "to drop this miserable, shameful, shoddy Bill," yet his successor, Mr. Wilson, re-enacts it with-

VANGUARD—CHANGE IN FORMAT

We are confronted, together with other printed publications, with a tangible increase in cost of production.

Faced with the alternatives of either an increase in the price of Vanguard or a small reduction in size, we decided on the latter course.

We are confident that our readers will understand the position and some of the problems involved in producing a 16-

page illustrated Communist periodical, employing (again in the context of our limited financial resources) only one paid full-time administrator.

Now contrast this humbug with the statement by Sir Frank Soskice, Home Secretary:— "The Government (Labour) are firmly convinced that an effective control is indispensable. That we accept and have always accepted." Really, Sir Frank, you must re-read what Mr. Gaitskell said—officially!

In fairness, Mr. Gaitskell's successor should tell the nation when Labour altered such a fundamental policy ruling—and why it has kept a guilty silence on so important an issue.

page illustrated Communist periodical, employing (again in the context of our limited financial resources) only one paid full-time administrator.

May we take this opportunity of thanking all readers for their support and asking them to help us in every possible way, including introducing Vanguard to their friends.

THE EDITORS

MODERN REVISIONISM & SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

PART 1

[In this issue we begin publication of important extracts from a comprehensive article, running to 30,000 words, which appeared in "AKAHATA," journal of the Japanese Communist Party, in late 1964. We think that this Marxist analysis of the revisionist approach to Social-Democratic Parties is especially relevant to the political situation in Britain today. Part II will be published in the June "VANGUARD"]
EDITORIAL BOARD.

WHILE emphasising the importance of the struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism, the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 pointed out that in the present-day situation the main danger to the international Communist movement was modern revisionism, which paralysed the revolutionary energy of the working class.

This indication is of extremely grave significance for the people's struggle for the united front as well. It has now been raised as the central task of the Communist Party of Japan to build up an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly united front by organising united actions of the broadest mass, including the social-democratic parties, especially the working masses under their influence, in order to overthrow the rule of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. In order to successfully carry out the foregoing task in diverse complex situations, it has become extremely important to pulverise modern revisionism's theory of "re-assessment" of the social-democratic parties, to make clearer our assessment of and attitude toward the social-democratic parties and to clarify the scientific basis of the united-front policy of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. This is the task to which special importance should be attached, not only in Japan but also in developed capitalist countries where the social-democratic parties hold comparatively great political influence.

1. — PLACING MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES ON THE SAME LEVEL

The question of the class and political character of the social-democratic parties has already been given a clear answer by Lenin. Lenin generally characterised the social-democratic parties as "petty-bourgeois democratic parties" and, moreover, called those among them, whose leaderships completely adhered to the bourgeoisie and carried out bourgeois policies, either "bourgeois parties" or "bourgeois workers' parties." And, so far, this definition has been regarded as the consistent criterion of Marxist-Leninist assessment of the social-democratic parties.

"Both of these two parties together form a petty-bourgeois democratic group which, along with all the parties of the Second International, is imbued with the idea that each is a socialist party and also uses that name." (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 30, "Election of the Constitutional Assembly and Dictatorship of the Proletariat.") (Bold-face are ours. The same shall apply hereinafter.)

"The (British) Labour Party is an out-and-out bourgeois party, for it is composed of workers, but those who lead the party are reactionaries—the worst reactionaries—whose actions are permeated through and through with a bourgeois spirit." (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 31, "Speech on Joining the British Labour Party.")

"All bourgeois and petty-bourgeois workers' parties of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals." (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 32, "Third Congress of the Communist International—Report on the Tactics of the Russian Communist Party.")

Modern revisionists have lightly discarded Lenin's above definition as a sectarian definition which does not agree with the real conditions and claim that, in-as-much as the social-democratic parties actually maintain their basis in the working class and put up a certain "socialist" programme, they are "parties of the working class" and should be frankly regarded as "socialist parties."

Furthermore, anti-Party revisionists in our country, pushing forward to the last the theory of "re-assessment," have created a strange theory of "plural vanguards," from which it follows that:

1. The idea of a single vanguard party of the working class has already become outdated.

2. Within one and the same working class, there can emerge various trends aiming at Socialism and there can exist a number of parties of the working class.

3. Vanguard is "a functional concept" and even various parties, organisation and mass organisations can fulfil their respective "vanguard function" in accordance with the strength and character of the particular organisation.

According to this theory of "plural vanguards," not only the social-democratic parties but also even a small group of anti-Party revisionists can be qualified as one of the "plural vanguards" to be equal to the Communist Party in leading a revolution.

But the vanguard party is a vanguard party precisely because it rallies the leading elements of the working class to a single organisation through which it leads the whole class. Consequently, the concept of "plural vanguards," after all, means the negation of the very existence of a vanguard party which leads the whole class. It will be clear that the above argument is a liquidationist argument which denies that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party is a premise indispensable for the victory of a revolution. And the theory of "re-assessment" of the social-democratic parties, which forms the starting-point of such an argument is, in fact, a revisionist theory with essentially the same character.

HELP US WITH MONEY

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

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

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

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

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

Please send what you can to:—

The Treasurer,
"Vanguard",
Flat 3,
33 Anson Road,
London, N.7.

(Receipt and acknowledgment by return of post.)

WHAT IS THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS?

First, the theory of "re-assessment" of the social-democratic parties claims that the social-democratic parties should be regarded simply as "workers' parties" on the grounds that the social-democratic parties depend on a section of the working class. This argument is a revisionist theory which, on the one hand, replaces the Marxist-Leninist principled views on the question of the class character of political parties in general and the question of the party of the working class in particular by a vulgarised bourgeois argument and completely ignores the petty-bourgeois limitations of the social-democratic parties. At the same time, on the other hand, it makes ambiguous the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the revolutionary movement.

In determining the class character of a political party, Marxism-Leninism is opposed to the vulgarised views of bourgeois political science, which finds the main criterion in the social composition of membership and supporters of the particular party, and asserts that the main criterion should be what political current the party represents, which class interests the actions and policy of the party represent, and what class the party serves.

"If you do not show the interests of which classes and which particular interests are dominant at the moment in determining the nature of the various parties and their politics, you are not really applying Marxism and have, in fact, rejected the theory of the class struggle." (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 12, "The Attitude Towards Bourgeois Parties.") "The question is: What is the social basis of the party of the rights? What class does it represent? What class does it serve?" (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 18, "Political Parties in Russia.")

From the above scientific standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, when assessing the social composition of supporters of a political party, strict distinction must be made between: (1) The inherent class basis whose interest the party actually represents; and (2) the social stratum who are made to follow the particular party by force of "tradition" or by "deception." (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 12, "Draft Resolutions for the Fifth Congress of R.S.D.L.P.")

In order to clarify the essential difference between the two views of bourgeois political science and Marxism-Leninism, let us cite a single instance. From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, there is no room for doubt that the Liberal Democratic Party is a political party which at present serves the interests of the Japanese traitorous reactionary forces centred on U.S. imperialism and monopoly capital. On the basis of sociological analysis of com-

position of votes cast for the party, and its relations with "pressure groups," U.S. political scientist, R. A. Scalpino, and the like, however, draw the conclusion that the Liberal Democratic Party is a party which, "on the one hand, serves commerce and industry, and, on the other hand, serves agriculture" (R. A. Scalpino and I. Masuda, Iwanami Shinsho (Iwanami New Library), "Parties and Politics of Contemporary Japan"). This very typically shows how useful the analytical method of bourgeois political science is to conceal the class character of a political party. And yet, those who define social-democratic parties as "political parties of the working class" on the grounds that the percentage of workers is great in the composition of their membership or that they enjoy support of a majority or of a certain section of workers have precisely replaced Marxist-Leninist method by the method of this sort of bourgeois political science.

Criticising a comrade who defined the British Labour Party as a "workers' party," Lenin, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, states the following: "Whether the party is really a workers' party or not depends on not only whether the party consists of workers or not, but also on who takes the leadership of the party and what the content of the party's actions and political tactics are. Only the latter question decides whether we have a genuine party of the proletariat or not." (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 31, "Speech on Joining the British Labour Party.")

From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, "the party of the working class" means a party which the working class needs for achievement of its class mission to emancipate itself from capitalist exploitation; that is to say, a party which aims to carry out a socialist revolution by leading the class struggle of the working class, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another, and to abolish Capitalism so as to build up a Socialist society. Consequently, it is clear that a political party, even if at a certain period it enjoys support of a majority of workers, can never be called "the party of the working class" if its leadership is held by the right-wing forces who are in collusion with the bourgeoisie, if it avoids the struggle to revolutionarily overthrow monopoly capital's rule and, in its actual actions, it follows in the wake of the bourgeoisie or carries out petty-bourgeois policies. Generally speaking, in a capitalist society every class follows its own party "by political struggle, sometimes a long, stubborn struggle lasting years and decades" (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 7, "The Tasks of the Revolutionary Youth"). The fact that at present, in a number of capitalist countries, the social-democratic parties enjoy the support of a majority of the working class is nothing but the manifestation of the fact that the political struggle through which the working class rallies to the political party that really represents its class interests, that is, the Marxist-Leninist Party, has not yet been completed and a majority of the working class still remains under the influence of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideology.

In discussing "the party of the working class," Marx, Engels and Lenin consistently upheld the principled viewpoint. Even in the period before the Marxist revolutionary parties based on scientific Socialism were established, Marx and Engels called only the party which upheld the unique class stand of the working class and fought for overthrow of the bourgeoisie's rule and for the dictatorship of the proletariat "a proletarian party": "The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties—formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat" (Marx-Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party.")

"Moreover, every real proletarian party from the English Chartists onward, has put forward a class policy, the organisation of the proletariat as an independent political party, as the primary condition of its struggle, and the dictatorship as the immediate aim of the struggle." (F. Engels, "Collected Works," Vol. 12, "The Housing Question.")

Therefore, in the period after the teachings of Marx and Engels overcame

THE EDITORS. continued on page 7

SOPHISTRY-AD NAUSEUM

Just after Washington had admitted infecting Vietnamese women and children with poison gas (to say nothing of burning them with napalm) the British Labour Foreign Secretary, Mr. Stewart engraved himself a permanent niche in the Hall of Shame.

Speaking at the National Press Club, Washington, and over anxious to repay the generosity of his imperialist hosts with a dollop of boot-licking, he had this to say:

"...nearly all of us in Britain recognise the difficulties of the U.S.A. in Vietnam...you must take military measures that are adequate. But in the choice of measures you should consider not only what is militarily appropriate but the effect on world opinion.

I am asking the U.S.A. to display what your Declaration of Independence called 'a decent respect for the opinion of mankind' (sic)."

Now, Britain is a co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China. The mere presence of U.S. armed forces

in Vietnam means that the U.S.A. has unilaterally torn up the Geneva Agreements. Yet here we have the monstrous spectacle of the spokesman for Britain on Foreign Affairs advising the aggressor that 'you can do what you like in Vietnam, kill maim, and torture at will—but please don't make it too difficult for our 'Labour' Government to sell your policy to the British people. You are very naughty to use poison gas, because while we may be able to deceive our people that your gangsterism is really in defence of human freedom, we can't make them swallow this poison gas business—really our Mr. Wilson has enough troubles as it is.'

This, in effect, is what Mr. Stewart's exercise was all about. Such are the depths to which our "Social-democrat" leaders have sunk.

Yet again, all working people are given the lesson that imperialism has no stauncher defender than the leaders of the British Labour Party. These men must be exposed for their true worth.

D. VOLPE

LONDON PRESS REPORTS - EXTRACTS

"The U.S. State Department is pleased with the solid support which American actions in Vietnam have received from the British Government.

"They are not unduly disturbed by the critical resolutions of left-wing Labour M.P.s—indeed they expected as much or worse."

"The Governor of the Bank of England's message was unmistakable.

"Unless Labour adopts a deflationary policy (wage-cuts and unemployment (ED.) and slashes public expenditure (social services (ED.) it won't have the bankers.

"Since Christmas, there has been a decline in (the Government's) resolve. approval of the City of London or foreign

A pattern of indecision is taking place. A victory for Lord Cromer would give it a depressing air of permanence."

"The Tory and Labour Parties are so busy stealing each others clothes that it is beginning to look like a strip-tease.

"It is rumoured that Labour is preparing to re-shape the whole social security system. That a Labour Government should be reaching this point of acknowledgement is striking and salutary.

"There is a great deal to be said for re-shaping social security under a Labour Government and not a Tory one.

"There will be considerable advantages in having it done by the party whose doctrine is opposed to such changes."

"If the Labour Party recognise the need for change and for public education in that respect, it will have served a useful purpose and should be kept in office until it has proceeded with part of a new social programme."

"Asked by Mr. Thornycroft (ex Tory Defence Minister), whether, pending conclusion of any comprehensive ban, the normal programme of nuclear-weapon testing would continue, Mr. Harold Wilson replied that anything necessary for the independent deterrent would be done."

U.S. YOUTH PROTEST

Over 1,000 people turned out Saturday for one of the largest Union Square protest rallies in recent years. The youthful crowd hardly seemed aware of the sub-freezing temperature as they enthusiastically cheered an array of speakers who demanded an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The tone of the rally, which was called by Youth Against War and Fascism, was reflected by huge banners saying: "Stop the War Against Vietnam" and "Bring the Troops Home NOW!"

A coalition of pro-fascist organisations had prepared a counter-demonstration across the street from the rally. The Nationalist Party, Young Americans for Freedom from Queens College and the C.C.N.Y. Young Conservative Club managed to muster about 50 people but were completely overpowered by the hundreds of militant youth who attended the rally.

Several times during the meeting small groups who had come to heckle were rebuffed by a defence guard composed of members of Y.A.W.F. As the meeting broke up, a wave of anti-fascist feeling swept the crowd and large numbers of people rushed up to the police barricades to shout down the pro-fascist group. An incident was narrowly averted when mounted police gave the counter pickets an escort away from the square.

The speakers at the rally were: Mark Lane, former New York State Assemblyman and currently the chairman of the Citizen's Committee of Inquiry into the Kennedy Assassination; M. S. Arnoni, editor of the "Minority of One"; Mae

Mallory, black liberation fighter; Key Martin, national chairman of Youth Against War and Fascism and Joseph Ben-David, president of the New York Chapter of The American Humanist Association. James Higgins, assistant editor of the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily, unable to attend, sent a message which was read over the loudspeaker.

Speakers were continually interrupted by applause and the crowd gave a virtual ovation to Mrs. Mallory when she declared:

"The Black people are not going to fight for the U.S. in Vietnam or anywhere else. If we must die, then it will be right here—fighting for our own freedom!"

Mr. Martin received a similar response when he stated:

"The youth of America are not afraid to fight. But we won't die fighting against the poor. We don't want to shoot down the rebellious masses of Asia who are rising to shake off the oppression of centuries. We want to fight against oppression—not for it. And most of all, we want to fight against the ever growing tide of reaction right here at home!"

The chairman of the meeting, Deirdre Griswold, editor of the youth group's magazine "The Partisan," got a resounding roar of approval as she ended the rally with a resolution to President Johnson demanding the complete and immediate withdrawal of the U.S. from Vietnam.

DEUTSCHE

Strafanzeige gegen Bundestag

National Zeitung

UND SOLDATEN-ZEITUNG

12. Jahrg. / Nr. 31/2 August 1957

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DIE GELBE GEFAHR

NZ-Gespräch mit dem französischen Kommunistenführer
Minister a. D. Billoux / „Chinesen sind antiweiße Rassisten“

VON UNSREM PARISER KORRESPONDENTEN HENRI S. MARCEAU

MEMBER OF THE C.C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE
SLANDERS CHINA IN GERMAN NEO-NAZI NEWSPAPER

(Reprinted from Rote Fahne (Austria))

The headline and sub-heading reads:

“THE YELLOW PERIL”

NZ (National-Zeitung) interview with the revisionist French Communist leader, ex-Minister Billoux:

“Chinese are anti-white racists”.

Modern Revisionism & Social Democracy—continued

various false "socialist" ideas, when their prestige had been established in the international workers' movement and Marxist Parties had been formed, "genuine proletarian parties" naturally meant those Marxist Parties.

In the historical situation of transition to imperialism, Lenin developed the idea of Marx and Engels on the proletarian party and created the theory of the so-called "party of a new type." In contrast to the degeneration of the Marxist Parties in the era of the Second International into reformist parties, which mainly adapted themselves to elections and parliamentary struggles in their political line as well as in their organisational line, Lenin made it clear that the party which the working class needs for the accomplishment of its historical mission is the one which wholly arms itself with strict proletarian discipline based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and democratic centralism, a party of a revolutionary and militant type which uncompromisingly fights against every manifestation of opportunism and revisionism; that only this party can have the function as "the party of the working class," and that other parties of any type cannot lead the working class to the triumph of

Socialism.

"Marxism teaches...that only the political party of the working class, i.e., the Communist Party, is capable of uniting, training and organising a vanguard of the proletariat and of the whole mass of the working people that alone will be capable of withstanding the inevitable traditions and relapses into narrow craft unionism or craft prejudices among the proletariat, and of guiding all the united activities of the whole of the proletariat, i.e., of leading it politically, and through it, the whole mass of the working people. Without this the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible." (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 32, "Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. (B.), Preliminary Draft of the Resolution of the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party on the Syndicalist and Anarchist Deviation in Our Party.")

And clarifying that even a party which has been formed on the basis of the working class and with Marxism as its leading theory will lose its qualification as "the party of the working class" if it has been affected by a revisionist theory, Lenin pointed out as follows: "If revisionist ideology really does triumph in the Party, then it will not be a socialist party of the working class." (V. I.

Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 13, "Trade Union Neutrality.")

From this point of view, when Lenin called a reformist party a "workers' party," he almost always added adjectives, which clearly defined its class and political character, such as "petty-bourgeois workers' party," "bourgeois workers' party" and "liberal workers' party," and never made its real nature ambiguous.

The correctness of Lenin's theory of the "party of a new type" was corroborated in the ordeal of a series of revolutionary battles in Europe, Asia and Latin America from the October Revolution to the Cuban Revolution through the Chinese Revolution. In peoples' democratic revolutions in East Europe, social-democratic parties also took part in revolutions, but it was the Marxist-Leninist Parties that played the leading role through the whole course of their revolutions. Participation of the social-democratic parties in revolutions also made it incumbent upon them to recognise the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and approach their stand. The fact that amalgamation of both parties at the stage of the socialist revolution was realised on the basis of Marxism-

Leninism clearly reveals the indispensability of the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Parties....

The foregoing is the Marxist-Leninist standpoint on "the party of the working class." To err from the foregoing well-known principled standpoint, to make a concession to vulgarised bourgeois arguments and to call a social-democratic party the "party of the working class" is to open up a road to the negation of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in proletarian revolution, to ignore the petty-bourgeois character of the social-democratic parties and to ignore that their right-wing leadership has become a "transmitter" (Lenin) of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois influences among the working class. Eventually it is inevitably led to opportunism, which justifies the present state of affairs that a certain section of the working class is subordinated to petty-bourgeois and bourgeois influences and thinks little of the political and ideological struggle to change the present state of affairs, to educate a majority of the working class with the thought of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to win them over under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party....

SOUTH VIETNAM LIBERATION

FOR more than ten years, the U.S. imperialists have continuously interfered in and committed aggression against South Vietnam. Of late, they brought into South Vietnam many more units of U.S. combat troops composed of missile units, marines, B-57 strategic bombers together with mercenary troops from South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia, Malaya, etc.

They even frenziedly ordered air force of the U.S. and its henchmen to conduct repeated air raids against North Vietnam and Laos. At present, not only are they stubbornly prosecuting their criminal aggressive war in South Vietnam but also attempting to fan up the flames of war throughout Indo-China and South-East Asia.

The puppet administration, hangers-on of the U.S., in South Vietnam is daily committing more heinous crimes against the country. The impudent traitors are bending their knees before the aggressors and are bringing in snakes to kill chickens of the home coop, inviting troops of the United States and many of its satellite countries to come to South Vietnam to massacre our people, occupy and trample upon the territory of our sacred fatherland and oppress and exploit our people most harshly.

The Vietnamese people and the peoples throughout Indo-China and South-East Asia and all peoples of the world who love peace and justice are highly indignant at, and strongly protesting against, the criminal warmongering and aggressive acts of the U.S. imperialists.

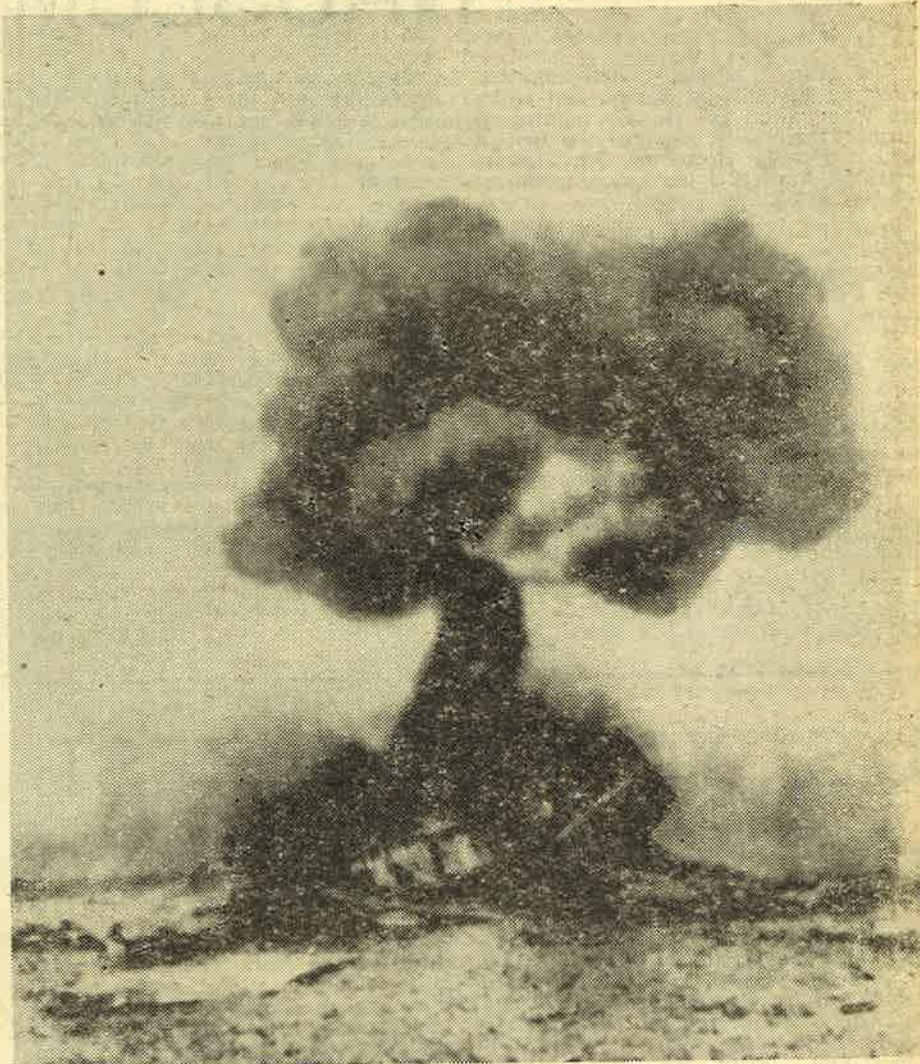
Facing the present situation of utmost gravity, the South Vietnam national front for liberation deems it necessary to reaffirm once again its ironlike and unswerving stand to carry through the war of resistance against the U.S. imperialists.

1. The U.S. imperialists are the saboteurs of the Geneva Agreements, the most brazen warmonger and aggressor and the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people.

As is known to everyone, the extremely glorious war of resistance of the Vietnamese people defeated the aggressive war of the French colonialists in which the U.S. imperialists had

intervened. In fact, during the past war of resistance of the Vietnamese people the U.S. imperialists supplied to the French colonialists 2,600 million dollars, hundreds of thousands of tons of armaments and 200 military advisers, to strangle the aspiration for independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people. However, with their indomitableness and determination to die rather than be enslaved, their courage and their staunch resolve to fight, and with the wholehearted support of the peoples throughout the world, the heroic Vietnamese people won great victories, liberated half of their beloved country from the clutches of the enemy, leading to the conclusion of an international agreement in Geneva in 1954 which solemnly recognised the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, restored peace in this area and laid the basis for the reunification of Vietnam by peaceful means.

The Vietnamese people deeply understand the value of these agreements. Now as in the past they are correctly imple-



U.S. Air Force F2N plane, piloted by Robert Shumaker, engulfed in flames after it crashed outside Dong Hoi.

menting these agreements and are resolved to see these agreements implemented in accordance with the spirit and letter of an international agreement of full legality. On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in South Vietnam have step-by-step and daily more brazenly trampled on the Geneva agreements and have in fact scrapped them. They have brazenly conducted an atrocious war of aggression in South Vietnam during the past eleven years in an attempt to enslave and oppress the South Vietnamese people, turn South Vietnam into one of their colonies and military bases and perpetuate the division of Vietnam.

Before the ink had dried on the Geneva agreements, the U.S. imperialists hastily dragged their henchmen satellites into setting up the SEATO military bloc and brazenly put South Vietnam under the protective umbrella of this bloc, which amounted in reality to placing South Vietnam under the command of the United States. Since then, the U.S. has undertaken ever deeper and more brazen intervention in South Vietnam. From the end of 1954 to 1959 the U.S. imperialists and the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem administration opened repeated barbarous raiding and persecution campaigns such as the Truong Tan Buu, Thoai Ngoc Hau campaigns, frenziedly massacring patriotic peace-loving people of all walks of life and former resistance members and exterminating the religious sects and all others who did not side with them.

Right from the first days of peace the blood of the South Vietnam people was already shed in Duy Xuyen, Huong Dien, Cho Duoc, Vinh Trinh and many other places, and even in the streets of Saigon. In order to step up their large-scale and barbarous raiding operations, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen enacted the fascist law 10/59 outlawing the South Vietnamese people and all other political groupings and individuals who opposed them and they called "Communists." At the same time they set up guillotines all over South Vietnam. In this period, according to incomplete figures, the U.S. hangmen and their henchmen massacred or detained hun-

dreds of thousands of patriots in South Vietnam for the only reason that they struggled for peace and demanded the execution of the provisions of the Geneva agreements, demanded consultation on general elections to reunite the country or simply because they refused to submit to them.

The criminal acts of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen naturally fanned up the flames of anger throughout Vietnam and aroused a wave of seething anger throughout the world.

Public opinion in Vietnam and Asia and the just public opinion all over the five continents severely condemned the tyrannical acts of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen and voiced their demand that they stop their war-seeking and aggressive acts against the South Vietnamese people and correctly implement the 1954 Geneva agreements.

However, in defiance of the protest of the peoples of the world who love peace and justice, the U.S. imperialists stubbornly continued to push forward their piratical war in South Vietnam.

During the past eleven years, by carrying out a policy of aggressive colonialism in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have poured in 4,000 million dollars disguised under the signboard of "aid," more than 80 per cent of which are direct military expenditures. The aggressive war in South Vietnam was given special attention by the U.S. ruling circles. The late U.S. President Kennedy and the present U.S. President Johnson, the U.S. National Security Council, the Defence Department, State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency have daily been following all developments in South Vietnam. Honolulu has become the site for regular monthly meetings of the ringleaders of the White House, Pentagon and the U.S. generals in the Pacific area to discuss plans of invading South Vietnam.

To grasp firmly and command directly the war of aggression against South Vietnam, besides the military mission M.A.G., the U.S. imperialists have set up the U.S. military command in Saigon headed by Paul D. Harkins and recently they rigged



FRONT OFFICIAL STATEMENT

up the so-called "U.S.-Vietnam joint command" which is in reality a military organ of the U.S. vested with the highest power in South Vietnam and placed under the direct command of the U.S. President and Defence Department to prosecute the war of aggression against South Vietnam. Nearly all the high ranking officials of the U.S. including department secretaries and generals have come to South Vietnam to supervise and draw plans of aggression. To direct their predatory war on the spot the U.S. government has sent to Saigon a series of well-known generals of the U.S. like O'Daniel, James Collins, McGarr, Boret Williams, P. D. Harkins, etc. More recently it sent there Maxwell Taylor, former chairman of joint chiefs-of-staff of the U.S. armed forces with a group of generals and colonels such as W. G. Westmoreland, John L. Throcknorton, etc. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have used all their modern weapons and war means except atomic bombs, to terrorise and massacre the South Vietnamese people with the hope of achieving their only goal: that is to impose their domination on the South Vietnamese people and turn South Vietnam into their colony and military base.

For nearly 11 years now they have conducted over 160,000 raids, big or small, killed nearly 170,000 persons, wounded or disabled by tortures nearly 800,000 others, detained over 400,000 persons in more than 1,000 jails, raped tens of thousands of women including old women, children and religious believers, disembowelled, plucked out livers and biles of the victims and buried alive over 5,000 persons, razed to the ground a large number of villages, herded over 5 million persons into 8,000 concentration camps disguised as "prosperity zones" "resettlement centres" "strategic hamlets" and the like, sprayed toxic chemicals on many areas, destroying hundreds of thousands of hectares of crops and fruit trees and affecting tens of thousands of persons. They have also demolished thousands of pagodas, churches, holy sees or temples, killing tens of thousands of religious believers. Under the iron heels of the cruel American aggressors and their lackeys, the beautiful and fertile land of South Vietnam has been turned into a land of ruins and desolation. The barbarous fascist regime of the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies in South Vietnam is even more cruel than the Hitlerite fascist regime or the dark regime in mediaeval times.

The above sinister documents suffice to denounce forcefully the crimes of the U.S. imperialists and their quislings and their bellicose, aggressive and traitorous nature. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have not only violated the provisions of ceasefire agreement and the final declaration of the 1954 Geneva conference, but also blatantly and entirely scrapped all these international agreements. The Washington authorities and the Vietnamese traitors have not only flouted the Geneva agreements but also grossly trampled upon the spirit and letter of international law and the resolution of the Bandung conference. These are undeniable realities. To cover up their piratical nature, the U.S. imperialists have resorted to deceitful signboards which nevertheless cannot fool the world's peoples. It is necessary to recall that the so-called "white paper" recently issued by Washington is completely null and void. This clumsy thief-crying-stop-thief trick has thrown more light on their intention to intensify and expand their aggressive war. At present, reality in South Vietnam is that the U.S. imperialists are waging a criminal aggressive war, that the U.S. imperialists are the most impudent saboteur of the Geneva agreements, the most dangerous war provocaters and aggressors and the sworn enemy of the peoples of Vietnam, Indo-China and the rest of the world.

2. The heroic South Vietnamese people are resolved to drive out the U.S. imperialists in order to liberate South Vietnam, achieve an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Vietnam, with a view to national reunification.

The South Vietnamese people have always cherished peace, but are determined not to sit with folded arms and let the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen do what they like in trampling upon

their homeland and ride on their backs. They would rather die than be enslaved. The 14 million valiant South Vietnamese people have stood up like one man in undaunted struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their traitors so as to liberate South Vietnam, achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in South Vietnam, in contribution to the maintenance of peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia. The patriotic war of the South Vietnamese people fully conforms to the most elementary and basic principles of international law concerning the peoples' right to self-determination and to wage a patriotic war in self-defence against foreign aggression. In their sacred liberation war, the South Vietnamese people have used all kinds of weapons to fight against the enemy. The chief and biggest arms supplier for the South Vietnamese people's armed forces is nobody else than the U.S. imperialists themselves who have sustained heavy and repeated setbacks over the past years.

pitiful failures and proves that the colonialist and aggressive policy carried out in South Vietnam over the past 11 years and their so-called "special war" have gone bankrupt.

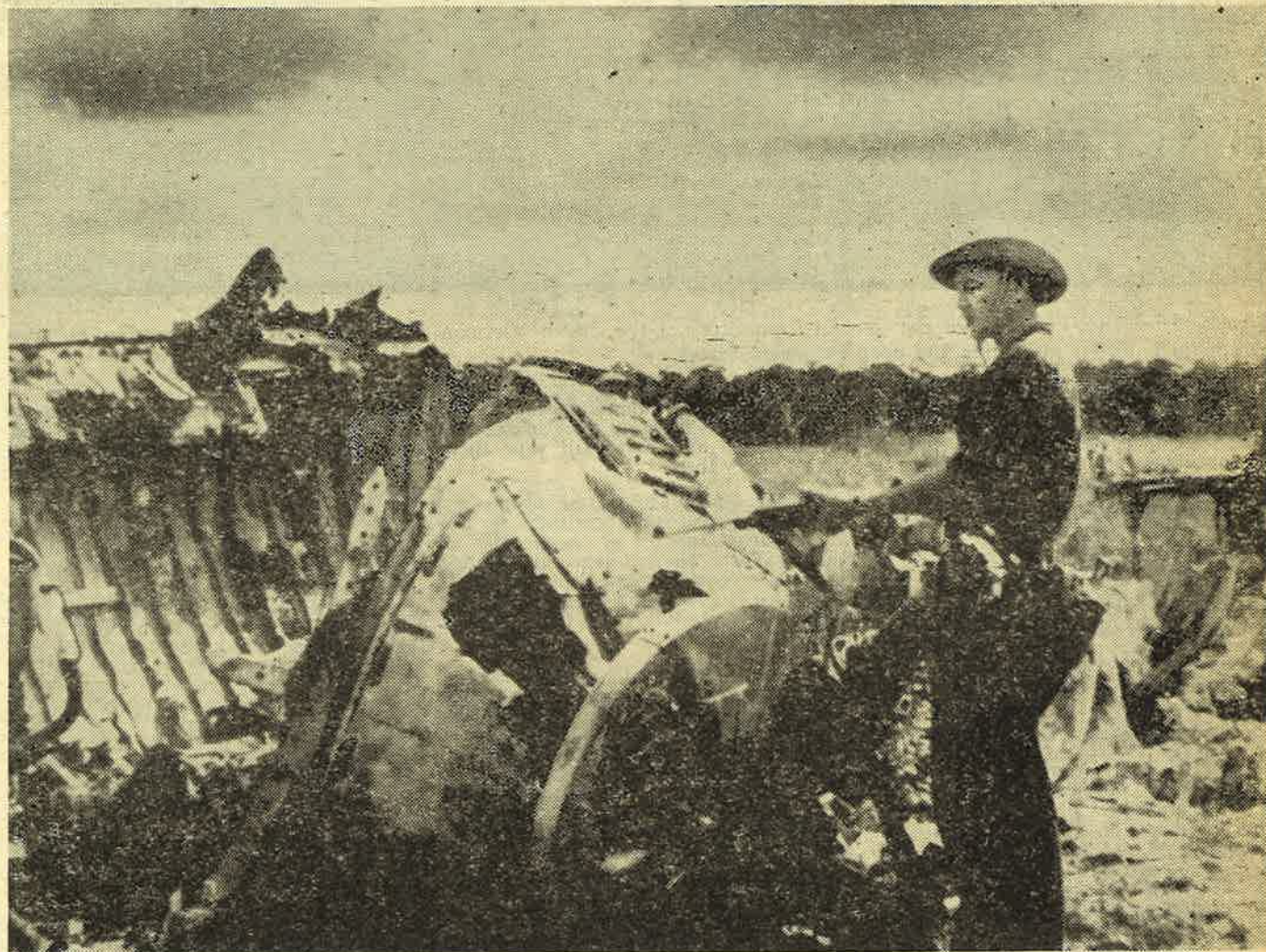
If in their "special war," they are being so seriously bogged down, the U.S. imperialists will be tied up still more closely if they launch a local war. If they are rash enough to extend the war to North Vietnam, Indo-China or farther, they will surely meet with still more shameful and quicker defeat.

The South Vietnam national front for liberation once again asserts that the U.S. scheme to send to South Vietnam more combat troops of the navy, ground and air forces of the U.S. and its satellites, to conduct air strikes against North Vietnam and the kingdom of Laos in an attempt to gain a "position of strength" and compel the South Vietnam national liberation front and the South Vietnamese people to sell out their fatherland in some negotiation with the U.S., is definitely only a day-dream of the crazy

Vietnam national front for liberation — the only genuine representative of the 14 million South Vietnamese people — does not have its decisive voice.

3. The valiant South Vietnamese people and the South Vietnam liberation army are resolved to accomplish to the full their sacred duty to drive out the U.S. imperialists so as to liberate South Vietnam and defend North Vietnam.

Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. North and South Vietnam are of the same family. This sentiment is higher than mountains and deeper than the sea. This truth is like the sun rising in the east and cannot be shaken by any force whatsoever. In the present state of blood and fire, in a life-and-death struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the heart cannot but suffer when the hand is cut. That the people in North Vietnam should be resolved to fulfil their duty toward their kith-and-kin in South Vietnam fully conforms to sentiment and reason.



Wreckage of a U.S. Helicopter shot down by the South Vietnam Patriotic Armed Forces.

Starting with bare hands at the beginning, the South Vietnamese people have built up a great future and recorded extremely glorious military exploits. They are firmly convinced that with their own strength and the wholehearted support of the peoples throughout the world, they will certainly win complete victory. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are at the end of their rope and are in ever greater despair. They are being knocked down in the powerful storm of the South Vietnamese people's revolution and they are still floundering desperately before dying. To retrieve that serious situation, the U.S. imperialists are blindly taking the risk of plunging headlong into extremely dangerous military adventures.

The fact that the U.S. imperialists dispatched to South Vietnam more weapons and combat troops of the U.S. navy, army and air force, more mercenary troops of South Korea and other U.S. satellites, used their air force to raid the democratic republic of Vietnam and the kingdom of Laos, etc., is no indication of their strength but instead, is only the frenzied action of a truculent enemy who has lost his senses. It can intimidate nobody. The present intensification and expansion by the U.S. imperialists of their aggressive war is in itself one of their

men in politics and adventurers in the military field. The South Vietnamese people would like to tell the U.S. imperialists and their agents: at present, the only way for the U.S. imperialists is to get out of South Vietnam. If you stubbornly continue plunging headlong into the war you will sustain the biggest and most shameful failures. On behalf of the 14 million valiant South Vietnamese people, the South Vietnam national front for liberation solemnly declares: the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces are resolved never to relax their hold on their arms so long as they have not reached their goals: independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. The South Vietnamese people are determined to continue dealing hammering blows at the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys and they will surely win final victory. All negotiations with the U.S. imperialists at this moment are utterly useless if they still refuse to withdraw from South Vietnam all their troops and all kinds of war materials and means and those of their satellite countries, if they still refuse to dismantle all their military bases in South Vietnam, if the traitors still surrender the South Vietnamese people's sacred rights to independence and democracy to the U.S. imperialists and if the South

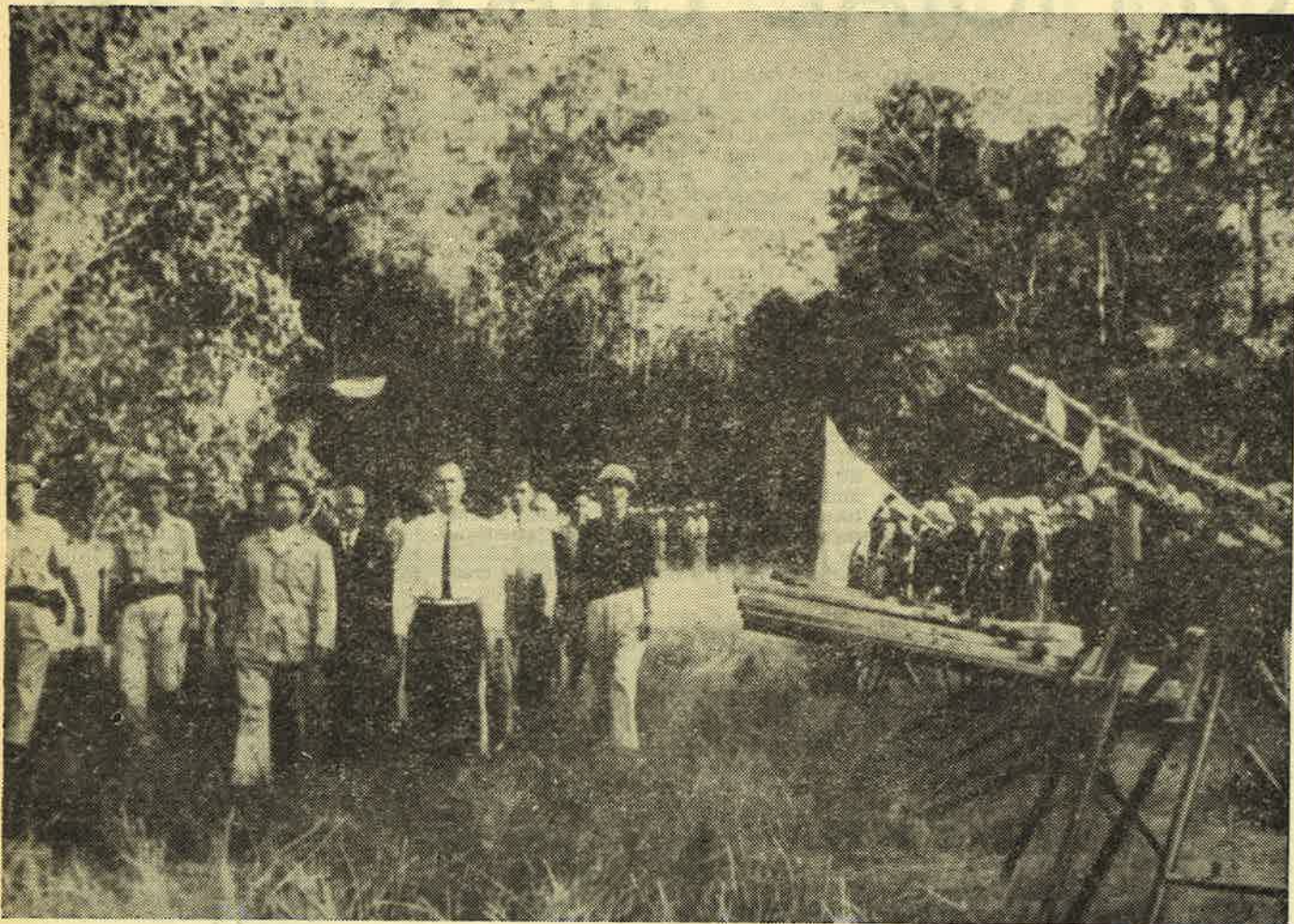
On behalf of the 14 million South Vietnamese people, the South Vietnam national front for liberation conveys to their 17 million relatives in the north their steel-like confidence and unswerving commitment: "The heroic South Vietnamese people and the South Vietnam liberation army are determined to accomplish to the full their sacred duty to drive out the U.S. imperialists, liberate South Vietnam and defend the north, with a view to the reunification of their fatherland."

Recently, to save their critical situation and their inevitable collapse in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies recklessly sent aircraft and warships to bomb, strafe and shell North Vietnam, but they have received due punishment. Over 50 American jet planes have been shot down. The South Vietnam army and people greatly rejoice at and warmly hail those brilliant military exploits of the North Vietnam army and people.

The heart suffers when the hand is cut! To defend the beloved north, the army and people of the south have given vent to their flames of anger at the

continued on next page

SOUTH VIETNAM LIBERATION FRONT OFFICIAL STATEMENT



Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (in the white shirt, front) inspecting the people's armed forces.

U.S. aggressors and their agents. If the U.S. imperialists attack the north of our fatherland once, the army and people of the south are resolved to strike twice or thrice as hard at them.

In February, while the aggressors and traitors attacked the north, in the south the liberation army launched stormy attacks on important military bases and main forces of the enemy, putting out of action 20,706 enemy troops (among them nearly 600 U.S. aggressors killed, wounded or captured), seizing 4,144 guns of various kinds and shooting down, damaging or destroying 111 aircraft of various types.

The South Vietnam national liberation front warns the U.S. imperialists and the Vietnamese traitors: you have not been able to vanquish the 14 million people of South Vietnam. Don't entertain any hope of defeating all the 30 million people of Vietnam. Their acts of military adventure and war expansion definitely cannot help them out of the quagmire, instead, these will lead them more quickly to suicide.

Also to extricate themselves from their predicament in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have repeatedly sent aircraft to bomb and strafe the liberated areas in Laos, repeatedly violated the border and territory of Cambodia, sprayed toxic chemicals and dropped bombs to massacre the Cambodian people. But the U.S. aggressors and their hirelings also received well-deserved counter-blows from the armies and peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

The South Vietnamese people warmly hail the indomitable and heroic fighting spirit of the peoples of the two neighbouring countries. The South Vietnamese people are resolved to stand firmly by the side of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia in the struggle against the common enemy—U.S. imperialism and its flunkies. The people and liberation army of South Vietnam are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their agents in South Vietnam—the starting point of the acts of war and piracy of the U.S. and its agents against the kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia.

The South Vietnamese people once again greet the glorious successes of the recent Indochina People's Conference.

The national liberation front and people of South Vietnam warn the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys that should they dare expand the aggressive war to the whole of Vietnam and fan up the flames of war to the whole of Indochina, the invincible strength of the 30 million people of Vietnam, and the

strength to move mountains and fill up seas of hundreds of millions of peoples in Indochina and Asia, will wipe them out and bury them.

4. The South Vietnamese people express their profound gratitude to the wholehearted support of the peoples of the world who cherish peace and justice and declare their readiness to receive all assistance including weapons and all other war materials from their friends in the five continents.

The just and patriotic struggle of the South Vietnamese people has enjoyed the sympathy, support and encouragement of the peoples of the whole world who love peace and justice. Not only have the world's peoples supported the South Vietnamese people morally but have also assisted and are assisting them materially. Of course the South Vietnamese people and their representative—the national liberation front—are fully entitled to accept and warmly welcome this valuable assistance.

The South Vietnam national liberation front has always relied mainly on its own strength and capacity, but it is ready to accept all assistance both morally and materially, including weapons and all other war materials from all the socialist countries, the nationalist countries, as well as all the international organisations and peace-loving peoples the world over. Besides, the front reserves for itself the right to buy weapons and war materials from other countries to strengthen the potentials of its self-defence war.

The International Conference for solidarity with the people of Vietnam against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the defence of peace which was held late last year and attended by representatives from over 50 countries and 16 international organisations gave positive response to these urgent and quite legitimate demands of ours. If the U.S. imperialists continue to commit U.S. combat troops and those of their satellites to South Vietnam and continue to extend the war to North Vietnam and Laos, the South Vietnam national liberation front will call on the peoples of various countries to send youth and armymen to South Vietnam to side with the South Vietnamese people in annihilating the common enemy.

While the U.S. imperialists are constantly sowing sufferings and death in South Vietnam, the South Vietnam national liberation front, if need be, cannot but call back the sons and daughters of South Vietnam, who have

regrouped to the north in observance of the ceasefire agreement and who had to live far from South Vietnam during ten long years, to take up arms to annihilate the enemy to save their country and families. A Vietnamese proverb runs: "To peel the thick skin of a mandarin there must be a sharp finger-nail." The invincible finger-nail of the Vietnamese people and the peace-loving peoples all over the world decidedly will not spare the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. They will have to bear all the extremely serious consequences arising from their aggressive and war-seeking acts. Once again, on behalf of the 14 million people of South Vietnam, the Central Committee of the South Vietnam national front for liberation expresses deep gratitude to the peoples of the Socialist countries, the nationalist countries, the international organisations and the peace- and justice-loving peoples throughout the world who have wholeheartedly supported the just patriotic war of resistance of the South Vietnamese people. More than ever we consider it our glorious internationalist duty to devote all our energy and make all sacrifices to contribute a worthy share to the very great common cause of struggle of all nations to defend independence, democracy, peace and social progress in Indo-China, South-East Asia and all over the world and to defeat the international gendarme—the warlike and aggressive U.S. imperialists.

5. To unite the whole people, to arm the whole people, continue to march forward heroically and be resolved to fight and to defeat the U.S. aggressors and the Vietnamese traitors.

The armed struggle waged by the South Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen has won very great victories.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are formidable in appearance but are inwardly very weak and very confused and more isolated than ever. The South Vietnamese people bearing in mind their vow "rather to die than to be enslaved" will definitely smash the barbarous and predatory enemy.

The South Vietnam national liberation front and people not only have justice but have also developed and are developing rapidly their material and organisational strength, they have been and are the glorious victors, the more they fight the stronger they become and the more and greater their victories.

We are worthy successors to and have carried to a high point the tradition of Dien Bien Phu and the heroic tradition of the Vietnamese nation with 4,000

continued

years of history against the invaders. Moreover, the South Vietnam national liberation front and the South Vietnamese people are fighting heroically in extremely favourable conditions of the present era when the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America have risen up like storms. The Socialist countries and the forces of democracy and peace all over the world are an important factor stimulating the advance of mankind, overwhelming and annihilating imperialism and colonialism under all guises. If the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are rash enough to fan up the flames of war and spread them all over Indo-China, the people of this area and South-East Asia as a whole are resolved to stand up and sweep them out into the ocean.

The South Vietnamese people and their only genuine representative—the South Vietnam national front for liberation—will undoubtedly win final victory.

The South Vietnam national liberation front Central Committee calls on the 14 million heroic South Vietnamese people and the people's armed forces who are determined to fight and to win on all battlefronts, to hold their guns more firmly than ever, develop vigorously their indomitable and undaunted fighting spirit and resolutely fulfil the following tasks:

— unite the whole people in a monolithic bloc.

— arm the whole people and let the whole people stand up like one man to chase away the American aggressors and the Vietnamese traitors.

— The liberation army and the people's armed forces courageously march forward, fight continuously, vigorously, and hit accurately, fight without giving a minute of respite to the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, and resolutely annihilate as much enemy force as possible.

— The rural people continue to rise up and destroy the remaining "strategic hamlets," smash all control of the enemy, widen the liberated areas to link up the liberated hamlets, villages and districts into a single stretch, transform the liberated areas into steady strongholds, fight the enemy whenever they come and fight victoriously with the resolve to hold firmly to and defend their native places and fields.

— The people of Saigon, Hue, Da Nang and other cities of South Vietnam urgently develop their revolutionary organisations, continue to turn out for demonstrations and step up their struggle in all fields vigorously and resolutely in order to demand that the U.S. imperialists and their quislings stop their aggressive war in South Vietnam, and to expose the Vietnamese traitors who are lending a hand to the aggressors and selling out their fatherland and people to them.

All the people, cadres and armymen march heroically forward under the liberation banner, resolutely fight to drive out the U.S. aggressors and their quislings, to save the country.

Even if we are to carry out the struggle for 10, 20 years or longer, and have to suffer greater difficulties and hardships, we are prepared and resolved to fight and fight to the end until not a single U.S. soldier is seen in our country.

The Vietnamese people have thousands of years of history. That is the heroic history of a heroic nation. During the past ten years of fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their quislings, the people and liberation armed forces of South Vietnam have written a golden page in the glorious history of their people.

We have won and we are winning, the U.S. imperialists and their agents have lost and are losing the war. This proves that our strength is invincible, that the U.S. aggressors and their agents are weak. If we have triumphed over the U.S. during the past ten years or more, we are now provided with all the favourable conditions to defeat them. If the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys have been defeated during the past ten years or more, they are now all the weaker and will suffer heavier defeats. We are absolutely confident that victory will belong to us. We are determined to fight, hit vigorously and accurately at the U.S. aggressors and their quislings to liberate the South, defend the North and reunify our fatherland.

IMPERIALISM - A PAPER TIGER

SOME COMMENTS BY MAO TSE-TUNG ON
THE "PAPER TIGER" ASSERTION

"ALL reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, they are frightening, but in reality their strength is not so great. From the long-term point of view, the really powerful strength lies not with the reactionaries, but with the people. Before the February 17 Revolution in Russia, which side in Russia was really strong? Superficially, the tsar at the time was powerful; but he was swept away by one blast of the February Revolution. In the final analysis, the strength of Russia was on the side of the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers. The tsar was only a paper tiger. Wasn't Hitler once considered very powerful? But history proved him to be a paper tiger. So were Mussolini and Japanese imperialism. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the democracy and freedom-loving people of all countries are more powerful than expected."

On November 18, 1957, in his speech at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow.

"In 1946 when Chiang Kai-shek launched his attacks against us, many of our comrades and people throughout the country were very much worried: Could the war be won? I myself was also worried about this. But of one thing we were confident. At that time an American journalist named Anna Louise Strong came to Yenan. We discussed many questions in our talks, including Chiang Kai-shek, Hitler, Japan, the United States, the atom bomb, etc. I said that all the reputedly powerful reactionaries were merely paper tigers. The reason was that they were divorced from the people. You see, wasn't Hitler a paper tiger? Wasn't Hitler overthrown? I also said that the tsar was a paper tiger, the Chinese emperor was a paper tiger, Japanese imperialism was a paper tiger. You see they were all down and out. U.S. imperialism has not yet fallen and it has the atom bomb. I believe it will also fall. It is also a paper tiger. Chiang Kai-shek was very powerful. He had more than four million regular troops. At that time we were in Yenan. What was the population of Yenan? Seven thousand. How many troops did we have? We had 900,000 guerrillas, all divided by Chiang Kai-shek into scores of bases. But we said Chiang Kai-shek was only a paper tiger and we would certainly defeat him. In order to struggle against the enemy, we have formed the concept over a long period, namely, that strategically we should slight all enemies, and tactically we should take full account of all enemies. That is also to say, we must slight the enemy as a whole but take full account of him so far as each and every concrete question is concerned. If we do not slight the enemy as a whole, we shall be committing the mistake of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two people. In their time they already said that capitalism throughout the world would be overthrown. But on concrete questions and on questions concerning each and every particular enemy, if we do not take full account of the enemy, we shall be committing the mistake of adventurism. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy can only be annihilated bit by bit. Factories can only be built one by

one. The peasants can only plough the land plot by plot. The same is true of eating a meal. Strategically, we slight the eating of a meal: we can finish the meal. But when actually eating, we do it a mouthful at a time. It would be impossible for you to swallow the entire feast in a single mouthful. This is called one by one solution. And in military literature, it is called smashing the enemy one by one."

"I am of the opinion that the international situation has now reached a new turning-point. There are two winds in the world today: there is the East wind and the West wind. There is a Chinese saying: 'Either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind.' I think the characteristic of the situation today is the East wind prevailing over the West wind. That is to say, the socialist forces are overwhelmingly superior to the imperialist forces."

Addressing Chinese students studying in the Soviet Union on the day before he made the above-mentioned speech, that is on November 17, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The direction of the wind in the world has changed. In the struggle between the socialist camp and capitalist camp either the West wind prevails over the East wind or the East wind prevails over the West wind. The whole world now has a population of 2,700 million, of which the various socialist countries account for nearly 1,000 million, the independent, former colonial countries make up more than 700 million, and the capitalist countries now struggle for independence or for complete independence and capitalist countries with neutral tendencies have 600 million. The population of the imperialist camp is only about 400 million; moreover, they are divided internally. 'Earthquakes' may occur there. At present, it is not the West wind which is prevailing over the East wind but the East wind that is prevailing over the West wind."

In 1957, speaking at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution:

"The imperialists pin their hope on war, in addition to staking their fate on the oppression of the peoples at home

and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. But what can they expect from war? In the past half century, we have experienced two world wars. After World War I, the Great October Socialist Revolution took place in Russia. And after World War II, more revolutions took place in eastern Europe and in the East. If the imperialist warriors are determined to start a third world war, there is no other result they can achieve but bringing about the complete destruction of the world capitalist system."

On September 8, 1958, at the Supreme State Conference:

"The present situation is favourable for the people the world over who are fighting for peace."

"The general trend is that the East wind prevails over the West wind."

"U.S. imperialism invaded China's territory of Taiwan and has occupied it for the past nine years. A short while ago it sent its armed forces to invade and occupy Lebanon. The United States has set up hundreds of military bases in many countries all over the world. The Chinese territory Taiwan, Lebanon, and all U.S. military bases on foreign territories are like nooses tied round the necks of the U.S. imperialists. The Americans themselves, and nobody else, made these nooses, and they themselves put them round their own necks and handed the ends of the ropes to the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries and all the peoples of the world who love peace and oppose aggression. The longer the U.S. aggressors remain in these places, the tighter the nooses round their necks will become."

"The U.S. imperialists have been creating tension in all parts of the world in attempts to achieve their aggressive ends and to enslave the peoples of

various countries. The U.S. imperialists calculate that they will always benefit from tense situations, but the fact is that the tense situations created by the United States have led to the opposite of what the Americans wish. They serve, in effect, to mobilize the people of the world to oppose the U.S. aggressors."

"If the U.S. monopoly capitalist group is bent on carrying out its policy of aggression and war, the day will certainly come when humanity will hang it by the neck. A similar fate awaits the accomplices of the United States."

In an interview with a correspondent of Hsinhua News Agency:

"Imperialism will not last long because it has been consistently doing all sorts of evil things. It makes a point of grooming and backing up reactionaries against the people in various countries. It seizes and occupies by force many colonies and semi-colonies and establishes many military bases. It threatens peace with atomic warfare. In this way, imperialism has forced more than 90 per cent of the people of the world to rise against it or prepare to fight it. Imperialism is still alive and kicking, still blustering its way in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The imperialists are still oppressing the people of their own countries in the West. But such a situation has to be changed. It is the task of the people of the world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, especially by U.S. imperialism."

NOTE:

The pamphlet, Comrade Mao Tse-tung on "Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers" is available from our Literature Section, 1/- post free.

REJECT the Labour governments continuation of British capitalist aggression against the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America! Recall all British troops! Cut military expenditure and Taxation!

Committee for Communist Unity.

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M. Baker, 29 Lingholm Crescent, Scarborough YORKS.

STATEMENT OF THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE OF THE L.G.C.I. (LEAGUE OF YOUNG COMMUNISTS)

Milan, Italy

The Federazione Giovanile Comunista Italiana (Italian YCL) (revisionist) is inevitably going through the same process of degeneration as the PCI. An ever-increasing number of young people reject its leadership, which is actually reduced to a clique of little bureaucrats with no prestige whatever. The FGCI is, in fact, going through a phase of speedy liquidation and the reduction of its membership by 60% between 1954 and 1964 is the proof. This liquidationist line corresponds perfectly to the policy of the PCI leadership, which does not look for its new cadres amongst young workers, but in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie.

It is a task objectively justified, subjectively possible and politically necessary and urgent, to organise the revolutionary youth at the side of all Italian Marxist-Leninists and the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

The Organising Committee has decided, therefore, to develop all possible links and to arrange meetings with all young Marxist-Leninists and with all sincere young revolutionaries, both inside and outside the FGCI and other working class youth organisations so that quite soon, it will be able to call a National Conference to form the LGC (M-L) on a national basis.

FIGURES ON THE LIQUIDATION OF

THE FGCI — (Revisionist)	
1954	430,908
1955	394,314
1956	358,126
1957	245,199
1958	241,199
1959	206,623
1960	211,634
1961	211,643
1962	183,576
1963	172,206
1964	148,830

OMAN: 6,000,000 TONS FOR SHELL

Nearly eight years have passed since Britain, helped by her puppet the Sultan of Muscat, embarked on her "little" war against Oman. Had it not been for Faris Glubb, who drew attention to the matter, the British public might well have heard nothing of what was going on there.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is not the first time in history that Oman, the small country on the entrance to the Arabian Gulf, became the scene of conflict between the big powers. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century it played a leading part in the trade between India, Arabia and Africa. The Omanis were great sailors and very early in history, they established a democratic system with an elected ruler, answerable to the people for his decisions.

Difficulties arose when in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at first the Portuguese, and later the Dutch, the French and the British were striving for the control of the Arabian Gulf, to gain access to the ports of Persia and to the silk road. By the eighteenth century, with British power well established in India, Oman's great days had waned. Trade passed into the hands of the East India Company, and during the nineteenth century most of the coast was brought under British control.

BRITISH DOMINATION IN THE ARABIAN GULF, AND SOUTH ARABIA

Muscat 1798, Aden 1834, Bahrein 1861, Qatar 1882, Kuwait 1899.

It was Britain's main concern in those days to obtain strategic coastal points on the route to India, and she could not reconcile herself to so "hostile" an attitude as she encountered in Oman, where the ruler remained recalcitrant

against foreign intrusions and occupation. When, in 1913, a new ruler was to be elected, she forced the Sultan of the neighbouring state Muscat, an obedient servant of H.M.G. and a notorious slave-trader by profession, as an absolute ruler upon Oman.

But still the Omanis refused to recognise the authority of this gentleman; after seven years of bitter struggle he was obliged to renounce his claim to the country; in 1920 a non-aggression pact was signed (the treaty of Sib), in which both Muscat and Britain had to recognise the independence of Oman.

In the interwar years Britain did not interfere in the internal affairs of the country, but she obtained permission to explore its mineral resources. Rich deposits of copper, iron ore, sulphur and gold were discovered, but profitable exploitation schemes had to be postponed because World War II held up developments.

U.S. VERSUS BRITISH OIL INTERESTS

In the forties and fifties the Americans made themselves at home in Saudi Arabia, next door, and soon oil was discovered in the ill-defined border region between Saudi Arabia, Oman and Abu Dhabi. The happy incident unleashed an acute conflict between the British and American oil trusts. "When two elephants fight, the grass suffers" is an old African saying, which illustrates the lot which had now fallen on Oman. It was on Omani soil and in the Buraimi oasis where the struggle between the rival commercial interests was to fight itself out. British officered Muscat troops were thrown in against Saudi armed tribesmen. Arabs were made to fight Arabs, and to lay down their young lives for the future interests of the share-

holders of the ARAMCO and of SHELL respectively.

The protests of Iman Ibn Ghalib the legally elected ruler of Oman, were in vain. On December 15th, 1955, British troops poured into Nizwa, the capital of Oman. Leading citizens were thrown into the dungeons, and Ibn Ghalib was forced to abdicate and leave the country. In violation of the treaty of Sib, Britain imposed again her stooge, the Sultan of Muscat, on Oman.

ARMED REBELLION

By 1957, the people of Oman rose in armed rebellion against the foreign invaders. British troops reacted with violence, and towns and villages were bombed; harvests and livestock were destroyed; Omani patriots were kept in jail without trial; many died from disease, many from torture. Casualties on both sides were heavy, but due to the unequal struggle thousands of Omanis perished. When the Red Cross and Crescent were approached to bring aid to the wounded, the British stooge refused them entry into the devastated areas.

SHELL will produce six million tons of oil a year by 1967 (which amounts to 3 per cent of the groups' annual production) reports *The Times* on November 3rd, 1964. Fighting in Oman has not stopped; conditions for British lads are tough; temperatures rise to 110 degrees in the shade; with sand storms in a rugged mountain area, the policing of Oman for the oil barons is no cushy job. This is a dirty colonial war; where everything is allowed; where the "enemy" is not an equal; where a tumbler of water is refused to the dying enemy; because he cannot retaliate he is treated with contempt.

1. It is not without interest that Zanzibar's Arab population—revolutionary leaders as well as the ex-Sultan—are of Omani extraction.

2. The silk-road was the most important trade route of the old world. It linked China via Central Asia, Afghanistan and Persia with South Arabia; another branch led to the Mediterranean ports of Syria. Chinese silks, like Indian voile, were the dress materials of Rome's society women.

The rapid spread of Islam in the 7th century, all along the route, was the consequence of those old established connections.

Others became converted to Judaism, which accounts for the existence of the numerous Jewish sects in Afghanistan, Bokhara and other parts of Central Asia. 3. Paradoxically enough British control over the Arabian Gulf, was sought under the pre-text of preventing the slave-trade.

4. A more romanticised version can be found in Sir Hichinbotham's book: ADEN (published 1958).

The Middle East produces a quarter of the world's oil supplies, the energy on which the west's prosperity is based. The Royal Dutch Shell Group and British Petroleum own jointly one third of those resources, and they present Britain's most profitable business: their net profits for 1963 were £81,825,000 and £68,100,000 respectively.

Shell produce 14 per cent of the Western world's oil. Its annual income is more than the national income of Switzerland. Its annual expenditure is more than the whole of British overseas investment. It has been estimated that more than half of Britain's income from overseas investment comes from her two oil companies Shell and B.P. The salaries of its top officials are slightly higher than diplomats' and the head of the group is believed to receive a salary which amounts to roughly five times of that of a British Prime Minister. (*Observer* 29-12-61.)

With acknowledgements to "Free South Arabia."

The Legendary 50 per cent

The oil cartels pay at present 50% on the price of crude oil to the producer countries. The price for crude oil has, however, not been increased during the last years, while the price for the refined product, like prices of other industrial commodities, rose substantially. While oil production during the last ten years nearly doubled, the purchasing power of the producing countries did not increase proportionately.

During the recent World Economic Conference in Geneva, the oil producing countries were mentioned as the only exception amongst the underdeveloped countries where the actual standard of

living during the post-war period did not drop. This is of course only due to the fact, that no other natural product was so much sought after and could be exploited in such vast and ever increasing quantities as oil.

Oil has not only replaced other fuels but it is the foundation of the chemical industry. Paints, nylon, plastics, fertilisers, building materials, detergents, cosmetics and pharmaceutical products apart from fuel, diesel, lubricants, etc., etc., are made of oil.

With the establishment of a petrochemical industry in the Arab East the basic needs of the people could be solved.

QATAR

Small British protected state in the Arabian Gulf. Oil was discovered in 1940. Annual production 6 mil. tons.

Ownership (same as Iraq P. Co.):
Royal Dutch Shell ... 23.75%
British Petroleum ... 23.75%
Co. Francaises des Petroles ... 23.75%
Standard Oil (N.J.) ... 23.75%
Gulbenkian Estate ... 5 %

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT DEMAND

1. A constitutional government answerable to the people with a stipulated budget.
2. Elected municipalities.
3. All people to be equal before the law including the ruling family.
4. Land illegally acquired by the

sheikhs to be redistributed.

5. Arabisation of the Post Office and nationalisation of Wireless Co.
6. Oil exports to be supervised by elected citizens' committees.
7. Water, electricity and telephone services for all villages.
8. Hospitals in working class areas with workers' management committees.
9. Trade Unions and affiliation to international organisations to be permitted.
10. Elected committees to decide for calling in and disbanding of strikes.
11. The safety of freedom and the individual must be guaranteed.
12. Citizens of all classes to participate in government.

THE WAR AND ITS BACKGROUND

by Hilda Vernon

This is a concise, extremely valuable 30-page pamphlet for all who wish to see an end to the aggression by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people.

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at 1/-, and obtainable from our literature office

ONE GLANCE COLUMN

U.K. Deficit Hits New Low

British overall balance of payment deficit reached a record of £745 million last year, compared with £78 million in the previous year.

The deficit included a world trade imbalance of £374 million and a net capital outflow of £371 million.

The deficit was the main reason for the sterling crisis last November and its present unstable position.

To meet the deficit, £357 million was borrowed from the international monetary fund, and £216 million from banks in Western Europe, while gold reserves fell by a further £122 million.

Cost of Living up

The average level of retail prices rose by about four and a half per cent in 1964 compared with a rise of nearly 2 per cent in 1963, according to the Ministry of Labour gazette.

It reflected the prices movement of some 350 items.

Food prices in mid-January 1965 were about four and a half per cent higher than a year earlier. The average prices of beef, mutton and lamb were 20 per cent higher. At mid-January the average level of prices of meat and bacon, taken as a whole, was nearly ten and a half per cent higher.

Even foods which are subject to seasonal fluctuations, like milk, eggs, potatoes and fruit, finished up three and a half per cent higher.

The largest increases in groups other than food were in tobacco, alcoholic drinks and the miscellaneous goods which cover books, medicines, stationery, etc.

Hot-Cold War Moves East

America's nuclear-powered naval task force, led by the aircraft carrier Enterprise, 85,000 tons, will be transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific this autumn.

Mr. McNamara, Secretary of Defence,

said the Enterprise and the guided missile frigate Bainbridge, 7,600 tons, would move into the Pacific in October. They would be joined later by the cruiser Long Beach, 14,200 tons, and the guided missile frigate Truxton, 8,300 tons.

INDONESIAN WORKERS TAKE OVER U.S. FIRMS

Djakarta (28 March). Repeating tit for tat to the action of U.S. imperialism in giving military support to the British neo-colonialist "rabbit out of the hat"—"Malaysia"—Indonesian patriotic workers have taken over the American National Carbon Co., FILMA EATABLE OIL CO.

The firms were handed over to the local government.

MURDER NO. 3 IN ALABAMA

The killing, by a sniper's bullet, of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a mother of 5, on 26th March, brings the death-roll to three since February.

The white rascals there shot Jimmie Jackson, aged 26, a negro, and fatally clubbed the Rev. J. J. Reeb, a white Minister.

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Revisionism and the Aircraft Industry

There is a crisis in the aircraft industry, in which 265,000 aircraft workers are wondering how long their jobs will last. Trying to exploit this situation, the revisionist Communist Party of Great Britain comes out with a series of demands. Here they are:

Honour the just demands of aircraft workers for guaranteed employment.

Use the money and resources saved on war planes to develop "Planes for Peace" policy.

Support for the V.C. 10 and similar projects.

Extensive programmes of short and medium range civil aircraft.

No substitutes of British planes by United States aircraft.

Nationalise the aircraft industry.

This policy is a correct policy of immediate demands for the aircraft industry, which we wholeheartedly support, but taken in the context of revisionist strategy, and particularly, in their attitude towards nationalisation, it can be seen that the C.P. is not really concerned about the fundamental interests of the workers in the aircraft industry or of the working class in general, but is only putting forward these demands for blatantly opportunist reasons, and clumsily at that. Why do we say this?

An irreconcilable struggle is taking place in the international Communist movement between two lines—the line of revisionism and the line of Marxism-Leninism, between the genuine Communists and the fakers. The revolutionary line has already won great victories, is winning all along the line, and is supported by the majority of people in the world who claim to be Communist. The Marxist-Leninists are revolutionaries who attack the capitalist system at its foundations, who are completely independent of the capitalist class and its ideology and who put forward a programme of immediate demands, always within the framework of a revolutionary perspective. The reformists (and the leaders of the C.P.G.B. are new reformists) have no revolutionary perspective whatsoever, and only put forward a list of demands such as those enumerated above, for purely opportunist reasons. If, for appearances' sake, they still claim to be revolutionaries and Marxists, it is only in order to maintain their links with the working class so as to be able to go on deceiving them.

This can be demonstrated by their attitude towards nationalisation. The revisionists will say that we are not interested in the immediate demands of the working class, that our heads are up in the clouds and that we are only interested in revolution, now this minute. This is a dirty lie, designed to cover up their treachery to the proletarian cause. We Marxist-Leninists fully support the demand for nationalisation of the aircraft industry, but we frankly and honestly tell the aircraft workers that under capitalism, such nationalisation can only be capitalist nationalisation as operated on the railways, in the Post Office, the coal and other nationalised industries. The capitalist class nationalised these industries because, under private enterprise, either they were not being run or they could not be run in the overall interest of the capitalist class. What happened was that the capitalist class as a whole, through its state, nationalised these industries, acting from the standpoint of their overall long-term interests. The C.P.G.B. reformists present this problem of nationalisation in supra-class terms, and talk a load of codswallop about taking over the aircraft industry in the interests of "the nation." Like their co-reformists in the Labour Party, they counterpose nationalised industry to privately owned industry, but these two sectors of capitalist rule are not in opposition to one another, they complement one another. And to talk about "socialist" nationalisation under these conditions, when all the machinery of state is still in the hands of the employing class, is unprincipled opportunism, deception of the working class and an insult to their intelligence.

The point is that the contradictions within the capitalist system are absolutely insoluble, and nobody, neither the bourgeoisie nor the Labour Government nor the revisionists can resolve these contradictions. The revisionists are not even capable of defending the immediate short-term interests of the workers, as without a revolutionary perspective, all

their efforts will be futile and will yield no enduring results. We Marxist-Leninists do participate in the struggles of the workers and we do put forward immediate demands on their behalf, but we do not deceive them, we build up no false hopes and we do not attempt to lead them up the garden path like the revisionists do. We frankly tell them the truth, so that arising out of their struggles for higher wages, better conditions and the right to work, they will learn what we already know, that there is no other solution to their problems than the overthrow of bourgeois dictatorship and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship.

"The experience of a small number of advanced elements must be turned into the experience of the whole people."
'Renmin Ribao' 6/5/64.

Some 100 years ago, Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, told the world that the capitalist system carried within itself, the seed of its own destruction. And what was that "seed" that Karl Marx referred to? None other than the working class itself. Yes. The working class will organise to destroy capitalism once and for all. The working class will establish its own organs of power to replace the organs of power of the capitalist class. The working class is the revolutionary class. The only way that it can solve its problems, both immediate and long-term, is through the seizure of power. That is the only way in which the contradictions which beset the capitalist system can and will be resolved.

This crisis in the aircraft industry is only a foretaste of the battles to come. These battles can only be fought successfully if the working class is guided by a revolutionary party, firmly based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Letters to the Editor

ism. Thanks to the perfidy of the revisionists, the working class enters this coming struggle without a party. The British workers have the revisionist traitors to thank for putting them back 45 years in terms of strength, to the year 1920, when in that year also, there was no Communist Party. Thus, although they are weak and demoralised and are treated as a joke by the mass of workers, the revisionists have been responsible for causing enormous damage to the proletarian cause, and they are still capable of causing us more harm in the future.

That is why we direct the spearhead of our attack against revisionism. The proletariat organises first from its innermost core, and when this nucleus achieves a unity based upon Marxist-Leninist principles, it can grow and grow and become bigger and stronger. The absolutely No. 1 priority for the British working class today in 1965, is to organise its vanguard in unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Exactly the same task faced the British workers 45 years ago in 1920, when, then as now, no genuine C.P. existed in this country. The C.P.G.B. was once the revolutionary vanguard of the British working class, but, capitulating to bourgeois pressure and influence, its leaders completely lost faith in the proletariat and its theory, and turned the party into a concealed social democratic party masquerading under the signboard of Communism. This was the greatest service that these traitors rendered to the class enemy.

"The bourgeoisie understands that the active people in the working class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie, than the bourgeoisie itself."
Lenin: Selected Works, New York, Vol. 10, Page 196.

Just as in his time, Comrade Lenin directed the spearhead of his attack against Kautsky, the old revisionist traitor, so now in our time, we Marxist-Leninists make no apologies for directing the spearhead of our attack against

the modern revisionist traitors who comprise the leadership of the C.P.G.B. today.

There are still many sincere comrades inside the C.P., and it is to them that we appeal to conduct a struggle inside the Party against revisionism, as we are conducting it from the outside. The working class needs a genuine Communist Party. Arising out of the struggle against revisionism, both inside and outside the Party, a new genuine CP will be formed. We repeat that we fully support the above-quoted CP policy of immediate demands for the aircraft industry. But we must point out that a campaign conducted around these demands by the revisionist party will be altogether sterile and will be a wasted effort. Only a genuine Marxist-Leninist party with a revolutionary perspective, can successfully conduct such a campaign which will be of lasting benefit to all workers in the aircraft industry and to the working class as a whole. And to all aircraft workers, both C.P. and non-C.P., and to the militant trade unionists and shop stewards we say, help us to build such a party.

J. Tyrrell,
Surrey.

Dirty Tricks at U.N.

The United States imperialists are getting worried that their aggression against oppressed peoples, especially in the Congo and Vietnam, is receiving the condemnation of more and more people. To ensure that this condemnation is not reflected inside the United Nations Organisation, the U.S. imperialists have resorted to a particularly odious piece of blackmail. They threaten the Soviet Union that if they do not contribute towards the so-called "peace-keeping" activities of the U.N.O., they will challenge the Soviet Union's right to vote. But if the Soviet Union does not embarrass them too much, the Americans will magnanimously agree not to push things to a head. To its shame, the Soviet Union again capitulated before the blackmail of the U.S.

However, to its credit, this dirty deal was challenged by the small but courageous People's Republic of Albania, which forced a vote. Notwithstanding the fact that it only received 2 votes against 97 with 13 abstentions, all honour to Socialist Albania for upsetting this dirty little apple cart. It was really amusing to observe the discomforture of the representatives of imperialism on television, their faces livid with rage, at the temerity shown by the little socialist republic in exposing this cosy little arrangement between the big powers, for the dirty game it really was.

Wellwisher,
London, S.W.

CPGB and Vietnam

Our local *Daily Worker* seller fairly bubbled over with enthusiasm. "Look at the campaign we are organising against American aggression in Vietnam," he said, "we're having meetings, marches, poster parades, the lot. Who said the Party was dead?" Further up the street, we met another comrade. "Isn't it amazing?" he wondered, "all these years the Party has lain dormant, showing very little interest in the struggle in South Vietnam. Then all of a sudden, they let loose a clamorous campaign against what the U.S. imperialists are doing. Still, better late than never, I suppose."

We went on one of these Party-organised protest marches to the American embassy. It was held in a most peremptory manner, and the way it was organised convinced us that the Communist Party leaders did not have their hearts in it, and were only doing it to rebuild their tarnished image. The march was over almost before it started—one walk around the block and that was it.

However, if we look at the facts of the case in their national and international setting, we will see that the conduct of the revisionists is nothing to be surprised at. All the time that Khrushchev was crawling on his belly to the American imperialists, the C.P. leaders did not want to embarrass him, and it was this that deterred them more than anything else from leading any sort of protest. Now he is gone, and the new revisionist leaders of the C.P.S.U. are acting in a less obvious and more crafty way than their predecessor. Vainly attempting to regain the prestige lost to them through Khrushchev's stupidity, they are now conducting a sham cam-

aign against U.S. imperialism. The C.P.G.B. sent R. Palme Dutt to the divisive March Moscow meeting of the representatives of 19 Communist Parties. Taking their cue from the new C.P.S.U. leaders, their British echo-sounders know that they have more or less been given the all-clear, at least for the time being, to go ahead with their phoney campaign to build up prestige among the working class so as to be able to go on deceiving them.

What contempt the revisionists have for the British working class. Do the C.P. leaders really believe that we are too dumb and ignorant to see through their transparent tricks?

D.B., Hackney.

From Cuba

In recent days anti-imperialist North Americans in Cuba released a statement through the Hsin-hua news agency protesting against the cowardly attack on homes and hospitals in the People's Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the fascist forces of U.S. imperialism.

We concluded our statement by saying: "We join with the millions of people throughout the world who support the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. It is time for action! We too can help in the struggle against the imperialist aggressors."

"We call on all peace-loving peoples of the world to boycott U.S. monopoly made goods. Profits made by American companies are turned into bombs which are used against the people of Vietnam."

We are well aware that the imperialists and their stooges would try to fight such a boycott on the grounds that "it would harm the workers of the United States," but if the workers are not prepared to make sacrifices for peace, they will be slaughtered in imperialist wars of aggression, such as the war in Vietnam.

We would be grateful if you could make our position known to your friends and the organisations you are connected with.

With revolutionary greetings,
Anti-Imperialist North Americans
Resident in Cuba.
Chairman: Iiah Warner.

Against Sectarianism

The desire for peace of the people of Britain has been shown clearly by the huge Aldermaston marches of recent years, previous to the misleading Test Ban Treaty. As the Americans accelerate their interference in S.E. Asia it becomes more apparent to all thinking decent people that the U.S. are fully responsible for the spreading of war flames. To strive for peace entails organising demonstrations against the No. 1 aggressors of the day. I think the "Vanguard" periodical should try to unite all left-wing and progressive organisations who are willing to join in mobilizing the masses against the U.S. warmongers. Of course many secretarian minded Marxists will disagree with this attitude. We must not get involved with unstable elements they may say, this or that task is more important. But according to Lenin it is possible to work with people on particular issues without submerging your identity, and even to conduct an ideological struggle against them at the same time. If the "Vanguard" group intends to delay until all their readers and supporters become completely dedicated and knowledgeable Marxist-Leninists, then they run the risk of being by-passed by historical events. Isn't it only logical to work with the "Human Material" available although it falls short of the standard preferred. It is wrong that many lefts and also many peace-loving and admittedly petty-bourgeois minded citizens are left to their own devices and remain fair game for purely pacifist cant. It can be avoided.

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

(The C.C.U. and Vanguard have always and will consistently call for the unity of progressive people and organisations for particular objectives. We are opposed to secretarian methods of work.—Ed.)

ANNOUNCEMENT

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MARCH 1st SPLITTIST MEETING

BY THE ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOUR

BY HOLDING this meeting in Moscow in defiance of the serious warning of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the Soviet revisionist leadership and its followers have taken a very dangerous step towards a complete and final split in the socialist camp and the International Communist Movement.

This act has finally torn the mask off the present Soviet leaders and once again revealed them in their true features before the world. It has proved that they are the continuers of the anti-Marxist and splittist line of Khrushchov, and that they are carrying out what their chieftain failed to realise. It has proved that side by side with Khrushchov, they are the biggest conspirators and splitters known in the history of the World Communist Movement, incorrigible revisionists and renegades from Marxism-Leninism, and the allies and accomplices of imperialism.

The March 1 meeting was an absolutely illegal one because it was convened arbitrarily, without consultations among the fraternal parties, without their approval and in defiance of their resolute opposition. It was a flagrant violation of the principles and norms of the relations among parties and trampled on the 1960 Moscow statement. It was a schismatic and factional meeting of a handful of revisionist leaders, a meeting intended purely and simply to undermine the unity of the Socialist camp and the Communist movement and directed against the fraternal parties and all true revolutionaries who are firmly opposed to modern revisionism. It was a typical meeting of experienced conspirators who, while crying for "unity" and "cohesion," were sharpening the dagger with which they are prepared to stab the revolution in its back. It was also a pro-imperialist meeting, a meeting to meet the plans and needs of U.S. imperialism in the present circumstances. In organising their factional and schismatic meeting, the Khrushchovian revisionists of the Soviet Union and their followers must bear grave and full historical responsibility for this act of unprecedented betrayal.

"UNITY" — WHAT KIND?

The authors of the communique of the Moscow schismatic meeting issued on March 10 were obliged to weigh their words and camouflage their hostility towards Marxism-Leninism with demagogy. For instance, the communique of the Moscow schismatic meeting is filled with phrases of "anti-imperialism." Of late especially, "anti-imperialism" has become a favourite theme of the Khrushchovian revisionists. Their aim is to deceive the peoples and revolutionaries and win their confidence so as to make it easier for them to practise their pro-imperialist policy.

However, unity and co-operation in the anti-imperialist struggle are possible only with those forces which truly adhere to the anti-imperialist position and which, not only in word but also in deed, firmly combat imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, the chieftain and main bulwark of world reaction and the worst enemy of the peoples of the world.

By their political line and actual performances, the modern revisionists have placed themselves outside the anti-imperialist front. It is only as demagogues that they stand for the anti-imperialist struggle. In fact, they are undermining the anti-imperialist front, collaborating with imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, and serving its policy and its designs. Facts have proved that the revisionists adhere not to the anti-imperialist position but to the pro-imperialist position.

REVISIONIST CONGRESSES OF C.P.S.U.

Beginning with the 20th Congress, the Khrushchovian revisionists and their followers have been pursuing the line of rapprochement and multilateral collaboration with imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, the line of undermining the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and of sabotaging the revolution. However, the revisionist Soviet leaders, as in the communique of the schismatic meeting of March 1, swear by all that is sacred to their "anti-imperialism." Could a change have taken place? Could these persons have departed from their old path of serving imperialism and become resolute "anti-imperialists"? Facts have proved that neither the Soviet leadership nor its adherents who participated in the schis-

matic meeting have undergone any change from what they used to be. They firmly adhere to Khrushchov's pro-imperialist line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses. The revisionist Soviet leadership has maintained all the former alliances with U.S. imperialism and is establishing new ones. It dreams of and works for consolidating the "Soviet-American multiple co-operation." Like Khrushchov, it continues to make deals with imperialism and other reactionary forces at the expense of the fraternal socialist countries and the peoples. The co-operation of the revisionist Soviet leaders and the U.S. imperialists has been exposed most concretely and clearly at the recent session of the United Nations General Assembly.

FALSE POSTURE

The "anti-imperialism" of the present Soviet leadership is also clearly revealed in its attitude to the U.S. imperialist aggression against the democratic republic of Vietnam. At a time when wave after wave of indignation and protests against this aggression were sweeping the world, the demonstration of Soviet and foreign students in front of the American embassy was brutally and sanguinarily suppressed in Moscow on orders of the revisionist Soviet leadership.

The false posture the revisionist Soviet leadership has assumed in regard to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people was also revealed when at the very moment when bombs of the U.S. imperialists were being dropped on the territory of socialist Vietnam on the orders of Lyndon Johnson, the Soviet Government confirmed through the mouth of Kosygin that, despite the incidents in Vietnam, the invitation to President Johnson to visit Moscow remained valid. In other words, this amounts to saying: "You Americans, do what you like in Vietnam! Don't pay any heed to what we revisionists are forced by demagogy to utter against the Johnson administration and U.S. imperialism. Our main concern remains the amelioration of Soviet-American relations." The Soviet revisionists try to "settle" the Vietnam question through negotiations while maintaining the status quo and respecting the demands and interests of U.S. imperialism which, as everyone knows, wants negotiations from a position of strength.

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Facts have shown that the grandiloquent words of the revisionists, according to which they allegedly stand for the anti-imperialist struggle and support the revolutionary and national liberation movements of the world, are nothing but a bluff, a demagogic manoeuvre to camouflage their true features and make political capital out of it. The alleged "anti-imperialism" of the revisionists publicised in the communique of the schismatic meeting and that of the revisionist Soviet leaders is not in the least what unites them with the Marxist-Leninists; but is precisely the main gulf that separates them from the Marxist-Leninists; this is the most fundamental question on which differences exist today in the Communist movement. The revisionists make no distinction between friend and foe. They have embarked on the path of union with imperialism to combat socialism, the path of union with the United States and reaction of various countries to combat the peoples and their liberation and revolutionary movements, the path of union with the lackeys and agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialists, with the Tito clique and the right-wing social democratic chieftains to combat Marxism-Leninism, the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces of the world.

The historic duty of the Marxist-Leninists today is to unmask the anti-imperialist demagogy of the Khrushchovian modern revisionists, expose their true colours as lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, and not to permit them to deceive the peoples and plot with imperialism to the detriment of the peoples.

PUBLIC POLEMICS

With a view to bluffing the communists and the peoples with their "anti-imperialist" card, so as to be able more easily to achieve their object of destroying the Communist and the revolutionary movement, the modern revisionists try, in their communique, to ensure calm and stop the polemics. They justify all this by the imperative necessity to ensure the unity of the international Communist movement.

The revisionists are out-and-out hypocrites. It is common knowledge that it is none other than the revisionists themselves who first laid bare the differences before the enemy and provoked public polemics by a series of attacks and frenzied calumnies against the Albanian Party of Labour at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. and later against the Communist Party of China and other Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties.

At present they are in fact continuing the polemics and are unwilling to abandon it. But they demand that other Marxist-Leninist parties keep their mouths shut and they deny them their right to reply to the attacks by the revisionists in accordance with the principle of equality.

The present polemics are a great debate which involves the most fundamental questions of the theory and practice of Communism. After the revisionists started the polemics, it has become inevitable and necessary because the Khrushchovian revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and substituted it with opportunism and revisionism, be-

trayed proletarian internationalism and substituted it with great power chauvinism and national egoism, betrayed the interests of the revolution and socialism and substituted them with the interests of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and betrayed unity and cohesion and provoked a split in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement.

It is clear that so long as the revisionists do not renounce their way of betrayal and split but are bent on following the way of betrayal and split to the end, cessation of polemics will be out of the question. Public polemics will stop only when the modern revisionists are completely unmasked and thoroughly destroyed.

The continuation of public polemics will contribute to a better elucidation of the truth and to a real Marxist-Leninist unity on a new basis through this struggle.

THE "BATON" LINE

The splitters and factionalists try to conceal their real features by issuing cries against splittism and factionalism. The revisionists who pretend to be concerned about the cause of unity try to pass themselves off as defenders of proletarian internationalism and of the Marxist-Leninist principles governing the relations among the Communist workers' parties and among the socialist countries.

The modern revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, followed an anti-Marxist line and given wide publicity to this line, thus undermining the ideological and political basis of the unity of the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement. It is they who have departed from and betrayed the principles of proletarian internationalism, trampled underfoot the principles and norms governing the relations between the Socialist countries and Communist parties, slid down to the stand of great-power chauvinism and national egoism.

Since the 20th Congress, the Khrushchov group has crudely interfered in the internal affairs of a number of parties and countries under the pretext of "opposing the personality cult and its consequences." To put the Socialist countries under its manifold control, the Khrushchov group has done its utmost to infringe their sovereignty, grossly interfered in their internal affairs, and carried out disruptive activities against them.

If the present Soviet leaders and their followers genuinely want to adhere to the internationalist principles governing the relations between the fraternal parties and Socialist countries and to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of others, they should first make public and sincere self-criticism and bravely and in a principled way repudiate and desist from all hostile actions and measures taken against the fraternal parties and fraternal countries. However, the present Soviet leaders have not only failed to take any positive step in this direction but show no intention whatsoever of doing so. They have continued to engage in disruptive activities against the fraternal parties and to oppose the Japanese and Indonesian Communist parties. As in the past, they are following in a new way the great power chauvinist, the "baton" and the "patriarchal party" line.

TWO OPPOSING LINES

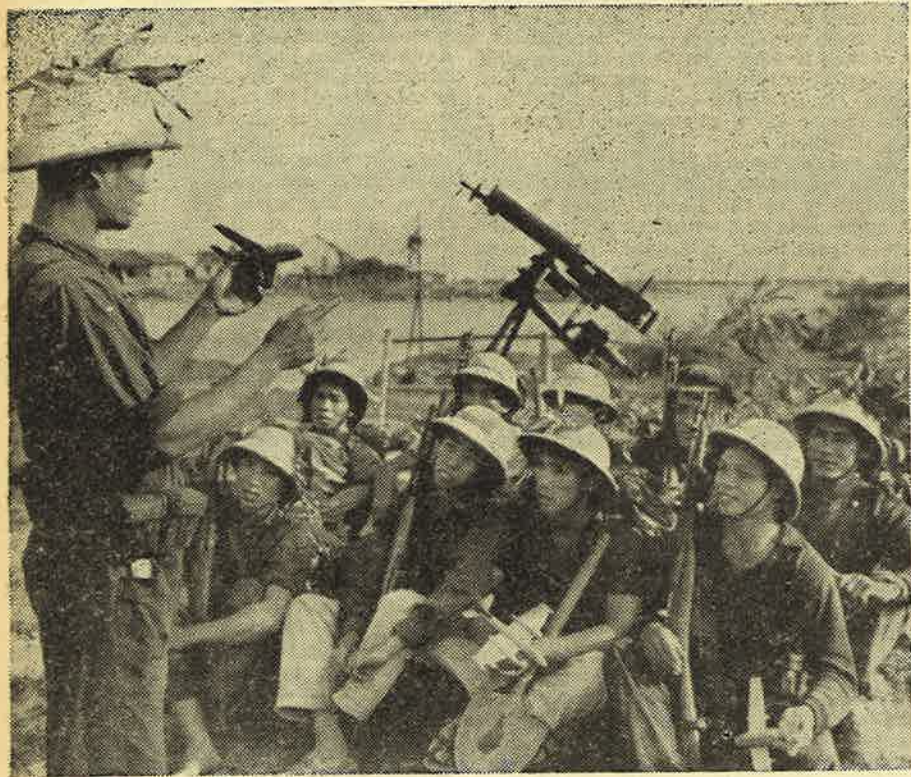
The article refutes the outcries of the Soviet revisionists and their followers that the Marxist-Leninist parties' support for the new Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces in all parts of the world is "intervention in internal affairs" and "factional activities." The revisionists attempt to represent the formation of new Marxist-Leninist parties, groups and bodies as the result of external encouragement and organisation by the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other fraternal parties. This is an attempt to distort the real causes of the split in many parties in which the revisionists are dominant and also to cover up the factionalist nature of the March 1 anti-Marxist meeting.

The split in many parties is the result of the attempt of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and its followers to impose their revisionist line upon other parties. Wherever there is revisionism, the Marxist-Leninists will inevitably rise to oppose and struggle against it. The

continued on next page

DONG HOI - CITY OF HEROES

by Hu Beng-ying—a Chinese Correspondent in Vietnam



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MARCH 1st SPLITTIST MEETING

struggle now going on within or outside of the Communist parties in various countries in which the revisionists are dominant is nothing but a manifestation of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism on an international scale, and is the struggle between two opposing lines in a country.

The hue and cry made by the modern revisionists to prevent the so-called "factional activities" and their slanders, charges and attacks against the revolutionary Communists of the new Marxist-Leninist groups and parties can never arrest the latter's development and growth in strength, or block their revolutionary struggle.

As to the support given by the Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties to the revolutionary Communist comrades of all countries, the Albanian Party of Labour has always regarded this as a noble internationalist duty. The Marxist-Leninists have the right and the duty to give unreserved support to the revolutionary Communists who persist in the Marxist-Leninist stand, selflessly engage in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, protect the working class revolutionary parties from the revisionist corrosion and adhere to a firm revolutionary line.

BASIS FOR UNITY

The last part of the article exposes the modern revisionists' true colours as combining sham unity and real split. It points out that people have seen clearly that the Soviet leaders and their followers oppose real unity and what they want is unity against Marxism, a revisionist unity based on revisionism. The international conference they want to convene is designed to serve this very "unity."

Like all other questions, the article says, the Khrushchovian revisionists have always tried to speculate on the proposals for unity and the sincere desire for unity of the Communists and revo-

lutionaries. But their statements on unity are designed merely to mislead the people.

It is necessary to take a number of basic measures in order to restore and strengthen the real unity of the Communist movement and of the Socialist camp and to create the conditions for the convening of an international conference which will be conducive to unity. First of all, it is necessary to repudiate the opportunist and revisionist line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses. It is necessary to repudiate the line of aligning and uniting with U.S. and other imperialism, the Tito clique, the chieftains of the rightwing social democratic parties, the reactionaries and all enemies of the working class, of Socialism and of the peoples. If this line is not discarded, unity will be out of the question. It is also necessary to repudiate the line of great-power chauvinism and national egoism. Only on this road will it be possible to create the conditions and climate favourable to the overcoming of differences, the development of consultation among the fraternal parties on an equal footing and in a comradesly spirit, the convening of an international conference and the strengthening of unity.

But the revisionists who have persisted in the path of betrayal have refused to give up their anti-Marxist line and correct any of their grave mistakes. Instead, they have been sinking ever more deeply into the quagmire of revisionism and split.

NEW TASK

After the revisionists have taken a new step of betrayal by organising the March 1 factional schismatic meeting, the Marxist-Leninists and all genuine revolutionaries are faced with a new task. In the face of the big challenge of the revisionists, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists will draw lessons and conclusions and adopt all necessary measures.

As an answer to the factional meeting

"I was very much scared by your ground fire," said Robert H. Shumaker, one of the pilots of the six U.S. raiding aircraft shot down over Quang Binh province, on the afternoon of January 11, by the armed forces and militia of the Vietnam Democratic Republic.

He was certainly trembling with fear when I saw him in a hall where newsmen had gathered for a press conference only a few hours after the third American bombing and strafing raid on Dong Hoi, the provincial capital.

The F2N plane piloted by Shumaker was hit by gunfire almost immediately after the anti-aircraft gunners and militia opened fire against the raiding planes.

Baling out of his burning aircraft, which crashed west of Dong Hoi, Shumaker hid in a wood. He was captured by militiamen.

Among the articles Shumaker had with him was a piece of silk issued by the U.S. government. On it is printed a U.S. flag and a few sentences repeated in thirteen languages, reading: "I am a U.S. citizen. I cannot speak Vietnamese. I am asking you to help me obtain food, housing and protection. Please take me to those who can make me safe and try to send me back to the U.S. The U.S. government will richly reward you."

The Vietnamese gunners of Dong Hoi had downed another four U.S. aircraft four days earlier, on February 7. Three of them had crashed into the sea and the fourth into a nearby forest. One of the planes that had crashed into the sea, an A4D plane, was salvaged and the corpse of the pilot, Edward Andrew Dickson was found a kilometre away.

We arrived in Dong Hoi, this city of heroes, at dusk on the evening of January 11. It is a beautiful sea-port, 50 kilometres north of the 17 parallel. Lights were shining. Revolutionary songs and music flowed from loudspeakers. Customers thronged the shops as usual and militiamen and militia women, rifles strapped on their shoulders, stepped lively by. Such was the scene that met

of the revisionists, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists will increasingly strengthen the unity of their ranks and enhance their mutual aid, solidarity and cooperation internally and internationally in order to counter the present and future schemes of the revisionists and through resolute, principled and co-ordinated struggle to defeat completely the Khrushchovian revisionists and their plots.

The genuine Communists of various countries who are now waging a struggle within and outside of the parties led by the revisionists will strengthen their struggle and make greater efforts to save the various Communist parties so that they will not take the dangerous road of betrayal which the revisionists attempt to make them take. Any waiting, hesitation and cherishing hopes and illusions about compromise and unity with the revisionists will be more dangerous at present than ever before and will seriously damage the vital interests of Communism and the revolutionary movement.

By organising the March 1 factional schismatic meeting, the Soviet revisionist

our eyes a few hours after the third U.S. attack on the city.

No disorder, no panic; only scorn for the enemy and a determination to resist all aggression. It deepened the conviction we had already gained that no U.S. bombs and rockets, however many, could bend the will of this gallant people.

Walking through the streets in the warm sunshine the next day, we found that schools, shops and civilian homes had been hit during the raids. The U.S. claim that only "military installations" were bombed is a plain lie.

We stopped at a post office and chatted with the workers. All eighteen workers there are members of the militia. "When the American planes attacked, without warning," they said, "some of us remained at our posts, while others immediately took up positions and started shooting at the imperialist aggressors."

Nearby a few maintenance men were at work. They, too, had rifles slung across their backs and wore ammunition belts in addition to their work-kits. They had shared in the fighting, taking greater risks than others, for their job was to keep the wires open.

The whole city of Dong Hoi has risen to the occasion. All able-bodied men and women—cadres, workers, handicraftsmen, shop assistants, barbers, postmen—are armed.

There were several air raid warnings in Dong Hoi on February 12. When the alarm sounded, aged people and children went into the trenches in an orderly manner, while militia groups took up their positions, their guns pointing skyward. They were ready and very calm. A militia officer told me, "All our militiamen shot at the U.S. aircraft when they raided the city on February 7, 8 and 11. Their gunfire together with that of the anti-aircraft units formed a barrage all over the city." He added, "The U.S. planes shot down are riddled with bullet holes—the work of our militia."

No visitor to Dong Hoi can fail to be impressed by the heroism with which the inhabitants bore the U.S. attacks. At the same time, despite their victories in shooting down so many of the vicious marauders, it seemed to me that the people were well aware of the danger of further attacks. They are ever on the alert. They are going about their work with redoubled vigilance and energy, ready to fight the cowardly enemy who may spring upon them at any time—ready until final victory.

leaders and their followers have thrown out a challenge to the entire international Communist movement and the workers' movement. The Marxist-Leninists have every reason to strengthen their struggle to expose and defeat the revisionist conspirators and hold still higher the banner of revolution, the liberation of the peoples and Socialism and the banner of struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

MODERN REVISIONISM AND IMPERIALISM ARE TWINS

D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, has said that modern revisionism is the twin brother of imperialism.

Aidit said that Indonesian Communists had the duty to help the country's nationalist and religious political parties to march forward continuously. "I hope that the nationalist and religious political parties and all other revolutionaries will also help the Indonesian Communist Party so that it will not become a party that does not want to make revolution, still less to become a party of revisionism because revisionism is the twin brother of imperialism."

"Should the Indonesian Communist Party become a revisionist party, it would surely bring misery to the Indonesian nation and people."

"I, together with the other leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party, will make every effort to prevent the Indonesian Communist Party from becoming a revisionist party. We also hope that Indonesian revolutionaries would criticise us if we make any mistake in the implementation of our common task."

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CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH IN ALBANIA

EXTRACTS (Albania 29th March, 1965)

COMRADES, FRIENDS! The current international situation is increasingly favourable to the peoples of the world and unfavourable to the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries. After a series of hard-fought battles, great victories have been achieved in the struggle of the peoples of the world against the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys and in the struggle of Marxist-Leninists all over the world against modern revisionism. Today, the revolutionary strength of Marxism-Leninism is growing steadily. The national-democratic movements of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are mounting higher and higher. The mass struggles waged by the working class and the working people as a whole in Western Europe, North America and Australasia against monopoly capital and for democratic rights and better living conditions are expanding every day. The struggle of the peoples all over the world against the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism and in defence of world peace is spreading. These great struggles are converging into a mighty torrent that is day by day battering more fiercely against the decadent rule of imperialism. There is an excellent revolutionary situation throughout the world.

However, the victory of the people's revolution will never come automatically. Imperialism will never withdraw from the arena of history of its own accord. At present U.S. imperialism is becoming more frantic in its desperate struggle. It is pulling the reactionary forces of all countries around it and has openly made itself the enemy of the peoples of the whole world. All peoples and nations who want revolution and liberation, all countries and people who struggle for independence and for safeguarding their sovereignty, all countries and people who want to defend world peace, cannot but direct the main spearhead of their struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The Arab peoples are developing a just struggle against the aggressive forces, the trinity—U.S. imperialism, West German militarism and Zionism.

The Arab peoples' struggle is part and parcel of the great struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples and other peoples of the world against international imperialism headed by the U.S. Like the people of Albania, the Chinese people firmly side with the Arab peoples. We firmly support the Arab peoples in their common struggle against U.S. imperialism and Israel, a tool for U.S. aggression, and West German militarism, for national independence and its maintenance. We firmly support the just struggle of the Palestinian Arabs to return to their homes and for the restoration of their rights in Palestine and firmly support the struggle of the peoples in South Yemen and Oman for liberation. We are convinced that final victory will belong to the militant Arab peoples.

The armed patriotic struggle of the people of the Congo (1) against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys is developing successfully. But, U.S. imperialism will never abandon its ambition to swallow up the Congo and to control Africa. Of late, it has intensified its counter-revolutionary dual tactics of armed suppression and political trickery. To isolate the struggle of the people of the Congo (1), the U.S. has more frenziedly carried out intimidation, intervention and subversion against the new emerging independent countries around the Congo (2), while splitting and disintegrating by various measures the forces of Africa for unity in fighting imperialism. It is increasingly clear that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the Congolese people and other African peoples. The Congo is the heart of Africa. A U.S. imperialist attack on the Congo is an attack on all new emerging African countries, on all the African peoples. Defence of the independence and freedom of the Congo and defeat of the U.S. aggressors is the current primary task of the peoples of the Congo and all Africa. Support for the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the Congolese people and other African peoples is the common international obligation of the peoples of the socialist countries and other peoples in the world. No matter what vilification and attacks U.S. imperialism and its followers level at us, the Chinese people, like the Albanian people, will persist in their

just stand. We are convinced that with the support of the peoples of Africa and other peoples of the world, the Congolese people will be able to win genuine independence and freedom by strengthening their national unity and persisting in protracted struggle.

The situation in South Vietnam and the rest of Indochina is reaching a more critical stage. U.S. imperialism has accelerated its spreading the flames of war in Indochina by completely scrapping the Geneva agreements, launching direct attacks on South Vietnam and continually bombing North Vietnam. U.S. imperialism is the aggressor and its hands are stained with the blood of the Vietnamese people. However, it slanders the Vietnamese people as aggressors. It has even openly raved that if the Vietnamese people will not submit, it will persist in its unlimited bullying. This is out-and-out gangster's logic. This is the most shameful provocation against the Vietnamese people and other Indo-Chinese peoples. It is also a rabid challenge to the peoples of the socialist countries and all peoples and countries that uphold the Geneva agreements and cherish peace.

U.S. imperialism is in a dilemma and is going down a blind alley in South Vietnam. To extricate itself from its failures, it has taken the adventurist step of escalating the war while at the same time assuming the posture of being willing to hold "peace talks," in a futile attempt to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees by war blackmail. This is sheer wishful thinking. To put it bluntly, the United States is trying to make people accept as a fait accompli its complete scrapping of the Geneva agreements and demand that the Vietnamese people stop fighting, endure savage aggression by the U.S. pirates and even allow U.S. imperialism to hang on legitimately in South Vietnam. The Vietnamese people will not agree to this, nor will the countries and peoples who uphold the Geneva agreements in real earnest and safeguard peace in Indochina and the whole world. How can one permit U.S. imperialism to fight and to stop as it pleases if one is not deliberately betraying the interests of the Vietnamese people? How can one insist that the Vietnamese people be

subdued by force under the bayonets and bombs of the U.S. aggressors? The Yugoslav Tito clique is busy running to and fro to peddle so-called "peace talks." In reality it wants the Vietnamese people to capitulate to the U.S. aggressors. This again exposes the role played by the Tito clique as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism.

As for the United States, the only road to the restoration of peace in South Vietnam is for the United States to stop its aggression and withdraw all its armed forces from South Vietnam. There is no other way. The Vietnamese people will not stop their struggle against U.S. aggression, as long as the United States Vietnam does not pull out its troops from South Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese people must win complete victory in their national liberation. The entire Vietnamese people must win complete victory in their efforts for national independence and reunification. This is their sacred right. No force on earth can prevent the Vietnamese people from winning final victory in their just struggle.

In the common struggle against U.S. imperialism, the peoples of the world share weal or woe and a common fate. The peoples of all the socialist countries and all the peace-loving peoples of the world side with the Vietnamese people. The 650 million Chinese people have always regarded the South Vietnamese people's struggle as their own, and support the just cause of South Vietnamese people as their sacred international obligation. We have solemnly declared: the Chinese people resolutely respond to the recent statement and appeal of the South Vietnam national front for liberation and will give the South Vietnamese people all necessary material assistance including weapons and all other war materials. We are also prepared to send our personnel to fight alongside the South Vietnamese people whenever the South Vietnamese people deem it necessary. The Chinese people are resolved to assist the South Vietnamese people in carrying through to the end their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for the liberation of South Vietnam, the defence of North Vietnam and the reunification of their fatherland.

Comrades, friends! The peoples of the world are clearly aware that the "global strategy" pursued by the Johnson administration for enslavement of the peoples of all countries by U.S. imperialism is more blatant and crafty than that of its predecessors the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. It is the Johnson administration that has pushed the "special war" of aggression against South Vietnam step by step onto the road of a Korea-type war. It is the Johnson administration that has carried out direct armed intervention against the people of the Congo (L). It is the Johnson administration that has brought together West Germany and Israel to intensify the threat to the Arab countries. It is the Johnson administration that has stepped up equipping the Japanese and West German militarist forces with nuclear weapons in brazenly pursuing its policy of nuclear blackmail. It is also the Johnson administration that subverted the Brazilian government, the Burundi government and the

Laotian National Union government. Immediately after Johnson assumed office, he set about doing evil things and even went farther than Eisenhower and Kennedy had dared to go. The Johnson administration's actions provide further proof that it is not sensible, but an out-and-out war maniac.

U.S. imperialism, with the Johnson administration as its representative, is the biggest prop of all the reactionary forces in the world and the most ferocious enemy of the world's peoples. Peaceful co-existence with U.S. imperialism is absolutely impossible. Is U.S. imperialism to be opposed or not? Is it to be opposed in earnest or by pretence? This is a fundamental difference between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists, and it is also a basic question in the struggle against modern revisionism.

At a time when U.S. imperialism is stepping up its aggression against Vietnam and when the International Communist Movement must close its ranks to confront the enemy, the successors of Khrushchevism convened the March meeting in Moscow. This was an extremely serious step openly to disrupt the International Communist Movement. This action itself in a strategic sense greatly helped U.S. imperialism. No matter how much empty verbiage the successors of Khrushchevism pour out about solidarity against imperialism, the convening of the disruptive meeting further exposed the face of the successors of Khrushchevism. This helps one recognise that the struggle against Khrushchev's revisionism is far from ended.

At present, the most pressing task before the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp is precisely to unite all forces that can be united to oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and to oppose the reactionaries of all countries, to strive for the victory of the struggle for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism. For the struggle to be successful and international proletarian unity to be more consolidated, it is essential to continue to expose the true colours of the modern revisionists, to help those who do not understand the true situation to understand it, to help those wavering on the revolutionary road to march forward with the revolutionary peoples. It is essential to do the utmost to isolate the modern revisionists who are acting as accomplices for imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries and to carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism. The Communist Party of China, the Chinese government and the Chinese people will make common efforts with the Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian government and the Albanian people to fulfil this great and glorious task. We are convinced that the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and against the reactionaries of all countries will certainly be victorious, that the struggle against modern revisionism will certainly be victorious so long as the peoples of the countries in the socialist camp and all revolutionary peoples the world over persist in their struggle and are undaunted by difficulties.

Dear Comrades, a great, long tested friendship and militant unity exists between the parties, governments and peoples of China and Albania. As always we will render all possible support to fraternal Albania. Our friendship and unity are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and have been consolidated and developed in the common struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. Hence they are unbreakable. Let us raise higher the ever-triumphant revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, raise higher the banner of proletarian internationalist unity, and raise higher the militant banner against imperialism and in defence of world peace and march forward.

Long live the glorious Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live the great unity of the peoples of all countries of the socialist camp!

Long live the great unity of the peoples of the whole world!

Long live world peace!

Long live ever-triumphant Marxism-Leninism!

DEFEND the right to organise and to strike in defence of living standards! Reject the attacks of employers and the Labour government!

Committee for Communist Unity.