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A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

EDITORIAL

L.B.J.'S ENORMOUS CRIME

AND HIS PUPPET CONNIVERS

ON 30th January, wave after wave of U.S. bombers struck at the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This renewal of Hitlerite tactics was not entirely unexpected.

The Marxist-Leninist Movement throughout the world repeatedly warned that Johnson's phoney "peace overtures" was but a prelude and preparations for the escalation of naked aggression, not merely against the deathless Vietnamese people, but also all the people of Indo-China. Nothing since the Nazi onslaught on Poland twenty-seven years ago has been seen like it.

Having failed by the tactics of bullying, cajoling and attempted bribery; to break the resolve of the Vietnamese to win their national independence, rabid, bloodthirsty U.S. imperialism wants to destroy all the socialist gains of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and "jack-boot" it over the South.

Quislings
In this devilish conspiracy, they enlisted the aid of "Labour" Harold Wilson, the Pope and a veritable array of reactionary regimes and all the renegade dregs of modern revisionism. These latter-day quislings have played a particularly despicable game. On the one hand, mouthing plausible slogans and even giving indecisive crumbs of "aid" so as all the better to deceive and divide, they simultaneously have pressurised the Vietnamese leaders to "come to terms" to ease the predicament of Johnson and help find, for him, "a way out."

Far more subtle than Krushchov, they, through "diplomacy", have tried hard to sap the fighting will of a people who prefer to die rather than accept bribes and languish in slavery.

The Vietnamese patriots can now perceive even more clearly, the qualitative difference between a genuine comrade and a Judas.

The British people can now perceive more clearly, the real role of a Wilson and his "Labour" Government. The militant workers and progressive people of Britain can now distinguish better, the essential falsity of the main slogan that emerged from the 1965 Congress of the C.P.G.B.—"Shift Wilson to the left"—the central line of desertion of Leninism for some amorphous, immoral cohabitation with social democracy, the superannuated servant of monopoly capitalism within the ranks of the Labour Movement.

Defending World Peace

Johnson has assured a mass cemetery for thousands of American youth in the soil of Vietnam. The U.S. forces, without any doubt, will be defeated.

Let us render every conceivable support to the Vietnamese workers and peasants, who, whilst defending their country, are dealing a measureless blow to U.S. Imperialism and thus also defending world peace.

Soon as he stops for a drink
... quick march!



JOHN EBOR'S "Solutions"

AN ARTICLE WRITTEN BY JOHN EBOR ENTITLED "COLONIALISM AND BRITAIN'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES" IN THE NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1965 ISSUE OF COLONIAL FREEDOM NEWS, REVEALS VERY GRAVE DEFICIENCIES.

AFTER ALL, WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTRADICTION IN BRITAIN TODAY, ONE THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN AND STILL IS ABSOLUTELY IRRECONCILABLE? IS IT NOT THE ONE BETWEEN THE WORKERS AND CAPITALISTS? AND HOW WILL THAT CONTRADICTION BE RESOLVED? WILL IT NOT BE RESOLVED BY THE VICTORY OF THE WORKERS OVER THE CAPITALISTS, BY THE REPLACEMENT OF THE POWER OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS BY THAT OF THE WORKING CLASS? YET TO READ JOHN EBOR'S ARTICLE ONE WOULD NOT THINK SO. HIS APPROACH IS COMPLETELY NON-CLASS. CAPITALIST CLASS, MIDDLE CLASS AND WORKING CLASS, THEY ALL GO IN ONE POT. THIS DEVIL'S BREW IS REFERRED TO BY THE NEBULOUS PRONOUN "WE," AND THE AUTHOR FIRST ANALYSES WHAT "WE" ARE DOING, THEN PROCEEDS TO TELL US WHAT "WE" SHOULD BE DOING.

For what is John Ebor trying to do? In essence, he is trying to resolve all the contradictions of British monopoly capitalism from their point of view, telling them that by investing overseas and spending too much money on defence, they are doing the wrong thing. They should be doing something else. But the British monopoly capitalists like all other capitalists, have criteria which overrides every other argument including those of John Ebor. They ask themselves if the money is rolling in and if they are making as much profit as they can, and if the answers are "Yes," then John Ebor and others like him can argue till they are blue in the face — they will not listen to them.

Without even considering the possibility of a working class solution, John Ebor keeps on telling us over and over again what we should do. We should cut down overseas investment, we should abandon the imperial dream, we should close down foreign bases, we should reshape Britain's role in the world, etc., etc. But who are we?

It is the capitalist system itself which is at the root of all the economic troubles Britain is in. These troubles

cannot but continue while the capitalist class holds the power, whether the government is "Labour" Liberal, Conservative or anything else. Only the working class, organised and led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, can overthrow capitalism. But the author is certainly not appealing to the working class to overthrow capitalism or to start organising with this aim in view. Then to whom is he appealing?

He is appealing to the petty bourgeois Left ramp, i.e., those few Left Labour M.P.'s who were not given Cabinet posts and other minor perks in the government to put pressure on dear old Harold Wilson to accept his "solution," to accept his ideas as to how to resolve Britain's contradictions in the world today. What a hope! Cows will jump over the moon before Harold Wilson, who is the present representative of British monopoly capitalism at the helm, will ever accept such "solutions."

John Ebor is banging his head up against a thick, brick wall. All right, let him do so if he wants to, but the tragedy of the situation is that he will induce others to do likewise, and these may include elements who would otherwise take a consistent proletarian stand

against capitalism and imperialism. This is the danger.

As with others who argue like him, John Ebor's arguments are not based on the realities of the situation, but on his own subjective desires. Only a workers' government, only socialist power, only the dictatorship of the proletariat in Britain can resolve the contradictions within society. There is no other way. By making his appeals to the petty bourgeois Left to put pressure on Harold Wilson, John Ebor is spreading the illusion that the state is neutral and the "Labour government" can be pushed into acting against the interests of monopoly capitalism. The history of the last 15 months proves, however, that the "Labour" government is a government representing British monopoly capitalism more subservient to U.S. imperialism than even the previous Tory governments were. Moreover, it is merely an apparatus serving the interests of British imperialism and it cannot act in any other way. Any real concessions wrested from it will only be won in the course of hard struggle, revolutionary struggle; they will never be won via pressure from the petty bourgeois Left, which has itself become a bit of a joke, and a grim one, at that.

Futile appeals asking dear Harold to act differently are worse than useless, because they only assist in preventing the working class organising in the proper way. The logic of the situation in this country and in Europe is that it is only possible to demonstrate true international solidarity with the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America by taking up a clear, consistent proletarian stand. This means rousing the working class, mobilising them and making them realise, on the basis of their "own" experience, that the anti-imperialist struggle in the other continents is also their own struggle. This means organising in a certain way, in the proletarian way, in the way that Lenin so often taught was indispensable.

The Social Status Of An African In Rhodesia

by Festus Maramba

QUESTIONS OF A STUDIOUS WORKING MAN

Who built Thebes of the seven gates?
In the books you find the name of kings.
Was it the kings who hauled chunks of rocks to the place?
And Babylon, many times demolished,
Who raised it up again so many times? In what houses
Of gold-glittering Lima did the builders live?
Where, the evening that the Great Wall of China was finished,
Did the masons go? Great Rome
Is full of triumphal arches. Over whom
Did the Caesars triumph? Had Byzantium, much praised in song,

Only palaces for its inhabitants? Even in fabulous Atlantis,
The very night the ocean engulfed it,
The drowning still roared for their slaves.
Young Alexander conquered India.

Was it he alone?
Caesar defeated the Gauls.
Did he not have a cook at least in his service?
Philip of Spain wept when the Armada
Had sunk. Was he the only one to weep?
Frederick the Second won the Seven Years War. Who
Else won that war?

Every page a victory.
Who cooked the feast for the victors?
Every ten years a great man.
Who paid the bill?

So many accounts
So many questions.

Bertold Brecht

MEXICAN PEASANTS SEIZE LAND

MEXICO CITY. MORE than 4,000 Mexican peasants recently seized the land on Pie de la Cuesta beach in Guerrero State, according to newspapers here. They have begun to build tin shacks and straw huts on their occupied plots.

Mexican public opinion holds that although Mexico has carried out a land reform the problem of the peasants is

still a serious one. Noberto Aguirre, director of the department of Agrarian Affairs and Immigration of Mexico, said recently that there are two million landless peasants in Mexico.

A representative of the Venustiano Carranza Village revealed that Amory Whitehead, a big U.S. Latifundist, owns 235,000 hectares of land in the vicinity of the U.S. border.

"EL DIAL" SUPPORTS ARMED RESISTANCE

MEXICO CITY. THE Latin American peoples have the right to rise in arms against U.S. imperialist aggression, says an article published in the Mexican paper "El Dial."

The article points to the difference between acts of aggression and acts against aggression, saying that it is of paramount importance to discern this difference.

Aggression "has no other meaning than that it is an act against the rights of others," the article notes. "Could any one deny that the brutal military occupation of the Dominican Republic by foreign armed forces is an aggression?"

The article denounces the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon for having overthrown constitutional governments in various parts of the world for the purpose of replacing them with obedient military juntas. All this is aggression, it says, adding that the United States has given arms to the Brazilian Authorities who took over power after the coup d'etat so that their gorillas can suppress the Brazilian people who want justice and freedom.

In face of aggression, the article says, "the exercise of the right to legitimate

defence implies the use of the same means with which the aggression is committed." Therefore, "it is no wonder that the Dominican youth have called on the people to stage an armed insurrection and that Bolivian miners heroically resisted the brutal aggression of the "Rangers" armed and trained by U.S. militarymen. These and many other cases are justified acts of legitimate defence."

Three H-Blasts In Nine Days

January 22 — the United States conducted yesterday its third underground nuclear weapons test in nine days, says the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

The two others took place on January 13 and 18.

Yesterday's blast was also the 60th since the signing of the Moscow partial "nuclear test ban treaty" in August 1963. Several others were not officially announced.

With acknowledgements to "Zimbabwe Forum"

THE PEOPLE of Zimbabwe started to drift into slavery on that day in 1890 when the British flag was hoisted on Zimbabwe soil. This slavery was officially endorsed on the day the Land Apportionment Act received the British Royal Assent, way back in 1930. The purpose of this act was to divide the country into European area, Crown Land and Native Reserve Land. As it was the White settlers who did the apportioning of the land, it is not surprising that all the best land was given to the Europeans and the Crown.

While the White settlers can own land in the European area, an African can hardly claim any part of Rhodesia as his property. The so-called Native Reserves which are run by White Commissioners and White Land Development Officers are supposed to be communally owned by "tribes men." African political and social activities in these areas are restricted. Africans cannot hold social functions without the permission of the White Native Commissioner who may send a police officer to supervise the function. If Africans in a reserve decide to set up a council to look after their local affairs, they are instructed to accept the Native Commissioner as the Chairman. A tribe or an individual may be moved from one area to another at a very short notice and with no compensation for the development of the previous home. Forced labour is not unknown in the reserved areas. The Headman of an African village may, at any time, be asked to name the number of men to go to work either for the government or for individual farmers who buy this cheap labour from the government through the Native Commissioner.

Any African who disobeys the Native Commissioner may either be sent to jail or be deprived of his farming rights in the reserve, which means loss of all means of livelihood unless he can get a job in some white area.

Life on a Whiteman's farm is even worse. The only pay for some farm workers is in the form of rations of mealmeal and beans which have failed to make the grade for the Grain Marketing Board. The labourer has no social status at all. He cannot acquire property not only because he is poorly paid but also because the boss may confiscate it when he decides to leave the farm. Those who are lucky to have comparatively "good bosses" may be allowed to till small plots for themselves. They may spend one day on their plots and the rest of the week on the farmer's field. These people who are not paid are called squatters.

Some of these White farmers discour-

age their slaves from sending children to school outside the farm. This is done to keep the kids for cheap labour on the tobacco farm. Such farmers cheat their labourers by building farm schools which are illequipped and poorly staffed. The teacher who is also the foreman does not always have to be a qualified teacher.

The children go to school on block release depending on the work available for children on the farm. The weather is also controlling factor of the school time table. As soon as rains have fallen and there is plenty of tobacco planting to be done the school is called off. The children are indoctrinated to regard the White boss as everything that represents power and "goodness." These slaves have no access to the outside world. They have no access to books and newspapers. They are not allowed to have visitors from the urban or rural areas. They may not organise themselves into gatherings except religious and beer drinking groups, of course religion and beer have one thing in common, i.e. to make people forget their material needs.

The African in the urban and mining areas is better off. He has better pay and has access to schools. However, as these areas are also within the European areas the African has very little social status. He cannot own immovable property here. He may not live here beyond three months as an unemployed otherwise he is detained as a vagrant. Because he needs a job to live in this area, the African is forced to accept poorly paid jobs. He cannot take part in local government. His social and political activities are restricted. The housing problem is so acute that men are housed either in huts or barracks. This makes it impossible for men to keep with their families. Many leave wives and children in the rural areas when they go to work in urban and mining areas. The social results of this separation of husbands and wives are tremendous.

U.D.I. marks the climax in this drama of White supremacists dedicated to keep slavery in the 20th century.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

From Zimbabwe "Forum" (published in London).

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS:

In the last issue of the Forum we pointed out that the economic sanctions which The British Government was imposing on the rebels in Rhodesia would not topple the rebellion. We have reason to be even more certain now.

The most important steps which have been taken by the United Kingdom government during December are perhaps the taking over of the control of the Bank of Rhodesia and the imposition of the oil embargo. Both these steps were taken too late to hit Rhodesia seriously. In fact Smith was in each case given enough warning to make other arrangements. Thus Smith had left only £9 millions as Rhodesian reserves in Britain when the new Board of Bank governors was set up. The rest of Rhodesian reserves had been removed to South Africa and other friendly countries. Although South Africa has frozen the £6 million assets she has allowed and will continue to give Rhodesia trading facilities.

As for the oil ban announced on December 17th, Britain certainly gave Smith all the time he needed. The UN resolution urging an oil ban (see our last issue) was passed on November 21. In the meantime Britain sent oil to Rhodesia including the 12,000 tons delivered by the British ship "British Security." This is why we now hear that Rhodesia may have enough oil to last her six months instead of the two weeks that was talked about before the ban.

The sanctions so far have hit Zambia harder than they have hit Rhodesia. Britain is prepared to spend a great deal of money on the air lift to Zambia and is even willing to compensate Zambia for any economic loss incurred by the sanctions which Smith has predictably imposed on Zambia. We may be allowed to ask why this generosity.

We suggest that this is the answer. Britain gets so much economic and other benefits from Southern Rhodesia directly and indirectly by using Rhodesia as a buffer to more British interests in South Africa that in the long run Britain gains more by keeping Smith and the whites in power in Rhodesia than she loses by keeping the economy of Zambia ticking.

LEADER OF SOUTH VIETNAM LIBERATION

MISSION GIVES PRESS CONFERENCE

PEKING (hsinhua) — the leader of the permanent mission to China of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, Tran Van Thanh, today condemned the heinous crimes committed by the U.S. aggressors and their satellite troops in their "kill-all, burn-all and destroy-all" war in South Vietnam.

He vigorously denounced their large-scale use of gases, noxious chemicals, napalm and phosphorous bombs to slaughter the people of South Vietnam and destroy all life over vast areas. These crimes of the U.S. imperialists, he said, served to expose the true nature of Johnson's "quest for peace."

The U.S. imperialists must never imagine that, by using such tricks as the hoax of "unconditional discussions" and the "pause in bombing" against North Vietnam, they could force the South Vietnamese people to lay down their arms and stop their war of resistance and for national salvation, he said. They must never imagine that, by their policy of "kill-all, burn-all and destroy-all," they could make the South Vietnamese hesitate in struggle.

"The South Vietnamese people will never fall into their traps," Tran Van Thanh said. "We will never lay down our arms while the U.S. marauders hang on in South Vietnam, or while the South

Vietnamese people's fundamental goals of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and the reunification of the fatherland remain to be achieved. No matter what great hardships and difficulties may lie ahead and no matter how grave the sacrifice we must make, we people of South Vietnam will fight resolutely to the end in resistance to aggression, even if we have to fight on for another ten years, twenty years or more."

Under the signboard of its "fourteen points," the Johnson administration had set up a noisy clamour about its "peace offensive" and was juggling with its "pause in the bombing" of North Viet-

nam, Tran Van Thanh said.

All this was a smokescreen behind which the Johnson administration was trying to cover up its frenzied war activities and its redoubled efforts to prepare a larger, more savage and intensified war of aggression in South Vietnam and Indo-China, he emphasised.

Johnson's state of the union message published on January 12 was identical with the "fourteen points," Tran Van Thanh continued. It showed that the U.S. imperialists were trying desperately to hang on in South Vietnam and wage their war of aggression in an even more cruel way.

This further exposed the true colours of the U.S. imperialist aggressors, he said.

In these circumstances, he stressed, the most correct road for the people of South Vietnam was for them to unite all the people and fight resolutely to defeat the U.S. imperialist war of aggression, so as to liberate the South, defend the North, bring about about the peaceful reunification of Vietnam and contribute to the defence of peace and security in Indo-China, Asia and the world.

He condemned British prime minister Wilson, Tito and his like, and the other lackeys of the U.S. who served as a cheering squad for Johnson's "fourteen points" and the farce of a "pause in the bombing."

Tran Van Thanh said that the U.S. imperialists must immediately withdraw all their aggressor troops, satellite forces and weapons and war materials from South Vietnam, remove all their military bases there, immediately and permanently end their destructive air and naval war against North Vietnam and strictly abide by the Geneva agreements so that the Vietnamese people could settle their own internal affairs.

This was the only way to genuine peace in Vietnam, he emphasised.

Tran Van Thanh warned U.S. imperialism that it would suffer even more disastrous defeats in the hands of the more than 40 million people of Indo-China if it intensified its war of aggression in Vietnam and extended it to the whole of Indo-China.

The South Vietnamese people, who were triumphing over the U.S. aggressors, had their ways to achieve final victory.

Greetings from Albania

To the Committee for Communist Unity
We cordially thank you for your congratulations conveyed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on the occasion of the national holiday, the 21st anniversary of the liberation of Albania.

We wish the Committee for Communist Unity ever greater successes in the struggle against imperialism, headed by United States imperialism, and its collaborators - the modern revisionists.

The Section for Relations with Foreign Countries, under the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

N.L.F. CONTROLLED ARMS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Elected Self-Management Committees

THE liberated villages have set up their self-management committees to ensure the direction of all branches of activity and public security and order. In many regions, such committees were elected by the people through universal ballot.

At the district, provincial and central levels, the National Front for Liberation has created specialised organs (politics, defence, economy, education, culture, art, public health, etc.) to look after the welfare and security of the people.

By the end of 1964, two million hectares of ricefields had been distributed to the peasants who, moreover, had reclaimed over 270,000 hectares of virgin soil.

Mutual Aid in Production

Concerning agricultural production, noteworthy is the practice of mutual aid in various forms, from the simple system of labour exchange to collective production. Thanks to it, the peasants in the Mekong delta and many other regions have doubled the number of their annual crops.

Half-a-Million Pupils

In the liberated zone a healthy education is developing constantly. From the founding of the National Front for Liberation 20th December, 1960) to the end of 1964, 4,142 general schools were set up with nearly half a million pupils. Hundreds of new schools, big and small, were built in the first half of this year. Besides, nursery classes have mushroomed in all villages. 80% of the children in the liberated area, most of them of peasant origin who could not go to school under the enemy's control are now attending classes.

Popular education for adults has also made headway. All liberated villages have anti-illiteracy courses.

Praise-worthy Health Service

Protection of public health in the liberated zone is all the more praise-worthy since our medical workers have to overcome tremendous difficulties. We have now hospitals, dispensaries, infirmaries, and maternity homes which form a network covering the whole liberated zone. Particular attention has been paid to prophylaxis. Despite the lack of means, vaccines are produced with the best guarantee. All medical cares are given free of charge. Apart from courses for hospital attendants and nurses there are now three schools to train higher-level medical workers. Gynaecology and pediatry have been given special attention.

Literature and Art Flourish

Art and theatrical groups have mushroomed, and there is hardly any village without one such group. The three central song and dance ensembles — the Liberation Ensemble, the Army Ensemble and the Tây Nguyên (High Plateaux) Ensembles — are well known.

Functioning in extremely difficult conditions, the Liberation Film Studio has produced more than 30 newsreels and 20 documentaries. Such films as "Heroic South Vietnam," "A visit to South Vietnam's liberated areas" and "Images of struggling South Vietnam" are appreciated in many countries.

40 Newspapers

Encouraging achievements are recorded in the field of press and information, too. There are now in the liberated zone 40 newspapers, 17 magazines and periodicals, and some 40 central and provincial news bulletins. Publications in foreign languages have increased steadily.

Daily, Liberation Radio broadcasts five transmissions in five languages, while Liberation Press Agency releases a rich bulletin covering various aspects of the war of resistance.

Comment from Scotland

V. Sutherland

SCOTLAND'S ECONOMY IS IN ITS GREATEST STATE OF FLUX IN ITS HISTORY AND A FACTUAL EXAMINATION SHOULD BE MADE.

DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE STANDARD OF LIVING IS LOWER THAN IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND AND UNEMPLOYMENT HIGHER, A COMPARATIVELY HIGH STANDARD STILL EXISTS.

There are, however, many danger signals. One is that a majority of the new Scottish factories are a branch development from England, without any design, development or even sales depot of their own and in the event of an economic recession, they would be closed, in favour of the parent plant.

The training of apprentices also leaves much to be desired. Too few are being trained, to quote the Central Training Council—"a 24% increase is the minimum required." Also, the trades of many are in the dying industries. They will become redundant in 10 years' time.

Inbalance

The 1963 figures showed a serious inbalance in the regional development pattern, with an equal employment figure in declining industries as in expanding ones. Contrast this with the West Midlands—9 to 1 and S.E. England—5½ to 1.

The "Labour" Government's Prices and Incomes policy is adversely affecting the economy. Industrialists are turning this into a racket, with the large national combines in the van. Wages are frozen, while many ruses are used to increase prices. One pet scheme appears to be to "change" the product by "improving" it. This produces a new "commodity", higher priced and newly-named. From household goods to cattle food, increases in some cases range up to 12%.

Whisky Too!

Another perilous aspect is the selling of our native industries to foreign buyers, notably American. Roots Linwood Plant (Autos), the 14½ million pound Pressed Steel (B.M.Cs) have been lost to The Chrysler Corporation of America.

Even the "water of life" is largely in American hands and to ask for a Scotch whisky is really a misnomer, since most of the distilleries are out of Scot's hands!

Whilst opposing neo-colonialism abroad, should we not also be very concerned over the situation in Scotland, are made—at 50% of the wage rates current where products of the highest quality just now in United States industry!

These facts alone make necessary a clear political lead from Scottish Communists.

Can the British Army Liberate Africans?

The attitude of the C.P.G.B. leaders to the current political developments concerning the Smith white settler regime in Rhodesia, must surely show them at rock bottom in what they, in their pathetic way, consider a Marxist analysis of contemporary events. We have seen the King St. clique in common with the so-called Labour Lefts, howling for the intervention of British soldiers in that area of the African continent. But all sincere progressives must ask themselves the simple question: What is the role and character of the British Armed Forces? An honest examination will reveal that they are imperialist troops which are an effective arm of the British imperialist state.

No doubt this fact is unpalatable to the petty bourgeois idealists who spend most of their time obscuring issues and hiding the truth from the masses. These people do not wish to understand that the British Army is specifically trained for the main purpose of suppressing non-white populations all over the world. As one who served in it for three years, I ought to know.

Indeed, John Gollan and his mercy men have put forward the "theory" in the *Daily Worker* that the British Army can suddenly become a military angel of mercy and liberate Africans. But considering that it is now entirely composed of regular troops, it is likely that the nature of this body is more reactionary than ever. The title of a once popular American TV series aptly sums up the British mercenary soldier. "Have Gun, Will Travel," but not, of course, in the interests of peace and genuine freedom, and anti-imperialism!

P.T.

Walton-on-Thames.

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NOTES ON C.P.G.B. CONGRES—Jack Angel

AT THE CPGB's 29th Congress held in the Camden Town Hall, London, on Sunday, November 28, 1965, Mr. John Gollan, the Party's general secretary stated that he had a more modest aim than revolution now. "I say give us six Communist M.P.'s now," he said.

If anything demonstrates the Party's descent from Marxism-Leninism into the most abject parliamentary cretinism, this does. This is the sum total of the British revisionist leader's ambitions. He is quite happy and content with the most miserable crumbs. In spite of the fact that the revisionists continue to pay lip-service to Marxism-Leninism, everybody knows this is strictly for the baton following faithful who are either deficient in brains or are too lazy to use them. John Gollan's statement, as it were, crosses the T's and dots the I's on the final social democratisation of the CPGB.

This much-belated Congress which has been postponed once, was never really wanted by the CP leaders. And even when they finally did hold it, it was obvious they wanted to bury it as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, we can be thankful to the revisionist leadership for holding it, as this Congress has unmistakably proven that in spite of all the disciplinary measures taken against opponents of revisionism and the expulsion of some of them, still the CP leaders have encountered more resistance to their opportunist line at this Congress than on any previous occasion.

A resolution from Smiths, Oxgate Lane (London), for example, denied that "The British Road to Socialism" was a Marxist policy document and received 14 votes. Also rejected were an amendment from Stockbridge (Scotland) rejecting the theory of the peaceful transition to Socialism, a resolution from Bristol North-East calling for an examination of the ideology of social democracy and an amendment from Stroud Green (London) questioning the policy of supporting all Labour where Communists were not contesting.

We well remember how in the early days of the struggle, in order to prove how fair and democratic they were, the revisionists permitted a few controversial letters to be printed in the *Daily Worker* and the Party press. This enabled opponents of revisionism to contact each other and exchange experiences. Alarmed, the CP leaders clamped down on the polemics. After that, there were no more controversial letters printed. However, this Congress has proven conclusively that the attempts of the CP leaders to damp down opposition, failed miserably. Contrary to their subjective wishes, the opposition has in-

creased, and the reports on this 29th Congress give us a better opportunity than ever before to link up the struggle of genuine Communists all over the country in defence of Marxist-Leninist principles against revisionist ideological corruption.

We in the CDRCU never had any illusions about the possibility of transforming the CPGB into a Marxist-Leninist party. On the contrary, we have continually warned against the danger inherent in holding such illusions. Although we welcome this first sign of awakening amongst the rank and file members, there still remains the danger that such comrades may think that carrying on an internal struggle within the CP, they could transform it. This is, of course, exactly what the CP leaders want. They are in a bit of a dilemma. Can the opponents of revisionism do them more harm inside or outside the Party? If they can take the sting out of the opposition by containing it within the Party, this is what the revisionist leaders would like to do. If the anti-revisionists accept this role, they will be nothing more than a harmless opposition, saving their consciences maybe by a platonic gesture here and there. But we are confident that they will not accept such a role.

The exigencies of the situation demand that we create the conditions for the formation of a genuine Communist Party as quickly as possible, and work both inside and outside the revisionist party must be seen in this perspective. Clever manoeuvring inside the CPGB, even if it were possible, is worse than useless. What is needed is the public stand on principle the public fight against revisionism. Let us make things as difficult as we can for the revisionists, let us make their dilemma worse.

URGENT

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BIOGRAPHY OF THE HEROIC MARTYR OF VIETNAM

(postage paid)

Send to: LIT. DEPT. — VANGUARD

OUT-KAUTSKEYED!

... TO think that we should really live to see Kautsky out-Kautskyed—by so-called Marxist! I suggest a new name for the *Daily Worker*—The *Daily Traitor*, with a large picture of Kautsky on the front, with the words, "If you can't beat 'em, joint 'em!"

I am withdrawing my investment in the *Daily Worker*. I will state my reasons and offer the aforementioned suggestion.

The world boils over, the Vietnamese comrades are killed and injured in their truly magnificent struggle and the C.P.G.B. is pleased to be considering changing the name of its paper! There are twenty-four million British people paying P.A.Y.E. and the sooner they learn to be proud of the fact that they are workers, the better for us all. Not for anything would I kow-tow to petty, built-in snobberies—nurtured of course, by the ruling class, aided and abetted by the Labour Party and now the C.P.G.B. to help in their opportunist schemes!

There is no Party branch here to speak of. One member is linking himself with the local Trotskyites. The rest must be around somewhere, but only John Gollan and the Pope know where! They just don't want to know anything!

Eileen Bagley, Surrey.

Veteran Communist

Quits C.P.G.B.

Letter of Resignation

"ON principle, as a firm believer in Scientific Socialism, Marxism-Leninism, it is impossible for me to continue membership of a Party whose 29th. National Congress has just confirmed its continuance of a policy, embodied in 'The British Road to Socialism,' no different in fundamental content from the assumptions underlying that of the British Labour Party.

It is thirty-five years this month since I joined the Communist Party of Great Britain, my membership having been continuous, except for a short period as a member of the Communist Party of Spain in 1938. I did so believing that Socialism implied, without doubt, a revolutionary change in our social system. It is therefore a great disappointment to me, at this late period, to witness the decline of the Party in which I had placed all my political hopes, through its desertion of the infallible guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Nevertheless, the necessity of revolution, arising from the nature of the class struggle, will continue to assert itself in the ranks of the workers of this country, just as will be the case in every other capitalist country.

In due course the revisionist opportunism of our recent Congress will be recalled as a sad episode, by a new and genuine Marxist revolutionary movement.

OPEN LETTER TO "FINSBURY COMMUNIST"

COMRADES; in the February 1966 issue of your publication, you briefly review the history and present position of the Marxist-Leninist movement in the this country. You have a perfect right to do this. You deem it proper, in making an analysis of various splits which occurred, in the period 1963-64, to single out for public mention, the late Secretary of CDRCU and co-founder of *Vanguard* Michael McCreery.

Simultaneously with paying tribute to his "fine qualities both personally and politically" you state that "he was, to a large extent responsible for the differences, which nearly brought the movement to an early end."

You then go on to subject "self-appointed leaders" to a certain measure of ridicule. Since you see fit to indulge publicly in what I estimate as an unjustified criticism of McCreery and one rather less than objective, then as one who worked rather closely with him, I must publicly reply.

In the first place, the events leading up to the publishing of the document, "Appeal to all Communists" involved a whole number of comrades, besides McCreery. McCreery's great merit lay in his unshakable conviction that the public break from and the public stand against modern-revisionism was the main content of Marxist-Leninist work in 1963-64. From this line he refused to be diverted by those anti-revisionists who wanted to exert the main effort to "change the CPGB policy and leaderships from the inside."

The 1965 CPGB Congress and subsequent recent objective self-criticism on the part of a number of anti-revisionists (for a long time at "loggerheads") with McCreery and "Vanguard" has justified to the hilt Michael's "obstinacy" in this matter.

To say that Michael had both positive and negative features is merely to say the obvious, that applies to all — including students of Marxism-Leninism. It is my opinion that he displayed more positive features than any other Communist I have ever known. For the cause of reconstituting Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism he worked at least as hard as any and made personal sacrifices second to none.

Not only he regarded himself as a leader, but he proved himself to be an outstanding leader at a most critical period. What was wrong in that?

letters to the Editor

I specially regret parting politically with many very genuine comrades, meantime at any rate, but they can be assured of any help I can give in activity calculated to advance the cause of scientific socialism.

Herewith please find my 1966 membership card. Doubtless you will formally intimate to the Scottish District Committee, and to the Party Centre at 16, King Street, London, that I am no longer a member of the C.P.G.B.

Yours fraternally,
(signed) TOM MURRAY

London Communist Quits Revisionist

C.P.G.B. Letter of Resignation to London District Committee

SINCE my meetings with L.D.C. members and subsequent discussions with other leading members, I have had ample time in which to study the differences within the Communist Movement.

I am now certain that the present policies of the C.P.G.B. are incorrect and I withdraw my previous statement to you supporting the "British Road To Socialism" and Party's general line.

I therefore terminate the form of membership you granted me.
A. Dover, E.7.

Since when do the working people, the militants of this or any other country not require leaders of an outstanding calibre? Are there not periods in history when the influence of outstanding men and women who are able to show decisive initiative, turns out to be a giant material force? Does not, at times the subjective nature and scope of action modify and ripen the objective situation? Should not, in the words of J. V. Stalin — Communists be of "special stuff, cast in a special mould"? Is it not precisely the revisionists who, intent on liquidating Communism, now deny the "special stuff" and even the special role of Communists?

Unfortunately for them, McCreery was of this "special stuff" and declined to go along with their 100% sell-out.

Why, Finsbury comrades, all this hulla-ba-loo about "self-appointed" leaders? After all, I can recall one or two so-called "leaders" whom you do not name, after peddling false ideas and "criticising" all and sundry, suddenly, like the Israelites of old decided to gird up their loins, fold their tents and steal silently away! If you wish to write a history of Marxist-Leninist development since 1963, then to be an objective, scientific historian, you must not confine your remarks, good or bad, merely to one man.

You will really have to estimate the work of a whole number of comrades — including a few from Finsbury. But, is it not a little early to go writing histories? Is it not better to await the maturing of a great deal of work that has been done by groups and individuals throughout the country? Errors are inevitable, when attempting to accomplish difficult, significant things. It is better to review them in others and relate them to ourselves in the spirit of self-criticism. This will prove a valuable weapon in raising our own ideological consciousness to ever higher standards.

Yours fraternally,
DAVE VOLPE.

CHEN YI ANSWERS QUESTIONS PUT BY JAPANESE CORRESPONDENT

CHINESE VICE-PREMIER Chen Yi received and answered important questions put by Peking correspondent of the Japanese paper "Akahata," on December 30, 1965.

Following are the questions and answers: (Abridged - Ed.)

Question: The press conference given by Vice-Premier Chen Yi on September 29, 1965 in Peking has had great repercussions throughout the world. In particular, the view has arisen among some people that "excessively tough" words were used in expressing China's determination to fight against the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression. What do you think of this reaction?

Answer: I have also read about this reaction. I can understand how it has arisen, but I cannot agree with it.

I believe that most of those who think my words "excessively tough" do so because they are not acquainted with the facts of the ruthless aggressions committed by U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism has forcibly occupied China's territory of Taiwan, is constantly intruding into China's territorial waters and air space and is making frequent military provocations against China. It has surrounded China with a chain of military bases directed against her. It is steadily expanding its war of aggression in Vietnam. And recently it has publicly called China the "enemy number one of the United States." It may be asked, under these circumstances what other policy can we adopt than that of resolute struggle against the U.S. policy of aggression? One can never be "excessive" in combating aggression. The fact is that the U.S. imperialists are too truculent and tyrannical.

Of course, there are other people who have described my words as "excessively tough" out of ulterior motives. They are obsessed with the idea of peaceful co-existence with the U.S. aggressors, whereas I said a resolute struggle must be waged against the U.S. policy of aggression. So how can they not feel my words "excessively tough"?

U.S. imperialism is the enemy of the Chinese people, it is also the common enemy of the people of the whole world. It is subjecting nearly every country to its threat, control, interference or aggression, with the aim of attaining world hegemony. For this purpose, it has built up the biggest war machine in human history. It has more than 2,000 military bases and installations on foreign soil and has sent over one million aggressor troops abroad. In these circumstances, it is only natural for China, as a socialist country, to resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and resolutely support all oppressed peoples and nations in their just struggles for freedom and independence. Otherwise, she would be betraying her internationalist duty.

Firm opposition to the U.S. policies of aggression and war is in the fundamental interests of the people of the world. I am deeply confident that this just stand of ours accords with the interests of the people of the world and will surely win their sympathy and support.

Question: Recently, there have been great upheavals in Asia and Africa, such as the postponement of the African-Asian Conference and the coup d'etat in Indonesia. Some people are spreading the view that China is isolated. What is your view of the recent turbulent situation in Asia and Africa? Moreover, I would like to ask for your estimate of how the international situation, and particularly the Afro-Asian situation, will develop in 1966.

Answer: It is true that great upheavals have recently occurred in Asia and Africa. This is a manifestation of the deepening of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the Asian and African peoples. Although some adverse

currents have appeared in certain areas in Asia and Africa, the general situation in these continents is excellent; it is most favourable to the Afro-Asian peoples and most unfavourable to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. In this connection, I wish to emphasise the great international significance of the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Suffering one defeat after another, U.S. imperialism has come to the end of its tether in its war of aggression against Vietnam. It has met with firm opposition and strong condemnation by the people of the whole world, the American people included. President Ho Chi Minh has called on the Vietnamese people "to be determined to persevere in the fight and to undergo sacrifices for 10 or 20 years or a longer time, till complete victory." The brilliant victories won by the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation are inspiring the fighting will of the people of the whole world. This is the most important factor in the current situation in Asia and Africa. At the same time, tempestuous struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States have arisen everywhere—in Japan, south Korea, the Congo (Leopoldville) and Southern Rhodesia. The surging revolutionary struggles of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism are the main current in the situation in Asia and Africa.

Not reconciled to their defeats, imperialism and reaction headed by the United States are throwing in all their forces to suppress the forces of revolution in Asia and Africa in an attempt to undermine the Afro-Asian peoples' struggles which have met with some setbacks in individual areas, but these are only temporary phenomena. The course of advance of a people's revolutionary struggle is never straight, it is bound to be wavelike.

Contrary to the view spread by some people, China is not isolated. Take the case of the postponement of the Second African-Asian Conference, to which you have referred. Together with many other Asian and African countries, China initiated the holding of the Second African-Asian Conference. When the situation became unfavourable to its success, China and many other Asian and African countries, proceeding from the consistent stand of upholding Afro-Asian solidarity, proposed to postpone the conference. The Second African-Asian Conference was postponed, and the imperialist plot to split the Afro-Asian countries was foiled. China has stood with the overwhelming majority of the Afro-Asian countries, and we do not feel alone. Again, take the case of U.S. obstruction to the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. It is precisely in 1965 that for the first time the United States has failed to muster a majority on this question in the United Nations. The number of those who follow the United States is getting smaller and smaller, while that of China's supporters is growing bigger and bigger. How can it be said that China is isolated?

China is not isolated, and I am confident that she never will be. The reason is that the Chinese people firmly stand on the side of the people who are subjected to control, bullying, exploitation and oppression by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States and the reactionaries

BOSSSES vs. PEOPLE

SIR PATRICK HENNESSY, Chairman of Fords, says that "Labour troubles" are "beginning to gnaw at the national pride." Mr. Ray Gunter says that strikes are against the "nation's interests." Both these people speak as if the interests of bosses and workers are the same.

IN FACT THERE ARE TWO NATIONS — THE WORKING CLASS AND THE BOSSES

The interests of these two classes are completely opposite and they are constantly struggling against each other. Capitalists try to extract the maximum profit for the lowest possible wages (speed-up at Fords and other factories is one such example). Workers have to defend themselves by organising to resist the attacks of the bosses.

In this country the capitalists work through governments, Tory or Labour. The Labour Government, which pretends to represent the working-class, is trying to limit the right of workers to strike and to force a wage freeze under the name of an Incomes policy.

IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD THE BOSSES USE MORE BRUTAL METHODS

This is what is happening in Vietnam, where the struggle has taken the form of open war against the people. In this war the aggressors are using bombing, gas, napalm and chemical warfare. Their aim is to extract profits from strategic raw materials and slave labour, not only in Vietnam but throughout Asia.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT GIVES COMPLETE SUPPORT TO THE U.S. AND ITS ACTIONS IN VIETNAM

There are as yet no British troops in Vietnam, but U.S. troops are being trained for "jungle warfare" by British officers in Malaya.

Despite the vicious and unrelenting attacks against them, the Vietnamese people have not been cowed or defeated.

THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING AND WINNING

The Liberation Front now holds and governs 80% of South Vietnam. This is why the U.S. is calling for "negotiations." The U.S. has no right to be in Vietnam. In 1954 the Geneva Agreement forbade the presence of foreign troops. The U.S. took no notice. Now there can be no negotiations until all U.S. troops leave Vietnam and let the Vietnamese people settle their own affairs.

Just as workers show solidarity during a strike, so workers in many countries are showing solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

In Australia, Sweden, France, Italy, Japan and the U.S. itself, workers have refused to load U.S. ships or gone on token strike against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Money is being collected in other countries to buy arms for the Vietnamese people.

WHAT CAN WE IN BRITAIN DO TO SHOW OUR SUPPORT?

Local Committees can be formed to discuss the most effective form of action workers can take on Vietnam. This may be pressure on the Trade Union movement, collecting money to assist the struggle, or any other action possible in particular circumstances.

OUT WITH THE AGGRESSORS HANDS OFF VIETNAM!

The above leaflet has been published by the "Hands Off Vietnam Committee," based in London. 2,000 copies were given out to the workers of Fords Motor Co. of Dagenham, Essex, which is controlled by its U.S. Parent Company.

TO : VANGUARD

Flat 3
33 Anson Road
LONDON N7

I wish to subscribe to VANGUARD. Enclosed please find my 15/- subscription for the next 12 issues (outside Europe, Ground Mail 15/-; Air Mail 30/-) 7/6 for 6 issues, 3/9 for 3 issues (post paid).

NAME :

ADDRESS :

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in various countries, and who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population. Although certain individuals in Afro-Asian countries have joined the imperialists' anti-Chinese chorus because they have entered into the service of imperialism, and although the modern revisionists are also supporting the anti-Chinese hullabaloo, they are after all a small handful. The broad masses of the people of the world want friendship with China. We have friends all over the world. And with the steady development of the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, China will definitely have more and more friends. It is those who aid and abet U.S. imperialism and cry out against China that are becoming increasingly isolated.

The year 1966 will witness the further deepening and expansion of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people of the world and will witness still greater victories for them. In the

coming year, the national-democratic revolutionary movement may still meet with new difficulties and setbacks in certain areas of Asia and Africa, and adverse currents may still arise. We Afro-Asian peoples and revolutionary and progressive parties, organisations and individuals must be vigilant and prepared for this.

No reactionary current can prevent the victorious advance of the revolutionary people of the world. The hundreds of millions of Afro-Asian people are determined to carry their revolutionary struggles against imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys through to the end. They are advancing wave upon wave in their valiant and dauntless march. This constitutes the main current of our era which no force on earth can stop. There are already signs of an approaching new and great anti-U.S. revolutionary storm in Asia and Africa and the whole world.

POLEMICS:

SOME METHODS OF WORK

PAUL NOONE

AS ALL serious comrades know, our aim, and that of all genuine Marxist-Leninists, is to build a Marxist Leninist Communist Party as soon as possible. A Party of cadres which moves, leads and influences decisively a mass movement of politically conscious and revolutionary workers.

How are we going to do this? That is the urgent question. To simply repeat slogans and statements of Marxist Leninist intent and of international solidarity with anti-imperialist revolutionary movements is not enough. No matter how "correct" these statements may be in themselves, this is verbal Marxism, of which the British workers have had plenty. What is needed and urgently is for Marxist Leninists to begin relating the day to day problems of workers — the immediate struggle — to a revolutionary perspective and strategy. The workers, including the militant sections, are only going to arrive at a Marxist Leninist position politically, when they are able to understand their daily life, struggles and hardships in terms of a Marxist Leninist analysis of society. Marxist Leninists must be able to project this analysis to the workers in terms of the workers'

Thus our work consists of two interrelated parts:

1. We must develop cadres and at the same time the basis for an organisation upon which the Marxist Leninist Workers Party we all want can be reconstituted. We can only develop cadres in the true sense of the word as we develop our organisation — for we can only have cadres in a properly geared and disciplined organisation.
2. We must try to develop a "mass line" for the English, Scottish and Welsh workers. This is a broad popular line of political advance based on a detailed Marxist Leninist analysis of Britain but interpreted in a way, the working masses can understand and to which they can respond. In this way we can initiate and develop the working class struggle along correct political lines while systematically raising the political understanding of the workers.

In attempting (2) by all the means at our disposal we, the militants develop as cadres in theory and practice. We also develop fresh cadres from among the masses. Moreover those militants who at present are dubious of us for various reasons, will be attracted to us as we grow. As they see us winning successes, as they see us serving the real interests of the workers, doing what the revisionist party leadership have neglected to do and are refusing to do, they will become convinced of the correctness and relevance of our line.

Thus we must take the decisive political lead in seeking to create a broad-anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement and at the same time we will be developing a party organisation of cadres.

This is going to be a difficult task . . . but it is the only way forward for us.

"NEW ALBANIA"

This illustrated magazine brings you direct news from the land of Socialism in Europe.

Find out more about this land which defied Khrushchov, which faces imperialism and its agent, Tito, with arms in hand.

"New Albania" (in English) price 1/9 (by subscription 6/- for four issues).

From "VANGUARD" Literary Dept.
THAMES VALLEY COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION

The TVCA has meetings at Walton-on-Thames and at Richmond-on-Thames, Surrey. The TVCA fully supports the Marxist-Leninist line of the CDCRU and the role of "Vanguard". The TVCA builds contacts and organises activity in the area.

Inquiries should be addressed to:

E. HUNT

68 Clarence Road, Teddington, Middx.

*It won't be as hard as imagined,
"Labour" Harold is on the way
One thing only is lacking
He hasn't asked L.B.J.*

**But the President's a "sober" man of "peace"
we have Khrushchov's assurance, and
if you can't take Nikita's word for it —
Keep paying your life insurance!**

Ah well! — politics are intricate and
Gollan has joined the game.
It's still called the Communist Party
So we'll end, just as we started,
"What (indeed), is in a name?"

WHAT NAME?

INSPIRED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY DECISION OF THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY to change the name of the "THE DAILY WORKER" — (or — an effort to help out!)

"What's in a name,
A rose by any other name
would smell as sweet" —
so Will Shakespeare said.
Did he consider, though —
That it would change from red?

*The CND, the Co-op Guilds
The Labour "left" and Gracie Fields
Barbara Castle, Mikardo too
Jesuit's Witnesses and what have you,*

*Brockway, Soper and a few more peers,
Transit to Socialism — without the tears.
The Liberals, Radicals, Society of Friends,
Pope Paul and Tito and other red trends
Flog the new paper beyond Big Ben,
Gollan heads the motorcade —
Next stop — No. 10.*

**Bikini beauties with scanty bra
to raise the circulation
Here they are.**

Hold high the scarlet banner, boys
By Gollan! don't be a shirker.
The Vietnamese are doing their bit.
Our task
is to rename The Worker!

*One reader suggests it's re-christened the
"Morning Star".
For this bright brain-wave
We shout a loud "hurrah"
But we take leave to move an amendment
with apologies, though,
"Would be best to print the letter "u"
after the letter "o."*

**You face heroic struggles and
bravely face the odds
For the ashes of your Marxist speeches
and the Kremlin tin-Gods.**

Prince Philip and Tony Greenwood
The Archbishop of Canterbury too
they simply *must* become subscribers
or the working-class will rue.

*Have a care, you wolves of Wall Street
and Throgmorton Street as well
George Matthews is on the war-path,
Your future lies in hell!*

**Your monopolies face a take-over
(With compensation though, I'll wager)
You can laugh in the face of the barricades
But, — beware of that six-pager.**

Zilliacus and Woodcock and Dr. Barbara Moore
Rally, Comrades, rally,
It's all to help the poor!

*But a new-born must have a name
Lest there be the breath of scandal —
The "Daily who-knows-why-or-what-or-when
— Someone's bound to think of a handle.*

**Mount your chargers, Foot and Cousins,
smite Wilson in the fight,
We must entuse our rank and file
They don't know their "left" from the right.**

Smash Yankee Imperialism,
their fate they will bemoan,
What? you doubt if Moscow will back us?
Just "listen in" to that hot 'phone.

We've had our Party Congress
true, of Leninism it was bereft,
But, look what we've given you in its place
"Shift Harold to the Left!"

SOME CRITICS

There are some critics who would say that this attitude smacks of "overoptimism" and "subjective daydreaming." These 'realists' (as they like to call themselves) assert that "objective conditions are not ripe for building a broad working class movement in this country under Marxist Leninist leadership." Of course no one claims this can be achieved overnight — but it can be done. If we call ourselves Marxist Leninists this is because we know that there are objective irreconcilable class antagonisms in capitalist society — antagonisms which will burst into actual conflict — economic, political and even physical from time to time in varying degrees. But there is always the basis in a capitalist society for developing working class consciousness and a workers' vanguard party. This is true because there is always the basic class antagonism which not only makes this possible but actually determines that it will take place.

Of course the 'realists' answer that in imperialist Britain the crumbs of super-exploitation from the colonies and neo-colonies have bought off the antagonisms and that only when imperialism has crumbled away and the colonies and neocolonies have gained real economic independence will capitalism be overthrown in this country. This no doubt contains a great deal of truth: it is quite obvious that as British imperialism becomes increasingly weakened by the national liberation struggles it becomes increasingly vulnerable to the metropolitan working class (correctly organised and led): moreover for obvious economic reasons the class antagonisms at home become increasingly sharpened. However this is a process which is developing now. For it is an objective fact that British imperialism is in grave difficulties now — and these difficulties are increasing. Social antagonisms are polarising. Wage pause, price increases, tax and national insurance increases, threats to the right to strike, fascist attacks on "coloured" workers etc., etc. These are indications of this trend.

The working class is striking back and will continue to strike back spontaneously whether or not a correct Marxist Leninist lead is given. If a Marxist Leninist lead is not given then the workers will succumb to a petty bourgeois or bourgeois lead, whether purely "economist," "left social democratic," "trotskyist," "fascist," whatever. The workers will therefore be sidetracked into bourgeois politics and divided one section against another. In fact this is happening now. This is why the CPBG leaders' erroneous strategy and tactics are such an act of treachery. At this crucial time of mounting class tensions and conflict the working class has been effectively disarmed. This in turn renders the tasks facing would-be Marxist Leninists all the more urgent. We must relate the immediate day to day problems of the workers to a Marxist Leninist analysis of the world and particularly of Britain. 'Theory without practice is sterile.'

(Continued in next issue)

NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Congo patriots vow to triumph!

Long Live Lumumba's Memory!

ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MURDER OF PATRICE LUMUMBA, THE CONGOLESE NATIONAL HERO, THE CONGOLESE PATRIOTIC FORCES IN THE WESTERN FRONT ISSUED A STATEMENT CALLING ON THE CONGOLESE PATRIOTIC FORCES AND PEOPLE TO CHERISH LUMUMBA'S REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT, SMASH THE PLOTS OF THE IMPERIALISTS AND THE MODERN REVISIONISTS, AND ADVANCE THE STRUGGLE BY MEANS OF PEOPLE'S WAR, ACCORDING TO A REPORT FROM LEOPOLDVILLE.

THE STATEMENT SAID, "TO PAY HOMAGE TO OUR LEADER ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BRUTAL DISAPPEARANCE, WE DEEM IT NECESSARY TO DENOUNCE THE DEFEATIST IDEAS SPREAD IN OUR RANKS BY THE ENEMIES OF THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE, THE VERY PEOPLE WHO ARE ACCOMPLICES IN THE CRISIS OBTAINING IN OUR COUNTRY."

It denounced certain Congolese, who were backed by the imperialists and Khrushchov revisionists, for asserting that Lumumba was not in favour of armed struggle and revolutionary violence, in order to cover up their odious treason.

The facts are, the statement continued, that after his illegal removal from the premiership by the traitor Kasavubu, Lumumba, who was already under house arrest, instructed his assistant to go to Stanleyville to make preparations for armed resistance against the puppet authorities arbitrarily installed in Leopoldville. Besides, Lumumba was planning to go to Stanleyville to take over the leadership of the People Armed Resistance.

"But alas, the Khrushchov revisionists, who were not so well understood by our people at that time, know better than anyone else the real causes of the tragic death of Lumumba and the failure of our resistance in Stanleyville.

"All the people of the world, and our people in particular, also know that for the modern revisionists there is not any difference between a just war and a war of conquest — an unjust war.

REVISIONIST'S TREASON

"Moreover all the people of the world, and our people in particular, know that the Khrushchov revisionists are conducting a propaganda of demoralisation against the war of liberation, in order to morally disarm the people engaged in struggle. But they should not try to hide their treason behind this great revolutionary, Patrice Lumumba."

The statement added, "our people, tempered by their own experiences accumulated in the course of the past five years of struggle in all forms, will never again welcome the presence of the United Nations in the Congo, and will never fall for any sort of National Reconciliation advocated by the modern revisionists. Never will the revolutionary people of the Congo embrace the assassins of Lumumba.

"This is why Brother Pierre Mulele, taught by these negative lessons and faithful to Lumumba's policy, heroically launched the Armed Struggle which has become a national reality.

"This is why, under the banner of the National Council for the Liberation of the Congo, our people are courageously fighting the Leopoldville puppets — the running dogs of Yankee imperialism."

"We have many enemies both at home and abroad. They have come under different guises. But as our great leader Lumumba has put it so well, 'if we are united and faithful, the imperialists manoeuvres to sow discord in our ranks and set the nationalists one against the other, will be doomed to failure.'

"If we close our ranks to achieve unity in revolutionary action, we will surely smash the double encirclement of the imperialists and revisionists and thus pay great homage to the memory of Patrice Lumumba, who was savagely assassinated by our enemy.

NO COMPROMISE

"No compromise with the reactionaries; the imperialists are already trembling before our struggle and they are perfectly aware that Lumumba, though dead, is even more powerful now than when he was alive. Patrice is dead, but

his indomitable spirit will guide us in the struggle to regain our sovereignty."

The statement called on all fighters engaged in the Congolese people's armed struggle "to revive and spread the revolutionary ideas expounded by our national hero through total mobilisation, to strengthen unity in action, fortify our determination to carry the struggle through to the end by means of people's war."

"We are not alone. Africa and Asia are always on the side of the millions of Congolese who will not abandon their struggle until the day when there will no longer be colonisers and their mercenaries in our country."

Bumper Harvest In North Vietnam Despite U.S. Bombing by Cheng Mei

THE fighting people in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam won remarkable success in farming in 1965. The grain harvest was 3.9% higher than the year before.

The bumper harvest was a proud reply to the U.S. aggressors, who have strafed and bombed North Vietnam day and night ever since early 1965. They vainly hoped that the bombs could spread starvation among the Vietnamese people and bring them to their knees.

Throughout the harvest season people went about their harvesting, threshing and husking till the small hours.

According to incomplete official statistics, both early and late rice crops were good. The per hectare yield averaged more than five tons in more than seventy co-operatives on the outskirts of Hanoi and in hundreds of agricultural co-operatives in Hai Duong Province.

In Vinh Area near the seventeenth Parallel, which bore the brunt of U.S. air attacks, he people gathered a bumper farm harvest while heroically fighting against the air marauders. Total rice yield exceeded the planned target by 7.5%.

In Ngai An and Thanh Hoa Provinces, which had been struck by U.S. bombers, the late rice yield was the highest since 1960.

Irrigation projects have become targets of the U.S. aircraft. Ban Thach dam on the Ma River has stood against eleven air raids. Everywhere the people and army valiantly defended the water conservancy works and promptly repaired those damaged. Their hard work secured the flow of water to the fields, which finally brought a bumper crop.

In addition, many new small-scale irrigation projects were built all over the country. Seven provinces in the middle reaches of the Red River all overfulfilled their 1965 targets for water conservancy work.

Washington's escalation of its aggressive war intensified the people's hatred for U.S. imperialism. The Vietnamese people converted their hatred into strength to bring about a good harvest. The people and army in Tho Xuan District, who won a good harvest, brought down and damaged 32 U.S. aircraft last year.

THE HEROIC LAOTIAN PEOPLE FIGHT ON

by Chi Ang

TODAY, U.S. military planes taking off from bases in Thailand and South Vietnam and from the U.S. Seventh Fleet bomb and strafe the liberated areas of Laos. To support the puppet Vientiane government, huge arsenals of U.S. weapons and other war material have been illegally shipped into Laos, where several thousand U.S. people and military technicians pose as "advisers."

Laos is a small country with a territory of 230,000 square kilometres and a population of three million. But the Laotian people have a glorious tradition of fighting foreign aggressors.

At the present time the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys are stepping up their military and political adventures in Laos to keep pace with the escalation of their war against Vietnam.

In a recent report, Prince Souphanouvong declared: "Our urgent task at present is to exert every effort to mobilise the whole people for national salvation and to frustrate any type of war, no matter on what scale, that the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen may unleash."

This is the ardent determination with which the Neo Lao Haksat, the patriotic neutralist forces and the whole Laotian people will most certainly win final victory. And the struggles and victories of the Laotian people are making a vital contribution to the defence of peace and security in the whole of Indo-China, Asia and the world.

Twenty years ago, after driving out the Japanese armies, the Laotian people set up a provisional government in Vientiane, on October 12, 1945, to resist the return of French colonialism. Several years later, the Neo Lao Haksat, headed by Prince Souphanouvong led the Laotian people in armed struggle. In the period from 1949-1954 the Pathet Lao Fighting Units grew from a mere handful to fight bravely against the French colonialists in over 3,000 encounters. Under the leadership of the Neo Lao Haksat, they wiped out more than 17,000 enemy troops and liberated half of the country's territory and one-third of the population. In 1954 France was forced to sign the Geneva agreements, which recognised the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos.

Ever since then, however, U.S. imperialism has assumed the mantle of the French colonialists. It has infiltrated into the country, sabotaged the Geneva agreements, fostered a puppet regime, and instigated civil war. The Neo Lao Haksat has waged a strenuous political and military struggle against all these aspects of U.S. intervention, in order to maintain the country's independence.

In 1962, U.S. imperialism was compelled to sign the Geneva declaration on neutrality of Laos. In line with the 1961 Zurich agreements and the 1962 Plain of Jars agreements, a tripartite National Union Government was formed in Vientiane, representing the three Laotian factions: the Neo Lao Haksat, the neutralists and the rightists. These gains secured by the Laotian people and patriotic forces were important in their long and arduous struggle to achieve a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

Over the past three years, the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces have faithfully observed the provisions of the 1962 Geneva agreements, and have consistently worked for the thorough implementation of the National Union Government's political programme.

But in violation of the 1962 Geneva declaration and of the agreements reached between the three factions of Laos, the U.S. imperialists have step by step pushed ahead with their neo-colonialist policy of aggression. And

Prince Souvanna Phouma and Kong Le, motivated by selfish interests, embarked on the road of betrayal. In direct opposition to the national interests of Laos, they defected from the ranks of the patriotic neutralist forces and became agents of the U.S. imperialists.

Today, the Vientiane government has become a mere puppet manipulated by U.S. imperialism, and its reactionary army of 60,000 men, conducted repeated attacks on the liberated areas.

In the face of all this, the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces have been compelled in self-defence to wage a war of resistance. The former Pathet Lao Fighting Units, now renamed the Laotian People's Liberation Army, have dealt the enemy heavy blows on battlefields up and down the country. During the past three years or more, the Laotian patriotic forces have annihilated nearly 20,000 puppet troops and shot down over 160 U.S. planes.

Today, two-thirds of Laotian territory and half the country's population have been liberated, and, despite the many difficulties caused by enemy attacks, these liberated areas have grown steadily stronger. All sections of the people, regardless of political conviction and social status are closely united. All the brother nationalities living there enjoy political equality; their economic situation is improving and their cultural life is growing richer.

L.B.J.'s WAR IN VIETNAM FATTENS U.S. PARASITES

THE NEW YORK TIMES REVEALED ON JANUARY 16, THAT PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S \$58.3 BILLION FOR "DEFENCE" IN THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR AND THE EXTRA \$5.8 BILLION EARMARKED FOR AGGRESSION IN INDO-CHINA WOULD GO TO INFLATE THE BELLIES OF THE GIANT MONOPOLY GROUPS.

"Lockheed Aircraft" with \$1,715 million military orders was the biggest wolf last year, with "General Dynamics," "McDonnell Aircraft" and "General Electric" well to the fore in the hungry pack.

This poisonous economic "stimulant" to the essentially unhealthy U.S. economy, is expected, by most American economists to lead to serious inflation, a weakening of the dollar and an emergency budget before summer, heaving still steeper taxes on the ordinary people.

It is impossible to expect that such a development will not further add to the difficulties of Britain's economy in 1966.

In both the U.S. and Britain, the Government economic planners count on increased productivity on the part of the industrial workers (i.e. even greater surplus value from their labour-power) to underpin their shaky financial structures.

"LOOK HOW DEGRADED THEY'VE BECOME!"

Says "PEOPLES DAILY"

Commentator

PEKING

THE KHRUSHCHOV revisionists have spread quite a lot of slander against China over the question of "aid supplies in transit to Vietnam."

Now the Moscow weekly "Abroad" has made another addition by reprinting a dispatch of the *New York Times* to the effect that China demanded according to its regulations freight charges for Soviet shipments of military and medical aid supplies in transit to the Vietnam Democratic Republic, and that in dollars only, not in rubles. So in these few words they try to portray China as a money-grubber so obsessed with the lust for gains that it would profiteer in a war at the expense of the bloodshed and sacrifices of the Vietnamese people. What motives they have! None could be more sinister.

But Messrs editors of the *Abroad!* It is really too tactless of you to attack China by quoting from the American press.

One would like to ask: If the facts are like those given in the weekly *Abroad*, why should Soviet journals have recourse to quotations from American journals instead of coming out themselves to make their remarks with a clear conscience?

One would like also to ask: Since you want the readers to believe in what is said in the *New York Times*, and since China and the Soviet Union are the only two parties involved in the transit of aid supplies to Vietnam, isn't it clear that you and you alone are the source of the rumours spread by the Americans?

NOT FIRST TIME

This is not the first time that the Soviet leaders have kicked up a big fuss against China over the so-called question of aid supplies to Vietnam. Slanders and rumours have been spread far and wide ever since March this year. At one time it was alleged that China "obstructs the transit of Soviet aid supplies to Vietnam," and at another time it was said that China was "creating difficulties" for such transit. Such rumours were first spread by Western newsmen in Moscow, and the party organs of certain East European countries jumped at them and published them. Now the Soviet press, in turn, reprinted from the *New York Times* to slander China and undermine the unity of China and Vietnam in opposing U.S. imperialism. This has shed further light on the fact that the Khrushchov revisionists and the U.S. imperialists are working in complicity with each other and echoing each other.

However, lies cannot stand up to facts. We do not find it necessary to make public all the details about this question, suffice it to mention a few points:

One. After assuming power, the new leaders of the CPSU have seen that the Vietnamese people have won tremendous victories in their anti-U.S. struggle, so they switch from Khrushchov's policy of disengagement to the policy of involvement and decide to send weapons to Vietnam. Their aim in doing so is to gain the right to have a say, control and representation on the Vietnam question in the name of aid so as to strike a political deal with the United States.

Two. The Soviet Union is duty-bound to aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and to save the country. As far as Soviet military material to Vietnam is concerned, the greater the quantity and more practical the better. But so far, a great part of the Soviet military equipment supplied to Vietnam consists of obsolete equipment discarded by the Soviet armed forces or damaged weapons cleaned out from the warehouse. These things, both in quantity or quality, not only are far from commensurate with the strength of the Soviet Union but also far, far below the aid the Soviet Union has given to the Indian reactionaries.

Three. To discharge its proletarian internationalist duty, China has always done what it can to support the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and to save the country politically, economically and militarily. China has always honoured the agreements and done its utmost speedily to transport to Vietnam all military material in overland transit which was furnished by the Soviet Union. Every

shipment thus made is on record. China makes no charge of all these transshipments of military material. We have not charged the Soviet Union a single kopek, let alone U.S. dollars.

This is the truth of the matter.

Ever since they came to power, the new leaders of the CPSU, when they fail to reason things out and present facts, have even outdone Khrushchov in resorting more frequently to rumour-mongering, slander and sowing discord. At meetings of various kinds in the Soviet Union, in bilateral contracts between the Soviet Union and other countries and at all international meetings, they have created and spread all sorts of new and extraordinary lies about China to deceive the Soviet and other peoples of the world who do not know the true state of affairs. The new leaders of the CPSU have sunk to the depth of depending on rumour-mongering for a living.

But lies do not go far. Once the slander is exposed, the ugly features of slanderers are thoroughly revealed.

NEWS COMMENT

U.S. LEADERS

"Let the cat out of the bag"

FOLLOWING the extensive Humphrey-Rusk-Kosygin talks in N. Delhi, Vice-President of the U.S.A. Humphrey and top leader McGeorge Bundy appeared on American T.V.

"It is a fact," said Humphrey, "that the Soviets are trying to build a containment wall around China — this was part of the reason for the Tashkent Conference and that was well-done. Its (the Soviet's-Ed.) main concern is Communist China, rather than anything the U.S. may be doing."

According to McBundy—"this was the highest level and most prolonged Soviet-U.S. contact since Khrushchov's fall." He continued: "the public position of the Soviets is one of strong support for the conditions set down by Hanoi, however, it is clear to us that the Soviet Government hopes for a peaceful settlement."

Thus, it should become increasingly clear to all people who value justice, that the Soviet revisionist leaders' special role is to make certain sounds and gestures in order to deceive the peoples that they "wholeheartedly support" the Vietnamese patriots.

On the other hand, to actually serve U.S. imperialism by slyly conniving with it for a "settlement," based on the occupation of South Vietnam by the U.S. and its puppets and the complete surrender of the Vietnamese at the "negotiating" table in the name of "peaceful co-existence" and U.S.-Soviet domination in world affairs.

U.S. Handout To YUGOSLAVIA

THE U.S.A. will loan Yugoslavia one million, three hundred fifty thousand tons of wheat, according to a report from Belgrade.

The wheat plus its transport charges is worth eighty-six million, four hundred thousand dollars.

The United States had first promised Yugoslavia 700,000 tons last November. The new wheat agreement signed in

AN URGENT APPEAL

Dear Comrades and Friends,
Since its formation in November 1963 the C.D.R.C.U. has ceaselessly carried on its work.

This work has consisted of :-

1. The active struggles against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism.
2. The exposure of the betrayal by the "Labour" government and its henchmen, of all the fundamental interests of the British people and particularly the working class.
3. The relentless exposure of and struggle against the renegade trend of modern revisionism both on a world scale and that of the leaders of the C.P.G.B. — a trend which betrays Marxism-Leninism, betrays the international working class, betrays the mighty national liberation movements and objectively serves the vile interests of imperialism and capitalism.
4. The struggle for the genuine unity of the world Communist Movement based upon the immortal teachings of the great Marx and Lenin — as distinct from the sham "unity" of the exploited peoples with imperialism and neo-colonialism as preached by the modern revisionists, who still faithfully serve Khrushchov and Tito.
5. The fight for the day-to-day economic and political interests of the British working people and the enhancing of their ideological level and consciousness of the necessity to establish Socialism based on the dictatorship of the proletariat.
6. The consolidation of fraternal links with Marxist-Leninist Parties, Groups and individuals abroad.
7. The struggle for world peace and the prevention of a nuclear world war, founded upon the defeat of imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists, the unity of the international proletariat with the national liberation movement and all genuine progressive forces and the total and comprehensive banning of nuclear weapons.

8. The fight against all and every form of racialism and for the militant unity of all people of every colour in order

ECONOMICS AND BUILDING OUR FIGHTING FUND RESERVE

We have, in the main discharged our responsibilities with credit (we are told by our many friends and supporters) despite slanders and attacks against us from opportunists and adventurers of various hues and despite the illness and tragic untimely death of our Secretary McCreery in April last year.

We therefore do not hesitate to inform you of our difficulties and to call on you for your help so that we can carry on these arduous but absolutely vital tasks.

It is impossible to discharge these tasks without money, which means in essence, without your gratefully appreciated help. This is self-evident. The regular publication of *Vanguard*, many thousands of leaflets (11,500 on Vietnam alone), the convening of public meetings, the essential upkeep of a centre, telephone, postages etc., all these have reduced our fighting fund reserve considerably.

There has been a notable increase in the demand for "Vanguard," yet due to the increasing costs of printing, etc. we are reluctantly compelled to reduce its size.

We have confidence that our readers and supporters will fully appreciate the situation.

Please donate what you can to our "Vanguard" fund. Cheques and Money Orders should be crossed, payable to "Vanguard" and receipts will be posted by return. This is one vital and indispensable way in which you can show your stern opposition to imperialism — the butcher and prison-warder of the working peoples — and imperialism's despicable lackeys.

With warmest best wishes,
The EDITORS.

Belgrade on 21st January has nearly doubled the amount.

UP! UP! Go Living Costs

According to the *Guardian* (January 15), 20 capitalist countries record soaring living costs in 1965; these range from the U.S.A. (2%) to Brazil 56%. [I.M.F. Statistics].

Britain's figure was 5% and Yugoslavia's 50%.

During seven weeks (December/January) prices of 1,000 items of food have risen — 2.8% up on November 1965.

Each year the British housewife has to find 1/- in the £ more for food and provisions. All public transport fares in Greater London went up, yet again on January 16.

All this and more co-incides with a new drive by the "Labour" Government, in service to monopoly — capitalism, to press down on wage-claims.

The latest example is the findings of the *Prices and Incomes Board*, advising rejection of the wage and hours claim by the railwaymen and the burial of the *Guillebaud Report*, which even under a *Conservative Government* advised flexibility on railmen's wages in relation to wage-rates in private industry.

The Bitter Fruit Of The Acquisitive Society

In "booming" free-for-all Britain, the crime-rate has reached unprecedented proportions.

There were one million indictable offences in 1964 and the increase is 9% per year since 1962. The biggest being in crimes of violence and robbery. There was a sharp increase in violence in 1965, organised crimes is playing a bigger part and 50% of the guilty are under 21.

It can be of any consolation in President Johnson's "Great Society," the situation is even much worse!

Tight Smile Item

We learn from "U.S. News and World Report" that "Americans are grumbling about the higher cost of living." Officials, however will only concede that there is only "creeping inflation." What plaintively asks the "U.S. News, etc.," if the rate of creep speeds up, as it is now doing.

We hope that bourgeois economists will refrain from the temptation to write bulky volumes on (ugh!) — the rate of creeps!

Memorable Sayings Department

"WE WANT to stop the war, get a settlement, put Vietnam back on its feet and have no interference from either North or South" — thus spake Mr. K. McManara, recent Labour Party candidate in Hull North by-election.

According to the *Daily Worker*, this remarkable character fully supported Wilson's pro-U.S. policy on Vietnam.

This did not prevent the revisionist Communist Party from advising its members in North Hull to vote for him.

This, despite the fact that Mr. R. Gott (Radical Alliance) thoroughly opposed the treacherous Wilson line and had, in consequence, resigned from the L.P.

Just one more act in the renegade-revisionist circus.