

WANGGUARD

Politics
Economics
World News
Literature
Polemics 1/-

VOL. 1 NO. 6

JULY 1964

A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

SMASH U.S. WAR PLANS

Irish C.P. Leadership Joins Krushchev

HAVING heretofore sat upon the fence vis-a-vis the questions being debated throughout the international Communist movement, the Irish Workers' (Marxist?) Party has now declared itself wholeheartedly in favour of the line pursued by the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.G.B. It has also gone on record in condemnation of the Communist Party of China.

It is worthwhile examining some of the points the Irish leadership make in excuse for their position.

The choice quote from their statement is as follows:—"In the experience of our country we have seen that the nature of imperialism has not changed. We have also seen, despite the strength of imperialism and its unchanged nature, that the power of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist states and that of the world forces for peace and progress can impose peace on the imperialists and can defend and advance the cause of national independence without recourse to nuclear war. This was shown during the Caribbean crisis. The heroic stand of the Cuban people, championed by the might of the Soviet Union, demonstrated the true character of the present epoch." Unquote.

Let us state from the outset that we have not even got a quibble with the first sentence. We only wish the authors of the statement had realised the full significance of that sentence. However, in dealing with the second sentence one can only wonder where it has been suggested by anyone that it is necessary to resort to nuclear war to defend or advance the cause of national independence. Certainly, no people struggling for independence possess nuclear weapons nor, to our knowledge, does there exist any desire on the part of such people to request the use of nuclear weapons by the nuclear powers to pursue that struggle. If however we examine this nonsense in conjunction with the subsequent reference to Cuba and the claptrap about 'imposing' peace on the imperialists, then we begin to see where the rot sets in. No doubt the intelligent reader will have concluded by now that the condemnation of China is related to the question of nuclear war.

Cuba. Most people involved in our movement have read and listened to so many excuses for the Cuban debacle, have had so many versions rammed through their ears, that we must excuse the professional 'Marxists' for thinking that we have completely forgotten the sequence of events which led to the Cuban fiasco.

CUBA

First, let us remember that what American imperialism could not stomach, and still cannot, was the establishment of a Socialist state within her own hemisphere. The struggle of the people of Cuba was heroic. When we reach the question of rocket bases in Cuba, their stand was again heroic. To attempt to rub off some of this heroism on to the leadership of the Soviet Union is to attempt to cover up the blind stupidity and cowardice of that leadership.

It was the Soviet Union who established the bases in Cuba. The Cuban people defended their right to such bases. And why not. This is after all a test of the right of self-determination. Have not the Cubans the right to decide what weapons they shall defend themselves with? Or, must they submit to the right of this or that imperialist power, who may be awaiting an opportune moment to destroy their gains, to decide what weapons they should possess? It is precisely this right which Khrushchev conceded to American imperialism without even bothering to consult the Cuban people.

When the chips were down, when the blackmailing gangster Kennedy had blockaded Cuba and brought the world

to the brink of nuclear war, the Soviet leadership meekly submitted. The rockets were repacked and removed post haste.

It is not our purpose to pontificate on the right or wrong of the decision of the Soviet leadership to place rocket bases in Cuba. Suffice to say here, if the Soviet Union believed it to be right or necessary then they should have defended that action. If they realised as they should have done, that in the event of American reaction they would have to withdraw them, then they should never have put them there in the first place.

What we fail to see is how it is possible, by any stretch of imagination, to congratulate the Soviet leadership on their stand. It was at best a cowardly retreat under an imperialist threat or, at worst, a downright betrayal of the right of self-determination of the Cuban people and, in consequence, all the peoples of Latin America. Certainly the actions of the Soviet Union "demonstrated the true character of the present epoch" in so far as the policies of the present leadership of the Soviet Union is concerned.

TRICK OF PALME DUTT

China and Nuclear War. Dealing with the question of nuclear war and China the statement continues: "We consider that the viewpoint of the Chinese Communist Party is completely wrong in the way in which it lightly dismisses nuclear war and talks of building 'a thousand times more wonderful future' on the ruins which would follow such a war." Shades of the influence of R.P.D.! Delegates to the 1963 Congress of the C.P.G.B. will remember the trick pulled by Palme Dutt in concluding the debate on the International Communist Movement. Like a conjuror producing a rabbit from a hat, the Rajah Plum Duff performed a great feat by producing—towards the end of his winding-up speech—a small card from his breast pocket from which he read exactly the same extract as the Irish Workers' Party now uses to vilify the C.P.C. Whatever else one might say about the Chinese, they don't dismiss anything lightly. It is a great pity that people like Dutt and his counterparts in Ireland think they can lightly dismiss the Chinese position by attempting to foist upon Communists these few words, taken completely out of context, as an accurate estimate of the Chinese views on nuclear war.

So that there can be no doubt in our minds as to the level to which these modern purveyors of 'Marxism' have stooped, I think we should in all fairness quote the paragraph which concluded with that particular phrase.

CHINESE STATEMENT

"An awakened people will always find new ways to counteract the reactionaries' superiority in arms and win victory for themselves. This was so in past history, it is so at present, and it will remain so in the future. As a result of the supremacy gained by the Socialist Soviet Union in military techniques, and the loss of their monopoly of atomic and nuclear weapons by the U.S. imperialists, and as a result of the awakening of the people the world over and of the people in the United States itself, there is now in the world the possibility of concluding

United States imperialism is once again determined to plunge the world into war with its aggression against the peoples of South-East Asia. War can be averted if United States imperialism is isolated and exposed. The British government, representing British imperialist interests, is attempting to support the suicidal policies of the United States government, as well as engaging in its own dirty wars in North Kalimantan and South Arabia.

The British people must say no to imperialist aggression and war. We must make it clear to the British government that we will not fight imperialism's wars. British troops must be forced to leave Asia, Africa and Latin America.

**United States and British imperialists —
get out of Asia
get out of Africa
get out of Latin America**



MAKING A CLEAN SWEEP

an agreement on the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons. We are striving for the conclusion of such an agreement. In contrast to the bellicose imperialists, the socialist countries and peace-loving people the world over actively and firmly stand for the banning and destruction of atomic and nuclear weapons. We are always struggling against imperialist war, for the banning of atomic and

nuclear weapons and for the defence of world peace. The more broadly and intensively this struggle is waged and the more fully and thoroughly the brutish faces of the bellicose U.S. and other imperialists are exposed the more will we be able to isolate these imperialists before the people of the world, the greater will be the possibility of
continued on page 16

Paynter — BETRAYS MINERS

The cat is out of the bag as far as top leadership of the British Communist Party is concerned, a member of the Executive Committee of the Party, its leading industrial figure, Will Paynter, Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers has made a speech to Lancashire miners which reveals what the C.P.'s industrial policy really is. The camouflage of militancy, which the Party, under the leadership of men like Peter Kerrigan, has maintained since the war will become increasingly difficult to maintain.

So openly is this action of Will Paynter's a sell-out of the miners that even Ian Coulton, Industrial Correspondent of the *Sunday Times*, failed to conceal his astonishment, or the shocked astonishment of the miners who couldn't believe their ears. Paynter said: "A National Strike placing at risk thousands of miners' jobs could only be justified if some vital principle was at stake. There is no vital principle involved in the difference between 9/6 and the 15/- claimed." How every employer throughout the land must have rubbed his hands in satisfaction on reading this statement. So there is nothing vital about wage claims!

Yet without the strike threat, as every working man knows, employers, including their State, their Government, would laugh at any real wage claim.

Will Paynter not only comes out flat-footedly against direct action, he also urges the miners not to adopt a ban on overtime as an alternative: "It is a form of action requiring a far higher standard of personal courage and fortitude by the individuals affected than is called for in a strike. For these reasons it is difficult form of action to continue for other than a limited period." That statement is a complete distortion of facts. Will Paynter must think his hearers are a pack of fools. A ban on overtime requires far less courage than a complete shutdown, nor is the result as crippling on industry. But Paynter is even against a partial lowering of production, he is now openly advocating peace at any price. What is at the back of it, why has the Communist Party instructed Paynter to take this line?

EARNING A LIVING

Paynter himself tells you why: "The Government becomes immediately involved where strike action is taken in a nationalised industry." That is what these men who have sold out for the flesh pots fear as even as the devil fears holy water, that the working class will realise that the government, whether Tory or Labour, is against them, that the government always represents the interests of the capitalist class.

The reporter from the capitalist press, Ian Coulton, saw the point for he says: "As an executive member of the Communist Party and the acknowledged symbol of the Welsh miners, Mr Paynter was making a remarkable open confession to the Lancashire miners of just where his sympathies lie. For he not only told the men not to strike, but warned them of the dangers of attempting to adopt an overtime ban as an alternative."

Will Paynter has exposed himself as an opportunist of the first water. He, and those officials who support him, must be driven from office, he should be booted from every pithead. Particularly does a duty fall on the Welsh miners, for this man is a Welshman and has brought shame on them not only as miners with a tradition for militancy without parallel in Britain, but as Welshmen, with all that implies.

PAYNTER HYPOCRITE

Wesh mining officials must be asked to state their opinion, those who fail to disassociate themselves from Paynter

and his bosses in King Street must be fought to a standstill. Groups should be formed in the pits, not a single colliery should be without representation; leaflets and pithead meetings should be on the order of the day. Paynter is a hypocrite when he states, "We are living in a period of industrial revolution. We need to adapt our ideas, to look at these problems intelligently from a completely new basis of obtaining maximum security for our people in the industry, at the highest wages, with the best conditions it is possible to obtain." Yet this is the man who is one of the small group of key union men implicitly trusted by the miners, without whose assistance the government plan of closing down "unprofitable pits" couldn't have been put into operation without great difficulty, if at all. For the period following the war found the miners in a position of great strength. Instead of confronting the government with a real programme which would have benefited the miners, as well as the country at large, its working class, men such as Arthur Horner, carrying out the orders of King Street, threw away a strict five-day week with a wage fit to bring a family up on, for the carrot of the bonus system, piecework, which has resulted in partly dividing the miners into two groups, and which can only end in the final analysis, to the detriment of all. The miners were ready to set the pace for the rest of the working class to follow, the Communist Party, through men the miners trusted such as Arthur Horner, held them to the coal-

face, supported for all they were worth Morrison's drive to "increase exports."

The capitalists hated the miners, for the miners were their most bitter enemies. Cut down their numbers, that is what they wanted to do, and have done it in the name of "efficiency," aided at every step by the Arthur Horners and their successors, such as Will Paynter. A great synthetic industry could have been developed around coal; it has been proved in practice that the atomic power stations are less economic than coal-fired, yet they are still being built. Why? Because there is profit pouring into the pocketbooks of the contractors. These are facts that not even the stooges of King Street can deny.

A turning point is being fast reached, over-production is once again in sight, hence the fight for a basic wage fixed to the cost of living becomes a pressing necessity. And what is true for the basic wage is also true for the fight against overtime work, for the more coal on the grass the quicker can the government build up reserves. Saturday work should be cut out, the basic wage brought up to a decent level, and this can be done by miners standing shoulder to shoulder together, proving that they have as much guts as their fathers and grandfathers, who stood up to the Powell Duffryns of their day and age.

Never forget that every improvement in the conditions of life of the miner came out of the determination of the men for a better life. The fight from the twelve to the ten-hour day, the ten to the eight, every minute was fought for, they gave us nothing, did the companies. Neither will the companies of our time, for the nationalised industry is nothing more or less than a giant company working for the benefit not of the British people, but for the benefit of the capitalist class as a whole. This the miner must never forget for soon there will be another Labour Government in office and it will, with the help of a fake Communist Party, appeal once again for "working class loyalty"! All the "loyalty" these people have is to the capitalist system to which they have sold themselves.

A. E.

WOMEN & THE RAG TRADE

Conditions in the clothing industry, as far as I can remember have always varied from fair to absolutely and unbelievably atrocious. My working life began at the early age of 14 and this was true of many of my co-workers. One of these was Betty, a pretty, dark-haired girl. We worked side by side on the bench. One day she did not report for work. Shortly afterwards her mother disclosed that she had died of consumption. It struck me with a jolt that she must have been dying during those last weeks at work. During the lunch hour those of us who knew her went down to her home in the Red Bank district to pay our last respects. This custom of visiting the dead was quite prevalent in parts of Lancashire.

The house was a typical Manchester slum. Suddenly I felt very angry. Was it any wonder that dear, beautiful Betty was dead? The sun was shining as we walked back to the sweatshop that was registered as a factory. Bitter thoughts jostled in my mind. The fat gentleman who was our boss had made his heavy contribution to her death in the form of horrible and overcrowded working conditions. Possibly some of these thoughts penetrated his thick skin as he thoughtfully produced a ten shilling note for the mother "to help her over a bad time."

If I had gained the impression so far that conditions were bad in the rag trade, I was soon to find out that many factories could be and were much worse. Fire escapes that would crumble if ever they had to be used. Windows that are jammed solid making summer working conditions just about intolerable. In winter fingers numb with cold due to inadequate heating. Girls working in coats and scarves trying to keep warm. Factories converted from old churches, decrepit houses and even single attics. When a cleaner is employed, there are even cases when one isn't, it is usually on a one-day a week basis which in this kind of industry is ludicrous. Often there is one toilet for about a 100 or more girls. One that I particularly recall was so filthy that many of us used the public conveniences some distance away from the factory. This was of course only possible for those on piece work. It was at this establishment that a pregnant girl fell down an unilluminated stairway. That the boss was concerned is vouched for by the fiver he hastily sent to her home.

CANTEEN FACILITIES

One ought to mention that in most factories there was no canteen at all. You ate your lunch on your knee at

the bench. In fact in all the factories in which I have worked—and due to the state of the trade this has been quite a number—only one had a 'canteen.' This place had to be seen to be believed. When I described it to my husband I could see the scepticism in his face, so I made him come along one lunch time and see for himself. He saw the stale uncleaned food on the tables, the terrible greasy stove, the filthy walls, the mounds of miscellaneous rubble. Perhaps worst of all the sickening smell. He gasped in amazement, "This is straight out of Dickens!"

Rats and beetles? Oh yes, plenty of them. Yes, of course there are factory inspectors. In most cases they never get past the office door and this is one of the reasons why the owners get away with these Dickens-like conditions. Another and more important reason is the utter inactivity of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers. The weak, non-militant attitude of this Union makes it an object of contempt for most clothing workers who are simply not interested in joining the union.

On the other hand, there have been cases especially in the larger factories where militant action by the workers has resulted in substantial improvements in working conditions. There are indeed many modern factories operating today and the improved conditions are due in no small measure to the actions of militant workers.

On leaving school many a young girl is told that she will be "taught the trade." What nonsense! Most of them stay on section work all their lives just learning one section of the garment. Others work as seamers. A machinist is permitted to employ a number of girls, usually three or four, as "seamers." The latter would, in due course when they had learned the trade, be capable of making a garment right through themselves. But generally this does not happen. They remain seamers, receive a small wage and are exploited unmercifully. In this way, the workers are taught how to exploit each other.

Then there is piece work. Most of us know what this means. As soon as there is a shortage of work the workers begin to fight each other for work instead of fighting the bosses.

Many an unsuspecting worker has arrived in the morning to find their cards waiting because there is no work. This is after the boss has tempted you away from another factory with promises of work all the year round. The work promised often lasts for as little as

three weeks and you soon realise that he just needed you to help out with a rush order after all and you are once more out on a limb.

Normal Bank Holidays which other industries take for granted are often argued about and fought for because the boss, for religious reasons, recognises other holidays or he may want completion of an order.

I am of course only giving the Rag Trade from a woman's point of view. The position must be much worse for men in the trade who have families depending on them.

But there is a brighter side. The humour and practical joking that goes on daily does help to brighten an otherwise drab picture. The bosses too are

friendly and happy-go-lucky. (We often call them by their first names). But then they can afford to be with everything going their way and in many cases a pretty young factory girl to play around with, often young enough to be a daughter and in one case that I can think of the word grand-daughter would be more applicable.

Yes the Rag Trade is fun if you are tough, insist on learning the trade and have the health and strength to work under the conditions.

All factory workers under the age of 16 have to undergo a medical examination or so I was always led to believe. I cannot ever recall ever being examined. I wonder if Betty was.

MILDRED MAJOR

ESSENTIAL READING FOR ALL COMMUNISTS

PHILOSOPHY :

ON CONTRADICTION
ON PRACTICE

Mao Tse-Tung

DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Stalin

HISTORY :

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Marx & Engels

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC

Engels

ECONOMICS :

WAGE, LABOUR & CAPITAL

Marx

VALUE, PRICE & PROFIT

Marx

POLITICS :

AGAINST REVISIONISM

Lenin

A Selection from Lenin's main political writings

STATE & REVOLUTION

Lenin

LEFT WING COMMUNISM.
An Infantile Disorder

Lenin

State Aim-Wage Control

"THE regulation of wages also appeals to those whose aim is the co-ordinated administration of the economy in the public interest. These are the planners, and they will say that you cannot make a five-year plan and not plan wages."¹

This excerpt from the work of one of the myriad "experts" on economics, goes on to quote from the work of those pillars of Fabianism—Sidney and Beatrice Webb, to the effect that civilised communities will not much longer tolerate the "adjustment" (their word!) of industrial disputes by means of the "arbitrament of private war."

This arbitrament of private war was what Beatrice Webb herself first called 'collective bargaining'; and they rejected this method in favour of compulsory arbitration as being "the more excellent way." They thought that under Socialism the competitive determination of wages, would be superseded by their "assessment by public authority on the basis of the Standard of Life (note the mystic capital letters!) necessary for full efficiency."²

Our expert, despite the wealth of facts and figures available to try to make his case, has to fall back finally on quotes from so-called "experts" now long dead and gone including old Papal encyclicals such as 'Rerum Novarum,' 'Quadragesimo Anno,' and the "Mater et Magister", to clinch his arguments for the regulation of wages.

He also says that the wages should be "fair" and "should be regulated by justice."

These meaningless imprecisions, vague and idealistic, crop up in the work of all these economists whose primary boast is that they are motivated by a "scientific impartiality." Their attempts to define these vague concepts only lead them into ever-increasing contradictions. Also, let a Marxist quote Plekhanov, Marx, Engels or Lenin and you will soon discover how "scientific" and "impartial" are these bourgeois apologists and exponents of capitalist economics.

The combination of working men in Trade Unions in order to improve their living standards, has had a limited success, but even this limited effectiveness is too much for British Capital!

So the control and assessment of wage standards has to be determined, not by direct bargaining between organised labour and their employers—as this might lead through strikes to open violence and riots—but by means of some form of compulsory arbitration, some form of "assessment by a public authority" on the basis of the aforementioned idealistic "just" or "fair" wage, this nebulous "standard of life necessary for full efficiency."

This trend in bourgeois economics—towards bureaucratic control—has its counterpart in politics and Trade Unionism.

THE ELITE

The Trade Unions, large and small, have almost completely succeeded in establishing bureaucratic control of their members, the Union leaders swallowing hog-whole and perpetuating the gradualist, piece-meal reform philosophy of the Fabian school, those theoreticians of the Labour movement.

This philosophy of an elite bureaucracy dictating policy (independent of

the working masses, whose spokesmen they are supposed to be) and giving not taking, orders and instructions, expressing nobodys' aspirations or wishes but their own and their capitalist masters, this philosophy is disseminated, inculcated in the ranks of the workers, both in Trade Unions and Labour Party, by means of internal lectures, T.U. and Labour Party schools, scholarships to Ruskin College and the London School of Economics, and the never-ending flow of literature.

The schools for active workers in the Labour movement are now wholly dominated and monopolised by the Workers' Educational Association (W.E.A.) a far more reactionary body than the National Council of Labour Colleges, whom it has finally ousted as the instrument for mis-educating the more interested workers.

The movement towards a rigid, centralised control of the wages struggle has been accelerating these past few years, with the T.U. and Labour leaders in the vanguard of those who try to hoodwink the workers that the methods of militancy, the strikes, the protest marches, the mass rallies, are obsolete and belong to the past, and that only they, these 20th century Judas Iscariots, are capable of "persuading" the employers to yield better conditions to the workers, by means of "sane, rational negotiation round the table"—(and preferably behind locked doors!)

The settlement of wage standards by an "impartial," "disinterested" public body is fast becoming the accepted practice.

But as any Marxist knows, the idea of an impartial conciliation or arbitration board is a myth. In a society stratified into classes having opposing and irreconcilable interests, and with the constituent members of these bodies drawn from that sector of society that has nothing in common with the worker in the factory, the mine, the field, the attempt to persuade the worker that compulsory arbitration and similar methods are all for his benefit, is a patent and obvious attempt to persuade him to deliver himself bound hand and foot to the enemy—Capital!

Let us quote a particular instance and look at the most recently assembled "impartial" arbitration board, namely that convened for the purpose of deciding on certain aspects of the Postmen's wage struggle.

Five members in all, they comprise firstly; that well-known fairy godmother of the working classes—Baroness Wootton, M.A., L.H.D., LL.D.; a former Research Officer for the T.U.C. and Labour Party Joint Research Department; member of several Royal Commissions and 'expert' on economics and social science; Governor of the B.B.C. for 5 or 6 years in the early 1950's.

A. L. Armitage, M.A., LL.B., J.P.; President Queen's College, Cambridge and

'independent' Chairman of the Industrial Court.

Sir Willis Jackson, F.R.S., D.Phil., D.Sc., M.I.E.E., M.I.M.E., Engineering Professor, Member of University Grants Committee, etc.

Sir Andrew Maitland Makgill Crichton, Managing Director of P. & P. Steam Navigation Company, Vice-Chairman British Transport Docks Board.

Victor Feather, T.U.C. Asst/Secretary, Member of British Council Executive Committee and Governor of London School of Economics.

This is the 'independent' committee in the appointment of which, according to the Union leader concerned "our voice has been given full weight."

So much for so-called independent committees. Let's return to our author E. H. Phelps Brown and his views on the role of these arbitrators, and the mental attitudes and outlook that govern their decisions.

"His wish to make his awards consistent with one another will involve him in some job evaluation. But save insofar as this leads him to new findings, he is likely to feel that equity calls for the maintenance of customary differentials, and he is not likely to initiate great changes in the pay structure."³ The maintenance of 'customary differentials' of course, in countries like the U.K., Ireland, Spain, Portugal, etc; where the standard of life of the lowest paid workers by any criteria is miserable, helps also to foster a state of fragmentation, disunity amongst the workers, is aimed at preventing or retarding unity and solidarity in their ranks. Where the lowest paid earned enough to enable them to live, and not merely exist, the employers and state would have to intensify their efforts in other spheres in order to devote the workers.

That is the real meaning of that little word 'equity' in the above quotation!

PUBLIC INTEREST

Another factor that influences the arbitrator is outlined at the end of this same chapter. Quote: "Each particular award gains in acceptability to the extent that it is only part of a general movement, and employers have a corresponding assurance of being able to cover it by higher prices."⁴ And we all know on whom the higher prices devolve in the fullness of time thereof!

These are just a few aspects of the method which is being used increasingly in an attempt to erode what little say the worker has in the determination of his standard of living.

This regulation of wages, this wage restraint to give it its correct name, is always, as our first quote reiterates, "in the public (or national) interest." This recurring whine of employers and politicians is faithfully and unflinchingly parroted by the T.U. leaders whenever they get to their feet during their annual bouts of Conference demagoguery. Last year's Annual Conference of the T.U.C. was a shameful, sickening spectacle of a mass attempt to seduce active trade unionists from the path of direct and positive action, to that of passive, uncritical collaboration with their worst enemy.

Phelps Brown and his fellow economists lay the whole emphasis of their "co-ordinated administration of the economy" entirely on the workers and their wages; in other words on one sec-

tor of the economy only, as you would expect from champions of "market economies," (their euphemism for the capitalist law of the jungle). When they touch on the communist, or centrally planned economies at all, they use half-truths, evasions, distortions, not a scientific assessment of factual evidence. Their scientific impartiality lapses on this subject as it does when they evade examining the usurious greed and fat profits of their patrons, whose uncontrolled, unregulated speculation and exploitation of men, materials, and resources, is apparently the result of the operation of some divine, "natural" law, not amenable to any form of planning or control.

Thus, Barbara the Baroness, the economist already referred to as a member of the committee of inquiry into Postmen's pay, in a lecture delivered in 1961: "Nevertheless we have to recognise that in the type of economy known to its friends as private enterprise, and to its enemies as capitalism, the pattern of that distribution is, in part, unavoidably uncontrollable." (The distribution referred to being that of income, of course!)⁵

The incomes lying in this "part" or sector of the economy, she goes on to say, "necessarily lie outside the reach of conscious social policy. Short of a fundamental revolution in the whole economic system, nothing can be done about them."⁶ To a Fabian of course a fundamental revolution is worse than unthinkable—it's positively vulgar!

The application and control of scientific principles by trained and experienced personnel is an admitted necessity in the construction of an intricate machine, a handsome building, even in the baking of a loaf of bread, but the human element that makes the machine satisfying to operate and even look at, the handsome building a pleasure to live in, and the loaf of bread a joy to taste, is that human element that capitalist economists say makes it impossible to scientifically control the political and economic life of society and makes its necessary to maintain the status quo of speculative chaos and anarchic greed that they call "free enterprise"; their euphemism for the robbery of the sick, the aged, the poor, the callous exploitation of the honest, the hard-working, the corruption of the young by bigoted pedantry in the schools, and of the public by the liespewing pornographic muck-raking of the so-called popular press, and the dissemination of poisoned propaganda by the mass media in the shape of "doctored" news, spurious culture, false values and ethical standards, the almost total suppression of vital forms of working class culture and equally total indifference to genuine art, truth and beauty.

Of these methods that, together with wage bargaining, form a part of what is now cosily entitled Industrial Relations, we will deal with in a following article, outlining the currently favoured trends in this (industrial relations) field.

J. MARSHALL

¹ E. H. Phelps Brown: "Economics of Labour." p.197.

² What Syndicalism Means by S. & B. Webb (1912) p. 152.

³ "Economics of Labour." p.202.

⁴ "Economics of Labour." p.203.

⁵ & ⁶ "Remuneration in a Welfare State." (Rathbone Memorial Lecture given by Barbara Wootton, 1961.)

STATEMENT ON LEAVING ALBANIA

THE peoples of the world have achieved great victories in recent years in their struggle to free themselves from imperialist domination and exploitation. Already in 1964 further victories have been won. In many parts of the world today the imperialists, led by United States imperialism, have their backs to the wall. Finding it more and more difficult to maintain their domination of the people by force they desperately seek out groups of men within each nation and within the working class movement who are prepared to sell the interests of their country and their class to the imperialists. In many countries they have ceded a nominal political independence to the national liberation movement, but still retain their military bases and continue ruthlessly to exploit the people with the connivance of reactionary governments.

There is no third road. Either with the people against imperialism, or with imperialism against the people. The choice cannot be evaded by any government in the world today. And those who choose to join with imperialism to oppress the people will before long be overthrown, and replaced by genuine representatives of the people.

Within the international Communist movement, likewise, the imperialists desperately seek out those who are prepared to betray their class, and reward them for every step taken away from the tried and tested principles of Marxism-Leninism. Modern revisionism is the creation of world imperialism. The modern revisionists, led by Nikita Khrushchev, are the agents of world imperialism, within

the ranks of the working class and working people. We cannot rest until they are exposed, utterly discredited before the people, and smashed.

The heroic Albanian Party of Labour has led the way in this struggle against modern revisionism. By refusing to bow to Khrushchev, despite his attempt to smash the Albanian economy by a blockade, in which he joined with Tito and the imperialists, the Albanian Party of Labour, led by Comrade Enver Hodja, have upheld the honour of European Communists and inspired all true Communists throughout the world in their fight to smash revisionism.

Marxist-Leninists in England, Scotland and Wales, have been coming together in recent months in order to co-ordinate the struggle against revisionism in Britain, to expose and overthrow the modern revisionists who have won con-

"We are a peace-loving and freedom-loving people. But when we are still oppressed and provoked by imperialism we cannot but meet imperialism with all the means at our disposal. It is U.S. imperialism which is making every effort to undermine peace. U.S. imperialism is not only the enemy of all peoples but the enemy of its own people."

Yambu Gabriel, leading member of the National Council for the Liberation of the Congo (Leopoldville) at a meeting with a delegation of Afro-Asian writers. April, 1964.

"The anti-imperialist struggle cannot be victorious if modern revisionism is not combatted."

D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian C.P. on March 17, 1964.

tion of the Communist Party of Great Britain. In the heartland of British imperialism the struggle to defeat modern revisionism and open social democracy, represented by the Labour Party, will not be easy. But imperialism is now in decline, its hold over the minds of the people is weakening. They can now be won for Marxism-Leninism, and in solidarity with the Albanian Party of Labour, and all Marxist-Leninist parties and groups throughout the world, British Marxist-Leninists will succeed in their tasks.

In inviting us, as representatives of Marxist-Leninists in Britain, to attend the May Day celebrations in Albania, the Central committee of the Albanian Party of Labour did us a great honour. This visit has enabled us to see just how grotesquely the imperialists, the social-democrats and the modern revisionists, have slandered the people of Albania. The enthusiasm for the construction of

the new, socialist Albania is apparent wherever one goes—in industry, in agriculture and in the field of culture. There is manifest and firm unity between Party and people. There is great confidence in the future, based upon the victories that have already been won in the face of severe difficulties. The people make history. That is a fact that the imperialists and all those who serve them can never accept. But in Albania we have seen the people, led by the Albanian Party of Labour, making history, and giving the lie direct to imperialism and modern revisionism.

Long live the friendship of the Albanian and British peoples!

Long live the unity of true Communists throughout the world!

Long live the Albanian Party of Labour, led by comrade Enver Hodja!

MICHAEL McCREERY
ARTHUR MAJOR

CORRECTION

Mr. Dave Volpe was not the individual who hurled the charge of "hall-packing", against the Secretary of the B.C.F.A., Mr. Dribbon, at the recent Aggregate Meeting. So many people made the charge that our reporter, understandably, got confused.

A TRIP TO CHINA ?

Anyone interested in an overland trip to China should get in touch with Mr. T. N. W. Bush, The Cathedral School, Llandaff, Cardiff. Mr. Bush promises that all enquiries will be promptly answered.

SOCIALIST ALBANIA

THE Albanians are direct descendants of the Illyrians, neighbours of the Greeks in classical times, and with their own distinct culture and civilisation. The Encyclopedia Britannica of 1911 referred to them as "The most ancient race in South-Eastern Europe," and continued, "The determination with which this remarkable race has maintained its mountain stronghold through a long series of ages has hitherto met with scant appreciation in the outside world." For 500 years the Turks established nominal suzerainty over the Albanian people. But the struggle for liberation from oppression continued century by century. Scanderberg united the Albanian people to fight thirteen great campaigns against the advancing Turks between 1444 and 1466 and countless Albanians followed his example in later years and fought against the Turkish tyranny. Indeed, the Turks never succeeded in establishing their rule over the mountainous districts of Albania.

With the 19th century a new stage in the struggle for freedom was reached. The national identity of all the Albanian people emerged as the result of the work of those who fought to establish the ancient Albanian language in written form. A stream of books emerged from the printing presses of the nationalists, and were disseminated widely among the people, despite the bitter opposition of the Turkish overlords. The movement for national liberation achieved a great victory on the 28th November, 1912, when Ismael Qemal raised the flag of national independence in the ancient city of Vloera, in Southern Albania. But the manoeuvres of the imperialist powers destroyed the first independent republic of Albania.

At the end of the First World War a republic was established, with Fan Noli, a priest, as Prime Minister. But the adventurer Zogu, acting as the agent, first of the Yugoslavs and later of the Italian bourgeoisie, had established himself as President by 1925, and ousted Fan Noli, who left the country and lives today in the U.S.A. (This sincere nationalist and scholar has translated many works into Albanian for the Albanian people. Despite all the pressures which must have been brought to bear on him by the imperialists he has resolutely refused to say one hostile word against the Albania of today.)

In 1926, with the 1st Treaty of Tirana, Zogu made Albania virtually an Italian protectorate. Working in alliance with "King" Zog (for he had given himself this title in 1928) the Italians spent much money in Albania, and to this day many fine buildings in the centre of Tirana, the capital, bear witness to this. But as with all such imperialist "aid" the more that is poured into a country the more the suffering of the people increases and more their hatred for the foreign oppressors, and their stooges within the country, grows. In April 1939 the Italian army moved into Albania and established direct colonial rule.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY ESTABLISHED

During the inter-war years, and despite a legal ban on activity, three or four different Communist groups were established in the main towns of Albania; in Shkodra, Tirana, Korca and elsewhere much work was done by Communists in mobilising the working people in defence of their class and national interests. But the different groups did not succeed in uniting into one Communist Party for many years. Not until 8th November, 1941, was a successful conference held in Tirana to establish the Communist Party of Albania. (At a later Congress of the Party the name was changed to the Albanian Party of Labour.) The initiative in the struggle to establish a Party came from the Korca group, and in particular from Comrade Enver Hodja. Strong opposition from leading members of the Tirana group was encountered. They argued that because the Albanian population was overwhelmingly peasant, and with only a small working class, that the objective conditions for a Communist Party did not exist. Such mechanical arguments have been encountered in more than one country. They were defeated and the Party was established. For a time they accepted this decision, but before long most of them had turned against the resolution and betrayed the interests of the people.

In three years, by November 29th, 1944, the complete victory of the struggle for national liberation against the Italians, and the Germans, had been achieved. The Party mobilised the people for armed struggle against the invader, in town and country. By November 1944 70,000 men and women were under arms, organised throughout the country. The struggle within the borders of Albania was fought by the Albanian people alone. They liberated their own land, although the mighty victories of the Red Army played an indispensable external role.

In the course of the guerilla war against the Fascists the British ruling

class, anxious to establish their control over Albania following the defeat of the Central Powers, did their best to promote an alternative leadership for the Albanian fighters, a bourgeois leadership which would prove subservient to British interests when the war was won. They failed miserably. Their representative, General Davis, also failed to persuade Enver Hodja and the leadership of the national liberation army to surrender at a most difficult moment in the campaign, when encircled by hostile forces. Davis himself surrendered.

At the end of the war a British task force heaved to off the Albanian coast and British troops disembarked, to "aid" the Albanian people. In Greece a similar expedition was allowed to land, and duly re-established a neo-fascist state. In Albania Comrade Hodja and the leadership of the Party told the British commander, "We do not need your help. Pull off or we will fire on you." After some while the British troops withdrew.

LAND REFORM

Until 1944 Albania was probably the most backward land in Europe, with the peasants oppressed with great cruelty and ruthlessness by feudal landlords. 85% of the people suffered from malaria, the death-rate among young children was very high, and the average expectation of life (in 1938) only 38 years. The great majority of the peasants obtained no education, and could not read or write. The first essential task for the Albanian people was the reorganisation of agriculture.

In August 1945 the Land Reform Decree was passed, and by November 1946 this first stage of the reorganisation had been completed. Under the Decree all feudal estates were expropriated and the peasants became the owners of the land. The allocation of land was made in accordance with the size of the peasant family. The selling of holdings was prohibited. This great reform fulfilled the age-long aspirations of the Albanian peasants, who comprised 80% of the population.

The second stage of reorganisation was achieved over a much longer period of time; this was the collectivisation of agriculture. Only with the establishment of collective farms and the introduction of the modern techniques of production (for which a collective farm has the necessary land, capital and labour) can the productivity of agriculture and the living standards of the people be progressively improved. Between 1946 and 1954 slow but steady progress was made. The Party was determined that at every stage collectivisation should only be achieved with the willing consent and support of the peasants. The customs and conservatism created by centuries of feudal conditions could not be broken down overnight. A great campaign of education among the peasants was organised over many years. Little by little their confidence and support was won.

By 1954 it became possible to speed up the process of collectivisation, for which the industrial basis had now also been laid. By 1959 87% of all peasant holdings were collectivised; only hill farmers now remain outside the 1,500 collective farms throughout Albania. Each peasant retains a plot of 1/1,000th of a hectare; the rest of the farm is worked collectively, and each peasant is paid according to the days of work he puts in. The Machine Tractor Stations operate, service and maintain the tractors; each providing for a number of collective farms. There are some 7,000 tractors in Albania today. By 1965 there will be 9,000. Albanian agriculture is more highly mechanised today than most East European countries.

The Albanian people did not abandon their Machine Tractor Stations and sell off the machines to the collective farms, as Khrushchev has done in the U.S.S.R. This only means that the richer farms gain at the expense of the poorer, who are unable to buy all the machines they need for their own use.

Some 14% of cultivated land is run by State farms. This land was taken from the feudal lords, the Italians, and also reclaimed from the marshes. Before liberation some 220,000 hectares were under cultivation; today about 480,000 hectares. Much drainage and irrigation has been undertaken (today 50% is irrigated). Despite the immense improvements in agriculture Albania still today imports some wheat. The aim within a

few years will be to make the country entirely self-sufficient. To achieve this productivity will be substantially increased by further mechanisation and increased use of fertilisers.

INDUSTRIAL ADVANCE

By 1962 a twenty-five-fold increase in industrial output over 1938 had been achieved. The third five-year plan will be completed in 1965. The following industrial enterprises are already in operation: textiles, wood processing, food processing, mechanical engineering, oil refining, sugar refining, cement works, copper, iron-nickel, chrome and coal mines, hydro-electric power stations, wine, fruit and vegetable processing, tobacco processing, brick and glass works, and others.

Only a visit to Albania can fully convey what Socialism has meant for the people. But a few figures can indicate why there is such firm unity between Party and people, why there is such enthusiasm for the further tasks of socialist construction which lie ahead. The population has increased from 1 million to over 1,800,000 since the liberation. The life expectancy had risen by 1960 to 64.9 years. In 1938, as already mentioned, it was 38. Malaria has been completely eradicated. All receive free education. The health service is free, and sick pay is provided by the state at 80% to 90% of the working wage until recovery is complete. The average wage is 7,000 leks a month; and although most families have more than one wage-earner the rent varies from 200 leks (minimum) to 300 leks (maximum) per month; approximately one day's pay each month. The difference in wage between lowest and highest paid workers is less than 4:1.

The Albanian people can well be proud of what they have achieved in just under 20 years of independence and socialist construction, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour. But none of this would have been possible without the maintenance of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Albania, without the people in arms dealing ruthlessly with all enemies sent in by the imperialists and their agents to disrupt their work, and with those within the international Communist movement who have attempted the same sabotage—the modern revisionists led by Nikita Khrushchev. At the end of the war the Party decided that the people as a whole must be armed. Only in this way could the tasks of Socialist construction be safeguarded against the armed bands of counter-revolutionaries sent in by the Greek, Italian, British and United States capitalists, and, before long, the Yugoslav revisionists. Over a period of years all such armed attacks have been smashed by the people. Today Albania is free from counter-revolutionary guerrillas. The people in arms have been, and remain, the foundation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Albania.

MODERN REVISIONISM

But the most insidious foe of the Albanian people has been modern revisionism. The Tito group in Yugoslavia ruthlessly suppressed genuine Communists in their country in the years after the war, as they developed their own "national" brand of Communism, a cover for growing collaboration with imperialism. They made plans to swallow up Albania, as the 7th province of Yugoslavia, in 1946 and 1947, and did their best to force their views upon the international Communist movement, with one-sided and false arguments. The C.P.S.U., under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, and other fraternal Parties, rejected their arguments, at first in private discussion and then, when it became clear beyond a shadow of doubt that the Tito group were determined to abandon Marxism-Leninism and to collaborate with imperialism against their own people, with the 1948 Resolution of the Communist Information Bureau. This Resolution, signed by Stalin and Molotov, reiterated the basic truths of Marxism-Leninism, and warned against the possibility of the restoration of capitalism within a Socialist country as a result of degeneration within a Party. It condemned Tito and his group for denying that classes and class struggle still con-

tinued within Yugoslavia, for denying the need for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, for playing down the leading role of the Communist Party, for violating inner-Party democracy, and for nationalist external policies, such as that adopted towards Albania.

It is not without reason that Comrade Stalin's memory is held in deepest regard by all the Albanian people. Without this firm stand led by the C.P.S.U. and Comrade Stalin, the independence of Albania might well have been lost, and the nation languish under foreign oppression. What might have been the fate of the Albanian people can be seen from the way in which the Tito Government to this day denies basic rights to the several hundred thousand Albanians living in Yugoslavia.

Tito led the way within Europe in developing the ideas and practices of modern revisionism. Khrushchev and his followers have fought for years to follow along the same road, and to carry the international Communist movement with them. In doing so they have been compelled to attack Stalin and to rehabilitate Tito, for the true line and the false are inseparably connected with the political work and the teaching of these two men. They symbolise, on the one hand, Marxism-Leninism and the path of struggle against imperialism, on the other, modern revisionism, and the path of collaboration with imperialism.

ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour refused to bow to Khrushchev, to rehabilitate Tito and condemn Stalin. He therefore tried to break them to his will by withdrawing all aid, and maintaining an economic blockade of Albania. In 1961 all agreements between the two countries were torn up. All technicians and military missions were withdrawn overnight. All orders of tractors and every type of equipment were halted. All cultural training schemes were ended. All tourism to Albania was checked. This economic blockade completed the encirclement of Socialist Albania already undertaken by the imperialists and the Tito Government. It inflicted grave damage to industry, to agriculture, and to the cultural life of the country. It weakened Albania's ability to withstand attack from the imperialists and their agents. It was the act of a group of traitors to Socialism.

But the Albanian Party of Labour dismissed the two members of the Central Committee who were willing to succumb to Khrushchev's blackmail. They took the issues to the people. The people supported them. And relying primarily upon their own strength the Albanian people have, since 1961, steadily overcome all the grave difficulties created by Khrushchev's blockade. In this hard task they have received fraternal aid from the People's Republic of China, which now provides most of the tractors and other equipment which Albania cannot yet make for itself. They have received fraternal support from all genuine Communist Parties and from the peoples of all lands. The encirclement of Socialist Albania, aimed at by the imperialists and the modern revisionists has been broken. They will never achieve the overthrow of the people's power.

Indeed, the attacks of imperialism and modern revisionism have only cemented the unity of the Party and the people of Albania. Following the correct general line advanced since 1941 by Comrade Enver Hodja and the Central Committee of the Party, the Albanian people have overcome all difficulties. In so doing they have learned to rely primarily upon their own strength, and have become confident of their ability to tackle the many tasks which lie ahead. They are enthusiastic about the future. Life is good for the Albanian workers, peasants, and intellectuals. It will become better with each year of Socialist construction.

By correctly relating the tried and tested principles of Marxism-Leninism to their own country the Albanian people have achieved great success. By defending these principles against all the attacks of modern revisionism they have earned the gratitude and respect of genuine Communists and militant workers throughout the world.

MICHAEL MCCREERY

PUBLIC MEETING

A COMMUNIST CHALLENGE TO KHRUSHCHEVISM

FRIDAY, 10th August, 7.30 p.m.

Stoke Newington Town Hall

(Library Committee Room) Admission free

SOCIAL: SATURDAY, 11th August, 7.30 p.m.

21 Victorian Road, Stoke Newington, N.16

Drinks — Food — Music

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEAT REVISIONISM FOR COMMUNIST UNITY
(STOKE NEWINGTON)

S. E. ASIA-MAJOR WAR?

THE U.S. is poised on the brink of taking action in South-East Asia which can only lead to large scale war in that area, with danger of the fire leaping frontier after frontier, with no certainty where it will stop. The U.S. imperialists, the greatest force for evil in the world today, are mad with fear; they are finally realising that their stooges and puppets in South-East Asia cannot hold back for long the forward march of many millions of people. U.S. imperialism is quite ready to expend the lives of other people, but when it comes to paying the price for risky ventures which backfire, then they go on a hysterical search for "allies." The truth is that U.S. imperialism is mortally afraid of casualties. Basically they are a soft nation whose front line troops must be supported by a numerically far greater supply line than any army in the world. A U.S. serviceman without his orange juice for breakfast, without his vitamin pills, without a bi-weekly medical examination, feels he is being let down and suffers from deep neuroses. And any British soldier will tell that the Yanks are passionately devoted to "air cover," without it they panic.

It should be remembered that the U.S. has always managed to get in at the "tail-end" of world wars. This was true for the 1914-18 war and was also true for the last world war. In this war total U.S. killed amounted to less than 350,000 against a loss by Germany, for example, of over 5,000,000. And it should be remembered that the U.S. has a population over double that of Germany. Such casualty figures tell a story, war has been extremely profitable as far as the U.S. is concerned. But not for all, of course. Not for the millions of negroes and Puerto Ricans in the ghettos of New York City, in the slums of Chicago or Detroit. Not for the majority of the 20,000,000 negroes, or more than that number of poor white. War has been very profitable for the U.S. upper classes and a labour aristocracy. Facts are facts and should always be brought out.

A TRAVELLING MAN

Dean Rusk, surrounded by other high-ranking officials of the U.S., has been trotting from country to country, attempting to embroil them in the cockpit of South-East Asia—which they themselves are primarily responsible for bringing into being. Dean Rusk was so stupid as to even attempt to get West Germany to promise a contingent of troops! And he is using blackmail for all it is worth in Australia, and even on such a small country as New Zealand. In fact New Zealand has already promised a unit of "non-combatant troops"!

It should be remembered that U.S. imperialism has attempted to bolster up every rotten regime in every corner of

the earth. The more reactionary and corrupt the local leadership the more eagerly does the U.S. move in, smelling fat profit even as a rat smells out the sewer. Bribery and evil doing go hand in hand with U.S. imperialism, nor can it be hidden from even bourgeois reporters of the West European press. For months these people have been warning their own governments of the rottenness of the South Vietnam regime, even as, in an earlier day, they were forced to report on the living foulness of the government of Chiang Kai Shek.

Backing Chiang Kai Shek for all they were worth, the U.S. imperialists must be held directly responsible for the death of millions of Chinese in the civil war. Without massive support from U.S. imperialism Chiang Kai Shek would have been finished at the tail-end of the Japanese war, for Chiang Kai Shek had earned the undying hatred of the overwhelming bulk of the Chinese people.

So corrupt and venal was the regime of Chiang Kai Shek that even a section of the capitalist press in the U.S. itself was forced to unfavourably comment on the great number of pieces of luggage brought by Madame Chiang Kai Shek on her visit to the U.S. during the early stages of the last world war. That foul regime lived in unbridled luxury while tens of millions of the Chinese people faced death from hunger! Is it to be wondered at that the Chinese people are itching to finally settle accounts with the last of these bandits and drive them from Chinese soil, Taiwan? Yet this was the regime which

"democratic" U.S. backed to the hilt. Is it to be wondered at that a Chinese will spit when U.S. imperialism is mentioned.

LEST WE FORGET

And are we to forget Korea, when the U.S. poured in vast military forces to back up a government, every bit as corrupt as that of Chiang Kai Shek? But, under the hammer blows of the Korean people, backed and fully supported by People's China, soon the Yankee imperialists were screaming for aid! Too much of her own flesh and blood was being shed, "what would the people back home think?" That was their psychology then, and that is exactly what it is today. They cannot fight by themselves, they must have "allies," at any cost to the allies—as the Gloucestershires found out!

The U.S. imperialists claim they are out to save "democracy" in South East Asia, but what exactly do these gentlemen mean when they refer to democracy. 20 million U.S. negroes are not allowed into hotels, restaurants or public places. In the U.S. South, and in other parts of the country, such as central California, negroes are not even allowed to use the same urinals as white people. These 20 million negroes are not regarded as human beings, they are treated as "dogs with human faces."

Are these things not facts, is it not also a fact that Jews and Porto Ricans are also regarded as inferior peoples, crowded into ghettos?

Yes, these things are so, even Jews to this day are "vetted," and politely informed that this or that hotel is crowded out. And is it not a fact that the late President Kennedy openly admitted that "over 40 million of our people suffer from want"? Is it not openly admitted—because it is too big to be hidden—that entire areas occupied primarily by white people live in conditions as wretched as that of the poorest Sicilian village? West Virginia and the Appalachian regions are only two of such areas that spring to mind. But one does not have to travel that far, the slums of New York City, of Chicago, with their garbage spilling over into the streets, cry to the high heavens of the life millions of workers suffer in this U.S. vaunted "democracy." And when the people resist, when they ask to be treated as men and women, trained dogs and high-pressure water hoses are turned

on them. Is it not so?

NO ERADICATION

It is precisely because the U.S. government cannot eradicate poverty, cannot bring down the unemployment below the 5 million mark—and it should be remembered that weeks elapse before a person is formally registered as totally unemployed—that the U.S. government is forced to wet nurse its armed forces. It is forced to buy loyalty via the pep pill, orange juice, all the food men can eat, with enough money to get regularly drunk and visit the nearest whore-house. U.S. imperialism knows no other way of assuring loyalty to a "democracy" which is a living lie to millions of its people.

The U.S. is going into South Vietnam with ever increasing forces. It is getting ready to man already prepared bases in Thailand, and is already intervening in Laos. There can be little doubt: U.S. imperialism is speculating on an all-out attack upon South East Asia. More than this, U.S. imperialism is prepared to use Chiang Kai Shek and their base on Taiwan for an attack on China itself! U.S. imperialism is hoping to draw a tight net around People's China, hoping to pull in Japan, hoping to use S. Korea as yet another jumping-off place. These madmen dream of military victory over North Vietnam, North Korea, People's China. But, although that is their dream, they are badly frightened men, what if they should lose? That is why the U.S. government is doing all in its power to involve the rest of the capitalist world. But France, for example, has had her fingers badly burned in fighting the desires of peoples who are ready to die in their millions for freedom. France, despite all her military effort, was defeated in North Vietnam and in Algeria, that she can never forget. The fact is that the Yanks, caught in a too clever trap of their own making, are in a cul-de-sac, their room for manoeuvre is nil, for the people of South East Asia have had a bellyful of them, the rotten regimes they have bolstered are collapsing.

The people of Britain must beware of entanglements with the U.S. in military engagements. We must tell the Yanks to their faces, "Get your bases out of this country, we don't want you here!" Yankee imperialism is on the verge of major disaster, we in Britain must keep out, let the Yanks step into their own grave.

ARTHUR EVANS

"COMMENT" AND DISTORTION

THE series of 6 articles in the April-May issues of Comment some by leading members of the C.P.G.B. represent the deepest and most far-reaching attack yet made on the Communist Party of China. These articles are a concerted attempt to bring into line the many members of the British Communist Party who have serious misgivings about the anti-Chinese orientation of the Exec. Comm. and about the general policy pursued by the Party.

It is hoped that by sapping confidence in the ideas expressed by the Chinese Communist Party, a reader hearing will be won for the reformist, opportunist policies expressed in the British Road to Socialism, and since then carried into wide practice.

If anything could be said to characterise these articles apart from their obvious attempt to revise Marxist ideas, it is their utter lack of humility and self-appraisal.

For some considerable time, the E.C. of the C.P.G.B. has attempted to show a public face of reasonableness in the ideological controversy. It has protested its abhorrence of abuse in the international clash of ideas; by all manner of means it has portrayed an attitude of objectivity; Palme Dutt in the first article of the series "We are not declaring that the Soviet Union is always right or that the C.P.S.U. is infallible." He goes even further when he states "We honour the brilliant role of the historic Communist Party of China which led 600 million of the Chinese people to victory against imperialism and its allies."

Thus the effort to break down the barriers before the frontal assault on the Chinese comrade is made.

But the preparations were made a long time ago.

In 1960, a series of meetings at Area level was held up and down the country; they were thought sufficiently important to be addressed by members of the Executive Committee. The subject—the three articles collected under the title of "Long Live Leninism" representing the ideological viewpoint of the Chinese Communists. Without any prior notification of the subject under discussion, without any preparation or advice of reading matter, members of the Communist Party were asked to take a vote on a prepared resolution in condemnation of the C.P.C. At a meeting which the writer attended, not a single one

of the 21 members present had read (or, one would suspect, had even heard of) "Long Live Leninism." These meetings were a flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of revolutionary democracy but they helped to sow the poisonous seeds of violent prejudice against anything emanating from China.

Even up to today, it is to be doubted whether more than 1 to 2% of the membership of the Communist Party regularly read "Peking Review."

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the Executive Committee has met with a considerable measure of success in its continuing efforts to bemuse the rank and file members about the genuine standpoint of the Chinese Communist Party.

Reference in other writings by leaders of the C.P.G.B. to the Chinese habit of "Scholastic quotations" have not prevented the authors of these 6 articles from making their own selections in attempting to prove the validity of their arguments.

For example, J. B. Campbell in reaffirming his faith in the prospects of "peaceful transition to Socialism" quotes from Lenin's "Greeting to the Hungarian Workers," as follows:

"The form of transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary is altogether different from that in Russia; the voluntary resignation of the bourgeois Government and the instantaneous restoration of the unity of the working class, the unity of Socialism on a Communist programme."

A TRICKSTER

Campbell carefully omits the very next paragraph, which goes on to state: "The dictatorship of the proletariat"—which Lenin regarded as essential to the success of any working class revolution "implies the ruthless severe, swift and resolute use of force to crush the resistance of the exploiters, of the capitalists, landlords and their underlings. He who does not understand that is not a revolutionary..."

Did Campbell omit this because of lack of space or because it might

threaten to muddy the pretty colours of "Peaceful transition to Socialism"?

In extolling the virtues of Parliamentaryism, he states that in Britain "it is essential for any movement seeking to transform society to strive for a parliamentary majority." No one would dispute the need and the duty of a British revolutionary party to work for maximum representation in Parliament, but that is not what is meant here.

The generalised term "movement" in this context, and the many-time repeated assertion of a Labour and Communist majority as the immediate pre-requisite to Socialist rule, overlooks in a thoroughly non-Marxist fashion the class question of whose interests are served by the Labour Party - not merely in name, nor formally but in actuality.

It is necessary not to outrage too much the sentiments of some not-yet convinced rank and file members of the Communist Party, and Campbell carefully adds: "There is no question here of passively waiting until a General Election comes along. Action against all phases of the monopolists' offensive must be organised here and now. Strikes, mass political demonstrations, rent strikes, struggles against unemployment and rising prices must be undertaken."

Unfortunately, the shackles forged by the leadership behind the members of the Communist Party, Parliamentaryism, conceived as a possible alternative to revolution in the transition to Socialism, has in fact become for them the only road to Socialism. For many years, both before and since the publication of the "British Road to Socialism," the practical work of the Party has centred increasingly on the preparation for, and the participation in parliamentary and council elections. In the all-important sphere of industry, live, militant and organised groupings on the shop floor and in the trade unions have given way to the grooming of leading personalities, particularly as candidates in council and parliamentary elections.

Where are the mass political demonstrations and struggles referred to by Campbell?

Never before have rents been so high as now; never before has the greed of property speculators been given such free rein. In the last few years alone, hundreds of extra millions of pounds profit have been netted by landlords, while hundreds of thousands of tenants

meet severe hardship, and many face constantly the threat of eviction. In these circumstances, it would be fair to assume that the objective conditions exist for a militant lead by the Communist Party on this question. But the "rent strikes," together with the "struggles against unemployment, rising prices," etc., mentioned so easily by Campbell that must be organised "here and now" are virtually absent from the domestic scene.

As for mass political demonstrations, apart from the annual May turn-out (incidentally, on the First Sunday in May and not on international May-Day) there has not been a single important demonstration led by the C.P.G.B. for years.

Only those who wish to remain blind, will continue to close their eyes at the gap between the words and actions of the Executive Committee and the vital issues confronting us.

The accusations hurled at the Chinese for seeing only force as the solution for all questions is misleading, and is intended to be misleading. They obscure, and are intended to obscure the bitterness of all class struggles, and in particular, the paramount one of class power. Those who turn their backs on these matters blur the vision of the working people as to the identity and nature of their class enemy; they disarm them by taking away from them the means of struggle of a relentless, firmly-disciplined revolutionary organisation.

Those in the movement against revisionism do not worship violence as a cult. They see it as an integral part of capitalist class rule, sometimes open, sometimes hidden. No amount of foraging into the archives of history can obscure the fact that such a rule has been overthrown only by the use of a people's revolutionary force.

The C.P.G.B. leadership accuse us of looking only into the past, and not seeing the possibilities of the present. Apparently they require ever more examples.

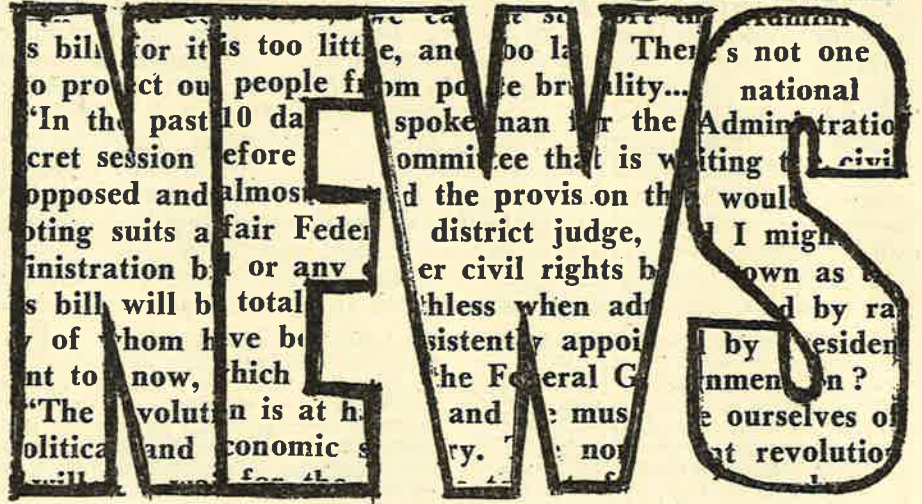
S. Africa, Laos, British Guiana, Cyprus, S. Vietnam, Brazil, in different ways all underline in living reality that reliance must be placed by the working people mainly on themselves and their fighting revolutionary organisations.

Defeat or victory will rest on how well this lesson is learned, not least for us in Britain.

JACK SEIFERT

KHRUSHCHEV AND NASSER

INTERNATIONAL



BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES AND OIL

FOR many weeks the press has been full of the heroic action of British troops against what is termed, "Redfan rebel strongholds." British commandos and paratroops, supported by Hawker Hunters dropping bombs, firing rockets and cannon, seem to be having quite a busy time, hopping from one Wadi strongpoint to another, oftentimes, so we are informed, by dropping down 2,000 ft. precipices in pitch darkness, with the aid of ropes. Without doubt the sort of stuff to stir the imagination of a healthy 12-year-old.

But most of the British people are over the age of 12; more and more of them are beginning to wonder exactly what all the fuss is about, what is at stake. For people cannot go through two world wars in one lifetime, and innumerable smaller ones, without increasing cynicism creeping in, without a feeling that there must be something in it, for somebody! And they are more than right, these sceptics. There is a great deal in it, "for somebody."

According to Nasser the British draw some £500 million a year out of oil found in Arab lands. Whether this is exactly so or not certain it is that the amount of money flowing to Britain from Middle East oil is tremendous, the profit is almost unimaginable, and for this reason. The price of oil and its products on the international market is fixed by the cost of production of U.S. oil. Bearing in mind that cost of production in the Arab lands are far below those of the U.S. [for labour costs are one-twentieth those of the U.S., and there is far greater productivity per oil well as well as, in the main, far shallower wells, which lower the cost of drilling] we can easily see that the tens of millions of tons of Arab oil extracted yearly allows British capital huge profits with every gallon of petrol sold.

Also, oil is the basis of a powerful chemical and synthetic industry in Britain, one which once again competes, and not without a great deal of success, with similar interests in the U.S. I.C.I. and Courtaulds, Shell and British Petroleum, compete in every market in the world with such U.S. giants as Dupont and Standard Oil. Without a supply of oil, costing far less than that produced by the U.S. continental field (and that is still a main U.S. oil source) British capitalism would lose much competitive strength. A sharp increase in the price of oil at point of production would be a disaster for British capital of the first magnitude.

You can help to develop the struggle against modern revisionism by

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

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

A. Major, 57 Manchester Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, MANCHESTER 21.

R. Jones, Flat 3, 33 Anson Road, LONDON, N.7.

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

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

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

KHRUSHCHEV'S recent visit to Egypt has forcibly brought home to thinking people simple facts which all the demagogy in the world cannot hide or eradicate. Khrushchev and his regime have backed the Nasser Bourgeois Nationalist Government of Egypt to the tune of approximately £350 million. Remembering how far a sum of this magnitude will go in Egypt where the wage rates are very low, it can be easily seen that this sum will do much to transform Egypt from a country with an extremely low level of technique to one with a comparatively high level of technique. Egypt will, without a shadow of doubt, emerge as a production unit incomparably higher than those in adjoining Arab lands. As such Egypt will attract many of these elements in Arab lands who have broken, or are breaking, with the old, reactionary feudal elements.

Egypt is a bourgeois State. Nasser, on coming to power, savagely repressed the forces on the left who advocated socialism as the way forward for the majority of the Egyptian people. The prison camps Nasser set up were hell holes for our comrades. Many thousands of leftists were arrested, hundreds of them murdered in the camps. These facts are written into the records. Nasser, along with the Iraqi butcher, Aref, is an implacable enemy of socialism.

Nasser, skilfully playing off contradictions between capitalist States, and between capitalist and Socialist States, has been making hay without a drop of rain coming down. Appealing to the Arabian peoples' desire for a better and richer life. He has emerged as a great champion of Arab unity against foreign encroachment and against the old feudal regimes which were too stupidly reactionary to understand that times were changing and that the majority of the people were no longer prepared to tolerate a senseless existence of endless drudgery and bitter poverty. It is precisely because there is a progressive element in the policy of Nasser, he did attack and largely destroy the old Egyptian regime, which stank with its own rotteness, which was hated by the people, that the fox Khrushchev could appear to be coming to the aid of one genuinely hostile to imperialism whereas, as a matter of plain fact, Nasser was a nationalist of nationalists determined to bring within his power orbit all the Arab lands. Should Nasser's schemes fully materialise Egypt will become in itself an imperialist State, engulfing a huge territory stretching to the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates, lapped by the gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea. Through possession of oceans of oil Egypt would be soon freed of the need to import vast sums of capital, and advances would take place in agricultural technique and manufacture and industry would spring up even as it sprang up and developed in North Europe a century ago. In fact, the pace could well be faster, for technique is on a much higher level today. Even as the U.S., Britain and Germany developed an internal market—which is often overlooked or minimised by Marxists—so too would this new base for capitalism.

This is the dream of Nasser and his associates, nor can it be waved aside as impossible of fulfillment. Given the initial capital—which he is getting from the Soviet Union—and the power of attraction of the Egyptian régime of Nasser becomes a living reality. Already, military forces of Nasser, taking advantage of imperialist rivalries—particularly that between Britain and the U.S.—are in the Yemen, while its emissaries are deep inside Saudi Arabia itself. That Nasser's dream of total conquest of the Arab lands may be thwarted; that, for example, the Syrians may refuse to become a subject race, is another matter, what must be recognised at the moment is that Nasser's dream of conquest is being aided and abetted by a Socialist State, the Soviet Union.

IS KHRUSHCHEV BLIND

Khrushchev was able to fool many an honest person with his claim that he was advancing progress, that he was undermining imperialism, for Nasser was fighting against a set of imperialist bandits. What was forgotten by honest people was the fact that thieves quarrel over the loot, that Nasser was a thief determined to protect his share, Capital-

ist Egypt's share, of the loot which flowed out of Egypt instead of remaining inside, and thus developing a base for the technological transformation of Egypt into a modern capitalist State.

On this recent visit Khrushchev has found no difficulty in sitting on the same platform, smiling and shaking hands with Aref, the Iraqi butcher who, according to Western reporters, hacked to death some 10,000 communists in the streets of Baghdad and other Iraqi towns and villages. Our comrades were hunted down as wild beasts. The co-murderer of these Iraqi comrades of ours was none other than Khrushchev himself who used the Soviet wireless to state, "that Arab peoples were not ready for socialism."

Yes, that is what the Soviet wireless repeated time and again, at the very moment when victory was well within the grasp of the Iraqi people. Those comrades listened to the advice of Khrushchev, even as a son to a father he respects. Our comrades paid for their blind faith in a modern butchery without precedent.

A CAPITALIST BASTION

Khrushchev, helping to develop a powerful capitalist bastion in the Arabian lands of the Nile Valley and the Middle East, told his audience at one huge meeting that the only road for them to take was that leading to Socialism; but that was demagogy, meant for home and foreign consumption, a lie to be spread by banner-headlines in the revisionist press, such as the *Daily Worker*, by making these kind of speeches Khrushchev hopes to cover up the fact that Egypt is a capitalist State and, as such, becomes a menace to any other African or Asian State which might take the road to Socialism.

The Iraqi people learned a cruel lesson, driven home in pools of their own blood. The lesson was that Khrushchev and the other Khrushchevs of the world, must never again be listened to. The people of Iraq and their leaders have learned that they alone have the right to decide their own destiny, the right to manage their own affairs, the right to decide when the moment is ripe for making a bid for State power. And what is true for the comrades in Iraq is true for all. The days of god-worship are fast ending, a people must learn to rely on their own strength and that alone.

Khrushchev finds hundreds of millions to give to the Egyptian capitalist State, this State in which no Communist Party is allowed to exist, this State which hounds daily, hourly, anyone suspected of having leftist tendencies, yet Khrushchev can find no money, not a single Kopek, to loan to People's Albania, a truly Socialist country surrounded by capitalist wolves. The latest information reveals the fact that Khrushchev is supplying Egypt with a one million ton per year steel plant, yet this is the man who refused such a plant to Albania and used his influence among other Socialist countries to prevent them from aiding this small and valiant Socialist country.

Khrushchev is helping to build up in Africa and the Middle East capitalist States, the very system which Socialists are trying to overthrow. Khrushchev is buttressing capitalism in those lands where it stands on shaky legs, where every possibility for its overthrow exists. Egypt is only the worst example of giant sums of capital which have flown out of the Soviet Union to emerging States which have set out on the road of capitalist development. Instead of encouraging the people of these lands to revolt he is enabling traitors to give sops to the people, to allow them to hope that better days are ahead. The net result is that revolutionary furore evaporates, that people become muddled and confused. For Marxists are not born, they must be made. The revolutionaries of these lands cannot understand big loans to their bitter enemies, to people who hunt down and persecute communists. Tactics are one thing and must be fully taken into account, opportunism is another, it is a burden you will carry on your shoulders for many a long day. Khrushchev must be exposed as an opportunist, a man who has broken, utterly and completely, with Marxism-Leninism.

KAMERUNS IN REVOLT!

FOR many years Kamerun has lived in a nightmare of repression. Very little news of this has reached the British public. Independence, proclaimed on January 1st, 1960, has not meant any lessening of that repression, which now covers that part of the former British Cameroons which integrated with Kamerun in October 1961.

There are 100,000 French troops in Kamerun, and they are engaged in widespread military operations against the people, providing the armed force behind the regime of Ahidjo. According to official figures, published in Paris newspapers, more than 100,000 Kamerunians have been killed during these operations. The determination of France to keep Kamerun under a puppet regime springs from the large economic interests of France in the country.

Laws of a fascist character keep the people completely without liberties. Kamerunians must have passes to travel from one town to the next, and visits to towns are limited. Curfews cover the whole country. The political party of Ahidjo forbids all other political organisations. The economy of the country, with its large French investments, is subjected to the control of France and other powers. French air and NATO military bases control the country.

Examples of repressive military actions are:

1. On February 1st, 1962, 25 political prisoners were put into a sealed compartment on the Douala-Yaoundi train and suffocated. Dead on arrival, they were hurried to a common grave without funeral service, and the newspaper which reported the matter was seized and the Director was expelled from the Kamerun.
2. On May 1st, 1963, in the NDE region,

50,000 peasants were removed from their homes because this sector was declared a "prohibited area."

3. On October 25th, 1963, the National Assembly passed Law No. 60/PJL/ANF, which allowed military tribunals to pass sentence of death or hard labour in perpetuity on all found guilty of having "spread rumours or made comments or proposals prejudicial to the regime."

4. In January, 1963, 15 people were publicly executed in Douala, Edea, Bafoussam, and Buea, and other places, of whom 10 were executed in the single day of January 3rd.

5. Although the last elections on April 26th, 1964, were reported to have been held without incident, several people

were in fact killed during incidents. This was not unusual, as there have been people killed in all the elections in Kamerun since 1955.

6. Thousands of people are in concentration camps and prisons in Yoko, Douala, Erea and Dschang.

7. Newspapers are often proscribed and seized, while political parties or trade unions not recognised by the regime are outlawed, and their leaders detained, exiled or imprisoned.

In this intolerable situation, the Kamerunian people have chosen to take up arms to recover freedom. In about one third of the region armed units of the UPC are fighting. These armed units engage the French and puppet troops, who are ruthless in their suppression. Under the direction of our Party, the Popular Union of the Cameroons (UPC), we will continue our struggle for the following aims:—

- (a) Withdrawal of foreign troops and military technicians, closure of the concentration camps, abolition of the "prohibited zones."
- (b) General and unconditional amnesty

- for political acts since 1955.
- (c) Abolition of the agreements which place Kamerun under the domination of foreign powers.
- (d) Restoration of democratic and trade union rights, abrogation of the laws on the "state of emergency," etc., and the withdrawal of cases against Kamerunians, whether at home or abroad.
- (e) Dissolution of the Assembly and fresh elections.

We appeal to the people of Britain to use their influence to put an end to the bloody repression in the Kamerun.

We appeal to democrats everywhere to support the aims listed above, and to give their concrete help to the Kamerunian people in their struggle for national liberation. This liberation will be achieved, at whatever cost, as was reaffirmed by the Popular Assembly held on September 13th, 1962, which instituted the new direction of the UPC—the Revolutionary Committee of the UPC—under the Presidency of Ernest Ouandie, who since that date directs the revolution of the Kamerunian people.

MBOG CHARLES
Representative of the UPC

"We want to point out the violent aggressive nature of U.S. Imperialism, which considers that there can be peace anywhere in the world except in those places where its interests are directly menaced."

Ernesto Che Guevara, a leading Cuban revolutionary. Report by Hsinhua News Agency, January 14, 1964.

LEEDS PUBLIC MEETING

ON Sunday June 14th was held at Leeds Town Hall the first public meeting of the Bradford/Leeds group of the C.D.R.C.U. There were six speakers, comprising Keith Jennings, George Langston, and Stan Caton, all of the local group; Mike Baker from Scarborough; Arthur Major from Manchester; and the main speaker, Michael McCreery; the chairman was Ian Fairey.

The local comrades and the comrade from Manchester each gave short speeches on their gradual disillusionment with the revisionist leadership of the C.P.G.B. and the realisation that its leadership had betrayed the working class that it was supposed to represent and the doctrine of Marxist-Leninism that it was supposed to propagate.

Michael McCreery, in his speech, began with an historical survey of Capitalism, tracing its course into Imperialism, and the rise and achievement of the Socialist movement. He showed how the doctrine of Marx, of Engels, of Lenin, and of Stalin, had been put into practice and brought about the victories of the working class. He then went on to analyse the post-war activity of the leadership of the C.P.G.B., which had reaped nothing but garlands of self-complacency.

The final speaker, Mike Baker, gave a forthright summary of the previous speeches, and the final part of the meeting consisted of questions and discussion.

All shades of the political left were in the audience, which numbered 76. But there was no Trotskyist. Evidently the banner of Marxism-Leninism fluttering in the industrial wind of Leeds was too must for them. There was the usual private-eye from the H.Q. (Leeds) of the C.P.G.B., who took diligent notes, but evidently more of the audience than of the speakers; for at question time the Party comrade was gone—must have been out of practice. In fact, only one party comrade asked a question. It is a sad day for any party when its members stop asking questions. That is a sign of doubt. But questions should dispel doubt; lack of them merely confirms it.

Michael McCreery emphasised in his speech that our group is no Cinderella organisation. We have no magic wand, only truth, conviction and steadfastness. Where truth is, might is sure to follow. The aim of our organisation is to spread the doctrine of Marxist-Leninism, to cultivate the strength of the working class.

To conclude, mention must be made of the magnificent display of literature at the meeting. It gladdened the heart to see such a rich selection of the works of Mao Tse-Tung—something never before seen in Leeds—of our Albanian comrades, and of our own British group. A truly historical occasion.

TWO CORRECTIONS — JUNE ISSUE

1. Comrade Ernie Hunt, who signed the Thames Valley Association Statement, was in West Middlesex District C.P.G.B., but not on the District Committee.
2. Comrade Keith Jennings, one of those who signed the Leeds-Bradford Statement, joined the C.P.G.B. in 1958, and not in 1948.

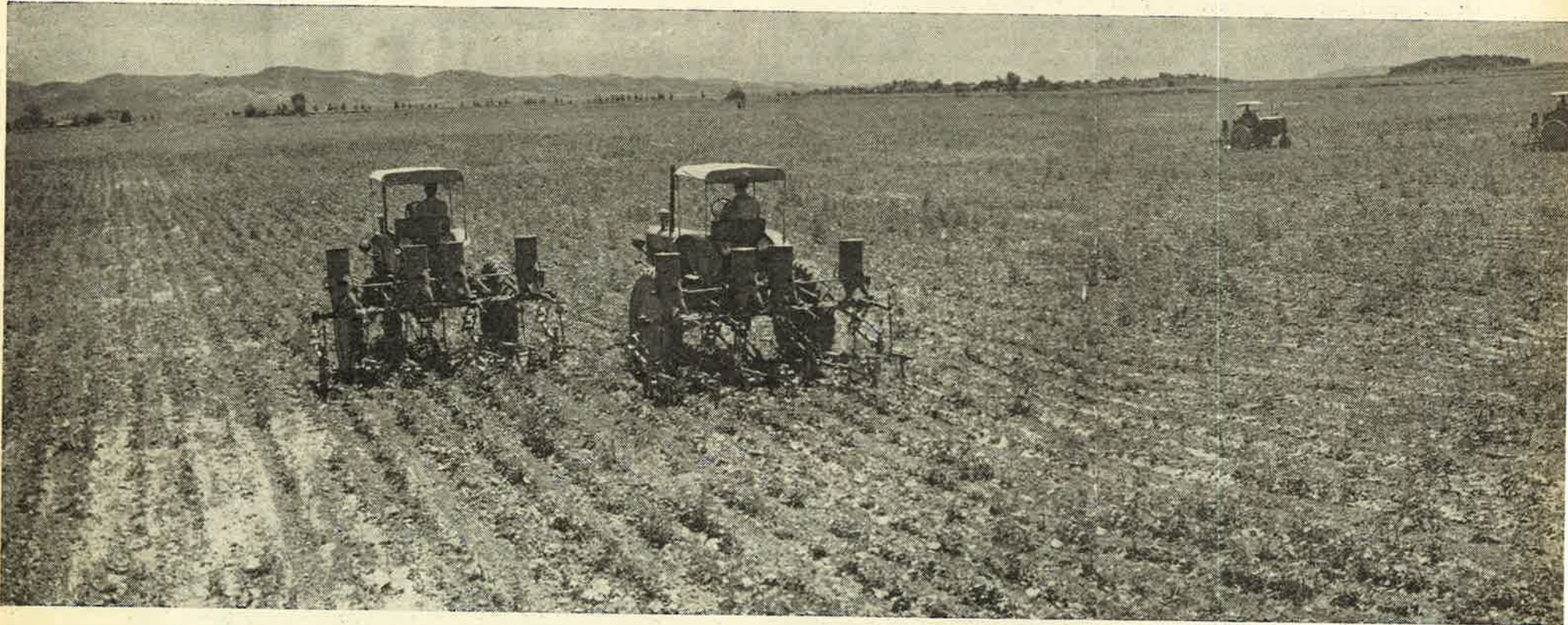


ARMED PATRIOTS IN ACTION

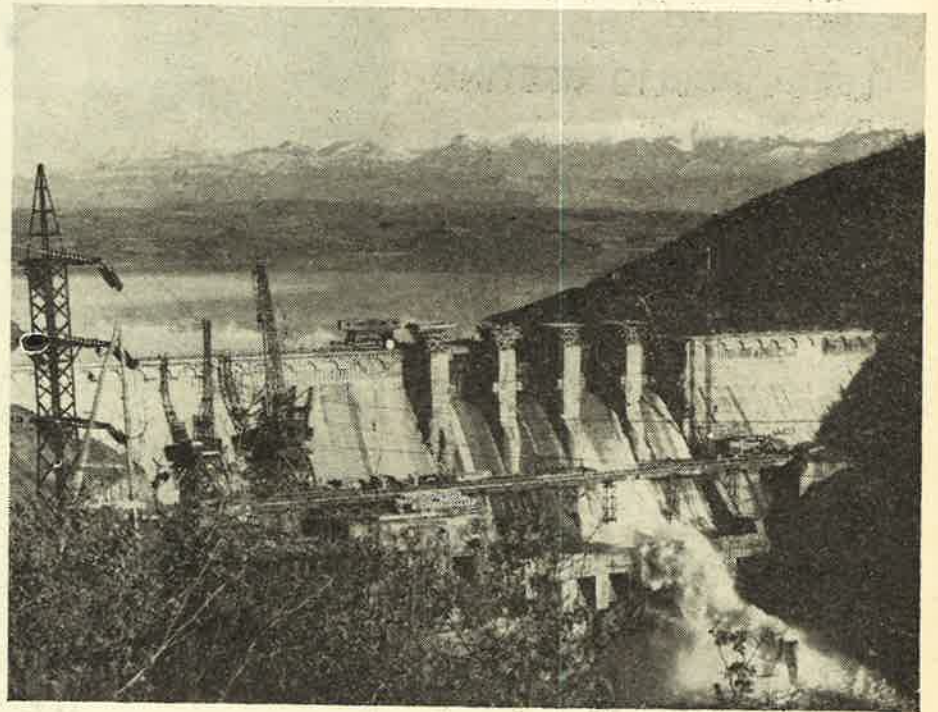


FRENCH DIRECTED BARBARITY

PEOPLE'S ALBANIA



Above — Mechanisation of Collective Agr



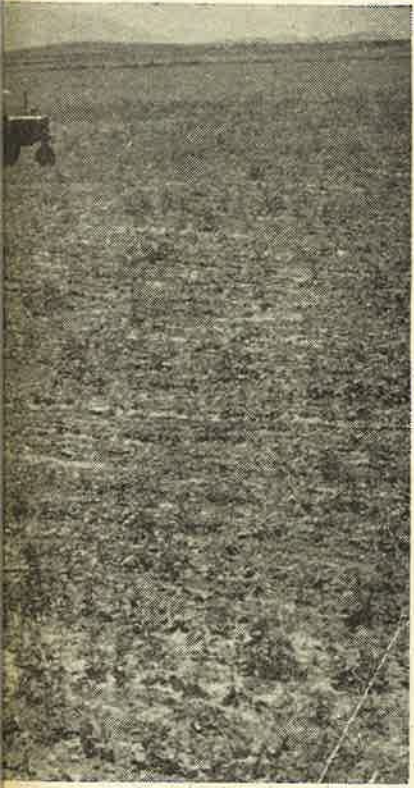
Above — Karl Marx Hydro Dam

Left — Fruit is plentiful

Below — Albanian Street Scene



IN WAR AND PEACE



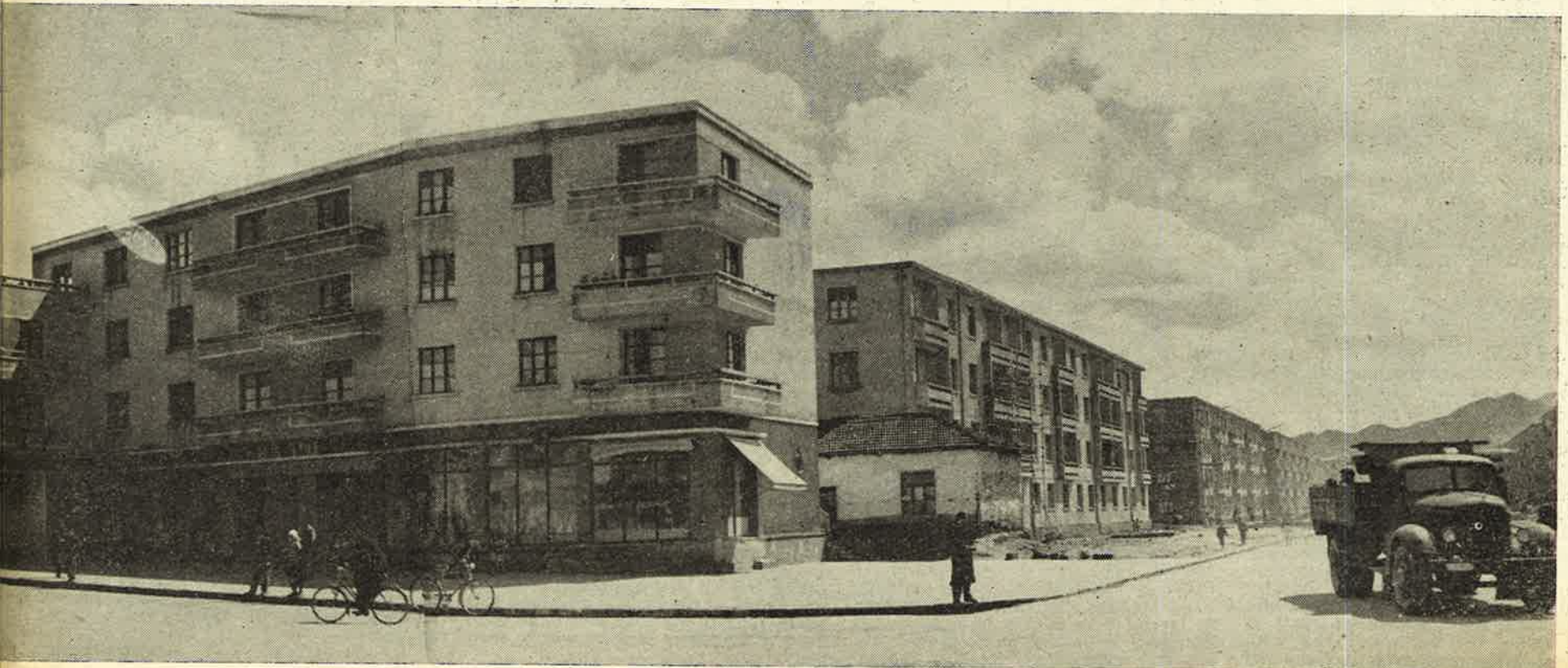
The Albanian people, led by the Albanian Party of Labour, have achieved full liberation from imperialism. The people in arms have smashed all attempts at counter-revolution, and have defeated the economic blockade organised by the modern revisionists. Socialism is being built in Peoples' Albania.
(Full article on page 4.)

culture



Above — Founders of People's Albania

Right — Women Fought with the Men



TRIBUNE, FOOT, AND NEHRU

TRIBUNE is known wherever politics is talked as the weekly organ of what is called "left socialist ideology" in Britain. Michael Foot is almost as well-known as its principal contributor. Michael Foot is regarded as "A champion of lost causes," and, as a Labour Party M.P., is usually critical of right-wing policy. Jawaharlal Nehru was better known than either Michael Foot or Tribune, he was what is referred to as "an international figure." Last week all three came close together. Mr. Nehru has passed the way of all flesh, he is now in Nirvana, and this last act of Mr. Nehru was solemnly noted by an obituary in deep black, with white wording, on the front page of Tribune: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU Socialist and Patriot. The second of the three components, Mr. Michael Foot, has accepted a part time job as a literary critic for the London capitalist newspaper, the Evening Standard, owned by Lord Beaverbrook.

We only wish we could honestly congratulate Michael Foot on getting a very well paid part-time job, but we can't help but think of how reluctantly most socialists work for capitalists, driven to do so solely by the necessity of maintaining life. It is our opinion that Mr. Michael Foot is not short of cash, but even if this is so surely Michael Foot has a position to uphold, for he is regarded by many honest people as being a completely sincere left socialist, a strong opponent of the capitalist system.

Now, without a shadow of doubt, many people will argue that Michael Foot will take full advantage of the job he has taken to spread the ideas of Socialism, but a little reflection is bound to show any thinking person that no capitalist newspaper would be naive enough to allow its pages to be used regularly for propagating socialist ideas which are anathema to them. A story for news value is one thing, socialist propaganda another. A little further thought will convince any reasonably minded person that a man with the experience which Michael Foot possesses must be fully

aware that the sack would await him if he tried to consistently smuggle in socialist views, for obviously this could not be done without attacking capitalist views. Hence one is forced to the conclusion that, after all, Michael Foot is short of cash and is willing to temporise with capitalism on this account—for the struggle with opportunism tugs at the heartstrings of many an honest socialist—or else that most of his ideas on literature have little to do with socialism.

AS TO NEHRU

Tribune claims to be a left Socialist journal, as such its deep obeisance to the memory of Nehru is more than puzzling. One cannot help but wonder what steps Nehru took in the years he was in office to convince Tribune that he was a sincere socialist, for even Tribune must grant that there are people, many people, who call themselves socialists who are far from being such. Many such people are, as a matter of plain fact, camouflaged enemies of socialism. And with some of them even the camouflage wears thin.

Is it not a fact that the Labour Party, of which Michael Foot is a well-known member, calls itself a Socialist party? But is this more than lip service designed to pull the wool over the eyes

of a section of the rank and file? Is it not a fact that the majority of Labour Party M.P.s. come from other than the working class, and have incomes and a mode of living far different from that of even the best paid workers? And those M.P.s. who do come from the ranks of labour, with the exception of a handful, is there any real difference between their way of life and that of their middle-class colleagues? For example, it is well-known that a certain middle of the roader did very well for himself by representing British firms in East Berlin a few years ago. There is another working class M.P. representing a coal constituency, who once owned a rather nice night club in Yorkshire.

There are many, many others, of course.

We mention these facts but it has just struck us that Tribune's views of how individual Socialists behave, and what sort of a gap there should be between incomes, may be closer to that of Khrushchev than ours. Hence, if this is so, Tribune may find nothing odd or smelly about socialists feathering their own nests to a moderately comfortable degree.

SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE

Accepting all this, accepting Tribune's kindly spirit of tolerance, we should be most interested in the factual evidence Tribune is no doubt compiling, proving, even to the most sceptical, that Jawaharlal Nehru was a true socialist. Tribune's back page Obituary is of little help in convincing thinking people that Mr. Nehru was a socialist. We are afraid that metaphysical utterances are of little help, no matter how grand they sound. And the statelyness of the utterances cannot be denied, for only a man with a wondrous flair for the pulpit could write: "Nehru was the vital link between the rich white north of the world and the poor dark south. He proves that democracy and personal freedom were

possible even in a situation where direction from above often seems essential. He was the conscience of the world, and, wherever he went, he made other rulers feel guilty."

"He was the conscience of the world," without a shadow of doubt a most moving sentence.

But about the "rich white north" we are not quite so sure. After all, we recall the late President of the U.S., Mr. Kennedy, stating that over 40 million Americans were very poor. And we have some of our own.

And "democracy and personal freedom?" Some years back a Soviet Academician, then acting as Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, proved in black and white figures, naming city, town and place, that more people have been imprisoned, wounded and killed, by police and military action under the Government of Nehru than under the imperialist domination of Britain.

Again, nothing is mentioned of Mr. Nehru's attitude to caste but, as Tribune assures us, "Next week Tribune will write of Nehru in more detail," it is to be hoped that this question of caste will not be forgotten or overlooked. Finally, Tribune ends this first obituary to Mr. Nehru with these words: "Of all the distinguished men who have been locked in British gaols, this was surely the greatest." We wonder if Tribune would check and find out if Mr. Nehru carried chains around his neck and ankles, as was the treatment handed out to such as Rafiq Ahmad, Muzaffar Ahmad and other founder members of the Communist Party of India?

We are looking forward to this coming issue of Tribune, which will undoubtedly prove by book and exact verse the steps Mr. Nehru took during his long years of office to fittingly support the tribute of Tribune: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU Socialist and Patriot.

A. H. EVANS

HEROIC STORY

We are privileged to have received from India a book for review, *The Communist Party of India and its Formation Abroad*. This book was written by Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad, a foundation member of the Communist Party of India. It can be purchased from National Book Agency (P) Ltd., 12 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price: Rs 3.50.

THERE have been many Odysseys in the troubled history of mankind, but few will exceed in interest that of a group of young Indian revolutionaries who, in 1920, crossed from India to the Soviet Union by way of the Hindukush. One should remember that in those days India was under the iron heel of British imperialism. These youthful comrades had to find their way through the North West Frontier Region, heavily policed by British soldiery, into Afghanistan. From there they made their way across a range of mountains infinitely more difficult to cross than the Alps. The Hindukush are higher and more rugged, almost trackless, with few inhabitants. Furthermore, the Soviet side of the frontier was far from stable. Civil war was raging, Turkmenistan was divided between tribes who supported the Red Army, bandits of all descriptions, and tribes bribed by the British. It was at this stage of the journey that the young Indian comrades, mostly Muslims, found that politics cut across religious lines. The entire group escaped murder by the skin of their teeth from Muslims who had sold their honour to Britain.

Still, eventually the majority, some sixty, managed to reach Bokhara and left there for Tashkent. Some of the comrades, including Rafiq Ahmad, whose account of the terrible journey appeared in the Bengali monthly, *Parichaya*, under the title, "An Unforgettable Journey," then left Tashkent for Moscow and enrolled at the Eastern University, established for the express purpose of bringing Marxism to Asian lands.

These young comrades accepted the teachings of Marxism and in Moscow in 1921 formed the Communist Party of India—although, as the author points out, the Party had actually been formed in Tashkent, in 1920. It should be remembered that these comrades were young and in difficult circumstances, constantly moving about, and a certain amount of overlapping and even confusion was bound to occur.

After receiving a grounding in Marxism the Indian comrades were anxious to return to their motherland for practical work. Getting back represented great difficulties and the comrades decided it was advisable to split into small groups. Rafiq Ahmad left in a party of ten determined to cross back to India by way of the giant Pamir range of mountains called "The Roof of the World."

Soviet comrades lent all assistance, and the story of how the Indian comrades travelled to the High Pamirs with a Red Army detachment gives you a hint of the hardship of mountain travel in those times. But the weeks spent with the Red Army were paradise compared

with the actual crossing and descent on the Afghan side. Some day, without a shadow of doubt, the story of this epic heroism of young revolutionaries will be turned into literature, their spirit will become a living part of Indian tradition. All honour to such men. These were not seekers of glory, they were not after wealth, they suffered knowing full well that savage treatment and gaol would be their lot. These young comrades knew that decades of hardship lay before them, that few would live to see the birth of Socialism in their own beloved land.

Muzaffar Ahmad tells you the story of arrests, of long years in gaols, of being loaded down with chains, British-Indian fashion, with chains around your neck and feet, the authorities attempting through humiliation to crush the spirit of these men. But, as the author points out, how different the gaols into which Nehru was placed, no chains there, no humiliation; cleanliness, good food, and books for the spirit! But then, Nehru was a Brahmin of Brahmins, much English aristocrat Hindu, a product of Harrow and Oxford. The British imperialists knew their friends, even when they had to restrain them temporarily. They also knew their implacable enemies, these they loaded down with chains.

In the pages of this valuable work by Comrade Ahmad you will find the record of cowardice, of treachery. And Comrade Ahmad exposes M. N. Roy as a man without firmness of character, as a political adventurer without the human decency in his autobiography even to mention the name of his first wife, who did so much to bring him to Marxism. Likewise with Dr. Datta, who, for purposes of his own, has lied about historical events. Again with such enemies of the people as Saumyendranath Tagore, the author proves conclusively that this man could not break from his aristocratic background. Incidentally, it should be observed that Comrade Ahmad did everything humanly possible to aid S. Tagore, to help free him from his weaknesses.

Finally, the author points out the special role that the great City of Calcutta has played in the working class movement of India, and we can't help but remark that in our day, too, the working class of Calcutta, together with the best of its intellectuals, are carrying forward with full honour the mantle of revolutionary struggle handed down to them by their fathers. Long life to the Hero City, Calcutta!

It is certain that this book will long be treasured as source material to all interested in Indian working class history and revolutionary struggle. It can-

FINAL OBITUARY

Tribune's last tribute to Nehru has now appeared in the form of two articles, one by Jennie Lee, the other by Fenner Brockway. No one, from reading these articles, would gain a deeper insight of India as it is today. According to Jennie Lee, Nehru was "English, in the best liberal sense . . . By that I mean the poetry of Keats and Shelley, the economics of Robert Owen or Harold Laski, the vibrant humanism of Aneurin Bevan." But the problems India had to face were Indian problems and could only be clearly understood and analysed by Indians. Nehru failed dismally in tackling India's problems, which are problems dealing with hunger, with disease, with a caste system which labelled scores of millions of people to a position lower than the dung of a cow.

Nehru has left an India where the caste system is as he found it at birth, untouched. Nehru has left an India where the poverty is at least as bad as he found it at birth. In only one aspect have things improved and that had little to do with Nehru, for the mosquito and bad sewerage affected, more or less, all strata of the population. Nehru was not an Englishman, he was a high caste Brahmin, a man who, despite brain-washing at an English University, believed in astrology, that human destiny was related to the movement of stars.

It is curious that Jennie Lee failed to find out a factor of such importance as this in her reading of Nehru's letters, particularly as the question of Nehru's belief in astrology raised a ripple of incredible amusement in intellectual quarters here in London. But then, what can one expect from a woman who believes that a tricky politician such as Aneurin Bevan was alive with "vibrant humanism." It is true that Bevan was "vibrant" enough to rise himself out of the working class by his gift for the gab, and he died leaving something like £20,000, which should be doubled at today's prices. Finally, according to Jennie Lee, called "red" Jennie in her more youthful days—though God alone

not be praised too warmly for that alone.

There is also a pamphlet written by Muzaffar Ahmad, *Communist Party of India, Years of Formation*, which is a must for anyone interested in the revolutionary struggle of India. These works prove to the hilt that India possesses cadres capable of marshalling the people of India into an invincible force. India will not have long to wait for the decisive break-through, for they are a people rich in revolutionary experience and the room for manoeuvre of India's ruling class is fast shrinking. May the sale of the works we have reviewed help hurry forward the day when the backbone of capitalism in India will be snapped.

knows why—Nehru made possible "a continuation of democratic, secular and Socialist policies." Jennie Lee must be fond of goulash, the way she lumps everything together without any attempt to analyse and particularise. And she—in the very next sentence!—makes nonsense of even her own pot pourri, she says: "But India's basic problems remain unsolved." So it is evident that Nehru's "Socialism" was too heavily spiced by his vague notions on "secular" and "democratic" ideas. No hint of class war in Jennie Lee's article, no hint that Nehru's soldiers and police fired again and again on the Indian people, that he filled the goals of India, that he, the great Pandit, did all in his power to ram Hindi down the throat of minority peoples, that Nehru was, in fact, a chauvinist of chauvinists. How a man whose own head was full of superstition could hope to clear it out of the head of his fellow countrymen is beyond me, but that is the note upon which Jennie Lee closes her panygeric.

Fenner Brockway is an old fashioned Liberal who calls himself a Socialist, he has a great deal of "humanitarianism" in him, he believes in turning the other cheek, he is distressed by violence. Fenner Brockway is a firm believer in "non-alignment," he is overjoyed to find that some of the emerging countries refuse to be "drawn in" to the side of the Socialist or the capitalist world. And among these "non-alignists" he classified Nehru. How anyone, with any honest sense in his head, can believe in Nehru's "non-alignment" is beyond this writer. Facts have been piled up: it was the Indians who advanced and fired on the Chinese. Not all the cheap moralising in the world can hide this fact. Fenner Brockway tells of Nehru's imprisonment: "Jawaharlal took full advantage of his privileges. He wrote letters to his daughter, Indira, describing the most dramatic of man's progress, from which she must have learned more than from all the history books at school." This reviewer wonders if she found out that Communists in Indian gaols were loaded down with chains, that they were beaten and tortured, that they had no rights whatsoever. But Fenner Brockway is aware of these facts, they have been recorded. Why is he silent on them?

Fenner Brockway is a pacifist, he claims that pacifism is the answer to the world's problems, and he regards Nehru as a firm believer in pacifist solution. Yet under Nehru the armed forces of India have grown from strength to strength.

Are we being unfair when we ask what these arms are for. To enforce pacifist beliefs down the throats of people who disbelieve in pacifism? Perhaps Fenner Brockway would be good enough to answer.

A. H. E.

The cupboard is bare

"COMMENT" is currently publishing a series of articles dealing with the differences in the international Communist movement. Following the usual subtle and crafty performance of R. Palme Dutt, and the crude and vulgar stuff dished up by J. R. Campbell, in the issue of 9/5/64 we get a pathetic 4-page article entitled, "The Fight for Disarmament" by William Wainwright.

On page (1), he deals with the question of the arms race and the possibility of achieving a general disarmament agreement. William Wainwright does not seem to realise and will not get it into his head that possibilities are not certainties. Proceeding from this first cardinal error, he goes on and on and on, filling up 4 pages. He follows the path already trodden by the Soviet revisionists who are so bankrupt that, in their polemics against the Chinese comrades, they can only resort to all the usual vulgar distortions and crude lies. Answering the revisionists, the Chinese comrades present a balanced, all-round picture of the world situation. They quote Lenin at length, and are promptly accused by the revisionists of quoting him out of context. They give undeniable facts and figures, but the revisionists are not concerned about realities—only possibilities. The Chinese comrades base their arguments on objective class analysis, but this does not interest William Wainwright and all the rest of the baton followers. Like John Brown's soul, they go marching on. Facts, figures, data, statistics, objective reality leave them completely unperturbed—everything has to fit in with their erroneous line. And so, in spite of refutations, like the parrots they are, they will continue to churn out the same old rubbish.

William Wainwright starts off with a big lie. He writes:

"The 1960 Statement said the imperialists can be forced into an agreement on general disarmament. The C.P.C. now says this is impossible and that imperialism and capitalism must be overthrown first."

The C.P.C. says no such thing. Where do they say such a thing? Read over the Chinese statements, Wainwright. Don't accuse them of saying what they never said.

William Wainwright quotes copiously from the 1960 Statement issued by 81 C.P.s. Yet it only states that "it is possible to force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament." The Chinese comrades signed the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, they stood by it in words and in deeds unlike Khrushchev and others, and they still do. But the revisionists deliberately over-emphasise one aspect of the documents and elevate it into a general line. This is petty bourgeois trickery and has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

He then tells two more big lies:

"The Chinese comrades have chosen to come out with a campaign opposing the policy which was agreed in 1960, and denouncing all those who continue to work for general disarmament as

"revisionists," "helping the imperialists," "deluding the people," and the like.

As William Wainwright well knows, the Chinese comrades are not opposed to the demand for general disarmament, nor do they denounce all those who continue to work for it. But they are resolutely opposed to the spreading of false illusions about imperialism among the people: They will not underwrite fraudulent treaties which prettify the imperialists, helping them to continue their bellicose policies while they pose as devotees of peace. They will not support sell-out.

William Wainwright goes on to quote the Chinese statement of 1/9/63:

"Universal and complete disarmament can be realised only after imperialism, capitalism and all systems of exploitation have been eliminated."

Well, what is wrong with that? And how is it inconsistent with what was agreed in 1960? After all, a general disarmament agreement is not universal and complete disarmament. Is William Wainwright suggesting that it is? He then goes on to quote from the letter of C.P.C. to C.P.S.U. of 14/6/63:

"Is there a shadow of evidence that the imperialist countries, headed by the United States, are ready to carry out general and complete disarmament? Are they not each and all engaged in general and complete arms expansion?"

NOT THE POINT

But according to William Wainwright, this is not the point. You see, facts can be disregarded, reality does not matter—the false illusions of the revisionists are all-important. Just because the Chinese comrades will not join him in spreading them, he accuses the C.P.C. of adopting a "fatalistic and defeatist attitude"—the very same time-honoured excuse used by anti-Marxists of every description to attack Marxism.

He quotes again from the C.P.C. letter of 14/6/63:

"We have always maintained that, in order to expose and combat the imperialists' arms expansion and war preparations, it is necessary to put forward the proposal for general disarmament."

He then makes this comment:

"People who put forward demands which they know cannot be realised are usually phrasemongers, and it is astonishing to find the C.P.C. Comrades actually admitting that when they put forward the proposal for general disarmament, they don't mean what they say."

Whatever next! According to William Wainwright, it is impermissible to be realistic. You must not put forward proposals which cannot be realised, under capitalism. How dogmatic can you get? Yet he accuses the C.P.C. of dogmatism;

then goes on to accuse them of being insincere. What rubbish! William Wainwright must have a low opinion indeed of the readers of "Comment."

Then we get this one:

"For what the C.P.C. comrades are really saying is that the imperialists are still able to impose their will on the world, that they still have the decisive voice, and that short of their total overthrow they will always be able to flout the will of the people demanding general disarmament."

Nothing of the kind. The imperialists cannot impose their will because since 1945, revolutionary wars against them have never ceased. There was the revolutionary upsurge of the peoples of Asia and Africa, 4 years of war in China, 19 years of continuous war in Vietnam, north and south, 3 years of war in Korea, 7 years of war in Algeria, war in Cyprus, war in Cuba and other places. This is what has weakened imperialists, not Khrushchev's fraudulent pacts with the U.S.; not the well-fed, comfortable, petty bourgeois C.N.D. women with their petitions; not William Wainwright's demands to the imperialists that they "must accept general disarmament." The U.S. imperialists do not take any notice of William Wainwright and his begging bowl. But when the revolutionary peoples fight them with arms in hand, then hear them squeal like stuck pigs. Actually, it is William Wainwright and his revisionists who are the defeatists. They have completely lost faith in the working class, they have given up being revolutionaries; they even viciously attack Marxist-Leninists who are still proud to call themselves revolutionaries. In practice, they accept the continuation of capitalism for the foreseeable future. They actively oppose revolution, by one-sidedly making "general disarmament" their general line. There is nothing whatever in the 1960 Statement which says that the 81 C.P.s. have to adopt Khrushchev's revisionist general line—the struggle for "general disarmament" is only one aspect of the struggle for peace, national liberation and Socialism. His allegation that the C.P.C. has changed its attitude since signing the document is just one more crude revisionist lie. The C.P.C. has been consistent all along the line and no amount of misrepresentation by William Wainwright's bleating notwithstanding. Yet

WAINWRIGHT BLEATING

He then deals with the question of spreading nuclear weapons. He quotes the Chinese government statement of 15/8/63:

"So long as the imperialists refuse to ban nuclear weapons, the greater the number of socialist countries possessing them, the better the guarantee of world peace."

Then comments:

"It doesn't seem to occur to the C.P.C. comrades that if more socialist and peace-loving countries get nuclear weapon, the imperialists would immediately retaliate by giving more of their allies weapons."

What rubbish! The U.S. imperialists are already trying to spread nuclear weapons to West Germany; they are already pushing their mixed-manned nuclear force in spite of signing the fraudulent Test Ban Treaty; and they have also offered nuclear information to General de Gaulle. The imperialists do what they want to do, William Wainwright's bleating notwithstanding. Yet in spite of these incontrovertible facts, Khrushchev tore up all his agreements with China concerning nuclear weapons. It doesn't seem to occur to William Wainwright that by this perfidious act, his orchestra conductor has tied his hands in advance, leaving the imperialists free to do as they please with their nuclear weapons. This is one further example of Khrushchev's capitulationism, of his surrender to U.S. imperialist nuclear blackmail. What is worse, William Wainwright is playing America's game for them, picking their chestnuts out of the fire, by his own crude attempt to use nuclear blackmail against People's China. In effect, he says to the Chinese comrades:

"If you acquire nuclear weapons, the imperialists will retaliate. Therefore, remain weak, do not defend yourselves."

The Chinese must let Khrushchev trade their security for a mess of pottage, for he gets nothing in return, nothing whatever. Fortunately, our Chinese comrades, steeled in decades of revolutionary struggle, will never fall for that one.

After all this, William Wainwright reaches the astounding conclusion that "the public campaign of the C.P.C. on these matters has been a godsend to the Tory imperialists and the right-wing Labour upholders of British imperialism and its arms programme. It has been a blow to the peace movement."

Actually, everybody knows that when Khrushchev signed the fraudulent Test Ban Treaty on 25/7/63, he paralysed the peace movement and all but killed it stone dead. The imperialists who were being exposed as warmongers took on a new lease of life. With Khrushchev's help they were now able, posing as peacelovers, to prosecute and further their nefarious schemes. William Wainwright consistently supported Khrushchev in all this, yet now he turns on the C.P.C. and blames it for Khrushchev's blunders.

The cupboard is bare. Devoid of facts and rational argument, the revisionists resort to lies and falsification. William Wainwright makes a deliberate attempt to mislead us. Thus, this whole article is a complete and utter travesty of China's real position, liberally interspersed with out-and-out lies. How low have they fallen—to what depths will they stoop? However, they are exposing themselves more and more. Carry on, "comrades," complete your series; you are only hastening your own inevitable defeat.

JACK ANGEL

DEFEND SOCIALISM!

THE socialist camp is the champion of world peace and security of all nations. The socialist countries do not want war. But as long as imperialism exists, the danger of war cannot be removed. The armed forces in the hands of the socialist countries constitute a most powerful means of restraining the imperialists' policies of aggression and war, defending the socialist countries and safeguarding world peace.

Therefore, the slightest weakening of the armed forces of the socialist camp under whatever pretext is absolutely impermissible.

However, certain persons propagandize as though a certain country's armed forces alone were defending the entire socialist camp, as though the latest military technique of a certain country alone were maintaining the security of the socialist camp and world peace. They make light of the role of the other fraternal countries in the defence of the socialist camp and neglect their due co-operation in strengthening the defence power of these countries.

All who are truly concerned about the security of the socialist camp and world peace cannot agree to such a stand.

It goes without saying that the armed forces and the latest military technique of a powerful socialist country can play a great role in curbing the machinations of aggression and war of the imperialists and in defending the socialist camp if the Party of that country which possesses them holds fast to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Yet this does not mean that the defence of the socialist camp can be left entirely with the military power of any one country.

The defence of the socialist camp should rest on the armed forces of the entire socialist countries, it should not rest on a certain weapon of the latest type alone but should rest on the strength of the people first and foremost.

In defending the socialist camp, each socialist country is assigned to a definite outpost to defend. In the defence of

its own outpost, no socialist country should try to rely solely on the military power of another country.

Today, the imperialists are not only preparing a "total war" against the socialist camp and the world people. They are also carrying on "limited wars" and "special wars".

Under these circumstances, each socialist country should rely firmly on the military power of the entire socialist camp, and should, at the same time, make full preparations to counter any military strategic attack of the enemy by relying on its own strength and potentialities to the maximum. Hence, it is important for all the socialist countries alike to possess the latest military technique and strengthen their defence power through mutual co-operation.

This is the very stand of international solidarity and militant unity to combat imperialism jointly and safeguard the gains of socialist revolution collectively.

In increasing the might of the socialist camp, the Parties of the respective countries should also make consistent efforts to consolidate the socialist system they have already won.

It is an important task in this respect to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist Party, heighten the leading role of the working class, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, and cement in every way the political and moral cohesion of the people.

Published by KOREAN C.P.

NOW IN PRINT: The following publications of the British Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity:

ON LEARNING TO TALK WITH THE PEOPLE
by George Shaw

THE C.P.G.B. AND TRADE UNIONS
by A. O'Neill

COUSINS: THE CASSIUS CLAY OF TRADE UNIONISM
by George Shaw

All the above 1d., or 2/- for 50

DESTROY THE OLD TO BUILD THE NEW

A Commentary on the State, Revolution, and the C.P.G.B.

1/- by Michael McCreery

THE PATRIOTS

The overseas operations of British finance-capital,

and the National Liberation Struggle

1/- by Michael McCreery

AGAINST THE ENEMY

A sharp polemical attack against modern revisionism

1/- by A. H. Evans

TRUTH WILL OUT

Correspondence between the author and certain leaders

in the C.P.G.B.

2/- by A. H. Evans

N. KHRUSHCHEV, FERTILISER, AND THE FUTURE OF SOVIET AGRICULTURE

A minute examination of Khrushchev's bankrupt agricultural policy with a look at the future

1/6 by A. H. Evans

THE WAY FORWARD

The need to establish a Communist Party in England,

Scotland and Wales

9d. by Michael McCreery

ORGANISE AT THE PLACE OF WORK 3d.

NOTES ON THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS AND THE

SEMI-PROLETARIAT 6d.

By Michael McCreery

The National Question in Britain

IN *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Stalin wrote:

"What is a nation?"

"A nation is primarily a community, a definite community of people.

"This community is not racial, nor is it tribal. The modern Italian nation was formed from Romans, Teutons, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs, and so forth. The French nation was formed from Gauls, Britons, Teutons, and so on. The same should be said of the British, the Germans and others, who were formed into nations from peoples of different races and tribes.

"Thus, a nation is not a racial or tribal, but a historically constituted community of people.

"On the other hand, it is unquestionable that the great empires of Cyrus and Alexander could not be called nations, although they came to be constituted historically and were formed out of different tribes and races. They were not nations, but casual and loosely-connected conglomerations of groups, which fell apart or joined together depending upon the victories or defeats of this or that conqueror.

"Thus a nation is not a casual or ephemeral conglomeration, but a stable community of people.

COMMUNITY OF LANGUAGE

"But not every stable community constitutes a nation. Austria and Russia are also stable communities, but nobody calls them nations. What distinguishes a national community from a political community? One of the distinguishing features is that a national community is inconceivable without a common language. The Czech nation in Austria and the Polish in Russia would be impossible if each did not have a common language, whereas the integrity of Russia and Austria is not affected by the fact that there are several different languages within their borders. We are referring, of course, to the colloquial language of the people and not to the official government language.

"Thus *community of language* is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

"This of course, does not mean that different nations always and everywhere necessarily speak different languages, or that all who speak one language necessarily constitute one nation. A common language for every nation, but not necessarily different languages for different nations. There is no nation which at one and the same time speaks several languages, but this does not mean that there may not be two nations speaking the same language. Englishmen and Americans speak one language, but they do not constitute one nation. The same is true of the Norwegians and the Danes, the English and the Irish.

"But why, for instance, do not the English and the Americans constitute one nation in spite of their common language?"

"Firstly, because they do not live together, but inhabit different territories. A nation is formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, as a result of the fact that people live together from generation to generation. But people cannot live together for lengthy periods unless they have a common territory. Englishmen and Americans originally inhabited the same territory, England, and constituted one nation. Later, one section of the English emigrated from England to a new territory, America, and here, in the new territory, in the course of time came to form the new American nation.

"Thus community of territory is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

"But this is not all. Community of territory in itself does not create a nation. This requires, in addition, an internal economic bond which welds the various parts of a nation into a single

whole. There is no such bond between England and America, and so they constitute two different nations. But the Americans themselves would not deserve to be called a nation were not the different parts of America bound together into an economic whole, as a result of division of labour between them, the development of means of communication and so forth.

"Take the Georgians, for instance. The Georgians before the Reform (the abolition of serfdom in 1861) inhabited a common territory and spoke one language. Nevertheless, they did not, strictly speaking, constitute one nation, for, being split up in a number of disconnected principalities, they could not share a common economic life; for centuries they waged war against each other and pillaged each other by inciting the Persians and Turks against each other. . . . Georgia came on the scene as a nation only in the latter half of the 19th century, when the fall of serfdom and the growth of economic life of the country, the development of means of communication and the rise of capitalism, instituted a division of labour between the various districts of Georgia, completely shattered the economic self-sufficiency of the principalities and bound them together into a single whole.

"The same must be said of the other nations which have passed through the stage of feudalism and have developed capitalism.

"Thus community of economic life, economic cohesion, is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

PSYCHOLOGICAL MAKE-UP

"But even this is not all. Apart from the foregoing, one must take into consideration the specific spiritual complexion of the people constituting a nation. Nations differ not only in their conditions of life, but also in spiritual complexion, which manifests itself in peculiarities of national culture. If England, America and Ireland, which speak one language, nevertheless constitute three distinct nations, it is in no small measure due to the peculiar psychological make-up which they developed from generation to generation as a result of dissimilar conditions of existence.

"Of course, by itself the psychological make-up, or, as it is otherwise called, the 'national character,' is something indefinable to the observer, but inasmuch as it manifests itself in a distinctive culture common to the nation it is definable and cannot be ignored. 'Needless to say, national character' is not a thing that is fixed once and for all, but is modified by changes in the conditions of life; but since it exists at every given moment, it leaves its imprint on the physiognomy of the nation.

"Thus community of psychological make-up, which manifests itself in a community of culture, is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

"A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.

"It goes without saying that a nation, like every other historical phenomenon, is subject to the law of change, has its history, its beginning and end.

"It must be emphasised that none of

the above characteristics is by itself sufficient to define a nation. On the other hand it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be absent and the nation ceases to be a nation."

Stalin's general analysis, made in 1913, remains correct. His teaching on the national and colonial question, and its relationship to the struggle against capitalism, and for proletarian dictatorship and Socialism, must be mastered by all Communists. And particularly by those in Britain, for our rulers still exploit half the world. It needs driving home again and again that the struggle in other lands for complete national liberation from imperialism is an essential part of the struggle to weaken, and finally overthrow, the political power of our own ruling class.

But it is all too often forgotten that there is a national problem *within* the

boundaries of the British state. The Irish struggle for national liberation continues. Ireland remains divided. And in Great Britain itself there are not one, but *three* nations; the English, the Scottish, and the Welsh. Each one is "a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." To ignore this fact is to ignore a basic feature of British society.

STALIN'S ERROR

Stalin himself, in the passage quoted above, and elsewhere in *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, confuses "British" and "English." In one passage he refers to "the British nation," in the next to "the English nation."

continued on page 16

ORIGINS OF THE BRITISH STATE

A WELSHMAN became King of England and Wales in 1485, and the Act of Union followed in 1536. This union served the interests of the rising capitalist class. The creation of a strong, centralised state power, uniting the two countries, was essential for the development of the new capitalist mode of production, which demanded one unified home market. "Capital comes dripping into the world with blood and dirt," wrote Marx in *Capital*, and this is how he describes the birth of the system.

"The capitalist era dates from the 16th century. . . . The prelude of the revolution that laid the foundation of the capitalist mode of production was played in the last third of the 15th, and the final decade of the 16th century. A mass of free proletarians was hurled on the labour market by the breaking-up of the bands of feudal retainers, who, as Sir James Steuart well says, 'everywhere uselessly filled house and castle.' Although the royal power, *itself a product of bourgeois development* (my italics, M.McC.) in its strife after absolute sovereignty forcibly hastened on the dissolution of these bands of retainers, it was by no means the sole cause of it. In insolent conflict with king and parliament, the great feudal lords created an incomparably larger proletariat by the forcible driving of the peasantry from the land, to which the latter had the same feudal rights as the lord himself, and by the usurpation of the common lands. The rapid rise of the Flemish wool manufacturers, and the corresponding rise of the price of wool in England, gave the direct impulse to these evictions. The old nobility had been devoured by the great feudal wars. *The new nobility was the child of its time, for which money was the power of all powers.*" (My italics, M.McC.)

THE STATE AN ECONOMIC POWER

The union of England and Wales was a deal struck between the "new nobility" of both countries, for whom "money was the power of all powers," who produced on their great estates wool, and other commodities, which were sold in the market for profit; or alternatively extracted rents from tenants whose incomes were obtained in the same way. These landlords were the decisive force which broke the back of the old feudal system of production. It was they who employed "the power of the State, the concentrated and organised force of society, to hasten, hot-house fashion, the process of transformation of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode, and to shorten the transition." Marx continued "Force is the mid-wife of every society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power."

The "new nobility" of England and Wales, and the "new nobility" of Scotland came to terms in 1603, when a Scotsman became King of England as well as Scotland. Henceforth Scotland was ruled from Whitehall. But full legislative, and thus economic, union, although proposed by the King and his Chancellor Francis Bacon in 1604, was not finally achieved until 1707, with the Act of Union.

Meanwhile, the Civil War in the 1640s, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, had established the political supremacy of the rising merchant capitalists over the "new nobility," the great landlords, who had controlled the state, through the monarchy, since the 16th century. It is important to recognise that these revolutions were not directed against the feudal mode of production, against a feudal nobility. The feudal system, and with it the feudal nobility, had been destroyed, with the Tudor state playing a full part, by the 16th century. The capitalist era had been in existence for a hundred years before the outbreak of the Civil War.

The first stage in the development of capitalism, which Marx called the manufacturing period, lasted "roughly speaking . . . from the middle of the 16th to the last third of the 18th century." The basis of capitalist production during this

period remained handicraft skills. For example, "cloth manufacture, as also a whole series of other manufactures, arise by combining different handicrafts together under the control of a single capitalist." This mode of production is referred to by most bourgeois historians as the "domestic" or "putting-out, system." The capitalist bought wool in bulk from the landlord, or tenant farmer, and put it out to the spinners, the weavers, etc. [who worked in their own homes, and were paid by the piece], then sold the finished product to merchants, who organised its sale at home and overseas.

Both the landlords, who produced the raw materials which were demanded by the manufacturers and the merchants who disposed of the finished products, were part and parcel of the same capitalist mode of production, members of the same exploiting class. During the 16th century it was the landlords who were the decisive force making for economic advance as they broke up the old feudal order, and laid the basis for capitalist production. But as the 17th

continued on page 16

Marxists— Leninists Unite!

THE great debate in the Communist movement has led to the necessity to distinguish between two trends, the revisionist and the Marxist-Leninist. Broadly, these trends may be defined by their attitude to three questions: peaceful co-existence; peaceful competition; peaceful transition to Socialism.

The revisionists see peaceful co-existence as the be-all and end-all, Marxist-Leninists work for peaceful co-existence of countries of different social systems but at the same time recognise that peace can only come with the end of imperialism.

The revisionists believe that peaceful competition in raising living standards etc. will show the benefits of a Socialist system (in twenty years time) to the people of the capitalist countries and make them demand Socialism. Marxist-Leninists, while not ignoring this factor, also emphasize that peaceful competition cannot be allowed to override struggle and solidarity now.

The revisionists place nearly all their hopes on a peaceful transition to Socialism. Marxist-Leninists point out that it is deceiving the people not to point out, that while we work for a peaceful transition, it is more than likely that this will not be the case, and we must therefore also prepare ourselves for a non-peaceful transition.

All else stems (in my opinion) from these three main strategic considerations. They have been better expressed elsewhere, I admit!

In the drive to unite all Marxist-Leninists there must be some criterion as to what is a Marxist-Leninist. Do comrades consider the above three points to be too low a minimum standard? Opinions would be most welcome.

Ivor Kenna

TO: VANGUARD

Flat 3

33 Anson Road

LONDON N7

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

NAME

ADDRESS

VANGUARD, the organ of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity, is published by DAVID-GOLIATH PUBLISHERS, 72 Barmouth Road, LONDON, SW18, and printed by GOODWIN PRESS LTD. (T.U.), 135 Fonthill Road, Finsbury Park, London, N4. All editorial and business correspondence to Flat 3, 33 Anson Road, N7.

Editor: A. H. EVANS

Feature Editor: R. A. JONES

ADVERTISEMENT RATES:

EIGHT SHILLINGS per single column inch. Quotation for larger advertisements on application.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrade,

It was a pleasure to read the statement by the Thames Valley Communist Association in the June issue of *Vanguard*. Of all the statements issued by various groups so far (including our own Finsbury statement) none has expressed so vividly the disgust felt by active members of the Communist Party for the shameful grovelling of King Street. They crawl to Khrushchev, they crawl to the B.B.C.; above all they crawl to the Labour Party.

Any attempt to put an honest Marxist policy to the workers is forbidden because it might lose us votes. In the few areas where Party branches are strong enough to have a real chance of winning an election they are not allowed to put up a full panel of candidates because this might upset the Labour Party. They pretend that by these tactics they are achieving unity with the Labour Party, but it must be a very one-sided sort of unity—the Labour Party won't have anything to do with it. In the recent local elections a Communist Party candidate in Finsbury described himself in his election address as "a member of the Labour Party through his Trade Union." How low can you sink?

The Finsbury Communist Party will no doubt soon be writing to the Finsbury Labour Party, offering their help in the coming General Election; this has been done before every General Election for many years. The Labour Party will not even bother to answer. They never do. No doubt most branches do the same—and get the same response, or lack of it. I believe in some areas, where the Labour Party is weak, they do allow Communist Party members to help with election work. So-called Communists go along to Labour Party committee rooms, address envelopes and paste up canvass cards for the Labour candidate, and this is represented as a tremendous step towards unity.

The Thames Valley statement put very clearly the feeling of freedom that people who have left the Communist Party, or been expelled from it, have when they find themselves able at last to put a genuine Marxist policy, to speak the truth as they see it, without worrying who they offend or how many votes they lose.

The new party, when it is formed, must be ready to unite, on a basis of equality, with any organisation or individual on *specific issues* on which agreement can be reached. We must not slip into sectarianism, and refuse to work with people because they do not agree with us on every point. But on basic issues we must hold firmly to revolutionary principles and refuse to move even an inch, or to accept a single drop of water, for the sake of winning mass support.

Ann Thompson,
10 Norman Street, E.C.1.

At the Book Fair in Earls Court

Unlike the Chelsea Flower Show or the "Do It Yourself" the Book Fair doesn't draw the masses. It's mainly a trade affair; books for reading are rarely bought by people who don't need them professionally. To boost book sales for the affluent illiterates glamourbooks without text are put on the market. Huge things they are; how many can one keep in a normally sized home? Presumably they are meant to appear in blissful isolation only, as a decor well matched to the wallpaper or the eyes of the owner.

Superb travel books show the "exotic" world from South East Asia to Peru; dainty Vietnamese girls; irresistibly sweet dark children; precise specifications of camera aperture, exposure, time of the day. No exposure of the system under which they live; no hint at what a time they are going through. These books ask no questions, give no answers. They are "Books for Pleasure." An International Cookery Book: recipes from 100 countries where millions starve, luxuriously illustrated; it's heavier than a baby; twice the size of a telephone directory. To break the bookish atmosphere cookery performances are attached to the stall.

Browsing through the French section I discovered Nazim Hikmet and an anthology of the writers of the Algerian revolution! Mohamed Dib, Kateb Yacine, Abdel Kader. Will they too have to wait thirty years, like Brecht, before we get to know them? These writers of the "third world" are the revolutionary literary supplement to the above mentioned picture books. How much could be done, were left wing propaganda not in the hands of frightened unimaginative philistines: were the C.P. not obsessed by the "Russian image."

Queer things are offered to attract hard currency: The Book of Chronicles, published in Yankee Newspaper style, complete with jingo headlines and ads., printed in Israel. As if they were short of dollars. . . . Well that's the holy land

with a vested interest in U.S.-O.T. economic and military connections. But what about the D.D.R.? They too want money from American Jews? A luxury edition of Hebrew religious writings is on sale, the price was quoted in dollars . . . it was quite expensive. . . .

Opium for the people, yes . . . but a money spinner for a communist state? No.

Little Moor.

A WARM CLIMATE

Editor, *Vanguard*:

While I agree with most of what A. H. Evans has to say in his polemics against Professor George Thomson (*Vanguard* No. 4) I believe that A. H. Evans has a tendency to over-simplify—not to think deeply enough—on certain aspects of of mankind's evolution. Evans speaks of mankind's ancestors—but there may have been a group of them, all capable of interbreeding, developing ecological variations due to space between one group, or groupings and others. Then again, Evans seems to think that man became man in warm climates, that such climates favoured him. Obviously, in certain respects, this question of climates is very true, but it is by no means a priori.

Is it not on the cards that mans cunning ancestor, who wins the admiration of Evans! was not only cunning enough to kill large and small animals for food but also was cunning enough to skin the useful ones and use those skins to protect himself from climate? And is it not equally possible that this ancestor was a roamer? That he managed to cover a good deal of the earth's surface in the countless millenia of his existence?

After all, we are finding out that man, homo sapien, goes back in time far longer than most scientists of former ages supposed. Are we being inconsiderate of facts in suggesting that our ancestors had probably a far longer history than man? Evolution, in its uppermost branches, has a tendency to speed up. This being so, to speak of man as a product of warm climes narrows things down. Outside of this criticism A. H. Evans has done a most useful job of work in debunking Professor George Thomson's idealist notions of how speech came into being.

Iris Jones,
Talybont.

BUSMAN'S VIEW

I've found your article "overtime ban a trap" very interesting. There is little doubt that Jenkinson spotlighted a very real problem facing workers in certain industries. I drive a bus from one end of the year to another and, with all due respects to others I feel I am more competent than most to judge the disadvantages and pitfalls of our lot. There are people with the best of intentions, even specialists, who theorise and miscalculate in casting judgement on our problems. We have fallen into these pitholes before, and always closer to them than others—we see them first.

There is a necessity for certain workers to work overtime in order to exist not to mind, live. Take for instance, the married man with two or three children who has not a council house or rent controlled one. The former will apply unless he has been on "the list" for up to ten years or more, the latter case may apply if he is a newly arrived immigrant and subject to Rachmann type landlord. They work for the money that will house and keep their families, not to further the bosses interests. They work overtime because they have to, and let's face it, nobody would work if there was no need to.

Do not run away with the idea that overtime will always fill the pockets of the boss, generally, in an industry where hourly rates apply, it will cut his rate of profit and often he will show a loss in overtime working. This can be attributed to the fact that in other times more militant union leaders forced the (L.T.E.), London Transport Executive, to agree that the number of buses allocated to each route could not be altered without prior consultation with Union leaders. It is these schedules that we strive to maintain in the face of ever mounting pressure from the L.T.E. I work on a route where the headway is three and sometimes two minutes during the day. A dozen buses can be taken off this route and the public will not be able to tell the difference. When the L.T.E. can do this on average the public's wait is only a minute or so longer. The buses which follow these cuts, instead of being half full, are completely filled, in other words, working to maximum efficiency. It is common sense that the rate of profit is greatly increased. The overtime ban has become a disguise for pacifism. During our last overtime ban our union leaders made great play of the drop in takings sustained by the L.T.E. yet the Committee of Enquiry revealed that they had a net gain of thousands of pounds per week because of it.

That dragged on for 7 weeks before the men realised that this was really working in the interests of the boss; they were stalled for a while by a work to rule, this was strictly observed and they got their enquiry plus an interim award. Unfortunately it would appear that we are going to be sold down the river again with another old stunt, the "package deal."

Do not write off the workers who have to do overtime, an army may march on its belly but lean workers struggle well for they feel the boot. Successful movements and revolution are based on common sense, many tyrants have generalised; let you not make the same mistake.

Michael Murphy

ELECTION

Why Contest Elections? To put the Communist case. To win understanding and support. Eventually to win seat and expose the council from within.

Why only one candidate? There were two seats on the council in the ward contested by the Finsbury Communist Association, and the F.C.A. put up two candidates—Ivor and Florence Kenna. But certain electors who had signed the candidates nomination forms were induced by leading members of the revisionist C.P.G.B. to withdraw their signatures. Although the F.C.A. were informed of this only three-quarters of an hour before the close of nominations a complete set of forms for both candidates was submitted and accepted by the Town Clerk, who stated that they were in order. After the close of nominations the Town Clerk informed the F.C.A. that he had just discovered Florence Kenna's form was invalid!

The campaigns—Communist. Good election address aroused interest [copies are available]. Six useful contacts made. Weakness in canvassing and public work. Reasons: 1. Lack of forces. 2. Sectarianism among Marxist Leninists: some preference for an appeal to the converted. Nevertheless £40 raised; 30 *Vanguards* sold; 30 comrades took part in the work.

Revisionist. Organised from London District C.P.G.B.; for the local branch is virtually non-existent. A candidate was pulled in from outside Finsbury. Campaign emphasised the need to work with and through the Labour Party.

Labour, Tory and Liberal. Virtually no campaigns except for distribution of election addresses.

Result.
Labour 979 and 947.
Tory 250 and 246.
Revisionist 124.
Liberal 115 and 103.
Communist '79.

Questions without answers. Should Communists contest elections? Our policy is complicated, and needs explaining. That being so, do we contest widely? Or do we concentrate our forces? Your views are welcome.

Ivor Kenna

AN APPEAL

Dear Sir,

I have received an appeal for financial assistance from Mr. K. A. Shange of P.O. Box 209, Manzini, Swaziland, which I am sure will be of interest to your readers.

Ken. Shange is a political refugee from apartheid South Africa, a member of the African National Congress and a militant activist in the national liberation movement. A short while ago he was arrested by the Swaziland Police and held in jail, pending threatened deportation back to South Africa. During this period of detention in a British jail Mbabane, his temporary lodgings in Manzini were burgled and all his possessions stolen. He is now taking legal action against the colonial police and others directly concerned with his betrayal and arrest, in an attempt to recover his losses. He requires £30 to meet the legal cost of this action.

If any readers of *Vanguard* would like to assist this victim of fascist tyranny, either with small contributions of money or letters of support and solidarity, they are asked to communicate with me or directly with Mr. Shange. Naturally, any help will be deeply appreciated and will directly assist one who is in the forefront of the local struggle for freedom and justice in a vital part of Africa.

Yours fraternally,

Rev. T. N. W. Bush.

DEGENERATION OF T.U. MOVEMENT

THROUGH the manipulations of careerists and opportunists, the best organised and most militant of the British Trade Unions are becoming, along with those that have already succumbed, tools of the State apparatus. The history of the respective movements since 1945 have adequately shown this. How many justifiable strikes from '45 to '64 have had the official backing of the unions involved? How many times have the capitalist press praised the wise men at executive and presidential level for not giving their official blessing to a particular dispute or strike?

While it is recognised that the T.U.C., as at present constituted, is part of the capitalist State apparatus, individual unions born in the violence of class struggle, slump and deliberate attempts to worsen conditions by the capitalist class, have been proud to bask in the glory of their past militant history. What do we find from this state of affairs? Those unions that were once the backbone of the organised working class are themselves turning reactionary in order to protect their own vested interests!

In the fact of the threat of automation and its consequent insecurity, the hue and cry by the big unions is for amalgamation, to protect oneself from the

inevitable flooding of the labour markets. Not once have I heard of the necessity to amalgamate in order to create a monolithic bloc of workers which would be organised to destroy every vestige of the present social system. The present leadership in the T.U.'s do, in the majority of cases, malign anybody who attempts to bring militant working class policies on to the factory floor or within the trade union movement. Yet those same leaders allow the political policies of any party dedicated to the maintenance of capitalism unfettered freedom! On the one hand we have the militant working class condemned for introducing politics into trade unionism, on the other hand we have those that are praised for introducing the politics of the ruling class.

Alf Cross

ON PACIFISM

Some people are unduly upset and concerned, especially those pseudo-Socialists and bourgeois pacifists, at the interpretation and manner in which *Vanguard* states its case. Marxist-Leninist philosophy of scientific socialism based on the principles of Dialectical Materialism is fundamentally a philosophy dedicated to the working people, explaining to them and showing them the only way in which they can and will free themselves from capitalist wage slavery, poverty, and consistent want. Only by constant struggle and the final overthrow of their brutally unjust and decadent system will mankind rid themselves one and for all time from such a system.

Intellectuals who embrace and understand Marxism-Leninism and who are prepared to join with the workers in expounding and disseminating such a philosophy we welcome with open arms and most certainly needed. But if your feelings are hurt at our interpretation of the way in which our articles are written, that's just too bad. So let it be stated from the beginning that we do not intend altering our language just to suit your whims and fancies and bourgeois sentimentality. Speaking as a worker with a working class background this I know to be true. If your skin is that thin and your class instinct so strong it's perfectly obvious that your loyalties and sympathies are not where they ought to be. So I say to all you coffee bar socialists, armchair philosophers and pseudo-Marxists, not forgetting the bourgeois pacifist and the rest of your ilk who would have had things mostly all your own way (up to now). Drink your coffee, relax in your armchair and leave the hard work of the class struggle to the only class who are capable and prepared to wage it. It will be done, have no fear, so stop your moaning and groaning and do something constructive and practical for a change.

Cliff Roberts

REBUTTAL

One or two points on "STEPHAN D'S" letter of the last issue. He begins by criticising my generalisation on bourgeois and petty bourgeois artists, and then proceeds to foist a laughable classless generalisation. Quote: "It is no accident that in the heart of working class Stratford thrives the Theatre Royal under the guidance of Joan Littlewood, where plays written by working class playwrights such as Shelagh Delaney, Stephen Lewis, Frank Norman and Brendon Behan are put on."

Stephen D really must learn not to confuse geographical locality with proletarian art, and, even worse, confuse petty bourgeois playwrights with the indigenous classes surrounding their centre of "culture."

It is no accident that in the heart of working class Stratford thrives a police station, a conservative party, a fascist party, opportunists, revisionists, social democrats etc. . . . Are there organisations representative of the interests of the Stratford revolutionary class? No, of course not, no more than the petty bourgeois playwrights Stephan D so loves.

"Even the bourgeois satirists," continues Stephan D, "successfully use Brecht's technique in order to convey their point of view." Off hand I know of no bourgeois satirists, but this I am prepared to believe: I cannot see bourgeois writers of any kind using revolutionary writers to put their point of view! Nor can I share Stephan D's unqualified adulation of Brecht's tricks and games with McCarthy. "He practically outwitted the Committee and won the day." Here we are expected to envisage McCarthy and his reactionary cum fascist synophants crumbling beneath the brilliant discourse of a polished Marxist genius. What utter idealist rubbish!

After setting the Americans on the road to Socialism, "Brecht, sick of the affluent American Society, returned to East Germany." Sinking now ever lower in his classless mire, Stephan D is talking of 'affluent U.S. Society,' with millions of presumably equally 'affluent' unemployed, and underprivileged Negroes.

Whatever Brecht may mean to the German proletariat is not reflected among the British working class. Last Sunday in my local pub I spoke to a friend, an old working class militant who has been fighting for years against opportunism and for better pay and conditions. "Danny," said I, "what do you think of Brecht?" He thought a moment and replied, "Is he that Irish lad in the E.T.U. who uses the public bar?"

Tony Hall

E. FISCHER—A NON MARXIST

The Necessity of Art, by Ernst Fischer. A Pelican, 4/6

One must state at the onset that this work, which claims to be "A Marxist Approach," leaves much to be desired. Ernst Fischer is entranced with the idea that art has sprung from magic, and treats with respect writers such as Frazer, of Golden Bough fame. Like Professor George Thomson and Christopher Caudwell he accepts the idea that rhythmic speech antedated prosaic utterance. Fischer draws a mysterious "something" from the fact that primitive women in many parts of the world suckle animals, that in certain areas they kill the child to free the breast for a pig, a dog, a monkey, an opossum, etc. Fischer writes: "When man became a hunter, an abyss filled with blood suddenly opened between the human and animal world: man was now a murderer of animals, although he still saw them as being his ancestors or his kin. He had destroyed the unity of life, and although he tried again and again to deceive himself about the nature of his crime that by pretending to eat the killed animal was merely to 'assimilate' it, and that the animal therefore went on living within the human organism, he evidently still feared the vengeance of the animals who were his ancestors and brothers. The women suckle the animal, the man kills it; thus many men became to believe in a mysterious bond between their women and their prey, with all the contradictions and fears that implies." p. 160. What was perfectly natural and had been developed as a law of evolutionary development by man's ancestors and then carried on by man himself, that killing is for food, becomes transformed into a "thing in itself," by the author, who approvingly quoted from the work of two anthropologists, Klaatsch and Heilborn: "The suckling of young animals by women is a widespread custom among primitive peoples. It is as though those savages has not as yet acquired a sense of human dignity but felt themselves to be animals among animals. . . ."

Earlier Fischer points out that Jung has recorded a case where an Australian murdered a newborn child in order to allow the mother to suckle a couple of young dogs. The facts are quite simple: many tribes take many methods to control population to the available food. One of these was to kill children at birth and, where animals were scarce, to suckle them at the breast, to fatten them for food. To this day the Government of Australia has some difficulty in persuading aboriginal women to stop suckling pigs. Papua is short of animals, these tribes are tillers of the soil, but they liked meat when they could get it, hence cannibalism and breast-feeding of animals. Fischer, like Hegel, stands the problem of magic on its head; magic arises from real life, not life from magic.

Fischer states, "art in the dawn of humanity had little to do with beauty, and nothing at all with aesthetic desire." Where exactly was this "dawn"? For Fischer relates the development of art and aesthetic satisfaction to "collective work." But even animals work collectively, thus wolves work in packs to attack their prey. Similarly with lions, they too work together for this purpose. If animals of this type are cunning enough to work together is it not probable that man's direct antecedents had developed to a fairly high stage this collective spirit? Are we being unreal when we suggest that man, from the earliest dawn, had highly developed collective habits? If this is so, then is it not probable that man from his very beginning has developed a sense of beauty and received aesthetic satisfaction from gathering and laying out pretty stones, as with agricultural peoples, or from the drawing of animals, as with hunting tribes? Yet in the face of obvious fact Fischer says, "That art in the dawn of humanity has little to do with 'beauty,' and nothing at all with any aesthetic desire; it was a magic tool or weapon of the human collective in its struggle for survival." p. 36.

Are we seriously asked to believe that savages who daub themselves with coloured clay receive no intense personal satisfaction and collective satisfaction from being "well-dressed"? Has no one noticed how children love to dress up? And in this respect primitive peoples are children. No one denies that there is a magical element in body-painting, but which is primary, that is the question, and depending on the

answer one is either postulating idealism or materialism. Fischer fails to note the unity of aesthetic satisfaction to the magical, or that the magical could not be brought into being before man had developed a "seeing-eye," a liking for colour, for ornamentation, and searched for materials to satisfy his needs.

It could well be said that magic in this respect developed out of practice, out of the clay-bank, out of the first tentative daub, and not the clay bank and daub out of mankind's search to find magic. This denigrating of the brain of man, this over-eagerness to push forward man's emotional reaction to phenomena, is characteristic of all idealistic thought. Man's "spirit," the "thing-in-itself," this is what is always seized upon; the brains ability to analyse, synthesise, mull over, is all too often relegated to a secondary position, or completely pushed aside—as all three idealists, Fischer, Caudwell and Professor Thomson do in their treatment of the origin of the spoken word.

SIMILARITY OF APPROACH

Eclecticism, which is such a feature of Caudwell's "Illusion & Reality," is also a feature of Fischer's work, for example: "An analysis of style, however intelligent it may be and however brilliant its insight into specific problems and details, is bound to fail unless we recognise that content is the decisive style-forming factor in art. Nevertheless, it would be foolish to concentrate all our attention on content and relegate form to the status of a secondary issue." "My emphasis." Here is a complete reversal of a plain statement of fact: that content decides the shape of things, that form is secondary to content. Completely without realising it Fischer separates content from form and raises the latter to a position of first magnitude; once that had been accomplished, once form had become the deciding factor, it is linked to magic and subordinated to the latter, as when Fischer illustrates from poet after poet, particularly drawing attention to Keats.

DIRECT THOUGHT

When it comes to direct thought, explicit statement of beliefs, one is forced to openly state that Fischer also departs completely from Marxism. Fischer is of the belief that "The free decision of men communicates itself to objects. One of the great functions of art . . . is to show that free decision exists and that man is capable of creating the situation

he wants and needs. Chaplin, too, in his grotesque parodies of everyday life, hints at this victory . . . the victory of man enslaved by the machine over the machine itself." But the machine is not the enslaver, it is the class who owns the machines, not even the individual machine owner. Unless this fact of classes and class struggle is clearly brought out the issues are hidden, that is why Chaplin, for all his real genius, his sympathy for the underdog, was also acceptable to capitalist society as a whole.

And that is also why Picasso's Guernica was also acceptable to bourgeois society, and why Picasso himself is an extremely wealthy man. Guernica portrayed the triumph of fascism over humanity; who could stand up to that raging Bull?—Deep in the heart of the bourgeoisie resides the knowledge that naked force is their final weapon; the Bull is fascism. To say, as Fischer does, "That this magnificent painting does not merely represent reality . . . it sides with tortured humanity," is to state at most, a half-truth, for Guernica "may side with tortured humanity," but it in no way represents full reality, hence it is necessarily limited, and can truthfully be said to be a distortion.

The Spanish people fought back, and not without success, against the fascist monster, the Bull. Only the betrayal of the Spanish people by Britain, by France and the U.S.—by refusing arms to the Spanish people—allowed Franco to finally win victory. There is no hint of this struggle in Picasso's mural, that is why the bourgeoisie are willing, more than willing, to concede that Guernica is a "very great revolutionary painting." When your bitter enemies praise you it is time to look into the mirror.

AN IMPOSSIBILITY

Fischer states: "Every effort to present reality without prejudice—that is to say, with all sincerity, helps us all to advance." But sincerity is class sincerity, it is not "a thing in itself." How possibly can one stop being prejudiced? We are prejudiced as Socialists, the capitalist are prejudiced as capitalists. To deny "sincerity" to the enemy is to deny it to yourselves and means in practice to water down the class struggle, for you will be more than willing to work with all those forces of the "left" whom you consider to be sincere and without prejudice. This means that pacifism becomes an ideology that you can work with, for are not pacifists people of great sincerity? That cannot be denied, yet Lenin warned us about them again and again. And Mao has stated "We are not believers in 'turning the other cheek'; we will give you tit for tat!"

Speaking of the artist, Fischer states: "He produces for a community. This fact has been lost sight of in the capitalist world, but it was taken for granted in ancient Athens and in the age of Gothic art." Eighty per cent of the people, the "community," of Athens were slaves, with all that implies, was art meant for them as well as their masters? To ask the question is to show the limit of Fischer's mentality. Similarly with the Gothic age. It was an age of savage persecution for the majority of the people. To paint a picture of the past that never was, to venerate it, is to leave the world of reality. Unfortunately, this is what Fischer is guilty of time and again in this book we have been examining. Even on such a question as Cybernetics

Fischer's veneration of magic breaks through. He says, "Cybernetics envisages the possibility of machines giving theoretical answers to questions concerning as yet unexplored areas of reality, these answers being beyond the powers of the comprehension of the human brain." According to Fischer, "Science does not capitulate before such a staggering possibility . . . On the contrary, cybernetics says that it may be necessary to design 'brain amplifiers' in order to equip the brains with the means for coping with the new concepts." p. 212

A beam of light can be channelled and analysed from far out of space, with an electric microscope we penetrate to absolute zero, with X-rays we look into the interior of the human body, with elements we can follow metabolism, with microwaves we can follow the movements of wild beasts, of fish in the ocean, a micrometer can measure to exceedingly fine points of magnitude, we regard all these things as perfectly understandable. After all, was it not the brain of man that designed them, which improves such techniques? And is it not a fact that only the time limit prevents man from arriving at the same answer as the most cunning of cybernetically built machines? Set enough mathematicians to work and the answer is there. But according to Fischer there is something magical about the process, something "unknowable"!

Finally, Fischer is of the opinion that art is primary for an understanding of society, he says: "Art in its origins was magic . . . in the second period of development—the period of division of labour, of class distinction, and the beginning of every kind of social conflict—art became the chief means of understanding the nature of these conflicts, of imagining a changed reality by recognising existing reality for what it was, of overcrowding the individual's isolation by providing a bridge to what all men shared." p. 219.

But, according to Marxism, art is never more than a reflection of reality, an idealisation of it. Art cannot shed its own life-blood, it can only record and comment on it. The agony of a burned out village, the loss by a mother of her child, by a child of her mother, can only be reflected by even the greatest of artists, it fails to plumb the living depths of hopeless grief to which a human heart can sink. Mankind does far more than "imagine a changed reality," he feels it with every fibre of his being. No man who has never known hunger can imagine it, let alone feel it through art. Nor can art elevate itself above society. To talk, as Fischer does, "of overcrowding the individual's isolation by providing a bridge to what all men shared" is nothing more or less than lofty terminology dripping with mysticism. The man who tries to set art as something apart, "A thing-in-itself," as something with magical qualities that you can only guess at, as dealing with things too deeply buried in the subconscious to be clearly understood, is himself a mystic, and must be told so to his face.

The ideas of Ernst Fischer must be exposed and rejected for they are shot through and through with the philosophy of idealism, that philosophy, which is the deadly enemy of Marxist materialist philosophy. There is no half-way meeting house; either we crush idealism or it crushes us.

A. H. EVANS

A TRUE STORY BY PAT DONOVAN

"HEY, Ginger," my mate asks, "what are you writing—some goofy political stuff, eh?"

"I certainly hope not," I answer. "Would you like to read it, deciding then whether it's goofy or not?"

He shrugs his shoulders and moves off, kicking a loose brick along the concrete surface. We are up sixteen floors on a huge office structure which some combine is getting built. Far beneath us is the city where people, like large ants, dart about. Eastwards stretches the Thames, the masts of great ships glittering in the sun.

I like it up here, it is tranquil away from the turmoil of the streets. However, when lunch break is over the ganger, the foreman carpenter and the men will return, bringing the surge and sickness of industry with them.

This young fellow with me up here is an interesting character. Don't get me wrong; he doesn't, as he says himself, "give a damn for politics." He reckons that Sir Alec Home is "a bit of a wierdie" and Wilson "a silly old bastard."

He is approaching now. "Still at it, Ginger?" "Still at it, Bob." "It must be very important, Ginger, politics. What use are they really to the working man?"

This boy is only twenty, impressionable, so I must reply carefully. "Bob, you will admit that politics exist and are discussed?"

"Yes," he murmurs grudgingly. "Well then, why should we, the workers, leave politics completely to the big shots, the Tory and Labour mob, allow-

ing them to make the decisions while we, like stupid sheep, obey their orders?"

Contemplating a reply he grabs a length of straight steel rod, bending it into a sharp angle with sinewy muscles.

"Look, Ginger, I take no orders from no geezer, no government, no army, no nothing—even my old man is afraid of me."

"That may be so, Bob, but I still know a bloke you are afraid of."

"Who?"

"Old Bert, the foreman carpenter."

This remark visibly prods him, he speaks angrily: "No, I am not afraid of old Bert. It's just that I don't want to get sacked. I need the lolly for the weekend lark and there is that bike as well to pay off."

"So, in effect, Bob, you knuckle down."

After a long, pensive silence: "O.K. Ginger, I knuckle down!"

2.

Well, I've got across to him at last. Now I can proceed to tell him how, under the threat of the terror of economic deprivation, men have been led into accepting and doing all sorts of awful things, both in an individual and national sense.

But there is hardly time to explain these matters today. The hooter will soon blow when out on the scaffold we shall go again raising still higher this gigantic matchbox of an office block.

Christ, I sometimes wonder, what are all these concrete monstrosities in aid of? Where are we really going? Do the capitalists themselves even know?

"Can you see Big Ben, Bob?"

"Yes, Ginger, it's nearly one o'clock." The sun is intensely warm now, set in a clear blue sky stained only by white exhaust from jets, some of them undoubtedly carrying the all destructive hydrogen bomb. (Let it be hoped that the crews—even one of them—don't get sunstroke!)

Boook! Boook! Boook! That's our hooter barking out, followed quickly by the sound of lift gates closing. They are coming up, clink, clink, the lift gates open and, as usual, led by Old Bert and

Muldoon, the ganger, the men emerge.

Muldoon is a powerful hunk of a man with shoulders like an ox, a Sacred Heart medal pinned on his lapel, not so much for protection, one suspects, but to prevent him from committing at some stage a dastardly crime.

Old Bert is yapping about the horses: "I have two five bob each way doubles at Sandown and a half-a-crown each way treble at Catterick."

Muldoon growls something about "a mass betting swindle" and looks around viciously for his navvies.

Next comes Sid the A.S.W. shop steward, the sporting page of the Daily Herald protruding from his arse pocket. Sid has been with the firm since the end of the war and due to his genius for compromise, is elected steward, with the firm's help, on each fresh site. There are in fact thousands of his kind, but not to worry, he has read *In Place of Fear* and might vote Labour. (When Sid learns where I stand politically, I will then need a new job.)

Bert has just called over young Bob to tell him a sexy joke about a blonde in the tube train. Suddenly the fun is all over—Lipscombe, the site Agent, has appeared. We all smartly hop to our centres of toil and, in a monkey sort of mood, await half six when they allow us home.

A NOTE ON GOETHE

LITERATURE and ART

GOETHE took the old story of the man who sold his soul to the Devil for a return of youth and the complete satisfaction of all desire. Around this theme Goethe has woven his own pattern of ideas upon life; imbedded in Faust is the philosophy of Goethe himself. Goethe, we must remember, was a member of the ruling class of a small and backward German state. His ideas upon life, hence, are a reflection of one who is an extremely sensitive member of his own class.

Goethe's creation, Faust, is an intellectual who is beginning to grow old. His life has been devoted to a never ceasing search for knowledge. He has come to realise that the quest is endless, that it is limited by the very nature of man. But this simple, observable fact does not satisfy Faust, he rebels and storms against it, and rages at his helplessness. He has turned cynical and mocks mankind:

And what you call the Spirit of the Ages
Is but the spirit of your learned sages,
Whose mirror is a pitiful affair,
Shunned by mankind after a single stare.

The few of understanding, vision rare,
Who veiled from the herd their hearts, but tried.
Poor generous fools, to lay their feelings bare,
Them have men always burned and crucified.

Goethe is wracked by the search for eternal truth, hating himself for thoughts which creep in:

Our nobler veins, the true, life-giving springs,
Are choked with all the dust of earthy things.

Goethe's own philosophy is brought out again and yet again: he agrees with Mephistopheles:

You are, when all is said and done — just what you are.
Put on the most elaborate curly wig,
Mount learned stilts, to make yourself look big,
You still will be the creature that you are.

But the reality of a money-changing society cannot be denied:

What, man! Confound it, hands and feet
All head and backside, all are yours;
And what we take while life is sweet,
Is that to be declared not ours?
Six stallions, say, I can afford,
Is not their strength my property?
I tear along, a sporting Lord,
As if their legs belonged to me!

Goethe is an observing man and realises how men are easily fooled:

Men practice three and one, and one and three,
To substitute the error for the truth,
And so they teach and babble undeterred
— With fools there's not a hope of intervening —
And when the people hear a sounding word
They stand convinced there's meaning.

And the Witch carries the thought further:

The vacant mind has truth assigned,
It comes to him unbidden.

And this, we should remember, long before the mysteries of modern subjectivism burst on the scene, long before we stood in silent adoration before the symbolism of Picasso, humbly wondering what was meant by the testicles hidden away in a corner of the picture.

But, of course, other men long before Goethe noticed such things. And things need to be resaid, freshened by a more modern imagery, by apt simile, by engaging metaphor linked in idiomatic expression. Yes, there is much that one can take pleasure in in Faust, Part One - Part Two is mostly tripe. Goethe had an ear for sound seldom excelled. And his doggerel is a never-ending source of satisfaction, as the translator of the Penguin Faust correctly observes, "Goethe revelled in it." But Goethe has limitation, it is highly questionable that he is that "universal genius" his many admirers stand in awe of. For example, the imagery of Goethe nowhere compares with that of Shakespeare, Shelley or, indeed, Heine. Goethe's flights of imagination, his use of simile, metaphor and their linkage with idiom, again cannot measure up to the above mentioned poets. Nor has Goethe that human-ness, that sense of deep compassion which runs through some of Shakespeare, or that sense of sharp political enquiry which draws one to Shelley. Nor, for that matter, does Goethe ask of himself and try to give answer to true universals, as did Lucretius.

For this reviewer, the pleasure to be found in Faust comes to an abrupt end with the entrance into the story of Margareta. Rich man meets poor girl, turns her head, gives her a baby. Finds out she is the noblest of the noble, becomes remorseful, finds out that he is bound to her by true love, but the Devil has his signature. A powerful tale, if well told, but Goethe has reduced this part of Faust to melodrama without much to redeem it, lift it to the heavens, as melodrama can be lifted. Of course, the above remarks do not include WALPURGIS NIGHT, with its wealth of living doggerel.

Sometimes this reviewer feels that Robert Burns succeeded in compressing a great deal of Goethe's — Faust's tribulations — or agony of mind, if you prefer; in this verse lifted from HOLY WILLIE'S PRAYER:

But yet — O Lord — confess I must —
At times I'm fash'd wi' fleshly lust;
And sometimes too, in worldly trust
Vile Self gets in;
But you remember we are dust,
Defiled wi' sin.

And for true melodrama, which does reach to the sky!

Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time;
All our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more; it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.

That is great poetry. What Shakespeare says is that life is just one damned thing after another. We shall have to return to Goethe on some other occasion. Perhaps the readers would like to.

BEN JONES.

TRUTH SUBLIME

Some years ago a comrade persuaded me to join,
"It's in our Party that you can help the workers;
don't trust those Labour leaders—
They'r fighting for the rich. The T.U.C.?
Why, just a gang of shirkers!"

I scratched my chin, thought long and hard.
"Yes, it's time the workers ruled the roost,
they pulled it off in Russia, now a mighty land.
Prosperity under capitalism is built on sand."

I read the works of Lenin and Stalin's explanations,
how they staunchly fought revisionist gyrations.
Dutt, Burns, Klugman, Campbell and Gollan too,
I never missed a word they wrote—
they quoted Stalin too!

(I wonder now, in retrospect, whose memory is best,
the "teachers" or the pupil's?
they quoted Stalin too!

In Fe. '56 N. Khrushchev made a speech;
of course he's made a 'few' since then
but this one was a peach!
Some brains were shaken at the bolts.

But we musn't be too critical,
inner Party struggle is quite all right—
unless you'r analytical!

Good comrades left in thousands,
a Year of vast confusion.
Did Khrushchev damage Communism? Nonsense.
That's only an illusion.

The revisionist leaders,
caught with their trousers down
thought that they had better pull them up,
it enhances one's renown.

If you dissent from leaders—
all followers of Marx—
just write to the Central Committee,
they'll soon put a stop to your larks

Just try writing a letter supporting the Chinese,
it will get a cold reception
right down to the deep-freeze.

What! you don't like arms to India,
to slay the People's Army?
Forget your worries, pal,
just listen to Palme Dutt's blarney.

Albania was faced with famine,
Khrushchev said: "NO more grain!"
"You dare to say I am wrong,
why you must be insane!"
"I'll teach you Leninism,
if it's the last thing I do:

They replied: "We'll eat grass Khrushchev,
before we bow to you!"

I am no poet, as you see,
pen only a modest rhyme;
what matters is to lay bare all lies,
make truth sublime.

DAVE VOLPE

PALE PINK PROLETARIANS

The people's flag is palest pink
It's not so red as you might think,
It's time you proles realised
That Marx and Lenin we've revised.

Then raise the King Street Standard high
Shout out aloud our battle cry,
And seize the chance that heaven-sent
Put Labour into Parliament.

We've put an end to all class hate
For we can now transform the State,
You'll find you tote a lighter load
If you will take our 'British Road.'

Then raise the King Street Standard high
The dawn of Socialism's nigh,
Just follow all the twists and turns
Of Gollan—Dutt—and Emile Burns.

Nikita's praises loudly sing
Heed not the Marxists of Peking,
The promise falls from Khrushchev's lips
Of goulash with your fish and chips.

Then raise the King Street Standard high

Though Yankee bombers ride our sky,
Despite Polaris we insist
That we in peace can co-exist.

All industries we'll supervise
And some of them we'll nationalise,
But—just to show there's no class hate
The owners we will compensate.

Then raise the King Street Standard high
O'er Downing Street we'll make it fly,
And raise our parliamentary hats
To prove we're Social Democrats.

Come reckoning day will members kick
And fall upon this King Street clique?
With voices raised to proudly sing
In tones to make the rafters ring:

Then raise the SCARLET STANDARD ^{high}

Within its shade we'll live and die,
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer
We'll keep the RED FLAG flying here.

GEORGE SHAW

IRISH REVISIONISTS THE BRITISH STATE

continued from page 1

tying their hands and the more will it benefit the cause of world peace. If, on the contrary, we lose our vigilance against the danger of the imperialists launching a war, do not strive to arouse the people of all countries to oppose imperialism but tie the hands of the people, then imperialism can prepare for war just as it pleases and the inevitable result will be an increase in the danger of the imperialists launching a war and, once war breaks out, the people may not be able quickly to adopt a correct attitude towards it because of complete lack of preparation or inadequate preparation, thus being unable to effectively check the war. Of course, whether or not the imperialists will unleash a war is not determined by us; we are, after all, not their chief-of-staff.

As long as the people of all countries enhance their awareness and are fully prepared, with the socialist camp also possessing modern weapons, it is certain that if the U.S. or other imperialists refuse to reach an agreement on the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons and should dare to fly in the face of the will of all the peoples by launching a war using atomic and nuclear weapons, the result will only be the very speedy destruction of these monsters themselves encircled by the peoples of the world, and certainly not the so-called annihilation of mankind. We consistently oppose the launching of criminal wars by imperialism, because imperialist war would impose enormous sacrifices upon the peoples of the various countries (including the peoples of the United States and other imperialist countries). But should the imperialists impose such sacrifices upon the peoples of various countries, we believe that, just as the experience of the Russian revolution and the Chinese revolution shows, those sacrifices would be rewarded. On the debris of imperialism, the victorious people would create very swiftly a civilisation thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves." Unquote.

THE OLD BOG ROAD

There is no need to add anything here or to attempt to establish more clearly the discrepancy which exists between the actual statement and the subsequent quotes and mis-quotes. All we would say is, shame on the liars and frauds of both King Street in London and Pembroke Road in Dublin.

The Irish Workers Party statement goes on to say: "We hold that the conditions exist for a peaceful transition to Socialism in Ireland." This idiotic revisionist rubbish is of course in keeping with the rest of the statement and of no more validity. There is absolutely nothing in this statement which could not have been agreed to by the social democrats, for whose benefit it was presumably drafted and issued. It is impossible to conceive of it being issued as a Marxist assessment of the situation in relation to the class forces in Ireland, or, as a call to the Irish working class to rally to the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The Irish people are only too well aware that after 700 years of intermittent struggle against British imperialism, a large industrialised section of the country is still occupied. They realise that this constitutes a threat at all times, even to the meagre measure of independence which has been achieved. They know that apart from the armed forces of occupation a large and ill-disciplined section of the civil forces of that state are armed.

Turning to the South, successive governments have consistently demonstrated their preparedness to crush with all the power at their disposal any person or group within the State that might constitute a threat to their authority. There are graves in every county in Ireland to bear witness to this simple truth.

To these few observations must of course be added the objections which arise to this conclusion, whether the country concerned be Ireland or any other country under the sun. On what solid ground is this conclusion based. Is there some country somewhere that only the Irish Workers' Party is aware of where the precedent has been established? It is much more likely that just as on the question of China and nuclear war they are merely acting as Irish parrots for the erroneous gibberish of R. P. Dutt.

Conclusion. We would suggest that all Irish Communists should read and carefully examine this statement. We are confident that the majority will conclude that the statement is nothing less than a shameful betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. We call on all Irish Communists within and outside of Ireland to repudiate this statement and to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

A. O'NEILL

continued from page 12

century advanced, they and the monarchy which represented their interests, began to act as a retarding force upon the further development of capitalism. The Crown's policies favoured the great landlords at the expense of trade and industry. In a variety of ways the state prevented capital accumulated by the merchants and manufacturers from being reinvested in commerce and manufacture.

OLIVER CROMWELL

Oliver Cromwell, who led the revolutionary forces which overthrew the political power of the great landlords, came himself from the radical section of the Gentry, or smaller landowners, whose own interests had been hard hit by economic depression and the policies of the Crown. But the decisive backing for Cromwell came from that section of the capitalist class whose wealth derived mainly from trade and manufacture, and in particular the great merchants, concerned with overseas trade, and centred on London, and other ports. It was necessary for a wide section of the people to be mobilised in order to break the political power of the landlords. Cromwell appealed to the petty-bourgeoisie—small traders, artisans, and yeoman farmers—who provided the backbone of his armies. But immediately victory over the "new nobility" had been achieved Cromwell turned upon the Levellers, who represented the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie, and smashed them in battle. He returned to be feasted by the merchants of the City of London.

These great merchants were the real victors of the Civil War. Even Cromwell was too radical for their liking, once his task was done. The Restoration of a tamed monarchy in 1660, and the ousting of another who attempted to put back the clock, in the "Glorious" Revolution of 1688, confirmed them in their political supremacy. Parliament replaced the monarchy as the decisive institution of state. The policies of state, and the laws, were adjusted to meet the needs of the new rulers of Britain. An aggressive imperial policy led to a series of wars against foreign rivals, from which the British capitalists emerged, in the main, victorious; and by the late 18th century Britain's mercantile empire was the largest in the world. The merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow, waxed fat on the huge profits obtained from colonial trade and looting throughout the world. The African slave trade, the trade with the American plantations, based on slavery, and producing raw materials and foodstuffs for the British market and for re-export, the trade with, and outright looting of India, and other Asian countries, left a trail of suffering and death among the peoples of Asia, Africa, and America, and accumulated vast quantities of capital for the British

ruling class. The Navigation Acts, and others, protected this colonial trade and loot from all foreign rivals.

SCOTLAND

Scottish armies had played a part, in the early stages of the Civil War, in smashing the absolute power of the monarchy. But those Scottish merchants and landowners who were prepared to do a deal with Cromwell and the English capitalists at the expense of their own country and people were too weak to enforce their will upon Scotland unaided. Between 1648 and 1650 Cromwell's English troops smashed three Scottish armies, and occupied Scotland, as they did Wales and Ireland. The economic union Cromwell imposed upon the country benefited the Scottish merchants, who could now share in England's looting of other lands, but was bitterly opposed by the people as a whole. It was ended with the Restoration of 1660. Not until 1707, with the Act of Union, were the merchant capitalists of Scotland, and those landowners who produced for the British market, able finally to achieve their goal of full economic union with England and Wales. There was bitter opposition from the people, as before. There were uprisings in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Three regiments had to be called in to restore "order" in the capital, and the people held Glasgow for more than a month. But the opposition to this betrayal was not united, and the dominant sections of Scottish capital achieved their aim. Henceforth the English capitalists, and their Scottish "partners" could develop the capitalist mode of production within one, united British market. With the abandonment of protection most Scottish manufacturing industries were ruined, and great suffering was inflicted on the people, as English goods flooded into the country, but the Scottish merchants prospered on their share of the colonial loot. They had earned their 30 pieces of silver.

The way in which the British state was used to speed the development of capitalism in the Scottish Highlands is described by Marx in Capital. The peasants were "cleared" from their lands in tens of thousands during the 18th and early 19th centuries, so that the clan chiefs could turn the land of the clans into great capitalist estates, producing for the British market. "The hunted out Gaels were forbidden to emigrate from the country, with a view to driving them by force to Glasgow, and other manufacturing towns." This conquest of the Highlands by capitalism completed the task initiated under the Tudor monarchy in the late 15th century. Throughout England, Scotland, and Wales money was now "the power of all powers."

[To be continued]

MICHAEL McCREERY

The National Question

continued from page 12

There is, in fact, no British nation, but a British state, within which three nations, and part of a fourth, are oppressed and exploited by a ruling class drawn from all four nations. There are British capitalists and British workers. These are British people. But there is no British nation.

For the revolutionary working class movement in Britain to ignore this basic feature of British society is to ensure the defeat of the revolution. A correct strategy for the struggle against British capitalism, and for its final overthrow, can only be evolved by taking into account the national problem within, as well as without, the boundaries of the British state. But the measure of our rulers' ability to smother the revolutionary aims of the working class, and remove the national question from the minds of militant workers, particularly in England, is seen in the *British Road to Socialism*. This programme of the Communist Party of Great Britain, 30 pages long, does not once refer to the need for a revolution in Britain. The word "revolution" is not even mentioned! Nor is the word "England" once used! And Scotland and Wales receive just this one reference. "Scotland and Wales need to have their own Parliaments, with powers to ensure the balanced development of their economies within the general plan for Britain as well as to satisfy the wider national aspirations of their peoples." But is this not the exact and happy position which the Irish in Northern Ireland have already achieved?

If it is, of course, no coincidence that this programme ignores both the national question, and the need for a revolution in Britain. For "the wider national aspirations" of the Scots and the Welsh can never be achieved within the framework of the British capitalist state, but only with the break-up of that State. And the end of exploitation in Britain, equally, can never be achieved within the framework of the British capitalist state, but only by smashing that state. Yet the main argument of the *British Road* is that the needs of the people in Britain can be met in full within a reformed British state. The aims of revolution, and of national liberation, must therefore be abandoned in this programme.

This British state came into existence to serve the interests of the rising capitalist class, has been continuously developed and strengthened to serve their interests at each stage in the development of the capitalist system, and will be used by them, and no other

class, until they are finally overthrown. The need to establish one market in Britain led the capitalists of England to incorporate Scotland and Wales, within the one British state ruled from Whitehall. In this task they were assisted by the dominant sections of Scottish and Welsh capital, who collaborated with them against the interests of their own people. The need to extend this British market led to the conquest of Ireland, and of half the world.

JOHN McLEAN

British capitalism is now in decline. The imperialist stage of capitalist development, in which we now live, is the final stage. Beyond Imperialism lies Socialism. But capitalism will not die a natural death. It must be overthrown. It is for this reason that Communists in Britain, and particularly in England, must master the national question. That great Scottish Communist, John McLean, wrote, a short while before his death in November 1923.

"Russia could not produce the world revolution. Neither can we in the Gorbals, in Scotland, in Great Britain. Before England is ready I am sure the next war will be on us. I therefore consider that Scotland's wisest policy is to declare for a Republic in Scotland, so that the youths of Scotland will not be forced out to die for England's markets. If Baldwin's capitalist policy is to bind the Empire closer together to fight American capitalism, and incidentally keep the workers enslaved, then the working class policy ought to be to break up the Empire to avert war and enable the workers to triumph in every country and colony. Scottish separation is part of the process of England's Imperial disintegration and is a help towards the ultimate triumph of the workers of the world."

What was true in 1923 is true today. John McLean, "the bitterest enemy of the British Government," "the beloved leader of the Scottish workers" as Lenin described him, was right, and those who fought him on this issue, who still lead the Communist Party of Great Britain, and produced the *British Road to Socialism*, were wrong. The British ruling class killed John McLean, through the treatment they meted out to him in prison. They murdered James Connolly in Ireland. Both men were indeed too dangerous to the capitalists. They had grasped the need to link the national question with the struggle for working class power, the struggle to smash the British state, through which the capitalists maintain their evil system.

MICHAEL McCREERY

ACT NOW AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Public Meeting

CONWAY HALL, FRIDAY JULY 3rd

at 7.45 p.m.

SPEAKERS INCLUDE:

Ron Jones	Chairman
Carlos Perez	Latin America (Venezuela)
Peggy Pinkheard	The Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity
Andy O'Neill	The Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity
Michael McCreery	The Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity
Ivor Kenna	Finsbury Communist Association
Michael Brown	Caribbean Organisations

MONEY IS NEEDED

HELP MAINTAIN "VANGUARD"

To date the total which has been guaranteed each month as a result of this appeal is £33. We thank all comrades who are contributing towards this total, and urge others to join in achieving the target of £100 guaranteed monthly.

To "VANGUARD",

Flat 3,
33 Anson Road,
London, N.7.

I will guarantee £ . s. d. monthly, to be paid by the 1st of the month.

NAME

ADDRESS