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A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

1965 - UNITE IN STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ITS ALLIES

IN the kaleidoscope of events in 1964 one pattern emerges clearly. A hardening attitude by ever-increasing numbers of people throughout the world against imperialism.

At the helm of reaction, U.S. imperialism with monopoly capital as its fountain source, has continued to intervene, massively and brutally in the internal affairs of other countries.

Treating S.E. Asia as if it were a province of the United States, the White House and the Pentagon attempt to impose their will by weight of arms, nuclear blackmail, and the buying over of political gangsters.

Armed with hydrogen bombs, their submarines police the China Seas; their puppet Chiang Kai Shek rules Taiwan for them, and a Kuomintang appointee sits on the United Nations Security Council as the accredited Chinese representative.

Throughout the whole of 1964, they continued to pour military equipment at an accelerated rate into South Viet Nam in an attempt to overwhelm the forces of the National Liberation Front; their "advisers" have now swollen to the figure of some thirty-thousand. Helicopters, fighters, fighter-bombers, tanks, armoured cars, guns of all description in the modern armoury have been thrown in to crush the people of South Viet Nam. The "Staley-Taylor" plan of strategic hamlets was continued in order to terrify the village inhabitants and separate them from the armed patriotic forces.

All these plans of American imperialism have come to naught in South Viet Nam; their immense material superiority has been overwhelmingly counter-balanced by the united strength of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, supported by the people.

They have won this strength above all from the conviction that their struggle is a just one and that American imperialism, colossus though it is, indeed has feet of clay, because the wars it unleashes are unjust. This conviction, purified and intensified by the blood of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese has since borne abundant proof of its correctness. Within only a few years, scattered guerrilla detachments have grown into a National Army of Liberation; three quarters of the territory and over half the population are now within its areas of direct control. The American-backed government changes, the influential voices in America itself calling for a withdrawal, are ample signs of the despera-

tion in defeat of American imperialism in this corner of S.E. Asia.

But the policy-makers of the American billionaire monopolies do not give up easily. Neither in this theatre of aggressive militarist operations nor in others have they ceased to pursue their aims. Scores of thousands of men, women and children have been slaughtered in the Congo in the constant quest for super-profits. British and Belgian capitalist interests as well as American have joined in the rape of the Congolese; they have foisted on them the hated figure of Tshombe; they pour in arms and have to bring in white mercenaries to use them — so little is their support among the people of the Congo. They accuse the so-called "rebels" of massacring some scores of whites, while the stench of the murdered Negro people lies in every path trodden by the mercenaries.

The people of the Congo are being subjected to a bitter lesson — and they have learned. The Liberation Forces of the Congo are the outstanding expression of the growing maturity and strength of the people's movement which will be the ultimate guarantee of victory.

British imperialism shows its equal adeptness in the employment of political skill and open force in British Guiana and Aden. To further its interests British troops are being sent out in increasing numbers to Malaysia for a direct confrontation with Indonesia and the protection of vested interest in oil, tin, rubber etc.

The establishment of Wilson at No. 10 Downing Street, the return of a Labour Government to office has not altered one bit the aims, desires or actions of British Imperialism. On the contrary it has received the open assurance of the Labour Ministers that overseas commitments (i.e. for vested interests) will be scrupulously maintained and extended.

No matter what hopes the revisionists hold out for the Labour Party eventually treading the path of Socialism, the classical pattern of the betrayal of the working people, at home and overseas, is plain for all to see.

Furthermore, it becomes daily more evident that the Wilson Government ranges itself with that section of British monopoly capital which sees its security and its future bound up with American imperialism —

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TIBET — A NEW EPOCH

TIBET, with an area of 1,200,000 square kilometres — bigger than France, Italy and West Germany put together — lies on a high plateau 4,000 to 5,000 metres above sea level. It has 180 peaks over 6,000 metres high. On the southern rim of Tibet, on the boundary line between China and Nepal, is the 8,882-metre Mount Jelmo Lungma, the world's highest peak.

Since shaking off the backward system of serfdom that kept Tibet a thousand years behind the modern world, the people have been making up for the lost centuries.

Emancipation has made the million serfs and house slaves masters of their own destiny. They received land and draught animals after the democratic reform in 1959. And with the support of the people's government they have wrought tremendous changes in their economic and cultural life.

Grain output in 1964 was 52 per cent above 1958. The average per hectare yield was 30 per cent higher. It was the sixth good harvest in succession.

The valleys and passes along the Tsangpo River and among the Himalayas in southern Tibet, where three-fourths of the population live, are good for cultivation. In northern Tibet there are scattered pasture areas where the famous Tibetan yak graze with sheep. There are also vast rich virgin forests of spruce, fir, larch and other trees, some of them 40 to 50 metres high. The mineral deposits offer possibilities for industrial development.

But under the feudal regime, the serf-owners, who formed less than 2 per cent of the population, owned all the land. They seized over 70 per cent of the harvest by way of rent, taxes and unpaid labour. The annual grain harvest was only three to four times greater than the amount of seed sown. The majority of the people subsisted on a pitifully meagre diet while the Tibetan feudal nobility and theocratic rulers led a life of idle luxury.

Since 1959 one million metal farm tools have been sent into Tibet from other parts of the country, as well as 3,300 tons of steel to be worked up into implements. The old myth that "iron poisons the soil" is discarded as steel ploughs replace the age-old wooden ones.

Most of the Tibetan peasants have pooled their efforts to raise farming output by organising themselves into 22,000 mutual-aid teams, embracing nine out of every ten peasant families. Intensive cultivation and irrigation are being introduced to increase yields. With the help of agronomists from other parts of the country, two high-yield varieties of barley (the main crop in Tibet) were selected recently for popularization. Wheat and cabbage, turnips and other vegetables are being grown for the first time in the rich soil of Tibet.

In just over five years, the Tibetan peasants have extended their farmland by 40,000 hectares and put 43,000 hectares of arid land under irrigation. Livestock today totals 15 million head, 40 per cent more than in 1959. The state has advanced generous issues of interest-free loans to help the Tibetan peasants and herdsmen.

The living standard of the Tibetan people has improved rapidly. In old Tibet, beggars, orphans and run-away serfs were seen in all parts of the region, owing to the steady pauperisation of the masses. Such people have been given land or jobs. The orphans and the aged are cared for by the state. Latest statistics for the Loka area, south of the Tsangpo River, known as Tibet's granary, show that 84 per cent of the formerly pauperised serfs and house slaves, comprising 32,900 families, have an adequate diet for the first time. In 1963 they bought three times as much tea — an indispensable beverage to Tibetans — cloth and other consumer goods as in 1958.

Old Tibet had no industry. Today it has electric power stations, farm implement factories, motor car repair and assembly workshops, a cement plant with an annual capacity of 32,000 tons, a flour mill with a daily capacity of 12.5 tons, lumber mills, tanneries, oil processing and powdered milk plants and others. They are equipped with machinery made in Shanghai and other cities. Production of Tibet's traditional handicrafts, including carpets, rugs and pottery, has expanded.

Former serfs, who never saw a piece of machinery until a few years ago, are now

skilled lathe operators, truck and tractor drivers, mechanics, electricians and miners.

Inaccessible and isolated in the past, Tibet today is linked with other parts of the country by air and roads. Two highways, feats of engineering by virtue of their elevation and the difficult terrain, lead from the region's capital, Lhasa, to neighbouring provinces. Since 1959, 77 roads with an aggregate length of 7,520 kilometres have been built, linking almost all the counties in Tibet. Freight carried between the urban and rural districts has risen greatly. Formerly everything had to be transported by yak or horse.

Almost all serfs and house slaves were illiterate. Now the 1,300-year-old Tibetan language is being rejuvenated and improved through its extensive use by more and more literate working people.

55,000 Tibetan boys and girls are in primary and middle schools. Adults, including women who were serfs, are studying in spare-time and evening schools. Hundreds of young Tibetans have gone on to advanced study in other parts of the country.

The region has its own newspaper "Tibet Daily," and its own radio station broadcasting news and entertainment programmes in Tibetan.

Since 1961, 425,000 volumes of Tibetan textbooks have been put out by the educational department of the Tibet region. Over half a million books and 98,000 issues of periodicals in Tibetan have been sold.

A modern Tibetan drama troupe was set up in 1962. The first feature film with a Tibetan cast, "Serfs," was released recently. Colourful Tibetan dances and folk songs are very popular throughout the country.

For centuries, the rulers of Tibet were manorial lords, nobles and their lackeys. Today 80 per cent of the heads and deputy heads of counties and districts in Tibet are former serfs and slaves. Some have been elected to the National People's Congress, China's supreme organ of state power.

In old Tibet, women were harshly oppressed. Today they enjoy equal rights with men and thousands hold positions of public trust. Twenty out of every hundred government officials in Tibet today are women.

General elections have been held in all parts of the region to prepare for the official inauguration of the Tibet Autonomous Region which will be one of five autonomous regions in China.

Tibet is now in the new stage of completing the democratic revolution and making preparation to undertake the socialist revolution.

Captions to pictures

1
Ex-serfs and ex-house slaves buying more than ever before. Wages or cash income was something alien to them before 1959 democratic reform.

2
Former serfs children in one of the first modern schools of Tibet.

3
New generation of Tibetan workers at a Lhasa power station.

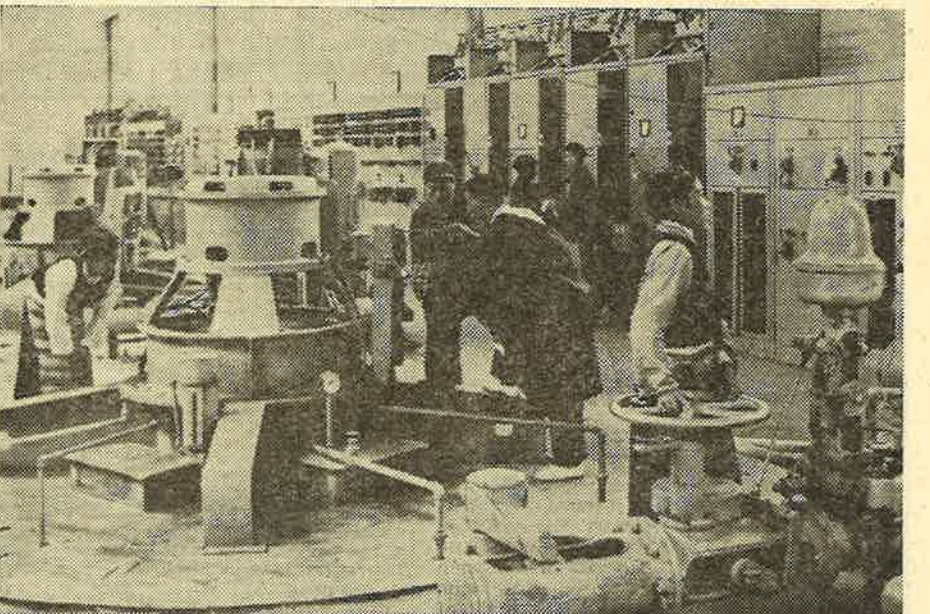
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3



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

HAROLD WILSON: A SELF-EXPOSURE

1. THE whole world knows that immediately after the testing of China's first atomic weapon, Chou En-lai proposed a world Summit Conference to examine ways and means to completely prohibit and destroy all nuclear weapons and to rapidly reach agreement as a first step, that nuclear powers should undertake not to use these weapons. (The full Chinese Statement was published in *Vanguard*, December 1964.)

It is also universally known that the Chinese Government has stated that it will never be the first to use atomic weapons. These statements of the Chinese Government have been received with acclaim by all Governments and peoples who genuinely want an end to the Nuclear-Arms race; a break-through of the impasse created by the imperialists, headed by the tyrant U.S. imperialists.

2. Britain's "Labour" Party Premier Harold Wilson, received the Chinese proposal on October 17, 1964 — has only just replied to it. Wilson has for many years posed as a champion for world peace and disarmament. This man won wide support in the British Labour Party, balancing precariously slightly "left of centre," a position from which he has managed to deceive thousands of honest Labour Party members into thinking that he stood for Socialism, and simultaneously keeping strong links with the Labour "right."

Wilson's chance arrived with the death of Hugh Gaitskill and he easily defeated his rival George Brown for the vacant leadership — his "slightly leftist" act standing him in good stead and paying off long awaited dividends.

Thus, this out and out political careerist, with "Labour's" narrow electoral victory, became Prime Minister.

His entire career is one which heartily endears him to the British Capitalists and also to the most vicious enemy of world peace, U.S. imperialism.

MR. WILSON "REGRETS"

3. The terms of his reply, therefore, to the Chinese proposal are not in the least surprising. The value of examining its arguments lies in the exposé of cant and hypocrisy, the type of which only the Harold Wilson's of this world are capable of.

Firstly, says our Mr. Wilson "we regret the Chinese explosion." This from the Premier of a country which has exploded several nuclear devices in the atmosphere: has gathered all the technical data necessary to manufacture a nuclear stockpile. This, from a Premier who is desperately peddling his own idea of an Atlantic Nuclear Force, which would include West German participation and a variety of means of delivering nuclear weapons, under the generous patronage of the U.S.A.

This, from a man who openly desires to assign Britain's nuclear weapon-carrying V-Bomber force for use East of Suez — which means to blackmail China and threaten the National Liberation Movement in Asia.

In a word, Wilson "regrets" for essentially the same reason that Dean Rusk "regrets," that all the imperialist robbers "regret"; that all the renegade modern revisionists "regret" — China's atomic explosion. It is because the entire Socialist camp, the entire National Liberation Movement, and the entire working peoples of the world are strengthened, made even more secure, and conversely, imperialist aggression is confronted by a fresh obstacle.

The *Daily Worker* (December 24) stated Editorially, that Mr. Wilson's arguments against the Chinese proposals "are very unconvincing."

The *Daily Worker* is smitten with some typical "cold English reserve" on this matter. One might wish that the revisionist leaders of the C.P.B.G. would continue to use the merits of understatement when commenting on the views of those who consistently adhere to the stand of Marxism-Leninism.

"Very unconvincing," indeed! Mr. Wilson's arguments are downright unacceptable to anyone who values truth and who is not committed to a policy which hinges on which particular "Social-democrat" is occupying 10 Downing Street at any given moment.

Wilson goes on to hint to China that since she has large conventional forces she might be tempted to undertake "aggression," and that he is definitely against the nuclear powers promising not to be the first to use nuclear weapons since this is not "realistic."

Could chicanery go any further?

Wilson even in Opposition, time and again called for the expansion of Britain's conventional forces, for more and more money to be spent on this purpose — to extinguish brush fires overseas "or realistically," to drown in blood all attempts in South Arabia, Malaysia,

North Kalimantan, and elsewhere, to expel British imperialism and gain genuine freedom. He even called for the British Navy to re-assume its role of Pax Britannica a la Queen Victoria!

At this moment, many thousands of British troops are engaged in protecting the investments and loot of blood-stained imperialism overseas, with the blessings of Wilson, and "very Left" Anthony Greenwood, Colonial Secretary. What is this, if not the very "aggression" which he ascribes to China? Where, Mr. Wilson, are the Chinese troops, other than in their own sovereign territory?

WILSON AND THE H-BOMB

His ill-concealed stand as to the use of nuclear weapons exposes him for what he really is.

A supporter of nuclear terrorism and an opponent of nuclear disarmament.

Finally, Wilson primly scolds the Chinese for certain unambiguous references to U.S. imperialism and the West German Government mouthpiece of German monopoly-capitalism. "My government cannot accept the terms in which your communications . . . referred to the U.S.A. and the Federal German Republic."

Thus the "Labour Government" stands for all to see, as the apologist and defendant of the most dangerous war-mongers of modern times. They stand revealed for what they are, this Mr. Wilson & Co.

Servants of the capitalists, no more, no less; deceivers of the British people. Each week, each day, gives living proof that the exploiters, their "Social-democrat" flunkies and the modern revisionists, deserters of the working-peoples, find themselves under one and the same flag.

All the same, they will go bankrupt. The Chinese proposals are for a lasting peace, an end to all nuclear weapons and correspond to the wishes and interests of 90% of the population of the world. They will be crowned with triumph.

Harold Wilson or no, they merit the active support of the British people, who would suffer grievous losses in a nuclear war.

DAVE VOLPE

Leader of all-Africa Trade Union Federation sends thanks to China

LIU NING-YI, President of the all-China Federation of Trade Unions, has received a message from John Tettegah, General Secretary of the all-Africa Trade Union Federation. It thanked the Chinese organisation for its message of November 26 condemning the U.S.-Belgian imperialist massacre of Congolese patriots in Stanleyville.

The all-Africa Trade Union Federation said that the national war of resistance was directed against the reactionary central government of the Congo, the mercenary troops of Tshombe, financed by foreign powers, and the imperialist forces which attempted to re-occupy the country.

"We are happy to see again the untiring and persistent support of the Chinese workers and the rest of the Chinese people for the revolution in Africa," the all-Africa Trade Union Federation said.

It expressed the hope that the struggle of the African peoples against all forms of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and racial discrimination would continue to be supported by the Chinese people.

(HSINHUA)

Extracts from "Nuova Unità"

ORGAN OF THE ITALIAN MARXIST - LENINIST ORGANISATIONS

OVER 100 years passed between the English bourgeois revolution in the 17th Century and the French bourgeois revolution of 1789; 46 years passed between the Paris Commune and the October Revolution; but only 32 years passed between the October Revolution and the victory of the Chinese Revolution; and only 10 years passed between the Chinese and Cuban Revolution. Between the latter and the Algerian Revolution the interval was even shorter: just 3 years. Thanks to the October Revolution, Eastern Europe and Albania were liberated from Nazi slavery and at the same time, from the old ruling classes; thanks to it and the Chinese Revolution, the peoples of North Korea and North Vietnam, organised and led by the Communists, have annihilated colonialist oppression, and not only in Asia but in all continents, the revolutionary movement of oppressed peoples is developing with unprecedented speed and breadth; the same sources of bloody wealth, with which the imperialists are able to divide and subjugate their own working classes, are slowly drying up.

Today, out of every three inhabitants of the earth, one is a citizen of a socialist state; out of every four inhabitants one is Chinese, and thanks to the sound leadership of the Communist Party of China, every one plays his or her part in the greatest revolutionary effort that the human race has ever known; today there is no continent where the free banner of revolution does not fly. The red banners of the Soviet October Revolution in a period of a few decades, now extend from one point of the earth to the other. Its example is no longer just the patrimony of a small proletarian vanguard limited to Europe; now it lives in the hearts of millions of human beings all over the world.

In Italy one year ago, the revisionist superiority was absolute and our inferiority was absolute; a Marxist-Leninist

movement did not exist, the "Proposals for a Platform" did not exist, no National Conference had been held, "Nuova Unità" had not come out; the Marxist-Leninists were in small groups most of them still inside the revisionist party, or isolated comrades laboriously groping their way towards clarity and unity, who today are trying to give life to a strong Marxist-Leninist movement. But already, the absolute superiority of the force of the revisionist camp has become relative; on the international plane, the revisionist camp is in decline receiving defeat after defeat; what seemed like an absolute disparity of force and influence between the revisionists and the Marxist-Leninists has reached, with the fall of Khrushchov, the point of equilibrium; the Marxist-Leninists talk now from positions of strength and parity of influence with the Russian revisionists. This relationship of parity and equilibrium is destined sooner or later, to be changed into one of superiority for the world forces of Marxism-Leninism, with the CP of China and the Albanian Party of Labour at the head.

This evolution is inevitable also in our own country; our relative inferiority is destined to be transformed into a situation of equilibrium and parity between us and the revisionists; and this equilibrium and parity is destined to be transformed sooner or later into a situation of superiority of the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces to the advantage of the working class and exploited masses of our country which, today, only we represent, although we are still a small minority.

Marxism-Leninism will triumph in our country and the world for the same reasons that the Bolsheviks, under the guidance of Lenin, triumphed in their country.

ARNALDO BRESSAN.

Support the jailed Indian Communists!

IT was only very recently that the Indian Marxist-Leninists organised their vast Congress, with the objective of re-constituting the Indian Communist Party on Marxist-Leninist lines.

An outright modern-revisionist clique under the renegade Dange had seized the leadership of the Party, turning it from its historic revolutionary path, deserting the true needs of the Indian workers and peasants and objectively putting it to the service of the rich, privileged Indian bourgeoisie, and its American imperialist patrons. No one was louder than Dange, for example, in slandering the principled stand of the Chinese Communist Party and heaping slander upon slander upon its leaders.

Dange and his clique openly supported the Indian Congress Party and Government in its adventurist policy vis a vis the Himalayan border dispute.

Dange, only a few months ago, was in London, canvassing support for his treacherous conspiracy. Dange welcomed the increasing flow of arms to his capitalist masters from both the West and the Soviet Union.

The thousands of Indian Communists who refused to follow this traitor stood firm on the side of the millions of exploited Indians and to their Leninist principles.

This is the first reason why, at the time of writing, a thousand or more are jailed, without any trial. The second reason is because the Shastri-Nancla tyrant regime wish to divert the anger of India's hungry millions from the path of struggle to the path of chauvinism, anti-China hatred and war.

The third reason is because Shastri reflecting the needs of India's landlords and capitalists, corrupt to the core, is compelled to keep happy his American pawn-broker, and reassure Western imperialism that he is at one with it in opposing the heroic struggle of the Asian peoples for genuine liberation.

The fourth reason is because the Congress Party rulers are stricken with fear at the real prospect of tremendous

support for the new Marxist-Leninist leadership.

The incarceration of the Indian Communists is an act of blatant bankruptcy.

It will open the eyes of, and rally millions of Asians to the cause of National Liberation.

It will rally the active support of millions of workers and peasants throughout the world to the working people of India and their valiant vanguard, the Indian Marxist-Leninists.

It will expose still further the perfidy of all the modern-revisionists, without whose splitting activities this criminal move would have been impossible.

Let all who value justice, freedom, liberation, Socialism and world peace stand firm with the jailed Indian Communists. Their cause will inevitably triumph!

FACTS ON THE CONGO

U.S. penetration into the Congo goes back to the year 1906 when Messrs. Guggenheim — noted art patrons and philanthropists — obtained concessions from Belgium to exploit an area of 4,000 square miles for a period of 99 years.

The concession developed into a purchase and thus opened the rubber and mineral resources to the U.S. Once Uranium was discovered in 1938 the U.S. made nuclear research. In 1955 an agreement was signed between Belgium and the U.S. by which Belgium was prohibited to export Uranium to any other power than the U.S. In the same year Rockefeller, Morgan and Thomas bought the controlling interest in the Union Minière and the Congo Bank (at present 80% in U.S. control). (69% of the world's Uranium.) Between 1960-64 the Congo became a U.S. colony protected by two bases in Kitona and Kamena.

60% of the Congo's cobalt, 64% raw manganese, 79% tantalum, 79% industrial diamonds go to U.S.

MY FIGHT FOR IRISH FREEDOM

by Dan Breen

A Review by PAT O'DONOVAN

WHEN the British Crown Forces brutally crushed the 1916 Uprising in Dublin, heavy artillery and war ships having been employed to demolish the city centre; where the rebels were entrenched and the rebels themselves captured and jailed; with all their leaders—the signatories to the Proclamation of the Irish Republic executed, Imperialism was then certain that “the wretched Irish were quietened once and for all.” Certain that “this disobedient inferior race” would never again challenge the iron rule of the mighty Union Jack.

But imperialism blundered. True, from an Irish military viewpoint the 1916 endeavour was an absolute catastrophe, but it nevertheless achieved the aim which those who planned it, knew very well it would—it set into motion amongst the people, a fresh, reinforced determination to obtain the goal of the centuries, national freedom.

This transformed mood was vividly demonstrated in December 1918 when a General Election was held, where Sinn Fein, the party of the Republic, won 73 out of 105 seats. The Irish Parliamentary Party which hitherto was dominant and whose elected members, led by John Redmond, had sat in the House of Commons, now had a mere 6 seats while the Unionists, much to their alarm, won only 26.

But to gain a democratically elected majority for freedom and to actually be given freedom by imperialism are totally different matters: with the result that as 1919 dawned in Ireland and the month of January receded, nothing worthwhile was forthcoming from Westminster. Worse still, signs of weakness, confusion, and indecision were becoming apparent amongst the Sinn Fein Deputies (M.P.'s).

They had been elected on an anti-imperialist, Republican ticket yet imperialism with its powerful army, police, and elaborate administration still occupied Ireland. And as they debated and wrangled amongst themselves English imperialism and its spies noted their every turn—they were as flies in the jaws of a tiger.

DANIEL BREEN

But other factors were at work. Prior to 1916 and particularly in its wake physical force movements such as the

Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.), the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) had been formed. Excepting certain differences in origin these three bodies differed only in name. They all agreed on one final, single purpose—winning freedom through the force of arms.

At this time, down in Co. Tipperary a member of the I.R.B. was a young general labourer named Daniel Breen who had joined the organisation under the influence of a man who was later to become one of the greatest guerrilla fighters of all time—Sean Tracy. Tracy, who held the rank of Commandant, had indicated to Breen and the others under his command that “he had had enough of being pushed around” and that “this business of getting in and out of jail was leading us nowhere. . . . It was high time we did a bit of the pushing.”

SOLOHEADBEG

Soloheadbeg is a small district about two and a half miles from Tipperary, and less than half a mile from Limerick Junction. Its claim to fame is that it was here for the first time since 1916, on Tuesday, January 21, 1919, that the Irish patriots restarted the physical struggle against Britain.

The idea was to capture some dynamite which was being transported, in a horse and cart to a quarry in Soloheadbeg under armed police escort. Those taking part in the successful operation included Sean Tracy and Dan Breen. From that day onwards they were of course wanted men: all the more so because in the capture of the dynamite, because they would not surrender, two police guards were shot.

News of the shooting quickly spread.

The British stooge press in Dublin represented by the *Irish Times* and the *Irish Independent* screamed for the blood of the “terrorists.” A reward of £1,000 was placed on the heads of the guerrillas, who retired, like the felons of old to the Galty Mountains.

Sinn Fein also reacted to the news. Many of the new deputies sitting around in Dublin's bars deplored the deed: but on the very evening of January 21 they assembled and bravely issued a Declaration of Independence for Ireland.

AMBUSH AFTER AMBUSH

Dan Breen did not stay very long in refuge in the Galty Mountains. Soon he was in Dublin discussing new possibilities with the No. 1 man in charge of such matters, Michael Collins. Their talk resulted in the Ashtown ambush where an unsuccessful attempt was made to kill the Lord Lieutenant, French. Though Martin Savage, a close friend of Breen's was fatally wounded here, and Breen himself got a bullet in the leg, the defeat was of little account as the Soloheadbeg example had inspired young men to engage not only in minor assaults on imperialism's supporters, but to accept a major guerrilla struggle throughout the length and breadth of Ireland.

Then came June 1921 and the Truce followed by the signing of the Treaty in the Autumn of that year. Breen did not like the terms of the treaty so he left for America and was about to seriously consider settling down in Chicago where men of Irish descent owned huge meat-packing factories, when a telegram from Liam Lynch, a leading County Cork I.R.A. member, brought him home again.

THE CIVIL WAR

He came back to find the country divided into two antagonistic camps of Pro- and Anti-Treaty. The Pro-Treaty elements had a majority in the Dáil and with England's help, were taking over the administration and building a new army. Breen says that “it is a self-evident truth that when a country has become war weary, the majority of the people will always accept a compromise.” His own first inclination was to remain neutral, but to avert a split and inevitable bloodshed he allowed Michael Collins to persuade him, in company with others, to sign a document accepting the Treaty.

But the paper unity soon diminished.

Dan Breen remembered O'Donovan Dossa's hard words that Britain “was stricken to her knees or we were stricken to our graves.” Later Collins and his new founded paid Free State Army opened fire on the massive Four Courts building where Liam Mellow, a Socialist Republican, Rory O'Connor and others were headquartered. They were eventually captured and shot by English guns in Mountjoy Jail.

In the Civil War, Dan Breen, again engaged in guerrilla warfare was trapped by the Free State Army and interned in Limerick Jail. He was later freed and has been, with one break, a Dáil Deputy since then.

EPILOGUE

Many changes have occurred in Ireland since 1924, when this book of Breen's first appeared. Even many of the Republicans of Breen's period, such as most of the members of the present Fianna Fáil Government, have evolved away from Republicanism, have betrayed it. Nevertheless they still retain the allegiance of the 26 County populace whilst the only alternative to Fianna Fáil is Fine Gael, the party that accepted the Treaty.

AND WHAT OF THE IRISH WORKING CLASS AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT?

Subjective factors apart, such as religious and careerist influences, the bitter truth is, that because it wilfully refrained from organisationally participating in the struggle for national freedom, Labour in Ireland seriously undermined its chances of ever making a decisive impact, on its own, on the Irish people. Whilst the participation of Connolly and his Citizen Army in the 1916 Uprising have been distorted and obscured by the Bourgeois clique, who now control the propaganda mediums in Dublin.

We do not now know what form tomorrow's struggles in Ireland will take. But what we do know is that the crucial pre-condition for decisive revolutionary change, is that a bridge of unity be erected between the Republican and Labour forces. So important in fact is this unity that the criterion of a mature, sincere Irish revolutionary can be measured by the extent to which he strives towards its realisation.

“My Fight for Irish Freedom.” Published by Anvil Books at 3s 6d.

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the greatest menace to the peace and well-being of the people of the world.

The ideological struggle against revisionism must now begin to join with and merge with economic and political actions wherever possible against the bad policies of the Labour Government and its effects.

With the downfall of Krushchev, its leading exponent, world revisionism has received its severest setback; it is perfectly clear that the practical difficulties, domestic and foreign, resulting from the applied policies of revisionism brought about his removal from power — this cannot be shrugged off by the revisionists who have extolled his virtues for year. His actions in the last decade have greatly contributed to the enormous damage to the international Communist movement; his distortions and vulgarisms have torn the revolutionary content out of Marxism and helped to sap the vitality of so many Communist Parties, though clearly the heaviest responsibility rests, in this respect, on the indigenous parties.

Revisionism has had a hard blow, but ample proof of its continued existence in the Soviet Union has been supplied by the calling for a preparatory meeting for a Conference of “World Communist Parties” in March of this year, a conference which can only formalise and extend the split in the Communist movement.

The great Russian people will yet find a way to finish with revisionism, and meantime the open stand alongside China and Albania of the Communist Parties of Viet Nam, Korea, Japan, New Zealand, Indonesia, etc., herald the ultimate victory of revolutionary Marxism.

Indian ruling circles, with British and American imperialism at their shoulder have not been slow to recognise the danger to themselves of a genuinely revolutionary party. Leaving untouched the adherents of Dange, a revisionist and open betrayer of the Indian people, they have arrested hundreds of militant Marxist-Leninists.

But nothing can now stop the resurgence there, or in other parts of the world, of a new wave of revolutionary movements whose spearhead will be directed against imperialism and its allies.

In the heart of American imperialism itself, the movement of the Negroes has risen to new heights; disillusioned and embittered by years of broken promises, it displays open distrust of mere legislation and is learning daily to seek salvation by its own militant action.

This must be the lesson of all peoples everywhere — not least the British people.

The fight against revisionism in this country must continue to be enlarged and extended to the arena of action against the monopolies and their instruments; it is in the process of this struggle that the fight against revisionism, against the compromising hand of the leadership of the C.P.G.B. and against the policies of the Labour Government will be merged and intensified.

What is required in the first place is the overriding conviction that our struggle is just and that it reflects the needs and aspirations of the British working people; it is this conviction which must serve as the basis for breaking with the passivity of the recent past and for imbuing the working class with confidence in its own strength.

Dance Macabre

As the old sham Left moves to the right
A new sham Left comes into sight.
Ramsay, Ernie, Aneurin B.,
Waltz to the right thru' History.

One to the Left, two to the Right,
That's the way to dampen the fight.
Gain their confidence, hold it tight,
Then one mighty bound and over to the Right.

The way to the stars is from the Left,
Leaving the workers of hope bereft,
Then when the fire dies from the fight,
It's beggar you Jack, for I'm all right.

Enter from the Left with a comradely sound,
Hypnotise the fools by whizzing round and round,
Then as you suddenly swing to the Right,
A new sham Left will appear in Sight.

E. FOLLIS

MAKE all racial discrimination a criminal offence! Force the Labour government to act against racism — not just talk!

THE BIG SELL-OUT

by Jack Tyrrell

SO far as 3 million engineering workers are concerned, December 10th, 1964 will go down in history as the day of the big sell-out. Why? Because that was the day on which the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Union's executive endorsed a 14-page foolscap document by 18 votes to two with three abstentions, the package deal by which the Trade Union leaders signed away the fundamental interests of their members for a period of three years until January 1st, 1968. In return for this, the vast majority of engineering workers benefit to the extent of between 8 and 10 shillings per week during the entire period, which is a wonderful bargain — for the employers.

On the next day, reporting the story, the *Daily Worker* wrote the following:

"The agreement firmly lays down that 'there shall not be any national or local claims related to wages or working conditions which are of a general character.'

"Claims of a sectional character covering all manual workers in a specific section of the industry or claims of an occupational character which involve increased costs are also out.

"As for domestic claims, these must not be of a general character covering all or substantially all manual workers in an establishment, says the document."

This proves beyond any shadow of doubt that in spite of resolutions passed at the annual conference of the Trades Union Congress and individual unions, the engineering TU leaders have agreed to a de facto wage freeze.

The 40-hour week was conceded to the shipbuilding workers some time ago without strings, so it would have been only a matter of time before the same shorter working week was applied to the whole engineering industry. It was agreed that the 41-hour week should operate as from December 1st, 1964, and that the reduction of the other hour should be subject to further negotiations. It is evident that this other hour has been held in reserve by the employers and TU negotiators who, having only a wilting flower to offer, needed the other hour to gild the lily. Apart from this, what have we got? Two extra days' holiday per year, and a 30/- a week increase in holiday pay. As regards all the other items, they only affect a very small percentage of all the people involved.

We have also experienced a striking example of the duplicity of the left TU leaders, reflected in the stand taken by them at the York meeting. To quote from the same article in the *Daily Worker*, here is what it says:

"The Amalgamated Engineering Union executive, for instance, was only called together here at 9 a.m. for its first sight of the agreement. I understand Mr. Claude Berridge and Mr. Hugh Scanlon opposed acceptance but were outvoted five to two — which meant that they were mandated to support the agreement in the confederation executive."

This means that, in effect, Berridge, Scanlon and other left wing TU officials, both Communist Party and non-Communist Party, are assisting the right wing in their plans, condoning and participating in the betrayal of the very people who put them where they are. We put them in to carry out a militant policy, not to sell us down the river or to do the dirty work of the right wing TU leadership. What could they have done? They could have voted against endorsement and got themselves disciplined. Of course, this would have meant running the risk of losing their jobs, but what a campaign they could have made alerting the membership to the betrayal of the right wing and winning the support of thousands upon thousands of trade unionists. At the very least, they should have abstained. Now, trade unionists are beginning to ask themselves if it would really make a halfpenny worth of difference to them if Carron and Boyd were replaced by Berridge and Scanlon. As one chap asked, "what's the good of electing C.P. officials, if, when the crunch comes, they act exactly the same as Carron does?" What's the good, indeed?

The revisionists expected Ernie Roberts to get elected to the position of General Secretary of the A.E.U. The vote was abnormally low and he was not elected. Why not? What we have just written, plus the Ford fiasco, plus the E.T.U. scandal, plus the stultifying effect of rotten revisionist leadership will tell them why not. The revisionists tell us that if we change the leadership by voting in C.P. nominees, we will benefit enormously. The mass of rank and file trade unionists never did believe this but the militants did. Now, many militant trade unionists, and even C.P. members are ceasing to believe it, and the conduct of the C.P. and left wing TU officials is helping in their disillusionment. In fact, the more the official Trade Unions prove how ineffective they

are in defending the workers' interests, the sooner will the rank and file militants on the shop floor realise the necessity of relying on their own strength by building up their own rank and file organisations in opposition to the official TU leadership, both left and right wing.

As always, when constitutional channels are blocked and cannot be used to advance the interests of the working class, trade unionists will learn that they can obtain satisfaction only through unconstitutional actions. Therefore, in this situation, an increase in unofficial strikes and actions is almost inevitable and accompanying this, we must prepare to bear the full brunt of the hysteria of the capitalist press and other media against the "wildcats." Behind the intimidation, rantings and ravings of the capitalist press and other media, will stand the Labour government and the Minister of Labour, Ray Gunter, with stick in hand.

Yes, we can safely predict that the next three years will be a period of intense education for militant trade unionists, a period in which many of them will become politically more mature. Certain sections of the working class, notably the dockers and busmen, already realise the value of their own rank and file organisations, which inevitably come into conflict with the official TU machinery, whether operated by "left" or right wing TU leaders. Still, every cloud has its silver lining. Perhaps the silver lining in this latest cloudy betrayal will be the extension of these new forms of working class organisation to the engineering industry. Speed the day.

APPENDIX :

Quoted from the *Daily Worker*, December 11, 1964.

The main terms of the agreement are as follows:

WAGES: Every manual worker will get increases on March 7, 1966 and March 6, 1967, of 5s. a week (skilled), 4s. 6d. (semi-skilled), and 4s. (labourers and women over 21).

HOLIDAYS: One additional day's paid holiday in 1965 and another in 1966. If employers want to use one of these days over Christmas or New Year they can do so. The other day can be fixed by mutual consent.

HOLIDAY PAY: To be calculated at consolidated time and a third instead of time and a sixth, giving an average extra payment of 30s. a week.

MINIMUM RATES: In addition to the general increases the skilled workers' minimum will go up 6s. a week at 6-monthly intervals bringing it to £12 17s. 8d. in 1968. The semi-skilled rate will go up 5s. 6d. and the unskilled 5s., bringing the labourers' minimum to £10 17s. 4d.

The women's minimum will go up 7s. a week at the same interval giving a total of 42s. and bringing the new rate to £9 18s. 6d.

From January 1, 1968, these increases on the minimum will be converted into a new minimum time rate for the calculation of overtime, shift and holiday payments and the guaranteed week agreement.

HOURS: The 40-hour week will operate from July 5, 1965, without loss of pay for time workers.

APPRENTICES: New percentages of adult fitter's rate will range from 30 per cent at 15 to 80 per cent at 20. The old rates are 22½ to 62½. It means that an apprentice at 20 can expect something like 33s. a week more next July.

GUARANTEED WEEK: Workers employed by a federated firm for not

ANNOUNCEMENT

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less than four weeks will be guaranteed 40 hours at the consolidated time rate instead of the present 34. This will be reduced where short time is worked as an alternative to redundancy.

COST OF LIVING: If there is an increase of five points or more in the retail price index during the period of

12 months from next January and this increase is maintained for three months the unions can ask to reopen negotiations. If Government industrial legislation during the next three years adds seriously to costs, the employers have the right to call for a review of the agreement.

Nuclear blackmail cannot frighten us

PEKING, December 31st (Hsinhua) — the presence of two U.S. polaris nuclear submarines in the waters off the Asian mainland is a brazen war provocation by U.S. imperialism against the Chinese and other peoples of the west Pacific, the *People's Daily* says in its editorial today.

"It is a despicable act of nuclear blackmail and threat by the Johnson administration," the editorial says.

This serious step taken by the Johnson administration to threaten the peace of Asia and the world cannot but arouse the profound indignation of the Chinese people, the other peoples of Asia, and all peace-loving peoples throughout the world. The editorial says: "This is additional proof that the tripartite partial nuclear test-ban treaty praised to the skies by Lyndon Johnson and his like is a big fraud and that the U.S. talk about its concern over the 'contamination of the atmosphere' is sheer hypocrisy. In sending nuclear submarines to carry out provocation at the door of China, is not the Johnson administration aggravating the danger of nuclear war and trying to precipitate the peoples of Asia into a nuclear holocaust? The Johnson administration is serving as a teacher by negative example; it is telling people by its deeds that U.S. imperialism will never give up its policies of nuclear blackmail and threat. U.S. imperialism is the source of danger of nuclear war and the most ferocious enemy of world peace."

Since the beginning of this year, and especially in the past six months, the Johnson administration has been stepping up its military deployment, including the establishment of a system for nuclear war preparations, for aggression in south-east Asia and the far east.

The establishment of a nuclear ring around China is a major step in the Johnson administration's plan of aggression in Asia in general and in south-east Asia in particular, the editorial says.

"The series of open acts of nuclear war preparations was carried out by the Johnson administration under the pretext of 'confronting China's nuclear strength.' This is preposterous. It is for self-defence and safeguarding peace that China wants its own nuclear arms. Having possessed them, the Chinese government has not taken them to the doorsteps of the U.S., much less has it used them to threaten any Asian country.

"If the United States government has a modicum of sincerity for peace, why then is it not willing to reach agreement with China on not using nuclear weapons? Instead of doing so, the U.S. government has dispatched nuclear submarines to the waters off the Chinese mainland to tighten the nuclear encirclement of China and to pose nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat against the Chinese people and peoples of Asia. Is

not this added proof that the Chinese people have been forced to possess and develop nuclear weapons by the U.S. imperialist nuclear menace and that it is entirely proper and necessary for them to do so?

"We would like to tell the Johnson administration: your attempt to frighten the Chinese people with nuclear weapons is futile. In fact, it only shows your stupidity.

"You have never ceased to carry out nuclear blackmail against the Chinese people ever since you possessed nuclear weapons. But the victory of the Chinese revolution was won when the United States held monopoly over nuclear weapons. For 15 years the Chinese people have never bowed to U.S. nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat. Isn't it a daydream of U.S. imperialism to think that it can scare the Chinese people with a couple of nuclear submarines at a time when the defence capability of the Chinese people is stronger than ever before? We have always held that the atom bomb is a paper tiger. That was the way we felt about it when we did not have nuclear weapons. And this is the way we feel about it now that we have them. The strength of the people is all powerful; not one or two new type weapons. The Chinese people have very strong nerves, the Johnson administration had better pack up its bag of tricks to frighten them," it goes on.

Nor can the Johnson administration scare the revolutionary peoples in Asia by nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat, it says.

U.S. imperialism is brandishing nuclear arms to frighten the peoples of Asia. This does not mean it is powerful. On the contrary, it demonstrates its weakness and isolation, it says.

"The Johnson administration's one-year reign has been a record replete with evil deeds. Countless facts show that U.S. imperialism will never lay down its butcher's knife. Not of its own accord anyway. The peoples of the whole world have seen still more clearly that the way of defending peace does not consist in cherishing illusions about U.S. imperialism. The danger of nuclear war can never be removed by relying on the 'sensibleness' and 'good intentions' of U.S. imperialism but by effectively smashing its nuclear monopoly and foiling its policy of nuclear blackmail, nuclear threat and nuclear war preparations. There is no other way out."

SCOTS BUSMEN FIGHT BACK

Comments by our Correspondent in Dundee

Scots' busmen recently took part in day token stoppages in Edinburgh, Dundee, and some smaller towns in protest at the delay by their employers in meeting their just wage claim.

Glasgow busmen and others in West Scotland showed their solidarity by a ban on overtime and a work to rule!

The writer states "that this was a spontaneous movement — no organisation, including the C.P.B.G. gave any lead." He goes on "while some of the members did a job, it demonstrated the need for rank and file members to insist that the Communist Party discuss policy in industry, instead of merely who they are going to support in Transport Union Elections, as I am sure this would lead to a movement amongst the rank and file, with a healthy base, instead of just an 'electoral apparatus.'"

The motion put by 7/23 Branch, Dundee Corporation, to call "a National Passenger Trade Group Committee meeting, aimed at getting plenary powers for a national bus strike, was lost by 22 to 30 votes, on December 29."

Eight Dundee pickets lobbied the

meeting, showing their militancy in striving to push the Transport Workers' Union into quicker and more effective action on their pay claim.

The Scots are lagging about 6 months behind London in this respect he writes.

A recommendation was accepted however that the claim go to a Committee of Inquiry to be set up by the Ministry of Transport, as a matter of urgency.

The writer points out that the C.P.B.G. members moved that Dundee operate a ban on overtime. He, however, as a delegate, moved a days complete stoppage as a token of anger. This was carried by an overwhelming majority. Arising from this, some Party members showed increased militancy and desire for united action.

The Conference voted against Union Wages Policy, despite the advice from their National Passenger Secretary to wait and see what the Government Incomes Policy would mean.

"A poor soul" is how the writer describes him — "I have many discussions with C.P.B.G. members and they are not happy with things vis a vis the Party's policy in industry."

by "Busman"
Dundee.

WOMEN UNDER CAPITALISM

THE problem of the emancipation of women is one that is very much neglected by those who take an active part in the working class struggle — especially in the earlier stages of that struggle. Some will accept the apparent legal equality of men and women, feeling that the problem was finally solved when women won the vote. Yet others will superficially compare the status of women in Britain — an advanced capitalist society, with the subjugation of women in many still feudal states. Many more will justify the inequalities which they see on the grounds that women are physiologically weaker, less logical, more intuitive, temperamental and unstable, etc. This latter group has imbibed the way of thinking with which the bourgeoisie has indoctrinated us all, and because this ideology distracts them from the historical and economic causes of women's inferior position it is most difficult to fight against. But one thing is certain — that unless Marxist-Leninists understand the importance of winning the women — especially working women — to their cause it is doomed to failure. As Lenin said, "The proletariat cannot achieve complete freedom unless it achieves complete freedom for women."

Generally our awareness and understanding of the specific injustices of the capitalist system develops out of the experiences of everyday life, after which we then look into the economic organisation of the society and backward into history to find out why what we see exists. We could approach our problem in just this way, looking first at the economic and social status of women in Britain.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

The typical picture here is one of inequality — in participation, and in wages.

In 1911, (before they got the vote) women made up 33½% of the labour force: in 1964, they are 35%. There seems little prospect of any consistent increase in this proportion of one-third for women serve the economic system as a reserve pool for the manpower requirements of the economy. This limited participation means that a considerable section of the adults in the society remain backward holding back the forces which drive towards a transformation of the society. It also means that it is in the interests of the bourgeoisie to propagate an ideology about women which justifies their position. This we shall discuss later — for the moment let us look at the facts concerning women workers.

In September 1886, a resolution was unanimously passed at the T.U.C. Congress demanding equal pay for equal work. Countless resolutions have been passed since. Today equal pay operates mainly within non-industrial employment, in national and local government services, in the nationalised industries and in the professions, including teaching. Exclusions even within this group are the ancillary grades and nurses. Out of 8½ million women at work, 7½ million — mainly industrial workers — get less than their male counterparts. Of these 8½ million only 25% are unionized. No government has yet ratified for International Labour Convention (No. 100 of 1951 on "Equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value," which the member governments were urged to put into practice. A petition signed by hundreds of thousands of men and women was sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by Budget Day 1951 asking for equality of pay for men and women. This was not mentioned in the budget speech and only public pressure led him to agree to equal pay for non-industrial workers in public services by instalments finally achieving equality by April 1962.

Of course the inequalities are worst in industry. An inquiry by the Ministry of Labour showed that for the second week of October 1963, the average weekly earnings for an adult female was 168/3 as against 334/11 for men. Hours worked were respectively 39.7 and 47.6 giving a rate of 4/3 per hour for the female and 7/0½ per hour for the male worker. The surplus value of a female worker is thus considerably greater than that of the male worker. She is doubly exploited — first as a worker, then as a woman.

The facts of the exploitation of female labour could cover pages but a few examples are enough to convince anyone. Half a million skilled female workers in engineering start at a basic wage of £7 8s. 6d., thirty shillings less than the basic male labourer's rate. The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions is pressing for equal pay with men for skilled women. This, if effected, would cost the employers £40 million — another indication of the profits made out of female workers.

The tobacco industry provides an example of an attempt to conceal the discrimination. Here there are more female workers than male workers but they get only 70% of the male's wages. Moreover they are not allowed to do the skilled jobs. A male is given two years' training at full rates on the cutting machines, etc. The female is given six weeks training as a "catcher." This enables her to work the machines which she can do if the man goes for a smoke, or she can help a new machine operator. For this she gets £3 less per week than the male. Bonuses are also calculated on the basic wage so

that the male gets more than his "catcher" — £16-£17 to her £9-£10.

Here are some more examples:

Industry	Male (over 21)	Female (over 18) full time
Food, drink and tobacco	318/2	164/6
Chemicals, etc.	348/2	164/6
Metal manufacturing	358/7	166/4
Clothing and footwear	297/1	161/6
All manufacturing	345/9	168/2
Transport	332/2	231/5
	etc., etc., etc.	

What the figures show is not only that they earn less weekly than the men but also that women are predominantly employed in the lower paid jobs. They are effectively barred from more skilled labour. In the printing industry women cannot be compositors, machine men or correctors. Night work regulations debar them from jobs on newspaper production.

Only 7% of girls leaving school enter into apprenticeship compared with 36% of the boys. Of those who do not get apprenticed half go into the "service" trades, e.g. hairdressing, a quarter into the distributive trades, and the boot and shoe industry, the others into engineering and other trades. Yet the highly skilled jobs are closed to them in the chemical and engineering industries. An enquiry into the employment of technicians in these industries in 1960 revealed that a large firm employed 3,111 women as against 64,772 men.

Discrimination against women is not confined to the working class even though the intensity and consequences may be different, and this is evidence that the problem of women working is a deeply rooted evil of our society over and above the oppression of the working class. Thus, of 785 firms employing 16,000 qualified scientists and engineers, 76% had never employed women. 60% of those who had employed women paid them at lower rates than men. 92% of the women technicians earned less than £20 per week and 60% less than £10 per week. In Medicine, Dentistry, Law, Journalism, Accountancy, Engineering and Banking there are considerably fewer females. They get equal rates but it is interesting that even the "women's" papers have a predominance of male editors. In the teaching profession women predominate, and have the lowest paid jobs (in primary schools, without a degree they receive the lowest rates).

THE SOCIAL POSITION OF YOUTH

It would not be possible to have such blatant discrimination against working women were it not that the woman's status in the society is an inferior one. The whole circumstance of her existence confines her to domestic work and excludes her from any deep and prolonged social participation especially in productive labour. In the field of education the emphasis is on producing girls who can cook and look after a home and family. It is to fit a woman for "her main Role" that as wife and mother. Housecraft is taught in girls' secondary schools — all recently built schools have extensive kitchen facilities, etc. for housecraft training. Girls' schools have a greater shortage of Science staff and facilities (only 13% of L.E.A. schools are adequately provided for Science teaching. 13/6 per boy and 11/6 per girl was spent in 1963 on Science in L.E.A. schools. Although equal numbers of boys and girls take "O" levels more boys than girls take "A" levels. It is still quite widely felt that it is a waste of money to educate girls. Thus the trend continues through further education, apprenticeships and day release schemes — the boys get some sort of training, the girls tend to go into some unskilled job, probably only temporarily until marriage.

Once she marries the girl's position deteriorates — even legally her equality with man is far from absolute. Property regulations rule her out as a juror, as her husband is listed as ratepayer. She is legally entitled — since 1964 — to one half of any savings made out of the housekeeping allowances but not to the contents of the matrimonial home if these were bought out of the "husband's income." For the purposes of taxes she is, if she works, an appendage of her husband. He is responsible for paying her taxes and entitled to any rebates.

He must know her income, even if she does not know his.

As to the vexed problem of children. The father's right to them is absolute unless he has been deprived of them by court order. On the other hand a father is not responsible except monetarily for illegitimate children; even so the mother has first to prove paternity in a court of law. If he fails to pay he can go to prison, but this automatically wipes out his debt. Compare this with the position in socialist countries where the amount to be paid by the father is fixed by law and paid out of state funds, the state then charging the father with the debt.

HOW IS THIS POSITION MAINTAINED

One reason why the working class does not rise up immediately and overthrow the capitalist state is that the bourgeoisie has not only physical control over them but varying degrees of control over their minds as well. A baby is born into the world with the capacity to control his actions. But the structuring of his thinking, the framework of his reasoning and actions is provided by the ideology forming channels of a capitalist state, by people who have already undergone "socialization." The bourgeois "laws" of history and society are provided and later on when the injustices show up the explanation is already built into the person's way of thinking. Of course this does not mean that it is accepted. How much people will accept depends, among other things on their satisfaction with the society. It is more difficult for the worker to accept these explanations than for, say, the intellectual. But Marxist-Leninists must not underestimate the extent to which the bourgeoisie have shaped our thinking, if only because they were first on the scene!

The fact is that in bourgeois societies the ideology is taken as the explanation of the social and economic situation, and not vice versa. This can be beautifully illustrated by many of the things that people believe about coloured people, or about working class people. Coloured people, and working class people, it is thought, have the lowest paid jobs simply because they are good for nothing better. The economic conditions are thereby justified. "The woman question" also, illustrates it. Many people, men and women, believe that women are physically weaker, less rational, etc. with an inclination primarily towards housekeeping and childbearing. It is believed that these characteristics are due to the woman's psychological makeup and immutably determined at birth. This type of theory completely ignores the influence the social environment has in moulding just such a woman. One does not have to involve oneself in nature versus nurture controversies to deny that women have only those capabilities which they have been allowed to show in capitalist societies.

Throughout childhood life parents assisted by schoolteachers do the job of convincing the girl child that her ultimate goal in life is a "good" marriage. But first she must "catch her man." This she soon learns is by using her physical charms. Her brain, we learn, is mainly used to outwit him. This ability is due to intuition which she is born with and not to any power of strategic planning. Also, apparently, faced with any other objective than catching her men and allied goals such as getting new clothes, e.g. she is unable to use this remarkable facility. The mass communication media help her along with fashions, recipes, etc. Any subject which is touched on in the women's programmes is treated so that she can tackle it unless it is related to her main life-work when it is revealed in its full complexity.

And the methods of making women "women" is carried out by even more subtle means. Newsom, author of the report on the education of the "average" child — "Half Our Future" has this to say in the *Observer*: "I believe that in addition to their needs as individuals our girls should be educated in terms of their main social function (A.N.) which is to make themselves, their children and their husbands a secure and suitable home and to be mothers. Theories about the misfortunes that will befall children whose mothers work abound." The final word on the Newsom article was said by a psychologist, again in the *Observer*, under the heading — "The Mothers Children Need." How these intellectuals objectively serve the system is clear.

It is not surprising that many women accept this position and it demonstrates the remarkable resilience of human nature that some do not. This is not intended as a condemnation of those women who do accept the main role as wife and mother. They have precious little choice and to their eternal credit play the part with an incredible dignity, despite everything.

The ideology forming channels pump out this propaganda — that a woman's place is in the home. What are the practical consequences of this for the employer.

1. He pays a lower wage to the woman on the grounds that she cannot be depended upon; since her main role is that of wife and mother her work will

be sacrificed, and she is not likely to give long service. She can be excluded from skilled levels on the grounds of "lack of continuity" and therefore economic wastage. Thus the surplus profit is justified.

2. He also gains a 24 hour unpaid domestic help for the husband without whose services he too would be inefficient. The wife's devotion to husband and children works to the employers advantage.

3. He also maintains a strong force of reaction whose devotion to home and family can be used against organised labour, as in the Fords Dagenham dispute. It said that had the women not been given the vote a Labour government would have been continuously in power (for what it is worth!). Doubtless considerations of this kind and not mere humanitarianism entered into the granting of the franchise to women.

THE SOCIAL SERVICES WORKING WOMEN NEED

It is not impossible with the present resources of the society to ensure full scale participation in productive labour by vast sections of the women, but it is against the interests of the bourgeoisie. When it is in their interest they do utilise women's labour, e.g. the industrial revolution allowed the women's participation in labour. As Marx explained: "In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power it becomes a means of employing labourers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labour of women and children was, therefore the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery." Thus women's participation in productive labour is greater in capitalist societies than in feudal ones. We must not mistake this limited participation for equality, and emancipation.

Women could take a greater part in productive labour were the social services necessary available. Launderettes, vacuum cleaners, drip-dry fabrics, etc. prove that capitalism possesses the technology for freeing women from domestic drudgery. One would expect that in this society nursery facilities could be available. That they should be at the place of work seems almost too much to ask. There are many women, especially teachers who would go out to work were the facilities available for caring for the children. Interestingly enough, when more of the female reserve pool were actually working in industry in 1944 (at the end of the war), there were more than 1,500 day nurseries. By 1962, there were only 467, a reduction of more than two-thirds. Instead of rising the number of children in day nurseries is falling. Of 2,160,000 children in the 2-4 year age group only 237,000 attend nursery schools or classes. Yet the 1944 Education Act stated that it should be one of the duties of the L.E.A.'s to have regard, "To the need for securing that provision is made for pupils who have not attained the age of 5 years by the provision of nursery schools." It is now twenty years later. Economic requirements determine the social services of the society and they do not demand nursery classes or any great participation by women in productive labour.

Yet the cost of living is high and there is a limited demand for women workers. 8,535,000 of the 24,981,000 adult women work. For many women it is essential to work, others supplement the family income. Because of the lack of social services we have a situation where many children are cared for inadequately by unlicensed child minders; where women go out to work before the statutory four weeks after the birth of a child are over, and neither employer, health visitor nor doctor takes the responsibility for seeing that the law is kept. Women work — yes — but under even worse conditions than men.

TRADE UNIONS CATERING FOR WOMEN WORKERS

What is distressing, but not surprising, is that even the trade unions catering for women workers, although supporting the cause of equality, are superficial in their analysis of the problem. They accept that women's participation in productive labour will be at the discretion of the bourgeoisie and also accept the corresponding domestic position of women. They are guilty of a continuing deference to the employers. Thus e.g. in discussing facilities which should be available for the retraining of older women returning to work, they say, "Such facilities should not entail such a financial burden on the employers that it becomes uneconomic for them to employ women."

They agree with the caution of an I.L.O. report that "over concentration on measures to protect the health and welfare of women must have a cumulative effect — creating and continuing discrimination against women in the employment field."

They act on the basic assumption that women must and always will carry the domestic responsibility for the family — and if she works, as well as her husband, the home is still her concern. Accepting the bourgeois conception of marriage they cannot conceive of equal marriage

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WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

This is the revolutionary programme which *The British Road to Socialism* replaced. Part III was published in the December *Vanguard*.

FOR SOVIET BRITAIN

The Programme of the Communist Party adopted at the XIII Congress February 22nd, 1935.

IV TOWARDS WORLD SOCIALISM

THE ending of capitalism in this country will put an end at the same time to the threat of Imperialist wars, to the maintenance of armed forces in preparation for Imperialist war abroad or suppression of the workers at home. The first act of the British Soviet Power will be a declaration of peace with all nations and of the right to complete self-determination, with the right, if they choose, of complete separation for all subject peoples of the former British Empire, and a proposal for immediate, complete and total disarmament. The British Soviets will come before all other nations with clean hands: and they will publish to the world all the secret treaties and agreements of British Imperialism. All the existing armed forces will be disbanded, with full provision of work for the ex-soldiers, ex-sailors, etc. All the firearms held by capitalists will be taken from them, and the workers will be given the arms that are now denied them. Pending the conclusion of international disarmament, a Red Army, Navy, and Air Force will be created, to protect the workers' victories. At the same time the firm policy of the British Workers' Soviets, will be for the Fraternal Unity of all emancipated peoples, for working-class internationalism.

Such a policy and such measures are the strongest possible guarantee against either Imperialist wars or a resumption of civil wars in Britain. There may be, and probably will be, some desperate last stand of groups of counter-revolutionaries with no possibility of receiving their supplies of food, arms and munitions. With the workers in possession of the factories, the fight of any counter-revolutionary group will not last long. There will be stern revolutionary suppression of any former capitalists who tried to overthrow the Workers' Councils (Soviets) in order to regain their former possessions and power.

If any former capitalist Government tries to intervene, and seeks to meet the Peace and Disarmament proposals of the British Soviet Power by an armed attack, then it will be confronted at one and the same time by the power of our Red Army, Navy and Air Force and by the determined opposition of its own workers in the factories and its own workers in uniform. In other words, it will face revolution in its own country.

Can Britain Free Herself?

The belief that a worker's Britain would be starved out before there was time to reorganise has no foundation in fact. At any time in the year there are stocks of all essential foods—such as flour, meat, potatoes, tea, etc.—sufficient to provide supplies at the present rate of consumption for from four to eight months. In the case of meat, the reserves could be extended in time of emergency by the killing of more stock, to be replaced when the emergency was past. Supplies of fish could be quickly and almost indefinitely enlarged. There can therefore be no question of starvation in the weeks immediately following the taking of power by the workers, and the suggestion of it is a bogey raised by capitalists to make a scare against revolution.

But it is true that, although the output of British agriculture can very quickly be raised, the Workers' Councils will in the long run have to arrange for the import of large quantities of foodstuffs, and also of raw materials. Will this be possible?

Unquestionably it will be possible. The precise method which the British Workers' Councils will use in obtaining these supplies by means of Foreign Trade will depend, however, upon the general position in the world outside Britain.

Relations with what is now the British Empire

After taking power, the British Workers' Councils will immediately proclaim the right of all countries now forming part of the British Empire to complete self-determination up to and including complete separation. The British Workers' Councils will hand over, free of charge, all docks, buildings, railways, factories, plantations, canals, irrigation works, etc., etc., that have been constructed from the sweat and blood of the colonial workers and peasants. The immediate guarantee of this will be the withdrawal of all British armed forces and police, and the cancellation of all the claims of British Imperialist finance.

This will mean the withdrawal of all British forces and administrative personnel from Northern Ireland, the abolition of all claim to taxes, land annuities and any other payments; the dropping of the tariffs and all other measures directed against Irish Trade. The British Workers' Councils will do their utmost to develop friendly trading relations, to help Ireland to develop her own industry and culture free from all military or economic and financial interference from Britain.

In regard to India, all troops, police and officials will be withdrawn, and the Indian people will be free to set up their own Government, free from any military, economic or financial interference from Britain. The same principles will be applied to the African and other colonies,

dependencies, dominions and mandated territories in the present British Empire.

Because of the freeing of all parts of the present Empire from the burden of interest on loans, profits taken away by British concerns, and heavy taxation to maintain the British military and civil authorities, it will be possible for the less industrially developed countries to exchange their products for the machinery and other industrial equipment they require in order to build up their own industries. But only in so far as the British workers repudiate imperialist rule and imperialist ideology now, will the colonial countries be willing to exchange their products for British Soviet goods. Given this outlook on the part of British workers, then, in spite of the deep hostility that Imperialism has generated in the colonies, there will be friendly relations with the British Soviets and fraternal interchange of products, whether in fact these former colonies also set up Soviet Governments at once or not.

Relations with Soviet Countries

The U.S.S.R. and any other Soviet countries which may by then exist will not stand aside from a Soviet Britain. After the Revolution in Russia, Soviet Russia was alone in the midst of an entirely hostile world. Each new Soviet country will find the existence of the U.S.S.R. a tremendous help in overcoming any trading obstacles in the months immediately following the taking of power by the workers. The U.S.S.R. and other Soviet countries will undoubtedly supply a Soviet Britain with her requirements of food and raw materials, in return for British coal, machinery, etc., even if at first the remaining capitalist countries refused to trade.

Relations with other (Capitalist) Countries

But it is not likely that any remaining capitalist countries will be in a position to refuse to trade with a Soviet Britain. Economic reasons alone will compel them to trade. For example, the Argentine would face immediate ruin if it interrupted its trade with Britain in foodstuffs and raw materials in return for British manufactured goods. But there will also be the pressure from their own workers, which would be far more insistent in the case of a Soviet Britain than in the case of Soviet Russia.

The taking of power by the workers in Britain will be an event which will rouse not only the present Colonial peoples but the workers in every country. Every existing capitalist Government will be shaken. Far from there being any possibility of foreign intervention or trade boycott, it is certain that the revolutionary wave will very quickly overwhelm the capitalist system in every other country.

And this will mean the end of armaments, the end of War, the end of competition between rival imperialist groups, the end of subjection of one people by another.

It will mean the beginning of ordered peace and plenty for all the inhabitants of the earth, the beginning of brotherly co-operation between the peoples of the earth, the beginning of a world Socialist Society.

The New Social Order

Not only economic security, not only ever increasing comfort and leisure, not only the day's labour turned from useless grinding toil into useful work—but a far wider prospect is opened up. For these new material conditions will be but the basis for the most rapid intellectual and cultural development of the whole population. The new generation of children will be born into a new world. The building of a free Socialist Britain will lead the whole human race forward towards a new world. This is the new world of which the Russian workers are already laying down the foundations. This is the new world for which many generations of British workers have

struggled. It is for us in our generation to bring this new world into being.

V THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The fight against Fascism and War, and the overthrow of capitalist rule by the working class, as well as the change to Socialism in Britain, depend on the strengthening in Britain of the working-class Party, which sees clearly the alternatives before the workers and carries out a policy which prepares the working class for the taking of power.

Revolution becomes possible when there is a complete break-down of the authority of the ruling class, when the working class is not prepared to live any longer under intolerable conditions and has a will to overthrow capitalism, and, most important of all, when there exists a revolutionary party of the working class steered in struggle and capable of leading the workers to victory. Without such a party all the other conditions for revolution may be present, but the capitalists will not be finally overthrown. This is the lesson of all the revolutions in history.

A revolutionary party of the working class cannot be grown overnight. It arises from the class struggle; and it develops with the development of the class struggle. In the struggle against Fascism and War, in the fight against capitalism, that party is now being built. The revolutionary party should embrace the best elements, those whose revolutionary spirit and devotion to the cause of their class have made them a vanguard for the working class in its struggle. But to be a vanguard means not only to struggle, but to know how to struggle, to have an understanding of the laws of development of society and of the laws of revolution.

Therefore, the revolutionary party is based on the work of those who first taught how society develops and changes, on the revolutionary science of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, developed and enriched both in theory and practice by Lenin and Stalin. This enables the Party to be a real vanguard, to foresee the course of the working-class movement and its general results. Thus, it was a revolutionary working-class party which foresaw the danger of Fascism in this country and warned the working class while the Labour Party (with Mosley a member of it) was prophesying that there never would be a Fascist danger in Britain.

The revolutionary party has no interests apart from those of the working class as a whole. Such a party draws on itself the bitter enmity of the capitalists who strive by every means to suppress it, to slander it with their million-fold newspapers and other agencies, to overcome its influence on the workers. Capitalist hatred weeds out any weaklings in the ranks of the revolutionary party. These things alone are a guarantee that the workers' revolutionary party will not betray the interests of the working class

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partners. Thus "There is great measure of sympathy towards the problems which most women have in attending meetings because of their domestic responsibilities"; and "A woman doing two jobs, at work and in the home may also not want employment which will tax her mental capabilities to the limit."

One feels tempted to recommend a course of education for the male trade unionists. We cannot agree that "only trade union membership and trade union activity will achieve true equality." Although this is one of the bargaining areas in which the cause of equal wages is fought, it is precisely because of the limited analysis that the T.U.C. makes that true equality cannot be achieved.

"The emancipation of women will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time." (Engels.) The emancipation of women is a task for Marxist-Leninists especially and finally during socialist reconstruction, and will not come by compromise and conciliation with the capitalist class.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WOMAN'S POSITION

In his essay "On the origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State" Engels described the historical development of the present status of women (and it has changed relatively little since he wrote). He described how men became the controllers of production when societies changed from existing by hunting to existing by agriculture. Since the tending of the herds was the man's job, any surplus wealth obtained from them became his. The division of labour within the family led to the supremacy of the man and as the wealth increased so the position of the man in the family was strengthened. This led to the development of the monogamous family as we know it today. "The express purpose being to produce children of undisputed paternity; such paternity is demanded because later these children are to come into their father's property as his natural heirs."

And from such beginnings we have the position of women as they are today

—for it has no other interests.

Such a revolutionary party is an absolute necessity for the victory of the working class. Without it all the complicated situations, the difficulties of the class struggle, the need of new strategy and tactics, of defensive methods and offensive methods cannot be solved. "An army at war," said Stalin, "cannot do without a General Staff unless it wishes to be beaten. Very much more so the working class cannot do without one unless it wishes to deliver itself, bound hand and foot, to its enemies. But where is this General Staff to be found? Only in the revolutionary party. Without it the working class is an army without a leader."

In Britain this Party is the Communist Party—the British section of the Communist International, which unites the revolutionary working-class parties in all countries.

The strengthening of the Communist Party is the necessary first step in the fight of the British working class for Socialism. Already the Communist Party has been able, because its policy is identical with the real interests of the working class, to play a leading part in organising the workers to defend their interests in industrial struggles against Fascism and the National Government.

If every worker who believes that the policy and programme stated in this pamphlet is correct, will join the Communist Party and help it in the vitally important work of organising and preparing the working class for Socialism, the effectiveness of its work will be enormously increased, and the fight against capitalism will enter a new stage.

Tremendous events are taking place abroad. The working class of Russia is going from triumph to triumph in the building of a Socialist Society. In China a Large Soviet area already exists; in Germany, Austria, Spain and other countries the working class is preparing for the overthrow of capitalism.

The next break through by the workers in any large country will give a tremendous impetus to the growth of the revolutionary working-class movement in every other capitalist country. Britain will not remain untouched; in fact, intervention by the British imperialists is likely to raise the question of immediate mass action by the British workers. To prepare for this situation, to use the short time that still remains before new revolutions and wars shake international capitalism to its foundations, is the urgent duty of every working-class militant and Socialist.

We therefore appeal to every class-conscious worker to join the Communist Party without delay, knowing that by taking this step they are strengthening the only Party that can lead the working class to victory—the Party of Lenin, of Stalin, and of Dimitrov—the International Party of the revolutionary working class.

since that time excluded from production. And it is because we see this historic and economic determination of the women's position that our approach is to be distinguished from feminism.

WHY MOBILISE THE WOMEN

The answer to that is simple and convincing. Because Marxist-Leninists seek to end the injustices and miseries of this society. Because they are committed to the cause of all oppressed classes, whether national minorities, coloured people, or women, the cause of whose inferior position lies in the economic organisation of the capitalist society and its domination by a few. Because they cannot ignore this large group making up half of mankind. "Working women... are the greatest reserve of the working class. This reserve constitutes a good half of the population. The fate of the proletarian movement, the victory or defeat of the proletarian revolution, the victory or defeat of proletarian power depends on whether the reserve of women will be for or against the working class" (Stalin).

After a socialist society has been achieved our task in relation to the women is different. Then we will, having enlisted their support in our struggle, so reorganise our society that women become also deeply involved in it. By this means we will bring about the disappearance of the ways of thinking which have helped to keep her in a subordinate position. In the meantime we must win the women to our cause by identifying ourselves with her efforts to improve her status in this society, and thus demonstrate that her cause is in reality a part of our working class struggle. We cannot allow the mothers of our children to remain politically backward.

We must demand EQUALITY FOR WOMEN IN WORK, EDUCATION, AND BEFORE THE LAW. EQUAL PAY AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRY. ADEQUATE SOCIAL SERVICES TO FREE HER FROM THE SHACKLES OF DOMESTICITY.

Just as the working class will never be free unless it frees women, so women will never be free until the organised working class—men and women—take up their cause.

AHILYA NOONE



For the Arab girl, water is a luxury, as in the times of the Old Testament



Hunger and poverty, in lands swimming in oil

SUPPORT THE PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM



Imperialism in the Arab lands is oil, plus a King, plus Western money, plus Western Armed Forces

ARAB AGAINST ISM!



Arabs are proud, brave people — with a splendid age-old culture many claim descent from the Crusaders. Note the sword hilt in the shape of a cross



For the Oil Princes — Shining cars and money is no object



Kuwait — Sheikdom built on oil, riches for a corrupt few — misery for the many. The contrast is stark and brutal

IN THE LAND OF 1,001 NIGHTMARES

IT was the Middle East that gave birth to the three great religions of the one God. In our own time it became the fountainhead and shrine of a fourth: OIL. It contains 75 per cent of the "Western" world's proved oil reserves. The right to extract and profit from this enormously valuable material does not belong to the half-starved millions of the Middle East. It belongs entirely to seven companies operating around the Persian Gulf.

These giant trusts are the omnipotent and omnipresent dictators behind official governments. In control of a network which spreads over the five continents, and in which British and American interests both interlock and compete, they present the most powerful pressure group behind the decisions of the State Department and of Whitehall.

Oil, however, is not the only cause that spurs the West not to loosen its grip on the area. Even before oil was found, the Middle East as Europe's gate to India, represented one of the world's most coveted regions. "The power," in the words of Napoleon, that controls the Middle East, dominates the world. Britain realised what Napoleon and Germany failed to achieve and in the course of the nineteenth century she brought, by various means, the largest part of the region under her control. After World War I, she emerged as the unchallenged military power in Iraq, Egypt, Palestine, South Arabia and the Persian Gulf.

Western interests in the Middle East have not changed since the days of Napoleon; on the contrary the importance of the region grew immensely. The Suez Canal remained the channel through which the largest tonnage of raw-material is shipped to the West. Despite the liquidation of formal colonialism in India and Malaya, the two countries remained of paramount value to the West, both as sources of raw material and as fields for investment.

But to present the Middle East from the economic point of view only, or as a transport route is an oversimplification. Oil is not only a financial asset, but like uranium or bauxite military material, 25 per cent of U.S. oil consumption alone goes into the war business. The strategical importance of oil is only out-matched by the strategical significance of the region: The "West's" frontier with Russia. The concurrence of so many vital factors has turned the Middle East into a key area in the imperialist world.

It entails not only the plunder of the oil wealth; not only the provocative alliances between oil companies and reactionary rulers; not simply the employment of Israel, as the West's watchdog and reliable military accomplice; not only the establishment of rocket installations, military aerodromes and bases armed with nuclear weapons, but above all by the everpresent U.S. Sixth Fleet, which in the words of the "Times" (8.8.61) "is always ready."

Capable of delivering in a single attack more destructive power than that which was unleashed, by all the airforces combined, in World War II. The Sixth Fleet can shift from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, without asking permission from anyone."

Imperialism, in connivance with its stooges, kept the Arab people in poverty, fear and bondage by merciless repression. Not a year has passed without bloodshed, without mass-executions, without reprisal-raids against those elements which did not accept the rape of their countries.

THE WASHINGTON—WALL STREET OFFENSIVE

The British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin called once the Middle East the "throat" of the British Empire. In more recent years U.S. imperialism has laid none too gentle hands on that throat, and the Palestine issue has provided one of the earliest vehicles for the American advance into the area.

It began several years before the Balfour Declaration, that ominous document which was to engender one of the most vicious conflicts of our time, saw the light of day. In 1913, Standard Oil of New York decided to buy seven oil concessions in the Negev and some minerals around the Dead Sea from some Ottoman subjects. After World War I, when Britain had conquered Palestine, those possessions became the object of prolonged negotiations between Whitehall and the State Department, and the matter was only resolved after the U.S. Oil Co. cut in on the Iraqi Petroleum Co. which acquired the Palestine concessions.

THE KING CRANE COMMISSION: BLUE PRINT FOR "HOLY" WAR

In 1919 President Wilson appointed the so-called King Crane commission to study and advise on the future of Syria and Palestine. The head of the team was very appropriately a doctor of divinity: Dr. Henry C. King, the religious director of the U.S. Expeditionary Forces; the other two representatives were from more profane walks of life:

Mr. Charles Crane, a Chicago millionaire and manufacturer of valves, and its technical consultant was the U.S. secret agent William Yale, a former representative of the Standard Oil Co. in the Middle East and at the same time his country's military observer to General Allenby's army in Palestine.

The problem which these gentlemen were debating was whether it was advisable to place Syria, Lebanon and Palestine jointly under and American mandate, or whether Palestine be separated from the other two. It was the proposal of the Standard Oil man which was accepted. "Palestine," he declared, "should be separate from Syria and allowed to develop into a Jewish State under a British Mandate. A Jewish State will inevitably fall under the control of American Jews, who will work out along Jewish lines American ideals and civilisation; Palestine will thus develop into an outpost in the Orient."

The U.S. followed the advice of the perceptive secret agent and ex-Standard Oil man who had worked out the blueprint for the Zionist State at a time when many of those who were to become the actors in the ensuing tragedy—were not even born.

During the inter-war years the Americans were satisfied to leave the ungrateful task, of taking direct responsibility in Palestine, to Britain, while they concentrated on economic penetration. In 1924, the U.S. signed a treaty with Britain consenting to the action of the League of Nations in granting her the mandate over Palestine.

Those were the years when the Americans wanted to make the Arabs believe that Uncle Sam was not only richer but kinder and more humane than their older acquaintance John Bull. Once of course, the Americans entered World War II, they moved into the Middle East with full power; partly directly, partly through the Zionist State; partly under U.N. cover; partly through Arab reactionaries they consolidated their financial and military penetration in the Arabian peninsula.

While Arabs, Tommies and Jews were obliged to cut each others throat in the "holy" land, quiet envoys of the oil companies and the defence departments, "archeologists," "ornithologists" or "simple" gentlemen converted to Islam were exploring the desert for its hidden treasures.

STANDARD OIL BREAKS INTO SAUDI ARABIA

Colonel T. E. Lawrence was probably the most flamboyant figure, among Britain's special emissaries into the Arabian peninsula, and the only one who was made a hero of a prize-winning British movie picture. His two colleagues Glubb-Pasha (Gen. J. B. Glubb), the commander of the Arab Legion and H. St. John Philby, the British adviser to King Saud failed to appeal to movieland's historians. Lawrence of Arabia died young, and remained a legendary figure. Not so Glubb-Pasha who had to give way when the people of Jordan decided to replace the British general by a Jordanian in 1957.

St. John Philby, on the other hand, an eminent scholar and explorer in his own right, fell into disgrace when his friend and protégé King Saud, who for many years had been on the British pay-roll, contemptuous of the meagre £5,500,000 which he had received from London, succumbed to the temptations of the dollar and opened the unlimited resources of his country to Standard Oil and Yankee imperialism.

The fatal year was 1931, when the world economic crisis began even to hit King Saud, who's lucrative traditional income, derived from the pilgrims' offerings in Mecca, shrunk more and more. The plight of the noble monarch did not pass unnoticed and one fine day rescue came in the person of our old friend Charles Crane the Chicago man whom we had met in Palestine. The cordial American millionaire did not conceal his sympathy for the Arabs and his concern for the financial difficulties of the King. He made the generous offer to dispatch without expense to the King—mining engineers to explore the country for oil. After some tactful bargaining between His Majesty and the oil

company, it was agreed that a sum of £50,000 be paid (in gold) into the royal purse by Standard Oil of New York—in exchange for some of the world's greatest oil wealth. St. John Philby was asked to leave Saudi Arabia, and the ARAMCO or Arabian American Oil Co. (a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New York and California) moved into Saudi Arabia.

THE ARAMCO EMPIRE

The ARAMCO concessions cover an area of 440,000 square miles. This is one sixth of the area of the United States. It is the largest exclusive concession in the world, and after Kuwait—which is also 50 per cent American owned—the most profitable. The concession will not expire before 1999. The vast empty spaces are furthermore, of advantage for military purposes; they offer unlimited space for aerodromes, storage of war-material, etc. Within its Saudi Arabian bridgehead U.S. imperialism feels safely entrenched, like in its own home.

The creation of an oil industry necessitated the introduction of semi-skilled workers from the neighbouring countries; the emergence of a labour force—despite precautions and prohibitions—creates inevitably a labour movement. The oil workers became a big force in the National Liberation Movement. Since 1953 they have been carrying on a fight for the right to organise, for decent housing, for better wages and against the high-handed interference of the ARAMCO into the daily lives of the people.

INFERNAL CONDITIONS

What is life like for him who drills the oil, and builds the roads to success of the others? He is housed in bare huts exposed to the deadly heat in summer and to bitter cold in wintry nights. Far away from his family and from his village he lives near the oil-fields in the huge desert of Saudi Arabia. No shops, no little corner-bars to cheer him up. . . . So he depends on the oil company to supply him with his daily needs. They receive him twice: as a worker and as a customer. The meals in the canteen are appalling the company store is rapacious and the medical services are inadequate.

We have to understand the bitterness of the oil-worker. He is not a fool. He knows well enough that the infernal conditions in Saudi Arabia are the result of the "holy" alliance between the court camarilla and the Americans. He sees the Americans living in air-conditioned houses; driving private cars at the expense of the company; their clubs have a first class restaurant service; fresh food is flown in daily; there are swimming pools and cinemas to which he will never have access. Undoubtedly the Americans brought good things to Saudi Arabia but they keep them for themselves and the handful of stooges they need.

As no constitutional channels for ventilating their grievances were open to them the oil workers had to take recourse to direct action. Waves of strikes were answered with bloody repression, until in July 1956, as a counter-measure against the growing upsurge of the labour movement a ban on strikes was enforced. Persistent demands for a labour legislation, resulted in the Pakistani expert, Sheikh Mohammed Aslam, being entrusted with the task of producing a labour charter designed to protect the workers' rights.

Still the charter was never implemented. Neither the king in his palace nor the management of the ARAMCO want to be bothered. What they believe in is police repression.

At the end of May 1964, the oil-workers confronted the company with a leaflet which they circulated, and in which they stated their grievances and their demands. It was followed up by a partial strike and a boycott of the "amenities" which the oil-company had put at the disposal of the workers. The ARAMCO ordered at once the Chief of the Intelligence Service Omar Shams, to arrest a large number of workers and their sympathisers.

The terror regime of the ARAMCO brings more and more people into the resistance movement and Prince Feisal let it leak out through the government controlled press, that they will not spare the lives of those "guilty of spreading discontent." The unfortunate people who are desperately craving for an amelioration of their situation are, according to the official Saudi Government Gazette, "stirred up and incited by fanatics and agitators, inspired by the ideology of a sinful Jew." As if rebellions against despotism, in Arabia as elsewhere had not occurred in pre-Marxian days! A man who puts up with injustice and humiliation, a man who does not revolt when his children starve while others feast, is not a good Moslem, but a first-rate coward.

THE DESERT IS AWARE

World public opinion is prone to underrate the political ferment brewing in the oil-fields of Saudi Arabia. This is due to the heavy censorship which the authorities imposed on the country. What does the Western press write about these lands? Of course, there are sometimes stories about the corrupt sheikhs who squander millions on luxury yachts, fleets of cadillacs and concubines. With "righteous indignation" the squalor of the poor and the indifference of the "oil-sheikhs on the Cote Azur" is made complaint of.

"Traditions are deep-rooted and change will come only very gradually" write those who don't want to see change taking place. Why otherwise, don't they give publicity and support to the heroism of those who stand up for the rights of their people? Why don't they tell us the stories and show us the pictures of the men who are imprisoned for their beliefs?

By courtesy of "Free South Arabia"

Chinese prisoners in Brazil

We strongly protest against the imprisonment of the Chinese citizens in Brazil. We join the very wide sections of world public opinion in demanding that they be immediately released.

The Secretariat,
Committee for Communist Unity.

Support for Congo Patriots

Telegram sent to National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on December 16, 1964:

We send, from this public meeting of workers in London, warm fraternal greetings to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on the occasion of its fourth anniversary. Your victory over United States Imperialism will not be long delayed. We shall do all in our power to aid you in your heroic struggle.

Michael McCreery (Secretary)
Committee for Communist Unity.

AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM

Telegram sent to National Liberation Front of the Congo on December 16, 1964:

From this public meeting of workers in London we send warm fraternal greetings to all those fighting for the liberation of the Congo. We shall do all in our power to advance the day of complete victory over Imperialism in the Congo, and in all of Africa.

Michael McCreery (Secretary)
Committee for Communist Unity.

Guerilla war in Colombia

One more spark has been thrown into the Latin American tinder-box. This time it comes from Colombia. There, in the high Andes, armed peasants have risen against the latifundists, set up their own government and organised their own guerilla army. Holding out against numerous punitive expeditions, they have gone on to draft an agrarian programme for land distribution and protection of the oppressed Indian communities. A recent statement issued by guerilla commander Manuel Marulanda and other peasant leaders pointed out that because reactionary violence has blocked the peaceful, legal path, "We are forced to take another road: the revolutionary way of seizing state power through armed struggle."

Bahrein — Petty cash for standard oil

HIS Highness Sheikh Isa bin Sulman Al Khalifa, the Ruler of Bahrein, a loyal subject of H.M.G. and an obedient servant of the U.S. owned Bahrein Petroleum Co. is certainly one of the least popular figures in his country. He has recently honoured us with his visit and the *Guardian* used the auspicious occasion to acquaint its readers with the small island in the Persian Gulf by a four page special supplement compiled by its resourceful contributors.

Only rarely does the press mention those parts of the world, and information leaks out, only occasionally, from the company reports of the oil trusts in the financial columns of the more exclusive newspapers. Now and then a name like Kuwait, Bahrein or the Persian Gulf appears on the headlines of the evening papers; usually in connection with troop movements and naval operations... the Stock Exchange reacts to the news as if it were a seismic shock... with ordinary people the news fails to register.

Britain's second Gulf Stream

Most people in England are quite unaware that our climate isn't really "ours": were it not for the warm current from the Gulf of Mexico our winters would be arctic and our fuel bills a great deal higher. While we do not agree with those who want to make us believe that "were it not for the sterling oil from the Persian Gulf, our living standard would fall like Britain's temperature without the Gulf Stream, we have to admit that the Persian Gulf possessions are England's most valuable colonies; more valuable than all her other assets put together. The Persian Gulf is the "Oil Empire," where the British fleet is stationed; where nuclear bases are under construction; where companies rule and profits decide... what a good fortune that the warm waters from the Gulf of Mexico cannot be exploited by private companies... were it possible our military budget would be higher still.

Well, Britain has been in power here since 1880, when several treaties were signed, whereby without British consent, nothing whatsoever is allowed. *The Guardian* soothingly advises us not to worry unduly: "... neither of these agreements has limited the Ruler's discretion to act in his subject's interests; he has for instance always done his best to maintain close and cordial relations with the Saudi King whose oil is operated, was to be paid (in gold) into the royal in the Bahrein refinery which is "100% American owned." (It must have escaped the author that the Ruler's subjects are Arabs not Americans.)

"The atmosphere of peace and prosperity owes much to the island's oil" the article continues, but it doesn't explicitly state that this prosperity is mainly confined to the territory within the palace gates, and what he regards as "peace" is the quiet — after or before a storm — and a result of police repression.

The "State of Emergency" has not been lifted since 1956; Bahrein has neither a constitution nor a code of law; strikes and trade unions are banned; so are demonstrations, political parties and meetings; the absence of a free press adds to the stagnation which the *Guardian* mistakenly represents as "tranquility."

"Just Petty Cash"

To the owners of the Bahrein Petroleum Co. Bahrein's oil-fields are, of course, just petty cash. What else can they be to the sharks of Standard Oil with their possessions in Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Indonesia, Libya, Colombia, etc., etc.? Mr. McCone alone, the director of the C.I.A. owns £375,000 of stock of that company. Can we be surprised that Washington, that champion of the "Free World," is now the gaoler-in-chief of the Arab peoples?

Considering that Bahrein is a "British Protected State," one begins to wonder what apart of the dynasty and the U.S. owned oil company do British forces protect there? James Belgrave, the son of Sir Charles, who had been the British resident in Bahrein for over thirty years, makes the very pertinent remark: "... many islanders have an inclination to live beyond their means." Which islanders does he mean? The Bahreinis or the British with military commitments far beyond their resources. Part of the British military expense account is of course covered by the deposit of the Sheikh's "surplus royalties" with the Bank of England.

The Bahreinis are anything but "contented" as the *Guardian* wants to make us believe. On the contrary: they are determined to liberate themselves from their "protectors" and from the humiliating and enslaving treaties which were signed a century ago over their heads by a shortsighted and ignorant ruler. The development of the island's oil resources for the benefit of the national economy is a basic demand of the National Liberation Movement.

A BALANCE SHEET OF AN OIL STATE

Bahrain is an independent state under British protection since 1861. The population is 150,000; mainly Arabs with an indigenous Persian minority and a handful of Indians and Europeans.

Main revenue: OIL. Drilling started in 1932. The Bahrain Petroleum Co. is Canadian by nationality. American in management; administrative and technical staff mainly British.

Arabs have not been trained to hold responsible jobs; they supply the subordinate personal.

Oil Royalties rose from \$1 million in 1948 to \$13 millions in 1959.

Many people may never have heard, or thought about, what life in a so-called independent state under British Protection is like. We believe that liberal minded people in Britain will be startled when they learn of the appalling condition and treatment the inhabitants of such a state are being subjected to; it appears to us particularly ridiculous that British personal are being used where the profits flow largely into American pockets.

Government:

Power lies in the hands of a British Political Resident appointed by H.M.G. He is the grey eminence behind the ruler, and he directs the internal affairs of the state. A rough list of other British personal include:

1. the Secretary to the government: responsible for all decisions.
2. the Legal Adviser who sits in court to advise the judiciary during all civil and political trials.
3. the Personal and Immigration Officer, linked to the C.I.D. (When people are arrested their case is handled by a British officer.)

How does this set-up affect the every day life of Bahraini citizens?

At present all political activities are banned. **Trade Unions:** banned. **Political Meetings:** banned. **Press:** only one paper, published by the Oil Company appears.

Social Clubs: permission for the opening of clubs has to be applied for, and more often than not, permission will be refused.

Legal Defence: Bahraini citizens who had qualified for the bar are not permitted to appear in court or practice. They have to find work elsewhere.

Education: Everything is being done to keep the indigenous population in darkness, 80% of the people are illiterate. 60% of all pupils leave school after a very rudimentary education. The emphasis is on religion, instead of on scientific subjects and mathematics.

One Catholic school caters for the children of Europeans and the rich. Classes in elementary schools are overcrowded. (Up to 60 children in one classroom.)

* Muslim News International, May 1961. There exists one secondary school only.

The Salaries of indigenous teachers are severely inadequate.

Employment: people applying for jobs have often to produce a certificate of "clearance" from the C.I.D.

The Budget: The most provocative of the system is the way how the 13 million dollars — the oil royalties — are being used.

1. One-third goes into the pockets of the ruler.
2. One-third is deposited in U.K.
3. One-third goes to the government of Bahrain.

Again one-third of that sum is allocated for the police.

It so happens that of the 13 million dollars, only 2.89 millions are left for the benefit of the country.

The net result of this iniquitous distribution of wealth means that while the ruler receives 4,400,000 dollars per year social benefits to the average Bahraini amount only to 20 dollars a year. While the police force costs 1,400,000 dollars per year.

One need not have strong egalitarian convictions to be roused by the wickedness of the system. It is not surprising that the vast majority of the people are determined to change it.

(By courtesy of Free South Arabia)

RUMANIA BACKS CHINESE SUMMIT PROPOSAL

PREMIER Chou En-lai of the State Council of the People's Republic of China has received a letter of reply from Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic, to his message of October 17, 1964. The full text of the reply, dated December 11, reads as follows:

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated October 17, 1964 and the statement of the government of the People's Republic of China on the first atom bomb test and its position on nuclear weapons.

The government of the Rumanian People's Republic understands the points expressed by the government of the People's Republic of China. In the face of the intensified arms race by the imperialist aggressive groupings taking part in military blocs and the continued growth of nuclear forces and danger of nuclear war, the government of the People's Republic of China cannot remain indifferent and was compelled to test its own atom bomb. As a result of the nuclear weapon test, the People's Republic of China joined the ranks of nuclear powers.

The government of the Rumanian People's Republic notes with particular satisfaction the position of the Chinese government for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and takes note of the solemn declaration in the letter that China will at no time and in no circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Rumanian government endorses the viewpoints expressed in your letter that prevention of a nuclear war and destruction of nuclear weapons are the common aspirations of all peace-loving countries and peoples and that all efforts must be made continuously to achieve the prohibition and destruction of such weapons.

Proceeding from the due obligations of every country towards the defence of peace, the Rumanian People's Republic resolutely struggles to realise general and complete disarmament, to ease international tension, and to safeguard and consolidate the peaceful climate in the world. We maintain that one should advance along this path patiently and steadfastly and take whatever measures

that are aimed at eliminating the danger of the outbreak of a thermo-nuclear war.

Giving expression to the Rumanian people's desire for peace, the government of the Rumanian People's Republic favours the convocation of a summit conference of all the countries of the world to discuss the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The aim of the first phase of the conference will be the reaching of an agreement on the banning of the use of nuclear weapons.

With the assurances of my highest consideration.

(HSINHUA)

A striking confirmation!

From a recent Committee for Communist Unity public leaflet (November 1964) "A BOGUS CHOICE."

"In the recent General Election, the working-class and people of Britain were once again offered a bogus choice between Parties whose programmes differ only marginally. Tory, Labour, Liberal, they work up much sound and fury in attacking each other, particularly during the Election period, but on the essential issues they are in agreement. They all agree on the need to maintain the capitalist system in Britain."

From the "Times" (top newspaper of the "Establishment" in Britain, December 1964):

"The Electorate invited to choose between three closely similar versions of "radicalism," preferred the Parties with the most substantial claims to be considered radical: if there was to be a new political outlook, better that it should be embodied in new men.

Yes, precisely! New men, old radical promises and the self-same policies, at home and overseas, to serve the ends of capitalism.

Who was it who once said: "The exploiters will do anything and everything for the workers — except get off their backs!"

Charter of the National Liberation Front of Bahrain

1. For an independent, sovereign and democratic state of Bahrain.
2. To abrogate the humiliating treaty of "protection," imposed by British imperialism.
3. The removal of the British and U.S. bases and of foreign troops from our country.
4. The removal of British administrators and their stooges from government offices.
5. To set up a democratically elected government and to introduce a constitution, in accordance with the will of the people of Bahrain.
6. To develop our economy, build up on our national resources.
7. For a fair distribution of the lands and an agricultural reform.
8. To liberate the people from the strings of the foreign monopolists and banks.
9. To create an educational system based on our national heritage, and open it up to all without discrimination.
10. Equal rights for women in all fields: politically, socially and economically.
11. For co-operation between all Arab countries and the pooling of our resources to raise the standard of living all over the Arab world.
12. To struggle for and support everywhere a policy of independence, democracy, peace and progress.

HELP MAINTAIN "VANGUARD"

We ask all those who believe that "Vanguard" has a role to play in the class struggle to guarantee a regular sum each month.

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

NOTE TO BRITAIN AND U.S.S.R.

Addressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China, Britain and U.S.S.R.

HANOI, DECEMBER 18, 1964

Messrs. Co-Chairmen,

I wish to draw your particular attention to the very serious development of the situation in South Vietnam and in Indo-China due to the dangerous schemes of the U.S. Government.

Since early December 1964, the White House and the Saigon stooge administration have successively issued statements reaffirming their policy of pursuing and stepping up the aggressive war in South Vietnam, along with their scheme of extending it over the whole of Indo-China. Western papers and news agencies have also disclosed that the U.S. Government is to introduce into South Vietnam thousands of additional U.S. troops and a great quantity of means of warfare, especially aircraft, and to extend increased "aid" to the South Vietnam administration with a view to raising by 100,000 men the strength of the puppet army which already numbers over 600,000. In addition, the Saigon puppet administration has admitted that joint U.S.-Vietnamese plans are being worked out, under which its armed forces are to undertake joint actions with the pro-U.S. forces in Laos against the so-called "supply bases in Southern Laos."

In addition, the U.S. Government is making continued efforts to drag its allies or satellites in the aggressive military blocs of SEATO and NATO into its dirty war in South Vietnam.

To cover up these aggressive bellicose schemes and to prepare public opinion for new acts of war against North Vietnam and the areas controlled by the Neo Lao Haksat and the neutralist party in Laos, the U.S. imperialists and their stooges have resorted to all kinds of vile slanders against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; they have produced before the U.N. General Assembly false evidences about the so-called use of the Laotian territory by North Vietnam to supply the patriotic forces in South Vietnam.

In the meantime, in South Vietnam, U.S. and puppet troops have intensified terrorist raids, while the dictatorial Tran Van Huong administration under the guise of a civilian government is taking fascist measures of terror against all social strata in towns and cities: enforcement of martial law, closing down of newspapers and schools, ruthless repression of Buddhists and students. . . .

It is noteworthy that in their attempt to carry out their scheme of extending the war, the U.S. imperialists have sought to hide their criminal hands by using their agents in South Vietnam to undertake new adventurist military activities against North Vietnam and the Laotian territory. They have also incited these agents to co-ordinate their actions with the pro-U.S. forces in Laos, thus constituting a kind of aggressive military alliance, which is strictly prohibited by

the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China.

But, no matter what perfidious tricks they may resort to, the U.S. imperialists cannot evade their responsibility of having unleashed and waged the aggressive war in South Vietnam, and of pushing ahead now with measures aimed at intensifying and extending the war over the whole of Indo-China in an attempt to turn the tide of their predicament in South Vietnam.

The Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Vietnam and of 1962 on Laos are being subjected to continued and most serious violations by the U.S. Government and the South Vietnam puppet administration. The South Vietnamese people's national rights are being grossly infringed; the peace and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the Indo-Chinese and South-East Asian peoples as well, are being threatened more heavily than ever.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam strongly denounces to the Co-Chairmen and world public opinion, and energetically protests against this extremely dangerous policy of aggression pursued by the U.S. Government and the fascist dictatorial measures taken by the South Vietnam puppet administration.

Together with the Laotian and Cambodian peoples, the whole Vietnamese people constantly heighten their vigilance and strengthen their unity in the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, to safeguard their sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity, and to defend peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia. This just struggle which enjoys active support from the peoples of the socialist countries and the peace, freedom, and justice-loving forces all over the world, will certainly win complete victory.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam earnestly requests the Co-Chairmen to pay particular attention to this extremely grave situation, and to urgently take effective measures with a view to securing from the U.S. Government abandonment of its aggressive designs, withdrawal of all U.S. troops, arms and other means of warfare from South Vietnam whose people must be allowed to settle by themselves their own affairs, immediate ending of adventurist military acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Vietnam and of 1962 on Laos which it has undertaken to respect.

I take this opportunity to renew to the Co-Chairmen the assurances of my highest consideration.

XUAN THUY

Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrades,

I would like to express my thanks to your paper, the *Vanguard*.

I would also like to take this opportunity to extend to all of you warm greetings from the true Marxist-Leninists here in Holland. . . .

Rotterdam.

Dear Comrades,

I am writing to you after a long time as I have been very busy with our recent 7th Party Congress.

This Congress was a great success in Calcutta, representing a big leap forward and making a call for left unity. For full particulars, I will be sending you the final Party Programme as soon as it comes out from the press. I shall also try to send you other pamphlets with it.

I would also inform you that the Dange clique are holding their Congress in Bombay; they seem very desperate, finding their support so low among the proletariat; they are using obscene language as was never heard by the people.

I am getting my *Vanguard* regularly; as yet there is no complaint about it.

Yours fraternally,
M.K. (Bombay)
December 12, 1964

Editor's Note:

The last sentence had a prophetic hint. Within a few days of its being written, whilst the Revisionist followers of Dange have been unmolested (so far) hundreds of militant Communists have been arrested and now lie in gaol.

Dear Sir,

I am very fond of political poetry and I hope that you continue to include such poetry in *Vanguard*.

In view of the revisionist slanging of Stalin, do you not think it suitable to include articles explaining some of his virtues and achievements?

Yours fraternally,
Vince Wilson.

Dear Comrade,

The point made by reader R. Alderson in December's *Vanguard* is a valid one for certainly neither bourgeois party's nuclear programme can be justly described "unilateralist," as this label is now understood to mean much more than dependence on the Overlord's nuclear arsenal. Whichever subtle approach is adopted in the purely theoretical polemic of the artificial dissension amongst the parliamentary parties of the capitalist system in this country, the one glaringly obvious fact remains: the U.K. is just an expendable satellite of the U.S.A. The interminable discussions amongst any permutation of bourgeois correspondents, experts and interpreters is just so much hot air by which they hope to double talk the people into thinking that this is some vital issue.

The real struggle is to prevent the tacit acceptance of a "nuclear club" of four countries which presumably will try to force and dictate policies through nuclear blackmail. That is why it is urgently necessary to endorse, support and fight for the Chinese Governments' Statement on nuclear weapons which calls for a conference of all countries to discuss the prohibition and destruction of such weapons.

The "unilateralist" appeal has always been beloved of that bourgeois sector of the "Left" Social Democrats and the Pacifist movement. It is spurious. It contributed little to ridding the world of nuclear arsenals. It did befuddle the whole issue and serve to fool many well intentioned progressives, as did the tripartite treaty for partial nuclear test suspension, which in its turn has ironically helped to hasten the demise of the essentially bourgeois C.N.D. movement.

Yours fraternally,
B. J. Clifton,
London, S.E.4.

FROM FRANCE

Dear Comrade Editors,

We thank you for the "Vanguard." We believe that exchange of views between Marxist-Leninist groups in capitalist countries is mutually useful and advances the anti-revisionist struggle.

We are following with the greatest interest the difficult struggle you are leading in the specific conditions of Great Britain, where the working-class is for the most part still deceived by the social-democrat politicians. We are, however, convinced that our common struggle will be victorious because revisionism, a new variation of reformist ideology at the service of the bourgeoisie is condemned by history.

With the assurance of our militant solidarity and our best wishes for 1965.

Yours fraternally,
La Federation des Cercles
Marxistes-Leninistes,
Marseille, FRANCE.

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

Indonesian youth support N. Kalimantan struggle

THE Indonesian youth front yesterday pledged its firm support to the North Kalimantan people's struggle for national independence and against "Malaysia."

The pledge was made in a statement adopted at a public meeting here commemorating the second anniversary of the armed uprising of the North Kalimantan people.

Young Indonesians shouted slogans at the meeting demanding that U.S. imperialism keep its hands off North Kalimantan and quit South Vietnam, South Korea and other parts of Asia. They also called for strong measures against U.S. interests in Indonesia and recognition of the revolutionary government of the North Kalimantan unitary state headed by Prime Minister Azahari.

Zaini Mansur, chairman, and Anwar Nasution, vice-chairman of the front, in their speeches, denounced the U.S.-backed British neo-colonialist product, "Malaysia," as a threat to the Indonesian Republic. They expressed the belief that the North Kalimantan people would certainly win their cause, and that the U.S. and British imperialists were doomed to failure.

Siraddjuddin Abbas, general chairman of the Indonesian Islamic Perti Party and member of the Presidium of the Indonesian National Committee to promote the movement for eliminating imperialist military bases, also spoke. He

warmly praised the militant spirit displayed by the youth and students of Djakarta and Surabaya during their recent demonstrations against U.S. imperialism.

He called on the Indonesian youth to fight for the dismantling of imperialist military bases, especially the U.S. bases spreading throughout the world. The anti-imperialist struggle should first of all be directed against U.S. imperialism, because it had set up a network of military bases, including nuclear war bases, with the aim of enslaving and dominating all peoples of the world, he said.

Jais Abbas, acting chief representative of the North Kalimantan revolutionary government in Djakarta, said in his address that the North Kalimantan people were suffering from the atrocities of "Malaysian" troops, who had the support of U.S. and British imperialism. The people were determined to carry on the fight till final victory. "We would rather die in the battlefield than surrender to the colonialists," he said.

Amid warm applause, Zaini Mansur presented to Jais Abbas medicines contributed by the all-China youth federation to the North Kalimantan people.

Organise at the place of work

A COMMENT

IT was with quickened interest that I noted on sale at a recent meeting, a pamphlet by Michael McCreery, entitled "Organise at the Place of Work."

Here it seemed, by the title at any rate, was somebody putting a finger on, for want of a better term, the main artery of the entire working-class struggle in this country.

I shall not attempt here a detailed review of the pamphlet; perhaps this has already been done, or will be done, by someone else; but I would like to make some observations.

"Organise at the place of work!" Surely one would think that since the class struggle is fundamentally a struggle between working-class and employing-class at "places of work" (where else?) and since a party—the Communist Party of Great Britain—has been in existence for over forty years, and pledged all that long time to carry on the class struggle in this country, such an appeal would be either ridiculously belated or entirely superfluous.

Is it? Let us see. Firstly, it is intriguing to note in a foreword by the author that "This statement was prepared as a speech for the London District of the Communist Party in the Spring of 1962 (when McCreery was still a member, of some five years standing, E.F.). An application to speak was rejected. The statement was subsequently submitted to, and rejected by, the London District of the C.P.G.B."

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

Taken together these two statements prove the following proposition:—

In 1962, the Communist Party—of which the London District is a fair enough sample—was far removed from carrying out the purpose for which it was founded; and the leadership (very much the same now in 1965) by preventing McCreery from speaking to the point, was making sure that this was not highlighted.

THE GREAT DAYS OF THE C.P.G.B.

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

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

This is not to deny that there are other forms of Communist activity waiting to be done. Other forms than that of directly facing the class enemy on the factory floor. General propaganda; cultural work, electoral activity, the fight against high rents and inflationary prices, fares, pensions, and a dozen others cry out for attention. But one can go so far as to assert, that unless there is a powerful Communist leadership rooted deep in "Places of Work" throughout the land, then all these other, secondary, activities are simply a waste of time as far as a genuine advance towards Socialism in this country is concerned.

As it is many Communists become so enmeshed and entangled in these secondary activities with all their attendant meetings and conferences and correspondence and minutiae that politics become for them not so much a matter of prosecuting the Class Struggle but More a Way of Life.

SIX O'CLOCK COMMUNISM

In the experience of the present writer, during the old days of the American Communist Party, those who engaged themselves in such secondary activities, often furiously, but only after work, and were conspicuous mainly by their silence in the plant or shop during working hours, were referred to as "Six o'clock Communists."

By that same token, one could say, that because of the shift of emphasis by the C.P.G.B. from factory work to work in the "locality"; by the disbanding of the factory branches in 1945 and their only partial restoration; by the banning altogether of trade-union fractions (so that Communists can no longer get together to discuss their tactics beforehand, while everyone else does); by the great play

made with election work, despite derisory results; by the paucity of industrial news in the *Daily Worker* coupled with the greater prominence given to "girlie" photos, fashion notes, holiday travel and articles such as "A dentist's perversion," and similar; this once great party of working-class struggle has now become in the main a party of Six o'clock Communism.

It is because this primary activity at the "Place of Work" is the hardest of all the activities, the one most fraught with the danger of losing ones livelihood, and of vilification and victimisation, the one requiring all the finest qualities that go to make a real Communist to be brought into play at one time and at all times, that it is the one most likely to be consciously or unconsciously scotched.

Yet without it, all the running around like an infuriated louse, after work and at weekends, all the trundling of platfoms, and bundles of literature, all the ringing of doorbells and stuffing of leaflets into letterboxes, all the organising of propaganda meetings and the holdings of socials will have as much substance as the ethereal mist rising from a marsh on a summer morning.

The political struggle must be inexorably locked to the economic struggle and vice versa. What better example is needed than the strike of the Glasgow shipyardworkers during the First World War, when frantic with hysteria, betrayal by jingo-minded right-wing trade union leaders, emergency regulations, etc., made organisation at the "place of work" a thousand times harder than it normally is. (See Revolt on the Clyde by Willie Gallacher.)

This action put paid to the activities of the local MacRachmans, who were pushing up Glasgow slum rents to wartime peaks, and forced the then Coalition Government to institute Rent Control, which pegged working-class rents for over forty years, till emboldened by disillusionment spread by successive Labour defeats, and the somnolence of the Communist leadership, the Tories busted it in 1957.

(To be fair there were some small demonstrations by the Communist Party against the 1957 Rent Act. But their very smallness gave the Tories the green light to go ahead.)

All of which goes to show how urgent it is for a pamphlet of this nature—and more like it—to be widely distributed, read and discussed.

The pamphlet contains certain weaknesses. It would be surprising if it did not, for it is only a fresh beginning—the first of its kind to appear for many years. But make no mistake, the author is on the right track.

It is too slight and there appears to be an undue emphasis placed on the fact that the factory is a better place in which to hold meetings than the "locality." Also it is a better venue for Communist discussion and "argument."

"The factory branch can meet just after working hours when comrades go home. The local branch usually meets at 8 p.m. and it is more difficult to prise yourself away from a warm fire after a hard day's work than it is to attend a meeting on the way home."

And again:—
"It is at the point of production that Communist argument and Communist agitation is most effective."

And again:—
"People listen to friends, listen to workmates more readily than to a stranger at a door."

Beware the "Communist" who preaches Communism all day and every day on the factory floor and does nothing else. We all know him. He is regarded as a joke or a bore by his workmates and is tolerated by the management only because his brand of Communism never gets beyond the propaganda stage. He menaces neither profits nor dividends.

ECONOMISM

His opposite number in the factory, in a Communist sense, is a much more adult and responsible type. A generally worthier type of person than the argu-fyer, but one equally ineffectual in the struggle to advance Socialism. He is the

one who hides his Communism deep under a trade union guise.

So afraid is this comrade that his activities in the factory will be attributed to poulitical motives, that he will strenuously deny that there is any Communist leadership on the job instead of proudly proclaiming that it is the Communists in the *Vanguard* who take the brunt of the battle. If you say he should do this, or that he should point out the political conclusions of the struggle to the workers, he will turn on you and accuse you of being "sectarian."

Thus, though he honestly, and sometimes rearlessly, fights the class struggle at the correct time and in the correct place he invariably founders on the rock of what Lenin called "economism" and usual ends up so deeply imbedded in the minor trade union bureaucracy that no one ever hears of him again.

Properly guided and constructively criticised by a genuine Communist Party constantly sharpening its steel at the point of production, both these types,

with their counterparts everywhere, could develop and improve and help turn the great wheel of revolution in its clockwise direction. As it is now, they hold it back. With nothing but their own working-class consciences to motivate them, with their fears and uncertainties pulling them down, the one turns to harmless blathering and the other to anonymity.

"Organise at The Place of Work." What better slogan could be chosen for a young working-class party, born of dissatisfaction with the old, fired by the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, pledged to carry on, while others have deviated, till final victory is in sight? What finer slogan to nail at a masthead?

"Organise at the Place of Work"—but for Heavens' sake do it properly. The splendid vision of working-class power is always with us, but it will not begin to take shape, not in the countries of Western bourgeois democracy, until we realise Lenin's famous slogan—"Every factory a Fortress of Socialism."

E. FOLLIS

NEWS COMMENT

Mr. Kevin Cairns, an Australian M.P., revealed that U.S. troops "were being snot in the back by South Vietnam soldiers."

Hitler's Nazi troops also discovered to their cost that to occupy another man's country is like sitting on a powder-barrel.

Mr. Thompson, Minister of State in the British "Labour" Government... "We cannot negotiate with people who are in armed rebellion against the legitimate Government of the Congo (Lshombe), which we recognise."

A brazen enough confession that Wilson's "Labour" heroes stand foursquare with the imperialist looters of Congo's rich mineral wealth and their despicable hired butcher Lshombe. Africans, note it well!

Poland's Foreign Minister, Rapacki, has had discussions with the British Government on his plan for a European Security Conference.

He includes the U.S.A. in such a conference.

We would like to ask—what have the U.S. Imperialists to do with European "security"? If one is to go by facts since 1945, it is only when the U.S.A. is excluded that genuine security becomes a reality. We can judge by South Vietnam, to quote only one example, as to what positive use such a Conference would be with Wall Street—White House participation. Europe is still Europe and by no means a Protectorate of the U.S.A.

Since the Ministry of Labour's last retail price index for November was published, prices have steadily risen. Almost every foodstuff in the weekly shopping basket is going up. The full effect of the 15% import surcharge is yet to be felt. Trade Unionists will have to fight hard if they are not to suffer a real cut in their wage-packets in 1965.

George Brown's "Incomes Policy" and the T.U.C. leaders who favour it will have

to be fought, too, if living standards are to be maintained.

Pessimism is increasing in Washington regarding the U.S.-Saigon puppet effort to enslave the Vietnamese people. Plans to increase "aid" have now been shelved, at least temporarily. One such plan was for American air-attacks on part of Laos. It appears that all is far from well in Saigon where American generals and South Vietnam officers are having their differences. "When rogues fall out," this is excellent for honest people.

Mr. Rafton Pounder, Tory M.P. (Belfast South) asked in the commons that awards be given to soldiers serving in Aden and Borneo.

These two areas are vital for British Imperialist exploitation.

Prime Minister Harold Wilson replied that his Government is considering a "General Service Medal".

We understand that a Mr. William Brubeck, an adviser to President Johnson on African Affairs will soon become Political Counsellor of the U.S. Embassy in London. We suppose it had to come to the stage when American techniques of neo-colonialism in Africa would duly be applied to Capitalist Britain.

A Soviet poet (sic) Vladimir Tsibin publically read his poem "Fear" in which he recalled the "Stalinist era" and declared "in the thirties we did not live." This was the period of intensified industrialisation so as to strengthen the Soviet Union, and its armed forces which bore the main brunt of the Fascist onslaught. We would guess that Mr. Tsibin wasn't even born, in that era. We would advise him that thanks to the heroic sacrifices of that particular generation, which rallied around their leader, Joseph Stalin, he is alive today to inflict his anti-Soviet trash on, no doubt, his soft well-fed friends.

TOM FLINT

New Years Greetings

The Committee for Communist Unity and the Editorial Board of "Vanguard" wish all supporters and readers a Happy New Year.

Let 1965 witness still greater victories for Socialism, National Liberation, genuine democracy and better conditions for the working-class.

Long live the unity of all the working peoples!
Long live unity based on Marxism-Leninism!

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

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FIRST 100 DAYS

Extracts from a speech delivered at a Public Meeting in London on 22nd January, 1965 by Dave Volpe

WE stated in the October *Vanguard* that the British Electorate was faced with a bogus choice between parties who agreed on the need to defend the capitalist system of exploitation of man by man and differed only marginally on, as has since been admitted in *The Times* newspaper, how best to present the radical image, so as to gain support.

Has this formulation, which we claim was based on a careful Marxist analysis of the British political scene been verified during the past 100 days or has it not?

We hope that a number of discussions in the future will help to clarify this point.

The utmost clarification of this point is indeed vital, for either one proceeds from the standpoint of class struggle, of the ideology of Marxist-Leninism as the real guide to working class politics, or from the standpoint of Social Democracy, of reformism as an end in itself so to speak.

To penetrate deeper into this question, for the militant workers, for the vanguard of the working class, it is clearly a question of orientating either towards the banner of modern revisionism, that variant of Social Democracy in a new form, or of mobilising under the banner of persistent struggle for working class power.

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT LINKS WITH MODERN REVISIONISM

In an estimation of the 'first 100 days' of Wilson & Co. it is absolutely vital not only to expose their links with the capitalists, but to subject to frank criticism their theoretical and ideological affinity with the very content and essence of the present day activities of the CPGB.

Such criticism arises from no vulgar subjective desire to score points but from the objective necessity to distinguish right from wrong, truth from falsehood, and to reconstitute the glorious cause of Lenin on the ruins of this knocked off hotch-potch of bourgeois political notions, which Krushchov and Co. rounded off into a comprehensive system of anti-Leninist endeavour.

It is true of course that long prior to the General Election the rank and file organisations of the Labour Movement passed many resolutions demanding that a future Labour Govt. conduct an all round policy of peace.

Total opposition to M.L.F.; to the Polaris base; to British military colonialist bases overseas; etc.

On the home front, resolutions were adopted calling for real inroads to be made against the monopolies; the usurers, the landlords; the opposition to wage-freeze; for a wage structure which would do away with the necessity to work overtime; for the integrity of independent T.U. action, including the right to strike; for a halt to the ever-rising cost of living. In a word, for a real struggle to weaken the exploiter class to such an extent that a solid road would be constructed for the march to a Socialist Britain.

The working men and women who backed these demands are good, brave and honest people and have the right to demand that a Labour Govt. take these progressive measures. It is they above all who put the Wilsons and Browns into power.

However, as we forecast and warned in *Vanguard*, they and the entire British working class are being betrayed with unsurpassed cynicism.

Is this assertion grossly exaggerated? Would this assertion meet with the approval of the *Daily Worker* for example?

If it is in the main true then the *Daily Worker* is quite wrong in confining itself to criticisms of the Labour Govt., to waffling, anaemic respectable reproaches. If it is true then no-one should be emphasising this truth more than the Communist Party Leaders and the "Daily Worker".

WILSON'S FOREIGN POLICY

This policy consists of the Anglo-U.S. alliance, with the U.S.A. very much as top dog; of placing whatever nuclear-weapons Britain possesses at the disposal of NATO—an outright imperialist alliance dominated by the U.S.A. His Atlantic Nuclear Force plan is if anything even worse than the M.L.F. from the point of view of relaxing world tension and involves an increase in Polaris submarines, nuclear bombers and rockets and the bases necessary for this arrangement.

This plan also provides for an equal say by the W. Germans as to the strategic targets for these weapons.

Thus he flies right in the face of the L.P. rank and file, the Trade-Unionists and the British working class.

He expressed his resolve to base the V-bombers East of Suez and to increase the mobility of the conventional forces, and to increase the strength of the Navy in order, as he put it, to put out the "brush" fires.

What else is this if not a flagrant

attempt to blackmail the National Liberation struggles of the Arab peoples in the Persian Gulf area and the Asian peoples in S.E. Asia?

An aggressive confrontation, in defence of imperialist interests.

Is it not clear that when Anthony Greenwood, Colonial Secretary, darling of the "Left-wing" of the L.P., hurls threats at the S. Arabian Liberation Movement, that he speaks for the Anglo-American exploiters and the rich Arab oil-princes?

Is not the true nature of the conspiracy revealed?

Does this not prove yet again the true worth of the "leftward trend" in the L.P. — the will o' the wisp phenomenon so exalted and commended by modern revisionism? Does not this fact yet again underline the necessity to conduct a vigorous struggle for Marxist-Leninist ideology within the Labour Movement which means exposing as false any other ideology — including Social reformism?

Similarly in S.E. Asia the Labour Govt. faithfully reflecting imperialist interests has, without regard to the wishes of the peoples of that area, foisted upon them this neo-colonialist pot-pourri called 'Malaysia'. This is a federation hatched by the vast rubber, tin, and oil interests, enjoying the patronage of the U.S.A. and poised against the entire Liberation Movement in S.E. Asia.

Again, Minister of State for Defence Fred Mulley, echoes Greenwood in his threat to the Liberation Forces. The people of N. Kalimantan are fighting for their freedom, as the S. Vietnamese are fighting for theirs, and deserve the support of all progressive people.

AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

We are against the revisionists constantly covering up for those who betray all the workers of the world under the disguise of 'Social Democracy'.

All the revisionists demonstrate in practice their essential affinity with social reformism, which objectively serves the basic interests of capitalism and obscures the contradiction between the classes, which in our time is daily growing sharper and certainly not disappearing.

Our main debate with revisionism centres on this question of contradictions which Marxist-Leninism holds are the locomotives of progress.

What are the fundamental realities of our times?

1. That world imperialism headed by the U.S.A. is indeed a paper tiger; strong outwardly but rotten and falling apart within.
2. That the contradictions among the imperialist powers cannot be reconciled and that the working peoples must take full advantage of them.
3. That these contradictions are at their most pregnant precisely in Asia, Africa and Latin America, wherein lie the weakest links in the imperialist chain and which are the storm centres of decisive struggle.
4. That the contradictions between the working class and the capitalists in the metropolitan heartlands are daily growing sharper and that therefore the class struggle, revolutionary struggle will and must intensify.
5. That an artificial dilution of these contradictions, any watering down of mass struggle, any undue pinning of hopes on Parliamentary victory, any reliance on the Social Democrats to bring in the era of Socialism, any unreal reliance on 'examples from abroad' is, in essence, a betrayal of the working class.

The content of Leninism is as valid today as it ever was. Both rightist and leftist variations of it are doomed to utter bankruptcy.

The 100 days of Wilson have provided the British working people with many valuable lessons, not the least being that "with such leaders of Labour" as Stalin put it in 1927, "we will no sooner see Socialism than a donkey can see its own ears."

Comments in the form of letters are invited on the above — as will all contributions to *Vanguard*.

INDONESIA

NO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH IMPERIALISM, SAYS SUBANDRIO

DJAKARTA, January 7 — the prerequisite for the development of the nation was that there must be no peaceful coexistence between Indonesia and imperialism, said Subandrio, Indonesian first Vice-Prime Minister and Foreign Minister here today, according to Antara.

He was speaking at a meeting of the Supreme Operational Command for retooling of the revolutionary apparatus.

Subandrio said that it was very important for the Indonesian people to build up new ideas including those on the struggle to crush imperialism and colonialism and the idea of implementing a policy of self-reliance politically, economically and ideologically.

CHAIRMAN AIDIT REAFFIRMS SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT SUKARNO'S QUIT U.N. STATEMENT

DJAKARTA, January 6 — Chairman Aidit of the Indonesian Communist Party has reaffirmed his support for President Sukarno's statement that Indonesia would pull out of the United Nations, if "Malaysia" is seated as a member of the Security Council, according to a press release of the party's information bureau last night.

Speaking at a new year rally here on January 4, Aidit said that the Indonesian Communist Party "firmly supports the stand of President Sukarno" on this matter. "This is the stand of the Indonesian people and that of all the progressive peoples."

"It will do Indonesia no harm if she quits the United Nations. Neither at the present moment, nor for that matter, at any time since its founding in 1945, has the United Nations symbolised the real situation of the world and been representative in nature. For instance, the Republic of Indonesia which was founded in 1945 after the fight against fascism was not immediately accepted as a member of the U.N. Neither were many other countries accepted when the U.N. was set up. It goes without saying that at present the U.N. is even less representative in nature."

He added that the U.N. was heading for the fate of "the League of Nations."

"I hope that all the countries of the new emerging forces especially the socialist countries will understand the correct stand of Indonesia and voice their solidarity with Indonesia and that they will further expose the nature of the U.N. and take concrete steps to put an end to the imperialist-dominated United Nations," he said.

From progressive labour

Dear Friends,

You will no doubt recall reading the headlines about last summer's spontaneous upheaval in Harlem. And it is precisely that — the fact that so many millions around the world read those headlines — which gave the Harlem "riots" such tremendous significance and which shook the power structure in this country.

Here was an event, a few days in history, which in a certain sense can be compared to the early slave revolts in the days of the decaying Roman Empire, or even the first slave uprisings in pre-Civil War U.S.A. For although, there was no organized revolt in Harlem in any sense, nonetheless the ghetto-slaves of New York were rebelling. And suddenly, the world could see that racism in

America was not limited to Mississippi. Suddenly, what we in the ghettos of New York have known for so long became front-page news around the world, that in the richest of cities in this richest of countries in this richest of years, millions of us remain slaves.

The immediate target of the black people during the "riots," was the New York police department, known internationally, too, for its unprovoked and brutal attacks on students and even U.N. delegates from Asian and African nations. But the police department, of course, was only the most visible representation of the whole "thing," the "set-up," the system of low-pay, like it or lump it, of rats and roaches, of ghetto life in America.

In turn, the government's attack against us was designed principally to intimidate others from speaking out in protest. It is also intended to "retaliate" (in the distorted minds of those who plan these things) for the international embarrassment caused by the events last summer. Like all political frame-ups, if they can get away with the first one, more will follow.

If they can jail the radicals as "criminals," they will hold that as a new whip over the bent backs of the ghetto. The "criminal anarchy" indictment brought against one of us, is the first such indictment in nearly a half a century. But be sure, if they succeed with this it will not be the last.

There is of course one important difference between the slave revolts of the Roman Empire or 1840 Alabama and present-day Harlem: the world has changed. Our struggle today is part of the fight of the African, Asian and Latin American people against the same slave-master. Washington's fear of Harlem is that the rebellion fever is contagious. If even in the guts of the monster we can resist, then the people of the world will draw their own conclusions. In that sense, the government's attacks on us here are attacks on those throughout the world who are chipping (or chopping) away at the chains.

That is why the fight-back against this latest McCarthyism is — and must be — international. We have already received letters and statements of support from groups and individuals in many parts of the world. We are asking you to join this fight. Will you write or wire your opinions to me immediately. If you are in need of more information, please let us know. Thank you.

A.L.

MORE LIGHT ON THE JOHNSON-WILSON TALKS

We quote from a dispatch from Washington by Vincent Ryder in the *Daily Telegraph* (January 7) — "Britain's help for Malaysia is appreciated (in the U.S.A.), President Soekarno having at last been seen in a more realistic light.

"The military build-up there is noted as a practical demonstration of Mr. Wilson's talk about Britain's special contribution to the alliance as a peace-keeping influence East of Suez. It also provides Britain with a reason or excuse for not accepting President Johnson's invitation to get mixed up more deeply in South Vietnam, beyond adding a few more specialists."

We have dealt in this *Vanguard* with Mr. Wilson's imperialist adventures East of Suez. It is extremely significant that the No. 1 imperialist, the U.S.A. "appreciates" Wilson's Napoleonic adventures vis a vis Malaysia. We now witness a "practical demonstration" of the earlier Johnson-Sir Alec Home conversations, which were widely reported as having produced a robbers' bargain — i.e. "You support us in Malaysia and we will support you in South Vietnam."

Note the admission that the British "Labour" Government is actively involved on the side of the corrupt Saigon regimes by its commitment to send more "specialists."

The more the imperialists and their "Social-Democrat" servants wriggle about the deeper they sink into dangerous quicksands.

LITERATURE and ART



The Dead Rebel Girl (after seeing a picture of a dead rebel girl, shot through the heart whilst fighting for the freedom of her people from imperialist slavery in Vietnam).

THE DEAD REBEL GIRL

Deep now in the new born silence of death
she lies, the rebel girl, her heart silver stilled;
she's far, now, from the thunder of war and the colour of its suffering,
the fire tongued rifles of her mind, at last, for ever silenced.

She is dead, but her cause struggles on
with the squabbling of the guns in the hopeful hills.

She is dead, but the music will never die,
the music in the hills and the trees, and the twigs breaking fear's silence,
and those green hided wanderers at night
that need no fowling pieces.

Life for her is sucked dry. The blood turned to early hardness,
the flesh drawn into the bones; and the eyes
that kissed life's left cheek
staring now into invisibility.
The thin sketched lips pale and firm. The flesh without desire.

They'll come when the shouting has died down
and the tongues of anger unwagged in their steel mouths.
They'll come bare headed in memory and dead eyed with tiredness
They'll come and plant wood and stones to dress her again.

In cities where marble monuments make believe majesty
tired skinned politicians will play God
lay down rules for the ludo of war
and, like the hypocrites they are, condemn the hill housed freedom
fighters.

They'll send 'planes to blast them to bits for their "crimes"
Not waiting for an RSVP,
they'll send 'planes to do God's good work
to protect the Divinity of poverty and want.

RAY TURNER



ON SOCIALIST CUBA

Yankee look South;
Look well and look long,
For today on the streets of Havana
The people are gathering.

For all the bright sunlight that's shone through the ages
On the blue Caribbean and Cuba's gold shores,
Her sons have endured only night that seemed endless,
Night of oppression without pity or pause.

But now in Havana the long night is over
And a million strong faces are greeting the sun,
For the dawn of tomorrow has already broken,
And the first fruits of freedom are already won.

The rich and the ruthless have left their apartments,
The crooks from Vedado's casinos have flown,
The streets of the city belong to the people,
The wealthy are reaping from what they have sown.

For with wrath black as thunder the people have risen
With one will united to right the great wrong;
From field and from factory, from chains and from prison
The people have risen, — and how THEY are strong.

Creases of poverty line the brown faces
Of old campesinos whose years have been hard;
But now with the youth in the columns they're marching
The power of the people they've sworn they will guard.

The land has returned to the people who work it,
The great bulk of bounty no longer flows
From Cuba's plantations, to fatten the profits
Of those who have always been Cuba's worst foes.

MAX GROSSMAN



CHILDREN OF SANITY

Children of the waking world
unblinking from your eyes
the sleep of fettered ages,
children of hope, of promise, of socialism,
Our thoughts are with you, brothers!
Children of the struggling lands
where death's angels darken the skies,
And Yankee bully boy excretes his napalm "manna,"
Our thoughts are with you, comrades!
Though oceans and the tricks of time may part us,
Do not despair,
We can hear your cries!
Children of the waking world, doze no longer,
Get out of the bed of uncertainty, Arise!

RAY TURNER



BALLAD OF A PEACE FIGHTER

Stop it
Stop it
Stop it
Stop
War.

And spread your arms
My brother, my comrade
Spread your arms
My love, my child.

Let's feel our throbbing hearts
Let's cry:
This sky,
This clear, blue sky
It's ours, it's ours,
This earth,
This green, life-full earth
It's ours, it's ours,

Spread your hands, Comrade
Our hands
Black, brown, yellow and white
hands

That build cities,
Factories, dams, jets,
And missiles, A-Bombs.

Let's hold our hands together
Let's march proudly
And sing like creators.

We're for life
We're for love
We're for civilisation.

Mihir Bhattacharya,
15/1/1, Raja Manindra Road,
Calcutta-37,
India.

K's fall does not end revisionism

(Reproduced from "Zëri i Popullit")

Organ of the Albanian Party of Labour

N. KHRUSHCHEV, the principal representative of modern revisionism, the renegade of the great cause of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union founded by V. I. Lenin, the splitter of the Socialist camp and of the international communist and workers movement, or, as the imperialists used to call him, "the best suited man of the West in Moscow," was ousted from the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and was discharged of his functions as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.

N. Khrushchev's inglorious end came as a result of the resolute struggle of principle of all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who courageously oppose modern revisionism from positions of proletarian internationalism, of the struggle of all revolutionaries to uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism, as a result of the open and merciless exposure of the deeds of this renegade of communism. This marks a great victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism.

In the ouster of N. Khrushchev's person from the leading posts of the Party and of the Soviet State, the Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries see the failure of the political and ideological course of the modern revisionists formulated at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. N. Khrushchev's ejection as a squeezed lemon, shows the decay of Khrushchevian revisionism, its degeneration, the irreparable discredit its activities have been and are being subjected to day in day out. It bespeaks the fact that full and ultimate defeat awaits modern revisionism. It proves that whoever dares raise his hand against Marxism-Leninism, against socialism, has his days numbered. Marxism-Leninism, revolutionary forces, have triumphed and will triumph over their enemies under whatever name of guise they may appear.

Traitor N. Khrushchev's elimination is further proof of what our party has always emphasized, namely, that the truth lies on the side of Marxist-Leninists, that our cause is a just one and it will triumph. Marxism is invincible. Revisionism will go to wrack and ruin. As early as when the October 20, 1961 Declaration was made, a few days after N. Khrushchev and his revisionist group launched their anti-socialist and anti-Albanian attacks at their 22nd Congress, the Central Committee of our Party expressed their conviction that "the fight imposed on our Party and our people will be a long and a hard one. But hardships have never intimidated our Party and our people. They will never bend or fall to their knees before the slanderous assaults, blackmail and pressure of N. Khrushchev and his followers. Our Party and our people, having a steel like unity, will, as always, forge ahead with determination and will win on their just road, on the road to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and of the cause of socialism and communism." Experience, time and facts have proved that our Party was right, that our Party was on the right road and that in this road it achieved victory over the Khrushchevian revisionists. On this road it will proceed with determination and unflinching until the complete and ultimate defeat of modern revisionism is achieved.

N. Khrushchev's ouster is a clear expression of the fact that revisionism is being gnawed at by numerous contradictions to which the revisionists are unable to give a definite solution. It is another confirmation of the old teaching that whoever abandons Marxism-Leninism, whoever makes common cause with the enemies of the proletariat, with the enemies of peoples, of socialism, will be unmercifully crushed by the wheels of revolution, by the wheels of history. It is a vivid proof that whoever proceeds along the line of revisionism, be he a Kautskyite, a Titoite or a Khrushchevian, will be totally crushed.

N. Khrushchev is the principal representative of the revisionist line elaborated at the 20th Congress and developed at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By planning and working to put this anti-Marxist line into effect, he was branded as the most dangerous traitor and enemy of Marxism-Leninism, of the Soviet Union itself, of the socialist camp, of the revolution, of peoples.

Through this line, under the guise of the so-called fight against Stalin's cult of the individual, or the fight of de-stalinization, as their Titoite companions and imperialist allies called it, the Khrushchevians flung the door open to opportunism and revisionism, to treason and degeneration. The Khrushchevians undermined the unity of the camp of the communist movement becoming thus the greatest splitters that the history of the communist movement has ever recorded, and got closer to and united with the American imperialists and the other enemies of peoples and of socialism, united ideologically with the Titoites, these aggressive agents of the American imperialists, wrecked the cause of the revolution and laid all doors open for the

restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The history of the Soviet Union knows no greater and more frantic anti-Soviet as N. Khrushchev. No one has discredited and disgraced the Soviet Union as much as he. No one has slandered as much against Soviet power, against the Soviet socialist order as he. By assailing Stalin and concocting monstrous calumnies against him, N. Khrushchev crossed out the most glorious period of the history of the Soviet people, the period of the reconstruction of the country, of the transformation of the Soviet Union from a backward country to a powerful colossus with an advanced industry and agriculture, the glorious period of the struggle to safeguard the achievements of the October Revolution from the imperialist enemies and renegades of every hue, the heroic period of the Great Patriotic War, when the great Soviet people, under J. V. Stalin's leadership vanquished the most savage enemies of mankind, the German fascists, becoming thus the emancipators of the enslaved peoples of the world.

Pursuing his line of treason, N. Khrushchev raised his hand against the most sacred thing of the Soviet people, against the assurance of the triumph of socialism and communism, against the dictatorship of the proletariat and its Communist Party under the demagogical revisionist slogan of "the Party of all the people," "the State of all the people," a blow aiming at degenerating the Bolshevik party into a bourgeois social-democratic party and the socialist state into a bourgeois state.

He belittled and looked down upon the heroic work, the ability of the Soviet builders of communism and set up America, enriched and fattened by the blood of the proletariat and other oppressed peoples of the world, as a pattern for the Soviet Union in building communism.

N. Khrushchev pursued the line of wrecking the fraternal, Marxist-Leninist unity of the countries of the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers movement. He isolated the Soviet Union from its true friends and brothers and linked its destiny with that of the most resolute enemies of socialism and of peace, with the American imperialists, with Tito's clique of renegades and with all the reactionaries of the world.

As a consequence of this treacherous line, the Khrushchevian revisionists launched wild attacks against the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania, against a fraternal party and a fraternal socialist country. N. Khrushchev personally made open calls for counter-revolution in order to overthrow the leadership of the party and of the Albanian state; the economic blockade was established against the People's Republic of Albania and hostile plots were organized with the collaboration of the Titoite clique; diplomatic relations were ruptured and every other economic and political connections were severed with the People's Republic of Albania.

It was from the same anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary positions that N. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevian revisionists assailed with the hatred of the enemy of the class the Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. Thus the friendship of the Chinese and Soviet people and their fraternal collaboration were tampered with.

Arrant intervention, violation of sovereignty and independence, pressures and blackmail to force others to their knees and make them succumb to his dictates, trampling under foot the national interests of socialist countries, sowing dissension and organizing plots, violation of all Leninist norms in relations between socialist states and fraternal parties, the chauvinism of the big state—these are the typical features of the revisionist line of treason that inspired all the deeds and attitude of N. Khrushchev towards socialist countries, towards fraternal peoples, towards Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries.

His getting closer to the American imperialists and to all reactionaries and

the enemies of socialism and peace, is the other side of the medal of the revisionist line pursued by N. Khrushchev. Under the demagogical slogan of preserving peace and of putting into effect the policy of peaceful coexistence elaborated by the revisionists, N. Khrushchev capitulated to the American imperialists, to their nuclear blackmail, not at all hesitating to betray not only the interests of freedom and independence of other peoples, but also those of the Soviet Union for this purpose. Cuba, the Congo, the undersigning of the Moscow Treaty, the German problem and that of Berlin and others, remain grave indictments against the treason of the Khrushchevian revisionists, are crimes against the liberty, sovereignty and independence of peoples benefitting the American imperialists. Under the slogan of "the peaceful way" and of complete disarmament, N. Khrushchev and all other modern revisionists, did not only abandon the revolution but hampered in every way the revolutionary struggle and movements of peoples, of the working class and of the proletariat of various countries, giving thus a free hand to the imperialists, colonialists and bloodsucking exploiters.

The list of N. Khrushchev's hostile deeds is a long one. The roots of his treason lie deep and are pregnant with fatal consequences for the future of socialism and of the revolution. Therefore, revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, while considering N. Khrushchev's disgraceful fall, his elimination from the political arena, as a very important victory over modern revisionism, as a confirmation of the failure of the political and ideological line of the modern revisionists, consider, at the same time, that the fight against them is not over.

The political elimination of N. Khrushchev's person, despite the fact of his having been the chief of modern revisionism, does not imply the liquidation of his political, ideological, economic and organizational course, which has brought so much evil and harm to the Soviet Union, to Marxism-Leninism, to the socialist camp and the communist and workers movement, to the cause of the revolution and of the freedom and independence of peoples, to the cause of peace. N. Khrushchev's ouster from the leadership of the party and of the Soviet state does not put an end to Khrushchevian revisionism, does not liquidate his ideology and policy expressed in the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Its roots lie deep and in order to remove the danger, to ward off the eventuality of its springing up again, it must be uprooted. This is the only remedy.

We should not create and nurture illusions. We should not be waylaid by demagogy and masks. Marxism-Leninism teaches us not to judge by words but by facts, by the concrete, practical attitude

towards big and essential issues. For Marxist-Leninists the fight against Khrushchevian revisionism ends when its course is liquidated politically and ideologically, when its spirit, practice and stand from Khrushchevian revisionist positions has been liquidated, when every party in its policy, ideology and practice is based only on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, when every party abides by the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declarations, fights with determination against the common enemy, the imperialists headed by those of the United States, and their agents of every hue, fights with stubbornness for and considers it a sacred duty, to consolidate the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and of the communist and workers movement, upholds the principles of proletarian internationalism and puts them into practice, gives unreserved support to the cause of the revolution, of the freedom and independence of peoples, to the cause of peace. Every step taken in this direction will be considered a positive one and will be backed by the Party of Labour of Albania.

Without condemning in a resolute way and by Bolshevik courage Khrushchevian revisionism and all its ideology and its consequences, unimpaired by the troubles and threats of the imperialists, by the tears shed for him and by the pressures of his own friends, who are not only the enemies of Marxism-Leninism in general, but frenzied enemies of the Soviet Union in particular, there can be no true indication of a return to Marxism-Leninism, of a return to Leninist norms of relations between parties and socialist countries so brutally trampled upon by N. Khrushchev.

The Party of Labour of Albania like all Marxist-Leninists and genuine revolutionaries, will continue unflinching its just war until the final end of modern revisionism is achieved. Without falling a victim to illusions, without falling into the trap of demagogy and bluffs, no matter how camouflaged they may be, after the victory they scored against the head of modern revisionism, N. Khrushchev, the revolutionary communists will tighten their ranks, will consolidate the wide anti-revisionist front, will raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism aloft, will sharpen their revolutionary vigilance against the enemies of the people, the imperialists, will intensify the fight against the Khrushchevian revisionists who constitute the main danger to the communist and workers movement in our days.

We are fully convinced that in this great battle against imperialism and the offspring of bourgeois ideology, modern revisionism, Marxism-Leninism, socialism will triumph completely. Revisionism and treason have their days numbered and their final defeat is near and decisive.

Comments on this article, in the form of letters and on relevant aspects arising from this article are invited.—Ed.

"Other side of U.S." Rally vows to bury fascism

Nine hundred people attended the "Rally to Combat the Rising Threat of Fascism" at Manhattan Centre, Thursday night, October 15. The rally, organized to begin a meaningful anti-fascist movement, featured speakers Bill Epton, chairman of the Harlem Progressive Labour Movement, LeRoi Jones, playwright and poet, Truman Nelson, noted historian, and Mrs. Mildred Thomas, chairlady of the Mothers' Defence Council.

Both Bill Epton and Mrs. Thomas received standing ovations from the young spirited crowd as they rose to speak. Two hundred dollars was collected for the Mothers' Defence Council.

Bill Epton—"No one walks in the 32nd Precinct and then walks out. When you walk in there, they carry you out on a stretcher. I've seen grown men, adults, pray and cry like babies not to be taken to that station house. For the black people that is the Auschwitz."

You can help to develop the
struggle against monopoly capitalism, the Labour Government
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