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A COMMUNIST PERIODICAL

MICHAEL McCREERY —A TRIBUTE TO A COMMUNIST

ON the 10th April last, Michael McCreery, Secretary of the *Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity*, co-Editor of *Vanguard* and one of the pioneers against the modern revisionist sell-out of the working class, died of cancer at the age of 36.

In spite of such a struggle for his life, that enhanced the very name of valour, this superb and gifted comrade was taken from us.

Thus, the cause of Marxism-Leninism; the cause of the British working class and its allies; the cause of *genuine* national independence of our country from rapacious U.S. imperialism; the cause of *genuine* world peace and the cause of the peoples' emancipation from the yoke of Capitalism suffered a loss, which neither tears nor words can measure.

On the following pages we print some extracts from tributes that arrived from cities and towns in Britain and from abroad.

These tributes vividly express the high esteem and affection in which Michael McCreery was so rightly held.

They destroy forever petty slanders and unworthy innuendos which, from time to time were hurled at Michael by some people who were unable to defeat his main political line - which was a correct Marxist-Leninist line, reflecting the present and future interests of the British working-class and ninety per cent of the British nation.

Four hundred years ago, Shakespeare wrote of

"all the spurns,
which patient Merit, from the unworthy takes"

No man withstood such "spurns" with greater dignity and admirable restraint. For he knew well the trials and tribulations of a Communist, who, at given times in history, must swim against the stream!

What sustained this man, who, like most men of high intellect, was sensitive and therefore easily hurt by every manifestation of injustice?

Firstly; his unsurpassed mastery of Leninist theory which, for sixty-five years has shone as the guiding star for all the exploited peoples of the world.

Secondly: his vast knowledge of revolutionary history, which taught him that "to be Communist, no wall is indestructible and every obstacle can be surmounted." In all the history of liberation, which extends centuries before Marx and Engels, liberators always begin small, in a minority. Because they are armed with truth and integrity, they grow strong, whilst their enemies get smaller and weaker.

Those who struggle for emancipation will triumph as surely as the sun rises in the East. Those who uphold injustice will "go down in the rude stream, which must forever hide them." This is the inexorable law of social development. Michael knew this as he knew the palm of his hand.

Thirdly: a man who strives for truth and justice never stands completely alone. There are always comrades at hand, sharing weal and woe, setback and victory! No matter if they are but a few, as long as the banner is held high and firmly and is inscribed with the cause of an immeasurably higher life, then their army will grow and the future glow brighter and brighter. These bands of brothers are grappled together with hoops of steel. Nothing, not even death, can destroy such hoops. Michael McCreery also knew this very well.

This explains his magnificent, inspiring letters to his comrades even from sick-bed, up to literally his last hours.

In the assessment of a Marxist-Leninist, we take into account as the decisive yardstick, his essential *trend* and *direction*. We cut through the superficial and examine the *core* of a man's work. Without doubt, the essence of Michael McCreery's work was that of a leading Communist.

Our era is one of upheaval of dealing one blow after another against Imperialism, the source of modern war and the parasite of the working peoples. With measureless heroism, our brothers in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo and elsewhere are "storming the gates of Heaven" and drowning the usurping bandits in a sea of righteous anger.

Precisely as the great Lenin predicted, Imperialism's weakest links are be-

ing smashed one by one. If one wishes to remain a Communist and not a despicable turncoat, then we should extend all and every support to the liberation front fighters, who, by shedding their blood, are easing the task of revolutionaries in the Capitalist heartlands.

In Britain, the "Labour" Government, faithfully serving Capitalism, is placing burden after burden on to the backs of the working people.

The modern revisionists, who, long ago deserted Lenin's behests, have betrayed the Communist cause and have split the Party, liquidating its militant ranks in all but its name.

The whole purpose of Michael McCreery's tremendous work was to expose and correct all these things.

The tasks that lie ahead are complicated, but entirely capable of fulfillment.

Let all who strive to be Marxist-Leninists unite against Imperialism, headed by U.S. Imperialism.

Let us unite against betrayal and modern revisionism and work for the reconstitution of a genuine Communist Party.

The greatest tribute of all to Michael McCreery's unfinished work would be the unity of British Marxist-Leninists!



EXTRACTS FROM TRIBUTES TO MICHAEL McCREERY

From Abroad

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOUR

With sorrow we received the announcement of the early and unexpected death of comrade Michael McCreery, Secretary of the Committee for the defeat of revisionism and for Communist unity. We express to you our sincere condolences for this loss to the Committee for the Defeat of Revisionism and for Communist Unity and to all English Marxist-Leninists.

PIRO BITA, Director of the International Department of the CC of the APL.

Tirana, Albania.

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

The very sad news has just reached us. Comrade Michael McCreery died on 11th April.

In the country, which is still the second world imperialist power, where the Labour Party gives a typical example of Social Democracy which is not only a bourgeois party within the working class but also an instrument of collaboration with American imperialism, enemy No. 1 of the peoples of the whole world, where treason in the heart of the Communist Party preceded Khrushchevism and has for long been using the most subtle, hypocritical and therefore the most dangerous form of revisionism, in Great Britain our Comrade Michael McCreery was among the first to raise the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism.

He raised the banner of consequent struggle against capitalism, imperialism and against their reformist and revisionist agents. He raised the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of socialist revolution.

He led the struggle at the head of the Committee for the Defeat of Revisionism for Communist Unity, with courage, perseverance and tenacity, keeping always in view the necessity to reconstruct the revolutionary advance guard of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist Party necessary for the fulfilment of the historic tasks of the proletariat of Great Britain.

Comrade Michael McCreery was the author of the important "Appeal to all Communists of Great Britain" in late 1963 (which "La Voix du Peuple" - "The Voice of the People" reproduced in full at the time) and of the monthly Marxist Leninist "Vanguard."

He faced serenely the outrages, attacks and slanders which were always the lot of revolutionaries, developing firmly, always in the van of Marxist Leninist action, with confidence and self-denial and without sparing his strength. We send herewith to his friends on the Committee for the Defeat of Revisionism for Communist Unity our fraternal condolences for this grievous loss both to the Marxists Leninists of Great Britain and to our entire Party.

We are certain that our comrades in Great Britain will pursue and lead forward the revolutionary task to which Comrade McCreery dedicated himself in so exemplary a fashion.

Jacques Grippa

P.S. Dear Comrades of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity - the above will appear in the next number of "La Voix du Peuple," dated 16th April.

Fraternal greetings.

J.G.

I am at loss . . . to find the right words to express my great sorrow for the death of our beloved friend, the late Michael McCreery . . . I read the news of his death in our newspaper 'Peoples Voice.' Michael McCreery . . . a dear and true friend of Albania . . . the most outstanding Marxist-Leninist in England, the one who so bravely fought against imperialism and revisionism.

B.P., Student, Tirana, Albania.

It is with great sadness that we have learnt of the death of our Comrade Michael McCreery on 11th April last after a long and painful illness.

At the head of the C.D.R.C.U. and as director of the journal "Vanguard" he conducted an inflexible struggle against

the general revisionist line of the British Communist Party.

Like all Marxist-Leninists he suffered insults and slanders from the Khrushchovites and Social Democrats of Great Britain and elsewhere. But it took more than insults and slanders to bring down a man like him.

Those who have had the privilege to meet him know how great was his lucidity his courage and also his modesty.

To our British Comrades, members and sympathisers of the C.D.R.C.U., we express our fraternal sympathy for the loss which they have just suffered, a loss which affects all Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.

We are convinced that, inspired by the example of Comrade McCreery, the Marxist-Leninists of Great Britain will carry out successfully their difficult struggle within one of the most important imperialist citadels, and offer the British people a truly Socialist perspective.

L'Humanite Nouvelle,
May 1965.

I was very sad when I heard of the . . . death of Michael . . . A loss not only . . . in Britain, but also for all the Marxist-Leninists in Europe . . . no matter what happens our struggle will be successful . . .

With communist greetings,
André Courouve,
Paris.

Shocked to learn untimely death comrade McCreery. We send sincere condolences. We rest assured that struggle will increase and be crowned with victory. Long live Marxism-Leninism -
Gofred Appel Communist Working Group.

Copenhagen.

We are with you in mourning the death of comrade Michael McCreery. May his revolutionary spirit live on in the British working class.

Vincent Copeland,
Editor "Workers World."
New York.

We are shocked to learn the sad news of the death of Comrade Michael McCreery, first secretary and Editor of "Vanguard" for the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the struggle against exploitation and oppression and U.S. imperialism. With the most profound grief. Our People's organisations, Liberators, Freedom fighters, Communists and all the oppressed people of Nigeria now under new colonialism. We extend to your organisation our heartfelt condolences.

He was the faithful son and respected and close friend of the African people and outstanding fighter in the international working class movement.

He made a very big contribution in the struggle against modern revisionism and the revisionist line of British Communist Party. He has lived to see our victory over revisionism and downfall of the greatest splitter and revisionist of our time Khrushchov.

His death is great loss not only to the British working class but also to the Marxist-Leninists; to those struggling against modern revisionism-Liberators, those fighting for true, real Peace.

At this sad moment, we are convinced that you will turn your grief into strength, strengthen Unity, persist in struggle and continue to advance along the road of victory over revisionism - on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian internationalism. The Nigerian fighters will ever remain as one in the struggle with our British Comrades in the struggle against revisionism, imperialism, old and new colonialism, fight for real Marxism-Leninism for safeguarding the unity of international working class movement and for World peace, peoples democracy National Liberation and socialism.

With communist greetings,
Yours, E.B.
Lagos,
Nigeria.

I have been instructed . . . to convey condolences on the death of Comrade McCreery.

Angela Clifford,
(Sec., Irish Communist Group).

MARXISTISCH-LENINISTISCH CENTRUM NEDERLAND

Postboxes: 7174 Amsterdam and
1505 Rotterdam

Amsterdam, May 9, 1965.

Dear Comrades,

The Central-Committee of the Dutch Marxist-Leninist Centre received your message in which you informed us about the very sad news, that Comrade Michael McCreery died one month ago.

Some members of our Central Committee have a vivid remembrance of your young Secretary and can fully understand the great loss his death must mean to you and to the British Marxist-Leninist organisation.

We admire the heroic stand of comrade McCreery, who even knowing of his soon passing away could find the courage of fighting on for his high ideals.

All over the world and more and more inside Europe too, Marxism-Leninism is growing and the British comrades can be proud of having a place as vanguards in this political field.

We are convinced that your vowing, that the British Marxist-Leninists will struggle even harder for the victory over imperialism, capitalism and neo-colonialism will become true within a short period!

In our own country we will fight the struggle too, and we wish you to know, that we want to stand with you and all other Marxist-Leninists all over the world to meet soon the day of Victory of the working-class.

Long live Marxist-Leninism!

Long live the remembrance of your great secretary, Comrade Michael McCreery!

With Communist Greetings,

Yours fraternally,
Cris Peterson,

International secretary of
Central Committee Dutch M-L
Centre.

From Britain

. . . the news of Comrade Michael McCreery's . . . death . . . fills us with remorse at losing such a staunch fighter

. . . whose devotion to the principles of Marxism-Leninism we can but strive to emulate . . . his name will be forever remembered along with the other glorious Communist fighters who gave their lives in the furtherance of our great cause . . .

Being one of the principle comrades to make a determined and just stand against the pernicious policy of the revisionist Renegades who have usurped the leadership of our Communist Party in Britain he saw no other alternative but to wage a determined life and death struggle for the true principles of Marxism-Leninism . . . He died at his post having succeeded in the initial task of forming a strong nucleus of a genuine . . . Communist Party in Britain . . . We honour and salute him . . . forever remembering and commemorating his name.

Clifford Roberts, Secretary
Danny Sewell, Chairman

The South Wales Communist
Association (M-L).

Deep Regret of the passing of M. McCreery it is a sad thing for one to be taken so soon . . . I am enclosing P.O. for six shillings for Vanguard . . .

N. R. Rose, Exeter.

I was very sorry to hear the sad news about Michael . . . enclosed is a draft for a theoretical article . . .

R. H., London.

. . . At a time of great difficulty in our country, when different brands of opportunism and careerism had taken a firm hold of the British Labour and Communist movement, Michael McCreery showed us the way forward. He played a great part in helping to change the absolute superiority of the revisionists within the vanguard of the working class, into only a relative superiority. Over a long period, the revisionist leaders had been slowly corrupting the CPGB with their ideological poison. With great courage, Michael McCreery challenged their erroneous policy and programme, and took the first steps towards gathering together, forming and rebuilding the revolutionary vanguard, on the basis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

He initiated the formation of the CDRCU, forerunner of the future Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, and edited its paper VANGUARD right until the time that the cancer which was consuming him, made it impossible for him to carry on any longer. He died like a truly dedicated Communist, with complete faith in the ability of the workers and oppressed peoples to overcome their difficulties and vanquish their enemies, and with the certain knowledge that they would achieve socialism all over the world.

He played a major part in paving the way for the emergence of the new Marxist-Leninist movement, and where Michael McCreery first trod, thousands, hundreds of thousands, nay millions will follow in his footsteps. We have the great honour of becoming trustees of the revolutionary banner that Comrade Michael McCreery has handed over to us. We shall not fail.

Jack Angel, Chairman.

Ernie Hunt, Secretary.

The Thames Valley Communist
Association (C.D.R.C.U.)

Dear Comrades,

Thank you for your communication of 5.5.65 regarding the appreciation of Comrade Michael McCreery's leading role and work in the Committee to defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity and his courageous fight against his cruel and untimely death - to our great loss.

Unfortunately, it will not be possible for representatives of the Leeds, Bradford, Dewsbury - Morley groups of the Committee to attend the commemoration meeting at Conway Hall on Tuesday 11th. But we of the Yorkshire district wish to pay our respects to the memory of our valiant comrade Michael McCreery and to all those comrades who uphold the Banner of Anti-Revisionism for Unity of the World Communist Movement in Britain. We of the Yorkshire district hereby pledge ourselves for and on behalf of the Michael McCreery Commemorative meeting to expedite with renewed vigour the Marxist-Leninist anti-Revisionist struggle in our district against the pernicious doctrine of "Peaceful Co-existence" peddled by the Revisionist leadership of the C.P.G.B.

All power to the historic struggle of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity in the name of Michael McCreery!

Communist Greetings from the Leeds - Bradford and Dewsbury - Morley group of CDRCU.

Yours fraternally,
Keith Jennings.

. . . Michael was a Communist hero and a credit to the Communist Movement. His letters from his sick-bed are a saga of sublime heroism . . .

Dave Volpe, London.

. . . a fine Communist - his dedication to the cause revitalised me as to the need for Socialism. I salute a comrade.

J. Levitas

Louth, Lincs.

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NEGRO STRUGGLE IN U.S.A.

by John Blake

COMRADE SURREY in his recent article "Forms of Racialism" in April-May's 'Vanguard' was correct in drawing attention to the objectively progressive role of the Organisation of Afro-American Unity founded by the late Malcolm X, but nevertheless, (through limitation of space no doubt) he did not analyse the Negro struggle in enough detail to give a comprehensive appraisal of the situation.

In the U.S.A. the struggle of the Negro for equality has risen to new heights not only in the South but also increasingly in the Northern urban areas. There are various organisations, representing various classes and interests competing for leadership of the Negro masses. Let us analyse the main ones.

LUTHER KING

There are those organisations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and the slightly more militant C.O.R.E. which seek to achieve integration WITHIN THE PRESENT FRAMEWORK OF THE U.S. MONOPOLY CAPITALIST STATE. Their leaders - Luther King (Nobel Peace Prize Winner!) Farmer and so on advocate methods of peaceful pressure and non-violence, even rejecting armed defence against violent attacks by the State and White Fascists aimed at intimidating the Negro masses. The whole struggle is focussed on voting rights and against blatant discrimination in public places etc. They are fully supported and aided in this position by white liberals, for the most part supporters and members of the bourgeoisie Democratic Party. There is a total absence of class content in this activity: King and the rest present the struggle in metaphysical and religious-humanitarian terms. They are restraining the militancy of the Negro masses, preventing these masses from coming to a working class understanding of the struggle. In short King and his ilk represent the narrow interests of the emerging Negro middle class who are afraid of the growth of a Marxist Leninist consciousness among the Negro working class. Moreover they help to confirm the white working class in liberal, petty-bourgeois attitudes.

BLACK MUSLIMS

The Black Muslim Movement on the other hand represents the realisation by a section of the Negro people under petty bourgeois leadership that the Negro can never achieve full, real equality within a Monopoly-capitalist U.S.A. At best there can only be paper equality which is a mockery of justice. The Muslims are not Marxists and have not got a perspective of a socialist society coming into being in the U.S.A. in which all racialism ends and true equality and brotherhood begins. They cannot grasp the fundamental ECONOMIC

contradiction which determines racialism in the U.S.A. and the world generally. Thus the Muslims analyse the situation in purely ethnic terms and demand segregation and the opportunity of building their own black Capitalist society. Thus the Muslims seek the Afro-american 'identity' in religious and metaphysical terms as something qualitatively distinct from American 'identity' generally. This sectarianism has a predominantly negative feature divisive of the working class and mass movement generally against Monopoly Capitalism. Nevertheless the Muslims have grasped the basic fact that the Negro people themselves must determine their own future and the course of the struggle they must undertake. No reliance can be placed on White liberal and Democratic Party 'initiatives' on behalf of the Negroes.

MALCOLM X

Malcolm X and the leaders of the Organisation of Afroamerican Unity made a qualitative break from the Muslim position when they realised that the struggle of the Negro in the U.S.A. was an integral part of the world wide struggle against World Imperialism, led by U.S. Imperialism, with the storm centres in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Malcolm X realised moreover that the struggle must be led and directed by the Negroes themselves, that legislation within a white dominated capitalist state would not bring equality. Nevertheless he accepted help from any source as long as it was on terms acceptable to the Negro's interests. In this way he left behind the sectarianism of the Muslims. Like Robert Williams, Malcolm X represents the Negro masses in the process of awakening to a Marxist-Leninist consciousness without which the Negro struggle cannot be brought to a successful outcome. For the Negro workers and masses are a super exploited stratum of the U.S. proletariat and with their increasing political consciousness they are in a vanguard position relative to the whole U.S. proletariat. To succeed fully in their struggle for equality they must lead a unified struggle of all the oppressed in the U.S.A. - the poor Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Red Indians, the 5 million unemployed, the poor farmers and workers. Racial sectarianism will only divide the oppressed people and weaken the effectiveness of the struggle.

C.P.U.S.A.

The C.P.U.S.A. has adopted since Browder's time a right opportunist line

over the Negro struggle. The Party is seeking to channel the Negro struggle into "peaceful" forms and denounces all militant confrontation as "black sectarianism" and "adventurism." Their reformist line holds up the struggle inasmuch as it disarms, ideologically, the vanguard section of the whole working class. The Party pretends that "reasonable" democrats of the Kennedy, Humphrey and Johnson ilk do want and can achieve full equality for the Negro through legislative means as long as enough mass pressure of a peaceful nature (demonstrations, "sit-ins," etc.) can be put on them to act.

This line is a travesty of the line and activity the C.P.U.S.A. undertook between 1929 and the second World War. In 1929 the C.P.U.S.A., having discussed the issue with Stalin and the leaders of the Third International stressed the crucial importance of the Negro struggle in the U.S.A. for the whole anti-capitalist struggle for Socialism. With this correct line the C.P.U.S.A. led the heroic struggles in Scottsboro and elsewhere. Both white and Negro workers were drawn into the battle for equality for the Negro not only in the North but also in Birmingham, Atlanta and so on.

MARXIST-LENINISTS

Marxist-Leninists in the U.S.A. will work for the rallying of the whole of the working class and its allies (poor farmers, etc.) in the struggle against U.S. Monopoly Capitalism for complete equality for Negro Americans, realising that this aim will only ever be achieved with the overthrow of U.S. Capitalism and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

In the course of the struggle all sections of the U.S. working class will gradually come to this realisation... but first of all and most crucially the Negro workers and masses will become aware of this fact and thus their ranks will provide the greater part of the cadre-ship of a Marxist-Leninist Party in its formative stages.

This struggle for working class dictatorship in the U.S.A. will be greatly facilitated by and in turn facilitate the Afroasian and Latin American struggles for National Liberation and Socialism. Increasingly the U.S. Negroes will see this unity of struggle and through them the whole of the American working class will learn the truth.

The Negro struggle is thus the greatest challenge to U.S. Capitalism/Imperialism within the U.S.A. itself and is thus of key importance to the worldwide anti-Imperialist struggle.

All workers and oppressed people throughout the world must rally to the support of the American Negroes in their struggle for equality which will only be finally and fully achieved under Workers' Dictatorship in the U.S.A. itself.

FACTS AND "QUOTES"

SUBJECT: FASCISM.

SOURCE: R. Palme Dutt, "Fascism and Revolution."

The more the workers place their trust in legalism, in constitutionalism, in bourgeois democracy, the more they make sacrifices to save the existing regime as the "lesser evil" against the menace of fascism, the heavier become the capitalist attacks and the more rapid the advance to fascism. To preach confidence in legalism, in constitutionalism, in bourgeois democracy, that is, the capitalist state, means to invite and to guarantee the victory of fascism. That is the lesson of Germany and Austria.

SUBJECT: U.S. INVESTMENT IN FAR EAST AND OCEANIA.

SOURCE: People's Voice.

U.S. Big Business has a powerful motive in keeping its war machine in all parts of the Far East and Oceania - it has over £1,000,000,000 direct investments in the region.

Here is how it was invested at the end of 1963:

AUSTRALIA	...	£400,000,000
PHILIPPINES	...	£140,000,000
JAPAN	...	£135,000,000
INDIA	...	£70,000,000
INDONESIA	...	£60,000,000
NEW ZEALAND	...	£30,000,000
"MALAYSIA"	...	£22,000,000
PAKISTAN	...	£18,000,000
OTHERS	...	£63,000,000

The workers of the Far East and Oceania create the profits for these investors. Such enormous profits that they replace the investment many times over. These workers, along with the American workers, foot the enormous tax bill used for the war machine that protects this profiteering and seeks to extend it.

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... The vanguard of the working class will miss this dedicated and zealous Marxist-Leninist. His death is untimely and tragic, but all Marxists can learn from his dedicated example...

Fraternally,

R.T., Plymouth.

... Deep regret - a great loss to all workers of our cause... Good Luck and may the months to follow be good

Fraternally,

Joe Cohen, London.

... deeply upset by this news. Alas! the entire Communist Movement has suffered a grievous loss... I am honoured to be one of his comrades. We will carry on the fight, until complete victory, and always remember Michael.

Joe Dix, Manchester.

... a senseless tragedy... we must try and carry on the fight that Cde. McCreery was a prime mover for... our

deepest sympathy... Let's work to achieve a united Marxist-Leninist Movement - this Michael wanted most of all.

Fraternally,

Eileen & Norman Bagley,

Croydon, Surrey.

... a cruel blow to all who fought to uphold revolutionary Socialism. In spite of disagreements, which were bound to be in the momentous tasks which he set himself there was never the slightest weakening in his devotion to Marxism-Leninism.

His abilities and warm comradeship were obvious to all who knew him.

His work will strengthen all those who are carrying on the hard struggle in Britain for Peace and Socialism...

Jack Seifert, London.

... a terrible blow to us all... we must try to overcome it...

Val Sutherland, Glasgow.

... his loss will be felt by the international movement. His drive and determination in our struggle against revisionism will always be an inspiration. I am proud to have worked with him... we are even more than ever determined to continue the struggle... we sold 45 "Vanguards" last Sunday...

M. Major, Manchester.

... we Communists in Yorkshire pledge to uphold and advance this work until revisionism is defeated...

Keith Jennings,

Leeds, Bradford, Dewsbury and

Morley Groups. CDRCU.

... he was a sincere Marxist-Leninist and any accusation of "anti-Party" comes ill from those C.P.G.B. "leaders" who expelled McCreery and others... who were exposing their revisionist policies... The most suitable way of remembering a sincere comrade is to struggle for the Marxist-Leninist ideals he believed in. Whilst recognising the correctness of his ideals, I hope that

others will jointly be able... to achieve those ideals in practice.

Reader, Bristol.

... profound shock and sorrow... my deepest sympathy for this great loss, which is felt throughout the Communist Movement. His great contribution... was his fearless open public challenge movement in Britain. I never met him... but will always treasure his letters to me... inspiring confidence in the ultimate victory of Marxism-Leninism... let his courage inspire us all for the finest cause in the world.

B. Graham, Bristol

... he led - not because of personal ambition... but because he saw further, desired more strongly and did not hesitate... let us be imbued with his steadfastness, dedication and consistency. What Michael stood for will never die. Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Paul Noone, London.

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OPPOSE "LABOUR'S" SELL-OUT!

by Observer

The entire history of the Labour Government since its return after the General Election in October, 1964, has been marked by its subservience to U.S. imperialism and its role as faithful servant to British capitalism.

Wilson and his colleagues have not failed on one single occasion to record their service and enthusiastic support for every brutal act committed by the Pentagon and its armed forces. Tear gas and harsh respiratory gases are used in Vietnam, and Michael Stewart and others cannot be restrained from praising the humanity of the Americans in not using more lethal gases. The territories of North Vietnam are bombed repeatedly, indiscriminately and on an ever-increasing scale; 45,000 American troops are involved in direct combat operations with planes, tanks and the most modern weapons of war against the South Vietnamese people, and Patrick Gordon Walker, special emissary to the Far East reports his optimism at the progress of the war - "I am rather more hopeful now than when I left London" - and again, having seen examples of the strategic hamlets whose major use is to terrorize the inhabitants rather than act as fortification points, he says "This is the way to win the war, by gradual pacification. It worked in Malaya."

In the Dominican Republic, the American-supported puppet government is challenged by a popular uprising backed by a large proportion of the armed forces. Within a few days 20,000 American troops and equipment to match have landed on Dominican territory under the glaringly transparent pretext of protecting American nationals.

The reaction of the Labour Government? - "By their prompt action the Americans have saved not only American lives but others too including the Dominicans."

As American prestige falls low with their openly aggressive police actions, the Labour Government is ready to speak as the firmest apologist for American imperialism.

In the years before the election when in Opposition Labour Party spokesmen were fond of directing barbed criticisms at Britain's NATO alignment policies; they also expressed their deep concern at the possibility of nuclear weapons finding their way into the hands of the West German successors to Hitler. Today the Foreign Secretary pledges Britain's "unshakable loyalty to NATO"; the Labour Government continues the non-recognition of the East German Democratic Republic and some of its spokesmen have already added grist to the mill of the German revanchists who are demanding not only the annexation of East Germany but of parts of Poland too. The Government has even sent the Queen and Prince Philip to Bonn to smooth the way for a rapprochement with these ultra-reactionaries.

The display of the Socialists Wilson, Stewart, Healey and others in the field of foreign politics finds a true reflection in the Labour Government's record at home.

The Steel Nationalisation Bill heralded with a roar like a lion, is liable to be acclaimed, on completion, with something less than the whisper of a mouse.

Not only are the compensation terms extremely generous to the owners, and equally onerous to the country, not only are the provisions already being watered down, but there is already doubt of the implementation of the Bill in the life of the present Government.

Of course, even if the Bill were to become law, even if the steel owners were not being so amply rewarded, etc., etc., this would not be a Socialist measure nor even a move towards Socialism. It is an act designed fully from the outset to harness the State to the better functioning of capitalism in Britain, to ensure the supply of steel to its main users in this country at competitive prices. With bigger and more up-to-date plant in use and in the course of construction in a number of other countries,

with the rate of increase of British steel production lagging behind, a powerful body of capitalist opinion, despite vociferous protests to the contrary, is in favour of some form of steel nationalisation.

The Race Relations Bill is an anaemic spawn which will do nothing to deal with the dangers of racism. Even this is in process of being watered down.

The Rent Act will do nothing to give back to the people the extra hundreds of millions of pounds of which they have been robbed during the last few years.

It is true of course that the provisions of the Act will have the effect of giving greater security of tenure to many tenants; it is also likely that rents themselves will not spiral so sharply as since 1957, the year of decontrol.

But the present high level of rents, its top heavy percentage of earnings will remain. The Labour Government is simply regularising tenant-landlord relations in as workable a fashion as it sees fit. By so doing it lends its very considerable weight to the organised extraction of an extremely large amount of money income from the vast majority of working people.

There is not an atom of Socialism in the record or intentions of the Labour Government. This is clear to many, to Communists, many Labour Party members and large numbers of intelligent workers; there is little dispute about this.

But Gollan and other leaders of the Communist Party persist in their attitude of "supporting all that is progressive and opposing all that is not." This dangerous concept goes hand-in-hand with tying the present and future of the British people to a choice between a Labour or a Tory Government.

This non-Marxist approach denies completely the necessity for a class analysis of the Labour Government; of the overall nature of its policies and actions, whether they have the intention and effect of buttressing capitalism and reaction, whether they lend overall support to the main enemy of the peoples of the world, U.S. imperialism, and so on. To attempt to define the shades of difference and inflexions between the Tory and Labour Governments in their applied policies on how best to meet the needs of British capitalism (as Gollan has done) can have only one result and indeed has had this result.

The role of the working people in deciding their own fate has been negated; the role of the Communist Party in acting as inspirer and organiser of the working people has been utterly refuted.

It is not surprising in these circumstances that revolutionary enthusiasm in the ranks of the Communist Party is almost unknown, that branch meetings, if they are held at all, are poorly attended, that confidence in the leadership is low and public activity except at elections is virtually nil. Nor should it be surprising that this has been accompanied, over a long period, by a lack of mass political involvement of the British working class.

Nevertheless, everything has its equal and opposite reaction. More and more people, the youth in particular, inside and outside the Communist Party, are expressing their disgust at the absence of a genuine revolutionary policy. Old loyalties are at breaking point and in these circumstances a whole number of political organisations - some small, others tiny - have been formed over the last few years.

Divided, and even antagonistic as some of them are, they will remain weak and ineffectual. *The time is ripe and over-ripe for all those who desire ardently to see the establishment of a powerful, revolutionary movement in Britain dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism, to make the first approaches to find common ground.*

Personal ambitions and animosities, pre-judgments on other organisations - these and many other things besides will be obstacles - they will have to be overcome.

All should set their sights at the main obstacle to the development of a powerful mass movement in this country - the image of the Labour Government and the Labour Party in the minds of millions of workers.

This image must be destroyed - it can only be destroyed in the process of

agitation and struggle against the programme and actions of the Labour Government, and against the Labour Government itself; the means of achieving this must be the first steps to unite, not formally but in action all those organisations and individuals who will sincerely and energetically apply themselves to this task.

CLASS DIFFERENCES IN MATERNITY SERVICES

by Henry Ward

A RECENT article in the British Medical Journal (B.M.J. Vol. 1, 1965, p. 1057) by J. C. Kincaid has drawn attention to the class differences in the stillbirth and infant mortality rates in this country.

The stillbirth and infant mortality rates increase as one "descends" the "social scale." Thus in Scotland the stillbirth rate is 2½ times and the infant mortality rate over twice as high in the wives of unskilled workers as they are in the wives of professionally occupied males.

Moreover the farther one moves from London and the South East the higher the rates become generally, the extremes being found in Scotland and Wales. This latter fact is attributed to the higher proportion of semi- and unskilled manual workers compared to professional and white collar workers in the provinces and also to the lower proportion of doctors and midwives per head of the population in these areas.

Titmuss in 1943 showed that despite the overall national decline in the Infant Mortality Rate between 1911-1931 the individual rates for middle and working classes showed as great if not greater disparity in 1931 as they did in 1911. Morris and Heady in 1955 confirmed this trend between 1931-1951 while Logan in 1954 showed that the same pattern had occurred with the Stillbirth rates.

In his article Kincaid shows on the available figures that the same trend has been maintained since 1951. Thus in 1948-50 stillbirth rates for social class 5 and social class 1 were 35 and 18 per 1,000 live births respectively, while in 1960-62 the figures were 30 and 13 respectively. The same pattern emerges with Neonatal Mortality Rates. There is a general improvement but the disparity between social classes is as great (if not actually increasing) as ever. Thus the National Health Service and the Welfare State of which the social democrats are so proud have failed miserably in their proposed aim of reducing class discrepancies in health standards.

Nevertheless it should be pointed out that the Social Groupings used for analysis by Kincaid to some extent obscure the real class differences in Britain. Thus Social Class 1 includes large numbers of petty bourgeoisie people - doctors, lawyers, accountants, etc. - as well as the Bourgeoisie proper while social class 2 is by and large lower middle class and semi-proletarian white collar workers. Social class 3 is skilled manual workers and classes 4 and 5 are manual semi- and unskilled workers. Yet the figures he presents do emphasize the different standards of living to be found within different sections of the working class, the real basis for the lack of political unity found at present in the working class.

The reasons for the class differences

in stillbirth and infant mortality rates are attributed in this article to the following facts.

1. Working class wives make their first visit to the Ante-natal Clinic later than middle class wives and then attend less frequently.

2. More working class wives attend Local Authority Clinics or their midwives rather than attending their G.P. or a hospital clinic, generally speaking. The reverse is true of middle class wives.

3. More middle class wives have their babies in hospital although working class mothers and their babies are more at risk!

4. More working class wives have manual occupations or any occupation compared with middle class wives. Moreover they tend to work later in pregnancy.

5. Working class mothers tend to live in overcrowded conditions.

6. Mothers of the working class tend to have more children than their middle-class counterparts.

7. The general nutrition of working class women is usually poorer than that of middle class women. This is deduced from the fact that stature is related to stillbirth rate and so on, taller mothers being safer and their offspring doing better than shorter mothers and their offspring. This is an undoubted STATISTICAL fact. Moreover stature is related to social class, the middle classes tending to be taller than the working class. Add to this the fact taller working class mothers fare better than shorter working class mothers and tend to come from smaller families and a pattern emerges. Adult stature is determined not only by heredity but also by nutrition especially during childhood and adolescence. In large families through economic pressures the nutritional standard is lower than in small families, this is especially true in working class families. Thus full adult stature (as would be determined genetically) is not reached by a significant number of working class women in particular. This is probably reflected in stunted pelvic capacity or slight but significant obstetric deformity. But subnutrition coupled with overwork and a previously poor obstetric history could predispose to malfunctioning at any stage in the complex process of gestation and labour.

Thus Kincaid has furnished scientific evidence of a truth of which many of us were convinced by simple everyday observation. The Health Service, the cornerstone of the Welfare State, that triumph of reformism which has encouraged so many social democrats and revisionists in the belief that socialism can be brought into being by legislation within the framework of a capitalist state, here it stands exposed as a failure. It has not made any change at all in the class differences in this society as regards Maternity Services.

RISE AND FALL OF THE BRITISH CLOTHING INDUSTRY

By E. FOLLIS

IF the specious Tory slogan of the last general election but one: "You never had it so good," were to be applied to the employers in the British clothing industry today, it would contain every element of Truth.

The same does not apply to the 250,000 lesser individuals in the clothing industry, whose job it is to merely make the clothes.

One could even say that taking into account the ever rising cost of living, the failure of wages to keep up, the complete lack of protection from arbitrary dismissals, wage-cuts in off-seasons, and generally filthy working conditions, they are rapidly approaching the opposite.

One would never dream, judging by the dismal torpor that hangs over the branch offices of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, the stale smell of emptiness, that the history of the clothing workers in Britain is studied with a thousand instances of struggle, some of which for heroism, self-sacrifice, class-consciousness, militancy, obstinacy and political awareness bear comparison with anything in the annals of the British working-class.

The advent of the sewing machine, the rising demand for better dress by the emerging industrial classes and the persecution of 5,000,000 Jews domiciled perforce in the Pale of Settlement in the Russian Tsarist Domains, were the three foundations of the modern clothing industry in Britain, which today turns over £500,000,000 annually.

It is hard to believe, but up to well past the middle of the last century the majority of the British working-class wore nothing but second hand clothing. When the garments could no longer be "clobbered" (renovated) they were returned to the mills in bulk, where they were shredded, and processed into a coarse felted material called "shoddy." From this, shapeless suits were made known as "slops." These were the only "new" garments available to the lower classes.

Of course the gentry had their 'elegancies' made to measure; the women by dressmakers, the men by skilled "West-End bespoke" garment by hand, sometimes taking a fortnight to make one coat.

SUBDIVISION OF LABOUR

With the introduction of the sewing machine inroads were made into the handicraft trade and the subdivision of labour began. The less difficult part of the work was farmed out as homework, to female labour — mostly dockers' wives and daughters, who were only too eager to supplement their menfolk's poor and irregular incomes. Rates were of the lowest; soon the words "sweated labour" began to be associated with the making of clothes.

To be nearer their source of cheap, female labour, some of the journeymen tailors opened up small workshops in the East-End of London, but the flood of Russian and Polish Jewish immigrants after the pogroms of the 1880's brought about what Beatrice Potter (later Mrs. Sidney Webb) called an 'industrial discovery.'

Some of the refugee Jews, with experience in tailoring found German-Jewish masters already here, who would give them homework. But instead of shops in bedrooms, kitchen and attics, and they set up workshops and hired the later arrivals to do it for them.

The flood of immigration became a torrent. By 1888, Beatrice Potter's investigation uncovered a crazy-quilt of 1015 backroom workshops in the White-chapel District of Stepney, alone.

In Leeds a parallel development of the clothing trade was taking place; but here because there was no indigenous supply of cheap, female labour, the development took the form of large factories where rationalisation could be more effectively practised.

It required no great capital to set up as a master-tailor. Four wooden tables, two goose irons, a treadle machine and a mouthful of pins, and you were in business. But it required the constitution of an ox, the tenacity of a bulldog,

the rapacity of a wolf and the conscience of a hyena to make the grade.

THE ANTI-SWEATER

In 1889 there was an 'unplanned and unexpected strike' of 10,000 tailors in London (Commonwealth Aug. 1889). From this went forth a manifesto calling for a general strike of "LONDON TAILORS AND SWEATERS' VICTIMS." The leader of this struggle was a machiner named Lewis Lyons who issued his own journal briefly, called *The Anti-Sweater*.

With strike-pay unheard of, with no such thing as the dole, and with large families, the strikers held out five weeks and won. One of the demands achieved was "Hours to be reduced to from eight in the morning till eight at night, and not more than two hours overtime to be worked in any one day."

By 1901 there were fifteen clothing workers' unions in London. This did not mean however that by now the tailors had become highly organised. Most of these unions were tiny.

In the same year, under the guidance of the *Marxist Social Democratic Federation*, all the ladies tailoring unions amalgamated to form the *United Ladies Tailors' and Mantlemakers' Union*. This union grew and became an important social force in the East End of London until 1939, when it amalgamated with the present *National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers*.

On the 'gents' side of the industry, a similar polarisation was taking place; but it was not till 1932 that the 'gents' tailoring unions, handicraft and mass-production, Jewish and non-Jewish, and Scots, were finally organised into one union.

THE BLACK BUSY

1911 and 1912 were years of great militancy for the clothing workers. A general strike of the ladies tailors won improvements and, under the terms of the large strike settlement in Leeds in 1911, a working-week of 54 hours was achieved. In London, among the Jewish workers, a healthy class-hatred for the employers was the accepted thing; the workers generally referring to their lesser employers as, "Lozers" (louse-bags) and their larger ones as, "Mumzers" (bastards). In return the masters gave their breadgivers such flattering appellations as, "Oxen," "Draks" and "yokels." Unemployment was rife and the clothing workers were jubilant when King Edward VII died, during the off-season. There was a terrific rush of work on what was known for years afterwards as the *Schwartzzer Busy* (The Black Busy).

By the devilish quirks of the Capitalist system, the driving of millions of Europe's finest and best sons to die in the mud and slime of Flanders and North Eastern France in the 1914 - 1918 War, brought prosperity to the clothing workers. For the first time in their lives the East End tailors - that is, the ones who were not roped in to fight - were able to feed their families adequately.

Then as the exigencies of War demanded still greater efforts, the back-ground workshops proved inefficient and great rationalised factories sprang up to fulfil the army contracts; and the foundations of great fortunes began to be laid. In and around the East End of London firms, like S. Schneider, Polikoffs, Glanfields, Lotery's Rego, Lockwood and Bradley and Louis London, employed between them many thousands of clothing workers on khaki. As soon as the war was ended they went over with all their modern equipment to the manufacture of men's civilian clothing. The day of the small 'gents' workshop was drawing to its close.

Ladies' garments lent themselves less easily to mass-production methods, and in that side of the industry the back-room workshops continued to flourish.

Many of the older 'gents' workers, unable to adapt themselves to factory conditions became 'mantlemakers' and took with them their old, anarchistic fight-at-the-drop-of-the-hat militancy and their hatred of the *mumzers* which they had learned in the bitter days of their youth, and passed it on to the new generation of English-born, Jewish mantlemakers.

THE REGO STRIKE

Throughout the 'twenties' mounting tension developed in the London sector of the 'gents' side of the trade and the district became known by the right-wing Leeds executive of the *Tailors and Garment Workers Union* as a 'trouble spot.'

The newly-formed Communist Party was taking its work seriously and its industrial arm, The National Minority Movement, formed in 1924 to carry out Party policy among the rank and file trade unionist, was in the forefront of every fight. There is no room here to describe even one thousandth part of the struggles which took place, mainly 'unofficial,' in the clothing industry during the twenties. Wages were being slashed, unemployment was chronic and after the National General Strike of 1926, 'Mondism' - class collaboration on the part of the right-wing re-actionary trade-union leaders - was more of a problem than fighting the employers themselves.

The greatest single action of the London clothing workers was the Rego strike, which began on October 8th 1928 and lasted 77 days. The Rego factory, which made work for its chain of 80 retail stores, had moved from the East End to Edmonton, and the workers who were mostly young girls were now forced to travel long distances daily and bear the extra expense of the fares as well.

The strike began as 'unofficial,' frowned upon by the Leeds Executive of the Tailors' Union, but was quickly recognised by the London section and became supported by the London Trades Council, local Labour Parties, the Daily Herald, The Co-ops, sections of the clergy, and the chairman of the T.U.C. The Transport and General Workers' Union refused to handle Rego goods; and even Ramsay McDonald sent a pound to the strike-funds. Chief protagonist on the workers' side was Sam Elsbury, a fiery orator, foundation member of the Communist Party, E.C. member of the National Minority Movement, and London organiser of the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union.

On Christmas Eve, 1928, Elsbury led a dramatic parade of Rego girls marching back to work in partial victory.

THE RED UNION

But the right-wing hatchet-men of the Leeds executive were out to get Elsbury. They bided their time. On March 2nd 1929, Elsbury was dismissed from his post.

Swift retaliation followed from the Left. The London committee of the union unanimously rejected the decision of the Leeds Executive and voted to convene a mass meeting to set up a union.

On April 14th 1929, the four-week-old *United Clothing Workers' Union* - the "Red Union," as it soon became known - won its first strike.

But all was not going to be plain sailing. Trouble followed quickly - forced on it by the right-wingers, as to which union was going to represent the large Polikoff factory. *Elsbury* was for conciliation, on the grounds that the new union had had no funds with which to carry out a large-scale action; but his executive is alleged to have over-ruled him. A strike was called, which ended in fiasco, and the 'Red Union' lost control over the Polikoff workers. Similar trouble followed in other places and before long, Elsbury severed his connections both with the *Communist Party* and the 'Red Union.'

After Elsbury's defection, the 'Red Union' continued its struggle under the leadership of Dave Gershon and one of the Rego girl strikers. It had losses and

rebuffs, but it also scored notable victories over the Lockwood and Bradley chain of men's clothiers and in many of the smaller shops. In 1935, when the C.P. changed its line, the 'Red Union' was liquidated and its members advised to join the *Tailors and Garment Workers' Union* or the *United Ladies Tailors' Union*.

Many of the 'Red Union' members bitterly opposed the liquidation and argued that with the Lockwood and Bradley chain, Rego's, and scores of small shops, they were on the way to becoming an established force in the clothing industry.

PART II

THE LADIES TAILORS UNION

Space prevents more than the briefest recount of the struggles which took place on the 'ladies' side of the trade in the period leading up to World War II.

At the time the 'Red Union' was closed down, the Ladies' Tailors Union was dominated by what was known as the 'Old Gang.' Its general secretary was J. L. Fine, an ultra-right hard-shell Labourite, who hated the Communists like the Devil hates holy water.

A fraction of Communist Party members operated within the union and in 1936 decided openly to contest the 'Old Gang' on a policy of amalgamation with the now National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, so as to make one single tailoring union in the entire country. This was official C.P.G.B. policy.

The fraction lacked members with the tough in-fighting qualities of a Sam Elsbury, or the wise experience of a Dave Gershon.

At the time a far greater enemy than the clothing employers was stalking the stage - International Fascism. Many of the left-wing clothing workers, C.P. members and sympathisers, thought it more urgent to combat Mosely thugs on the streets than to attend to union affairs. Others had joined the International Brigade and gone to fight fascism in Spain. Yet others considered the building of a mass circulation of the *Daily Worker* a greater contribution to the anti-fascist struggle than fighting 'lozers.'

To the great delight of the members, in the midst of the anti-fascist struggle, the 'Old Gang' disintegrated through internal dissension and the Communists gained control of the *United Ladies Tailors Trade Union*.

Everyone now expected that the anti-Communist general secretary, J. L. Fine would "go for a Burton," but to everyone's great surprise, not least J. L. Fine himself, an influential group in the Communist Party fraction argued for his retention on the grounds "that we have got to learn to work with these people." And they won. Thus the avowed anti-Communist found himself backed at his old desk in the Communist-controlled union.

At the period the Ladies Tailors Union was strong only in the small, Jewish workshops, but by now, mass production had reached the mantle-trade and many big ladies tailoring factories existed, mainly in Finsbury, employing large numbers of non-Jewish workers. The clothing militants encouraged by the fact that they once again had a "Communist" union, went forth to organise them.

The first success was in the L. Joseph's factory in Clerkenwell, employing 250 workers, which was toppled in three hours of picketing (though much preparation had gone on by a single militant, inside). The L. Joseph's factory was the first large-scale mantlemaking factory to become organised; others followed but there were many larger ones to be tackled.

These campaigns required much discussion by the Communist Party fraction inside the union (now greatly enlarged) and the weekly meetings became the scenes of terrific verbal battles between a group on one side arguing for 'caution' and 'negotiations' and a group of rarin-to-go militants on the other side, who having seen the L. Joseph's factory topple in three hours felt confident that they could sweep right through the London Mantle trade. The incredible was happening, a Right and

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UNITY OF THE LEFT

By Jack Angel

A contribution to the discussion initiated by Roy Grant, in the March issue of "Vanguard."

HOW can the working class resist the attacks of the capitalist class, parry their blows, then march forward to end the exploitation of man by man, once and for all? The question has been asked many, many times by Socialists of various hues and colours. The answer usually given is that the prerequisite for the achievement of such aims is the unity of the working class, and of late, we have been hearing more and more about the necessity for "Unity of the Left."

Now this repeated use of the terms Left, Right and Centre is one of the biggest swindles that was ever perpetrated on the working class movement. Why do we say this? Because these are arbitrary, artificial formulations, which do not conform to present-day reality and in fact, have not done so for many a long year.

After all, what is this nebulous "Left" that everybody is talking about? It is agreed that the Labour Party comprises most of the Left. But the Labour Party is by no means a working class party. On the contrary, it is a capitalist party with a majority of working class members. What of the Communist Party of Great Britain? This was a working class party at one time, but capitulating to bourgeois pressure and influence, it has become a petty bourgeois party with a petty bourgeois leadership. What about all the other groups and organisations that compose this indistinct composite

called "the Left?" All of them suffer a continuous barrage of bourgeois pressure, which, in nearly every case, leaves its mark on their ideology, programme, methods and organisation.

The main contradiction in society is the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie. But bourgeois ideology is the prevailing ideology, very strong in this country at the moment. Proletarian ideology, for diverse historical reasons, is pitifully weak. This will not be so for ever and for all time, but we have to recognise that this is all too true at this time. The big swindle is the fact that Left is counterposed against Right as though they were opposite poles. They are not opposite poles at all, not by any stretch of imagination.

Therefore, let us analyse the Left and break it down into its three component parts. By far the greatest and most powerful element in the Left is official social democracy, the Labour government itself, which is a government that faithfully represents the interests of monopoly capitalism. There is no doubt that the right wing (which dominates the Labour Party and official Trade Union machinery, and controls the Party and Government) is a part of the establishment. These constitute the bourgeois element of the Left.

Next, we get the left wing of the Labour Party, the C.P.G.B., the Trotskyists and various other left wing groups. A motley crew, one might say, with very little in common between them. But there is a link which unites all these seemingly diverse elements.

What is the link? None of these groups are revolutionary; all are transformist. Every one of them is trying to do the impossible, i.e., to transform the Labour Party. Although there is not a hope in hell's chance of them doing it, they may even believe that they can transform the Labour Party, but the upshot of all their activity is that they merely exploit the needs and aspirations of the working

class for their own opportunist reasons. They have no consistent policy, and they continually vacillate between proletarian and bourgeois ideology. For example, you get all these Labour Members of Parliament representing the left wing minority in opposition to the right wing majority, but as soon as they get lucrative jobs in the government, they become

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

Committee for Communist Unity.

RISE AND FALL OF THE BRITISH CLOTHING INDUSTRY

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a Left was developing inside the Communist Party.

When the 'Left' took the dispute further - to the London District of the Communist Party - they were blocked by John Mahon, industrial organiser, who invariably sided with the 'Right.' Sometimes Mahon came himself to the fraction meetings (called in by the "rightwing" fraction leader) and berated the 'Left' for their 'extremism' and 'adventurism.' Trying to get a militant policy through the union was like trying to get a train through a tunnel blocked at one end by a landslide.

Nevertheless many leftwingers went ahead on their own, and other large factories became union shops. In 1939 the amalgamation was achieved and the United Ladies Tailors Trade Union became the *Mantle and Costume Branch* of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers.

The coming of War scattered the clothing militants - as it did others - to far places. When they returned they were not even given the courtesy of receiving their old committee seats back. Fractions were banned by the Communist Party - so that there was now no place where a fighting line could be argued out. The Labour Party was in control of the country and the main slogan of the Communist Party was the puzzling, "More Production." More production for what? For who? For whose benefit? The militants - nor most other people - failed.

Union membership was at its highest peak ever. During the war, with labour scarcity, boom output and co-operation with the government for clothing priorities, all it had been necessary to do in many cases, was to phone the employer, walk into a factory, give out a few leaflets and the place was organised.

And now the story nears its end. Without constant vigilance, with class collaboration and bureaucratic control, the union shops fell away. The militants made attempts to revive the clothing fraction but the Communist Party forbade it, as it also forbade the continuance of factory branches. In their places, allegedly to guide the clothing industry was formed a monstrous thing called

the 'Clothing Bureau,' composed exclusively of 'right-wing Communists' not elected by anyone but co-opted and nominated.

From then on, if anyone had a dispute or some sort of trouble involving factory or trade union matters connected with the clothing industry he was referred to the 'Clothing Bureau' - which was composed of the same persons with whom he was in dispute. Frustrated on every hand and disgusted with such tactics many militants left the industry altogether.

No Youth entered the trade, so bad were its memories, and the old fighters were becoming tired. In addition, some Jewish workers were increasingly imbued with Zionist-Nationalistic feeling, with the emergence of Israel as an independent state. When the Soviet Union sided with the Arab fight for national liberation, many of the Jews, forgetful of the heroic struggles and sacrifices by Communists everywhere against Fascism, became violently anti-Red. Those militants who remained were further disgusted and inclined to let the Jewish clothing workers stew in their own juice - which they did. The clothing trade-union brand of Communism - a very pink brand - was no help either. Like a barometer, the Communist vote in Stepney and Hackney - centres of the clothing trade - fell disastrously.

The last militant action was in 1949 at the large Davis and Frost factory in the West End of London. It was a classic struggle of the old style, led by Joe Jacobs, a pressure, and lasted many weeks. Jacobs was a militant of the old school who had been Borough Secretary of the Stepney Communist Party in 1936 and who was the leading figure in organising the historic Battle of Cable Street against the Fascists.

If the strike had lasted another two weeks - till the busy spring-season started - it would have been won. As it was, a settlement was negotiated. Jacobs was not taken back. A short while afterwards, while working at a small job, he was summoned to a meeting of the 'Clothing Bureau' at the London District offices of the Communist Party, which was timed for two o'clock on a working afternoon. When

he arrived at the office, he was met on the stairs by a woman member of the clothing bureau, who had never been in a strike in her life, and told by her that he had been expelled from the party. That was all.

Later, when protest was made, first to the London District Industrial Organiser, and then to the National Industrial Organiser at King Street, the answer was given in each case; "It is a matter for the Clothing Bureau."

Something funny was going on in the higher echelons of the Communist Party and it wasn't in the Poetry Group either.

ALL QUIET ON THE CLOTHING FRONT

Since then little of importance has happened. Every two years or so, the Leeds National Executive negotiates a small wage increase which lags miserably behind the latest increase in the cost of living. At that, some employers pay it, others do not. In 1946 many workers in the mantle trade could command an average wage of £20 weekly, against a national average of £9. Today, in the few union factories which remain, the average wage for skilled male workers is about £17 weekly against a national average of £18. Women workers have done slightly better. Excessive hours of overtime are the rule. In the "Hackney Gazette," which specialises in advertisements for clothing workers, one can see adverts worded; "Plenty of overtime guaranteed all the year round." Up to seventeen hours a week overtime are worked in union shops. Not five minutes from Old Street Station, in London, are many factories which work all day Saturday and Sunday. The union branch office has imposing premises in this area. In the thirty six years of its existence the *United Ladies Tailors Trade Union*, whatever faults it had in other directions, fought valiantly against excessive working hours and would expel members found working overtime. No Communist clothing fraction agitates anymore. All is quiet on the clothing front.

It is many years since Lewis Lyons issued his last copy of the *Anti-Sweater*. The 'mumzers' and the 'oxen' lie to-

gether, in peace at last, in the close-packed Jewish cemeteries of Manor Park and Edmonton, distinguishable only to the knowing eye by the weathering opulence of some of the headstones. Over the clothing industry lies a similar kind of peace. *Pax Romanorum* - The Peace of the Vanquished.

Very few Jewish workers are left in the clothing industry. Those that remain are elderly. Jewish youth shuns the trade, because their parents vowed they would sooner see them sweeping the streets than in the terrible *schneideri* (tailoring).

New waves of immigrants have come from across the seas to take over the travail of the old. Where once Yiddish was the *lingua franca*, now the accents of the Caribbean are heard, the tongues of the olive groves of Cyprus and the villages of the Punjab and the jute-mill towns of Bengal.

Conditions are worsening every day, the employers becoming more and more arrogant. Only the scarcity of female labour keeps them in line. Should unemployment become rife, the clothing workers will be back to square one.

One immutable fact stands out from the long struggle of the clothing workers. *If conditions are intolerable they will fight.*

Grey old Marx and great Lenin stand in the background, always offering their priceless guidance free and gratis to all who have the courage to take it.

What can be done? Must we start from the beginning again? It needs be - yes. But, if from now on, during and after every action, large or small, important or insignificant, the role of every person and every agency concerned - the role of the leaders and the followers, the trade-union officials, the press, the police, the radio and T.V. the role of everyone and everything - is put under the dialectical microscope and the results explained to the workers, and if because of the action, whether won or lost, one single *cadre* is made, who has learned to recognise the hideous features of Capitalism behind the benign mask - and will carry on, then all is not lost.

Then Victory is snatched from De-feat.

TRIBUTE FROM "HAMMER AND STEEL"

Dear Comrades:

Your letter informing us of Comrade McCreery's death was delayed. We were unable, therefore, to send a message to the memorial meeting.

We met Comrade McCreery in August last year. He was extremely busy yet he found time for talks with us. He had a keen understanding of the importance of a Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S. He understood well the need for comradely criticism and theoretical assistance to the students of Marxism-Leninism in our country.

Comrade McCreery had outstanding respect for Marxist-Leninist theory. Unless the newly developing Marxist-Leninist organisations are able to break theoretically with revisionism, to develop Marxist-Leninist ideology and combine it with the conditions of struggle in each country, then we too will fall into revisionist paths.

Comrade McCreery well understood that Marxist-Leninist groups and parties from the different countries would not automatically agree with each other on all points under present conditions. Yet he clearly saw the need for reaching international ideological unity as soon as possible.

The death of Comrade Michael McCreery is a great loss to the comrades in Great Britain and the international Marxist-Leninist movement. There is no doubt that the struggle against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and the bitter battle against imperialism's revisionist agents will produce comrades who will successfully carry on the challenging tasks facing Marxist-Leninists in Great Britain.

H. Chase, Chairman.

UNITY OF LEFT

continued from page 6

indistinguishable from the right wingers. It also works the other way, as there is the case of one or two right wingers who were so annoyed at the fact that after all their loyal service, they were overlooked by Wilson when the jobs were distributed, that they made a sudden lurch to the Left. The C.P.G.B. grovels to the Labour Party all the time, begging and pleading with Wilson and Co. that they are not such bad chaps after all, but they have to keep up appearances as a Marxist-Leninist party. Therefore, on occasions, they do put forward correct formulations, sometimes they do not, and they, too, vacillate all the time between the two ideologies. Internationally, the revisionist leadership of the C.P.S.U. are doing the same thing, going from capitulationism to adventurism and back again, one moment making noises against American aggression in Vietnam, the next moment smashing the heads of Asian students protesting against U.S. imperialist aggression. As regards the Trotskyists, to listen to them, one would think we were on the verge of a revolutionary situation. They do not usually make an objective analysis of the actual situation but again and again, succumb to subjective wishes, although sometimes they are capable of viewing this or that problem objectively. They too, like the revisionists, vacillate between proletarian realism and petty bourgeois idealism. The Trotskyists, like the revisionists, refuse to admit that reformism in Britain has very deep roots, and they are constantly telling us that the rank and file of the Labour Party is absolutely seething with discontent and up in arms against Wilson and his leadership. These constitute the petty bourgeois element of the Left.

What remains of the Left is ourselves — a few score individuals valiantly trying to gather together the vanguard of the working class on the basis of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. We are tactically weak because at the present moment proletarian ideology is woefully weak, but we are strategically strong because we represent the real needs and aspirations of the working class. Eventually, they will rally round us. Therefore, we constitute the proletarian element of the Left.

We constitute the only element of the Left, minute as it is, which is a reliable weapon in the hands of the working class, and upon which they can rely. All the other elements are either out-

NO LONGER ASSOCIATED

MR. MIKE BAKER, LATE OF SCARBOROUGH, YORKS., WAS EXPELLED FROM ALL ASSOCIATION WITH THE C.D.R.C.U. AND ITS ORGAN, "VANGUARD," AT A MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON SUNDAY, JUNE 13th, 1965.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, C.D.R.C.U.

right capitalist, which we must fight against and expose, or vacillating petty bourgeoisie, with which the working class can unite with on this or that issue at this or that particular time, but which it can never rely on.

There cannot be any permanent, all-embracing unity of the Left, as we know it today. Why not? Because within the Left, there are insoluble contradictions. A struggle is taking place and will continue to take place between the two ideologies, right until the victory of Socialism and beyond. This struggle will inevitably be reflected within the Left between its component parts. At the present moment, the balance is overwhelmingly weighted on the side of bourgeois ideology. Inevitably, the balance will change, but it will be a long process.

Now let us explain why the concept of Left against Right is such a fraud. It is part of the parliamentary fraud, the fraud of bourgeois democracy, the fraud of gradual evolution towards Socialism. It creates the impression that there are two more or less equally powerful forces opposed to each other, called Left and Right. As we have seen above, this is not true at all. Only a tiny part of the Left represents proletarian ideology, while by far the greatest part represents bourgeois ideology. When you add that to the openly bourgeois parties outside the Left like the Conservative and Liberal Parties, you get a truer picture of the real balance of ideological forces within society. It is precisely because the mass of organised workers in Britain are still deceived by the swindle of bourgeois democracy that they continue to support the reformist Labour Party. It is only when they begin to see through the swindle that they organise in a different way, and in fact, they have already started to do it. Permit us to quote from an article published on August 2, 1964 in *Akahata*, organ of the C.C. of the Japanese C.P.:

"The fact that at present, in a number of capitalist countries, the social democratic parties enjoy the support of a majority of the working class is nothing but the manifestation of the fact that the political struggle through which the working class rallies to the political party that really represents its class interests, that is, the Marxist-Leninist Party, has not yet been completed and a majority of the working class still remains under the influence of petty bourgeois and bourgeois ideology."

To secure victory, the working class needs to organise around its vanguard. But do to this successfully, the vanguard must be of the highest quality, which defends to the utmost the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory. Yes, we need unity, the unity of the broad masses, but to accomplish this we need first of all, a strong ideological unity of the vanguard, small as it is.

There will, undoubtedly, be opportunities for this vanguard to unite with some elements within the Left on this or issue, but we cannot have organic unity with them and we certainly cannot rely on them. We can only rely on ourselves and the knowledge that eventually, the mass of the working class will rally round its vanguard.

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CARIB-LATIN-AMERICAN UNITY
AGAINST IMPERIALISM
FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE
AND SOCIALISM

Write to: CARIB,
Top Floor, 374 Grays Inn Road, W.C.1

"THE NATION"

A Poem from India

The Mother weeps,
Her tears fill a continent.
Her children lie naked, starving
On dusty heartless plains
Or along banks of rivers
Swollen with tears and hopelessness.

O! Ganga! Godavari!
Have mercy on our perishing bodies!
Hold your flood of hate.
Pray! Preserve our crops!
We beg! We pray!
O! GOD!
We are humble, helpless folk
We are the children of this soil.

Mother do not weep.
Wipe your tears on this Red Flag.
It is coloured with blood
And toil of your children.
We have learnt to fight.

We have learnt
Of a new star in the sky,
Look! Above! The Red Star!
We will not beg
Nor pray
We will not bend our knees
To our white-capped rulers.
Hypocrites! Fascists! Liars!
Oppressors of the poor and weak!
Your paper promises remain empty words.
Borrowed green-backs secured
By our liberty
Cannot buy the will of the masses;
Only puppets and stooges.

Do you believe
You can imprison liberty
In a brick cage?
Liberty is inside these prison walls
When your thieves are plundering outside.

Do you believe
You can steal our land
- Fruit of our toil, blood of our soul,
With 'eternal' laws and hired guns?
Remember, Tyrants -
All rulers were slaves once ...

See the Clenched Fist!
We have learnt to fight!
No, we will not beg
Nor pray again.
We did not plough the green fields
Nor raise our paddy and corn
With prayer and begging.
But with our hands
We will build
A great Red Dam
That will hold forever
Your flood of treachery.

SMASH the state
power of the big
capitalists and fi-
nanciers! End their
unearned incomes!
Build Socialism in
Britain!

Committee for Communist Unity.



GHANA — VAST PROFITS FOR BRITISH MONOPOLIES

PEOPLE



“Aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is aggression against China” — People’s militia, Peking, August 1964

ASIA — IMPERIALISM FACES DEFEAT

NEMY

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gust, 1949.

IMPERIALISM

REVISIONISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

PART II

THIS is the second part of extracts from an article, published originally in "AKAHATA", journal of the Japanese Communist Party, in late 1964. Part I was printed in the April-May "Vanguard". (Ed.)

The Party of Proletarian Socialism and the Party of Petty-Bourgeois Socialism

TODAY, after World War II, the "socialism" of the social-democratic parties has made further sharp retrogression. A very few social-democratic parties (the Italian Socialist Party, the Japan Socialist Party and so forth) basically take up a stand close to those parties of the prewar Second International which accepted revisionist "Marxism" as their leading theory. But, in 1951, the "Socialist International," which was formed mainly for rallying the social-democratic parties in Europe, formally severed their connections even with the "Marxism" of the Second International type by two programmatic declarations — the "Frankfurt Declaration" (1951) and the "Oslo Declaration" (1962) — and made clear the stand of so-called "Democratic Socialism."

Its first feature is that it takes the stand of thorough-going anti-Communism, which looks upon socialist countries and the international Communist movement as an enemy that is the "menace to world peace, freedom and Socialism."

"International Communism is a tool of new imperialism. In those countries where it holds political power, it has destroyed freedom as well as the chance to reach freedom. International Communism is based on military bureaucracy and terror police system. It has created a new class society by engendering a striking contrast in wealth and privilege. Forced labour plays an important role in its economic organisation." ("The Frankfurt Declaration.")

"Communist countries claim that they love peace, but their way of maintaining military power has increased tension in the whole world." ("The Oslo Declaration.")

Its second feature is that it openly supports the world policy of the imperialist camp, whose main force is U.S. imperialism, and defends modern Capitalism as the "society transforming itself into Socialism" under deceptive slogans such as "Welfare State," etc.

"Socialism has come to the era of practice from the era of propaganda. In some countries the foundation of socialist society has been already laid down and the evils of Capitalism are gradually disappearing and the society is acquiring new vitality.... In a great number of countries, uncontrolled Capitalism is giving way to an economy in which state intervention and collective ownership restrict the activity sphere of individual capitalists.... Wherever the strength of Socialism is strong, important measures have been taken for the creation of a new social order." ("The Frankfurt Declaration.")

"The worst extremes of Capitalism have been rectified by the constant activities of the socialist parties and trade unions. A new form of ownership and control of production has been born.... Even if a socialist party is an opposition party, the government has been often compelled by the force of public opinion to adopt what are originally socialist methods in solving the problems of complete employment and social security." ("The Oslo Declaration.")

In this way, "democratic socialism" is an anti-socialist programme which connects the traditional reformist line with more open bourgeois apologetics and anti-Communism. It has so evolved that it can hardly be distinguished from the programme of the imperialist forces and monopoly bourgeoisie, and at present this anti-socialist programme has become the common programme of a large majority of the social-democratic parties in the world.

The Democratic Socialist Party in Japan is one of the typical parties which take the stand of "democratic socialism." It has a programme (adopted at its fourth congress in 1962) which so openly

expresses the demands raised by U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital that it: (1) Places socialist countries and the Communist movement on the same level as fascism and accuses all of them as "left and right totalitarianisms"; (2) takes the stand of virtually supporting the "policy of strength" of the imperialist camp, claiming that the "balance of armed force" is the very foundation of world peace; (3) co-operates with various policies to strengthen state-monopoly capitalism, advocating "building of a welfare state" based on labour-capital collaboration; and (4) is virtually opposed to the mass struggle outside the Diet in the name of "holding fast to parliamentarism."

In some countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America there are also some cases where the imperialist forces organise pro-imperialist social-democratic parties with the co-operation given by right-wing social-democrats in "the mainland," and those parties either become open mouthpieces of colonialism or handmaidens of counter-revolution, and thereby they have become one of the most reactionary political forces of those countries.

Petty-Bourgeois Parties

The foregoing history and present state of affairs of the social-democratic parties show that the "socialism" of those parties was formed and has developed as petty bourgeois Socialism which is essentially different from proletarian socialism, or has arrived at bourgeois "atrophy." Can such a party be called a "socialist party" or "the party of the working class" because it writes the word of "socialism" in its programme? Is it not clear that he who does not discard the scientific socialist stand cannot look upon the social-democratic parties as "socialist parties" and place them on the same level as the Marxist-Leninist Parties?

Unlike the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the social-democratic parties are not parties unified with a definite theory or ideology. Therefore, that petty-bourgeois socialism and other reformist currents are a dominant current does not mean that this is the only current in those parties. As a matter of fact, in most cases, there is, within the social-democratic parties, a left-wing current which is opposed to the dominant reformist current and is politically and ideologically, more or less, close to proletarian socialism. As the history of the rise and fall of a left-wing current in respective parties shows, however, this current itself cannot avoid petty-bourgeois vacillation and limitation as long as it exists as one of current within the social-democratic parties. Therefore, from the reason of the existence of the current, no one can deny that the social-democratic parties are parties of petty-bourgeois socialism as a whole. Still less one can leave it obscure that the only party which represents genuine proletarian socialism is the party of Marxism-Leninism....

II-MODERN REVISIONISM'S TRANSITION TO PETTY-BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM

The next question is: From what ideological source stems the erroneous theory of the "re-assessment" of the social-democratic parties which regards social-democratic parties and Marxist-Leninist Parties on the same level? To draw the conclusion first, the error stems from the fact that modern revisionists have departed from the revolutionary stand of Marxism-Leninism on the basic problem of the political line of the revolutionary movement, and either have shifted or are shifting to an opportunist stand based on the prettifying of imperialism and Capitalism, and, in the end, to the stand of petty-bourgeois socialism, which is essentially one and the same thing as social-democracy.

In fact, the opportunist political line advanced by modern revisionists concerning the revolutionary movement agrees amazingly with the political line whose foundation was theoretically laid down by classical revisionists such as Kautsky and Bernstein, and has become the authorised leading policy of many parties of "the Second International" "reconstructed" after World War I. Their difference may be said to be only that in contrast with the parties of the Second International having proposed the above line as an opposite to Marxism-Leninism, modern revisionists combine this line with the so-called "basic changes of the world situation centred on the establishment and development of the world socialist system," quote the Moscow Statement in distortion and advance their own argument in disguise as if it were the "modern and creative development" of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory.

(1) For instance, with regard to the question of war and peace, modern revisionists distort the thesis of the Moscow Statement, which claims world war to be no longer inevitable, and "develop" it into the theory of beautification of imperialism that regards the main current of U.S. imperialism, i.e., the "main force of aggression and war," as turning from the policy of aggression and war toward the peaceful co-existence of both systems. And thereby they lay the foundation of the opportunist line to realise world peace, not by the struggle of the whole world's peoples for national independence and peace and against imperialism, but by mainly relying on diplomatic negotiations with imperialist states. At the same time, they spread the illusion that "a world without war" can be realised by completely abolishing armaments even when imperialism continues to exist as today, if the process of the "peaceful transition" of imperialism is ever pushed forward. Thus they are striving to virtually turn the world peace movement into the "pro-imperialism" line, which slights the national independence struggle, avoids the struggle against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and pursues only slogans such as peaceful co-existence, general and complete disarmament, and so on. This is precisely nothing more than another version of the notorious "realistic pacifism" put up by the Second International after World War I. As modern revisionists, they formerly: (a) Considered that post-war world Capitalism had shifted to the stage of "ultra-imperialism" and that the era when imperialism was the source of aggressive war had come to an end; (b) claimed that war could be prevented and peace could be maintained through negotiations between imperialist countries and chiefly by depending upon the "League of Nations;" and (c) strove to abandon the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war and to disseminate among the peoples the illusion of "lasting peace" or of "abolition of armaments" under Capitalism. Thus, they finally became a cloak to cover the imperialists preparing for a new imperialist war. (As for the above question, see "Kennedy and U.S. Imperialism," by "Observer,"

Bulletin, March, 1964, and "The Movement Against A-and H-Bombs and Theory and Practice of Divisionists," Bulletin, August-September, 1964).

(2) As for the problem of the course of the revolutionary movement, too, modern revisionists propagate, as a "modern form" of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution, the "structural reform" theory that:

(a) Modern Capitalism has entered a new stage when an "objective driving force" toward Socialism inheres within Capitalism itself, a new stage when even monopoly capital is compelled to accept planned economy and state intervention, both of which were once regarded as inherent in Socialism, because, on the one hand, modern Capitalism is exposed to the powerful influence of economic competition with the world socialist system, and, on the other hand, is stimulated by a new development of productive power; (b) in such a situation, even if the rule of imperialism or the power of monopoly is not revolutionarily overthrown, if the working class continues to "permeate" and "intervene" in the politico-economic mechanism of modern Capitalism, then state-monopoly Capitalism can be transmuted into the peoples' instrument to fight against the monopolies and, in accordance with the growth of the peoples' strength, even the role of the capitalist state can be gradually so changed as to serve the people; and (c) thus, today, peaceful and gradual transition to Socialism has become possible by piling up political and economic "structural reforms" over a long period.

But this is precisely nothing but a modern version of the opportunist "revolution" line which doubly and trebly combines the errors of reformism and economism.

First, this argument propounds the theory of prettifying modern Capitalism, a theory which regards the development of state-monopoly Capitalism as the development of "socialist factors" within the capitalist economy, or at least understands it as transmutable into "socialist factors" if the working class intervenes in the process and becomes its leading force. But the nature of state-monopoly Capitalism is such that, "by tightening the monopolies' grip on the life of the nation, state-monopoly Capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state" (the Moscow Statement), and this combination solely works as an instrument for saving the capitalist system and "increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of population" (ibid). The argument of revisionists who attempt to virtually avoid the question of overthrowing the power of monopoly and of socialist revolution by representing matters as though state-monopoly Capitalism can be "socialist factors" under the rule of monopoly capital is only an adaptation of the hackneyed apologetics of Capitalism which were already disseminated by reformists 40 years ago. Lenin gave the following scathing criticism to the then reformists who claimed that "state-monopoly Capitalism is no longer Capitalism, but can already be termed 'state Socialism,' or something of that sort" (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 25, "The State and Revolution"), and his criticism also accurately pulverises the grounds of the modern "structural reform" theory.

"The 'proximity' of such Capitalism to Socialism should serve the genuine representatives of the proletariat as an argument proving the proximity, facility, feasibility and urgency of the socialist revolution, and not at all as an argument in favour of tolerating the repudiation of such a revolution and the efforts to make Capitalism look more attractive, an occupation in which all the reformists are engaged" (ibid).

Second, this argument does not adopt the position of lifting the peoples' struggles in capitalist countries around demands of a democratic nature such as independence, peace, democracy and im-

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DUTCH MARXIST LENINISTS UNITE

On March 13th of this year the Central Committees of the two big Marxist-Leninist organisations in our country have decided to unite and to found the MARXISTISCH-LENINISTISCH CENTRUM NEDERLAND (M.L.C.N.)

The foregoing discussions have shown that there is complete agreement about the struggle against Imperialism and modern revisionism and for peace, democracy and socialism.

It has been decided, moreover to discontinue the magazines "Spartacus" and "Kameraden" and to publish "De Rode Tribune" (Red Tribune) as the national organ of the Central Committee.

With this important decision, a new stage has begun in the struggle against modern revisionism. In many countries the revisionists try to sow division between the ranks of the real revolutionaries. They have even founded so-called "opposition groups" and "Marxist-Leninist groups" for the sole purpose of preventing the foundation of national Marxist-Leninist magazines and organisations.

In the Netherlands, however, they did not succeed in doing this and, on the contrary, the Marxist-Leninists have united in a solid organisation, based on the principles of democratic centralism. It goes without saying that all sections of the two groups in the Netherlands received this great news with joy.

It means a heavy blow for Dutch Revisionism: it is a signal for starting a broader, co-ordinated action.

Like capitalism, modern revisionism also produces its own grave-diggers.

The M.L.C.N. will do everything in its power to prevent a split in the communist ranks. While unmasking and fighting modern revisionism and its representatives in the C.N.P., it will at the same time stimulate and lead the inner party struggle within the C.P.N.

We hope that the revisionist leaders of the C.N.P. will return from the path

of class betrayal and split. Their recent actions, however, leave little hope. They have already expelled Marxist-Leninists from the party and thus taken the first step on the path of a split.

In spite of this we call on the leaders of the CPN to allow comradely discussion within the party. To give the party members, apart from all the revisionist literature, an opportunity to take note also of the stand point of Marxist Leninists. Too many comrades have still never set eyes upon the important contributions of the Chinese, Albanian, Indonesian and other Parties in the ideological dispute.

We have confidence enough in the power of Marxism-Leninism to know that such a discussion would lead to a complete condemnation of modern revisionism and thus of the present "new-line" of the CPN.

Meanwhile, however, as the CPN defaults, the MLCN will continue to organise the struggle of the working class for its daily interests, to unmask the treacherous reformism and revisionism and to organise a proletarian internationalist action as a support of the struggle of our class brothers in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We now call on all Marxist-Leninists, all who want to be true to the struggle of their class and to the struggle of all oppressed people, to join the MLCN and to subscribe to "De Rode Tribune."

Let all sincere revolutionaries fight in unity for their noble objectives!

QUOTES

SUBJECT: APARTHEID IS PROFITABLE TO MONOPOLIES

SOURCE: N. Z. COMMUNIST REVIEW, APRIL, 1965.

The great British monopolies have £1,100,000,000 invested in South Africa. The United States has a little over £250,000,000. Together, these investments constitute 70% of all foreign investments. And it takes a tenth of the total annual production of South Africa to provide their profits that average around 15%. These foreign monopolies have a stake in virtually every key sector of South Africa's economy - shipping, heavy engineering, chemicals, agricultural implements, motor assembly, textiles and so on.

OBITUARY

In memory of Jack Broomfield, a staunch revolutionary socialist who passed away on Saturday 12 June, 1965 at the age of 64. He left staunch revolutionary communists behind him.

A DEAR COMRADE.

SUBJECT: U.S. INTERVENTION IN DOMINICA

Speech by Fidel Castro on May 1st, 1965

For us the conclusions to be derived from the Dominican events is that we must be prepared so that when they come they have to count their dead in thousands and millions.

REVISIONISM & SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

continued from page 10

proved living standards in a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the rule of imperialism and monopoly capital, but tries to narrow them into a reformist movement which virtually pursues only partial reforms under the power of monopoly capital, or "changes in the policies" of the ruling class.

Discussing the peoples' democratic demands at the stage of imperialism, Lenin pointed out that petty - bourgeois democrats endeavour to formulate those demands "reformistically" and to keep them within the scope "realisable" under imperialism, but what revolutionary Marxists need is for these demands to "be formulated and put through in a revolutionary and not a reformist manner" (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works, Vol. 22, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" - Theses). Even at the present stage, when the parasitism and decay of imperialism have been vastly aggravated, it is clear that the "structural reform" theory, which "formulates in a reformist manner" the peoples' democratic demands, and severs them from the revolutionary struggle for the peoples' power, is an opportunist line basically opposed to the revolutionary position of Marxism-Leninism, which "formulates them in a revolutionary manner" and develops the peoples' democratic struggle into the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the rule of imperialism and monopoly capital.

Third, this argument is connected with "the theory of peaceful transition only" which, exaggerating the Moscow Statement view that in a number of capitalist countries the working class "can create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution," regards the possibility of non-peaceful transition to Socialism as an exception, absolutises peaceful transition virtually as "the only way" of revolution and, in addition, finally dissolves into the so-called "parliamentary road," which denies the necessity of "the destruction of the bureaucratic-military state machine" (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 25, "The State and Revolution"), and proposes to win a majority in parliament through election. But this virtual "theory of peaceful transition only" is an argument which, firstly disregards that "the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily (the Moscow Statement) and, so long as they hold state power (i.e., machinery of violence), there always exists the danger that they may resort to violence in order to maintain their rule; and, secondly, disregards that, even if the socialist revolution takes either a peaceful form or a non-peaceful form, the success of a revolution cannot be achieved without overthrowing the state power of the ruling class on the basis of the peoples' revolutionary movement and defeating their resistance. Therefore, this only reveals that modern revisionists have forgotten the well-known thesis of Marxism-Leninism that "the main question of every revolution is undoubtedly the question of state power" (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 25, "One of the Fundamental Questions of the Revolution"), and that they adopt the position of opportunism and reformism.

The petty-bourgeois "revolutionists" of the Second International also: (a) Grasp state-monopoly Capitalism as "organised Capitalism," i.e., as the

Capitalism of a transition period which has adopted the socialist principle of planned economy; (b) claimed that, if the working class participated in management councils and the state machine of economic control, and thereby expanded "economic democracy," then it could transform capitalist economy into "economy led by the democratic state" and in accordance with the balance of forces, it could gradually place state power under the political control of the working class; and (c) maintained that in developing capitalist countries the only realistic way to Socialism was to peacefully and gradually reach Socialism through the path of "economic democracy" and "parliamentarism." They strove to sever the working class from the revolutionary movement and to draw it into the road of compromise with the capitalist system and thereby fulfilled the role of defending the capitalist system from the revolutionary movement. Modern revisionist "revolutionists" who advance the theory of "structural reform" now fulfil one of the same role as those petty-bourgeois "revolutionists" did in the past.

In this way, modern revisionists, in a series of basic problems of principle, such as the question of war and peace and the question of the socialist revolution, have completely severed themselves from Marxism-Leninism and have, after all, approached the position of the petty-bourgeois Socialism of the Second International style. Hence, no wonder that modern revisionists have lost sight of the boundary line which demarcates, in principle, the social-democratic parties - which are the parties of petty-bourgeois socialism - and the Marxist-Leninist Parties, and regard both on the same level. In fact, a section of Marxists in Europe claims that today, when the world situation has radically changed and peaceful transition to Socialism has become possible, there is no basic difference between the Communist Parties and the social-democratic parties in respect to the major problems of revolution, such as the content and method of the socialist revolution and the nature of the socialist state. They have made the above-mentioned question an important ground for a united front with the social-democratic parties, and, moreover, have begun to raise even the question of political merger of the Communist Parties with the social-democratic parties.

Claiming that, "in our time, when the world situation has undergone basic changes centred on the emergence of the world socialist system, Lenin's theory of a vanguard party - the theory of 'the party of a new type - has already become out of date, and the parties of various types, including the social-democratic parties, have become able to lead a revolution," Japanese anti-Party revisionists advance an argument which directly connects both the parties and the opportunist theory of "revolution." This far better corroborates the before-mentioned state of affairs.

Thus, the question of whether to safeguard the revolutionary position of Marxism-Leninism in connection with the assessment of the social-democratic parties is, after all, a question of whether to adhere to revolutionary positions in connection with the basic problems of the socialist revolution, and is also a question which it is impermissible for Marxist-Leninists to make ambiguous.

RACIALISM & CLASS STRUGGLE

William Surrey is to be congratulated for throwing some light on the subject of racism (Vanguard April/May, 1965), which because of its high emotional content, causes considerable confusion in left-wing circles. It is most important for Marxist-Leninists to be objective when dealing with this type of question, and this, your correspondent has achieved.

Most of the recent analysis of the immigration problem have been made on a basis of colour and as such must be second-rate, superficial, and misleading. The immigration question in England is most certainly an important one, reflecting as it does, two of the main contradictions existing in the present-day world. Viz:- The contradiction between Capital and Labour, and the contradiction between The National Liberation Movements and Imperialism. This is not to say that other contradictions are not involved too.

It is time Marxist-Leninists began to face these issues squarely and analysed them on a class basis, leaving emotional issues to the Fascists, Social Democrats, and Revisionists.

Aquaintance with any district in England with a high influx of immigrants reveals that there is resentment of the newcomers. Much of this is based on prejudice but it would be unrealistic to suppose that there is no objective basis for the complaints of the English working class.

These usually take the form of complaints about competition for jobs, undercutting of wages and housing shortages, and have a degree of substance behind them comparable in some ways to the situation described by F. Engels in "The condition of the working class in England" over a century ago. Here Engels described the use made of the Irish Immigrant by the Capitalist class to split the Working class and hold down its living standards. No question of colour was involved then, but the basic outlines were the same as they are today.

Comparison of immigration and emigration figures, showing that more people have left the country than have entered it, is not valid because immigrants naturally tend to concentrate in the high wages areas thus allowing the capitalist class to attack the unity of the working classes in those areas, whereas, most of the emigrants go from N. Ireland, Scotland, The North East and Wales.

The first thing to remember then, is that the struggle for immigrant equality is in no way opposed to the struggles of the English working class. Rather, the two struggles compliment each other.

Much controversy has recently raged

over the subject of control citing the right of British subjects to free entry into the U.K. It is important to remember that this "freedom" was one granted to the bourgeoisie, by the bourgeoisie and in the interests of the bourgeoisie. There have been too many instances of reactionary immigrants eg: Hungarian "freedom" fighters and E. German "refugees" coming into the U.K. for any M.L. to take a stand against control. Every other Country in the world supervises its immigrants, the question here is not whether or not there should be control, but rather "who is to do the controlling." With no immediate prospects of a genuinely progressive government in sight, the best we can look for here is the instrument most easily influenced by the working class, and a call for immigration control to be placed in the hands of the unions would probably be the most realistic slogan for M.L.'s to put forward at present.

Finally, an examination of the reasons for U.K. immigration would provide useful assistance in determining the kind of work M.L.'s should be doing around the immigration issues. Allowing that the personal reasons given for emigrating to England are legion, it is reasonable to assume that fundamentally most are the outcome of the imperialistic policies pursued by this Country for the past two hundred or so years, resulting in intolerable conditions in the colonies (or neo colonies), together with the myth that 20th Century England is a kind of Eldorado.

It is also true that the comparatively high standards of living in the U.K. are obtained at the expense of overseas peoples, so it follows that emigration to England is occasionally a conscious, but more often an unconscious attempt to join the exploiters. Travel costs preclude the emigration of the really poor and a large number of our immigrants are of petit bourgeoisie origin, with petit bourgeoisie ideology, hence the difficulties in organising them. Of course M.L.'s should not on this account, abandon work with the immigrant population, but recognition of the difficulties is the first step to overcoming them.

The truly revolutionary overseas peoples are the ones who take up arms to fight imperialism at home where it affects them most, and it is these comrades too who deserve our firm and unflagging support.

It is not imagined that these views are comprehensive, but they are put forward in the hope that they will provide material for further discussion.

G. Bulmer (Canton).

[Comments are invited - Ed.]

LETTER FROM SOUTH VIETNAM

(This is a letter written by a girl in South Vietnam to her fiancée in the north. It is a reprint from *Letters From South Vietnam* put out by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, Democratic Republic of Vietnam.)

My Darling,

Today is the happiest day in my life. That is why I must write to you. I have just been appointed to the leading committee of self-defence groups in our village.

Two months ago, with the assistance of the local people, we destroyed the "strategic hamlet" set up in our district. Everybody returned to his own land; we built our huts again, and again planted mulberry-trees and sugar-canes in places overgrown with weed for years . . .

Now let me tell you why I joined the self-defence groups. Never before did I think I could hold a gun, let alone fighting with arms in my hands! You often laughed at my hands, saying they were "as soft as vermicelli." I laughed too but in fact I was vexed. Indeed I hadn't enough strength because since my childhood I had done nothing but picking mulberry leaves and weaving. How could I have hands as tough as yours? After the armistice, like everybody else, I thought I could at last resume my peaceful life. I intended to grow a few more mulberry-trees and bring up more silk-worms. And I would have spent my life weaving and waiting for you. My elder sister Hai for her part liked to plant water-melons and maize. Had everything run smoothly, we would have been quite well-off. But life has shattered our illusions.

It was not long before misfortune pounced upon us. No sooner were you off than the mercenaries of the U.S. installed their posts at the entrance to the village and the landing place just where we both used to go during the Resistance War to look at the cadres crossing the river.

They have emptied everything all around. Then searches began. They poked their noses everywhere. They left no stone unturned. They carried away everything: hens, ducks, chickens, eggs. The young girls dared not go out alone. When one of them pleased these ruffians, they pestered her and made indecent proposals to her. For having refused, more than one has been kidnapped and outraged.

At night, it was forbidden to have light in one's home, if one did one would risk a burst of shots through the door, under the pretext of "having lodged the Viet Cong." (Vietnamese Communists - Ed.) Woe to those who were caught discussing with a neighbour! They were charged with subversive meeting and then it was jail and tortures . . . I felt it was living in a prison.

The struggle was organised: delegations were sent one after another to Hong Ngu to demand freedom of movement and an end to these vexations. But we were received by rifle shots. In the village, the ruffians forced people inside the barbed wire fences by burning their huts. This added fuel to the fire: the struggle went on more fiercely. The fence and barriers erected by them in the afternoon were smashed at night. We destroyed the roads, burnt "model dwelling-houses," punished informers and traitors. So much and so well that people no longer heard of "prosperity zone."

I'll confess this to you on condition that you make no wry face at me: During that stirring period, I did nothing except looking after the children and preparing rice for the women and girls who set out for demonstrations. I dared not participate in meetings and walk up to the posts. I said to myself: "I'm not strong enough to do more. It's quite enough like this. Who would look after mamma if I happen to be killed?"

. . . As for my sister Hai, she was never seen at home. She gave herself up heart and soul to the common cause. It was she who carried slogans, marching ahead of the parades. I was very proud of her but I was always afraid that she would meet with misfortune. One day I even said to mother that she should tell Hai to restrain herself a bit. Well, mother thought a moment then said: "I can't tell her that. I'm

too old and she has to replace me. We cannot live in peace, if we let them do as they like.

As for me, I remained at home and kept on weaving and weaving. From time to time I would sell my silk in Tan Chau and bring back what we needed. I had my sister Hai who took part in the struggle and in my opinion that was quite enough.

It happened on May 10, 1958 towards the end of the afternoon. I was at my loom, mother was reading on her hammock. Uncle Sau softly came in. It was a long moment before he could speak:

Be brave, my sister, Hai has just . . . She has just . . . She has left us for ever . . . The ceremony will be held

It was a crushing blow for me, I burst out sobbing. Mother said nothing, she bit her lips. But tears came to her eyes and rolled down her shrivelled cheeks. For a while I was afraid that she would faint. But she remained quiet, motionless like a statue. She wept silently, I didn't know how long, then stood up and wiped her eyes. She was pale enough to frighten you.

"How did it happen?" she asked Uncle Sau.

"An ambush. Hit in the heart."

"Where is her body? I want to see her for the last time."

Then turning to me:

"Take care of the house, little dear. Barricade yourself in."

She went off with Uncle Sau, silent as a shadow. I quickly shut the door and ran after them.

My sister was laid on the big wooden bed in the middle of Uncle Sau's house. The courtyard was crowded with people. Mother fondled the hair of the dead girl with her fleshless hands, then tenderly shut her eyes. People tried to comfort her. While veiling her daughter's face with the small shawl which never left her shoulders, she replied:

"I only regret one thing: I am no longer able to give birth to a son to avenge her."

One morning I noticed that mother had gone out while I was sleeping. The neighbours did not know where she had been. Only towards noon did my cousin Thanh come to tell me:

"Give me your mother's betel mortar. She is going to the district to demonstrate."

She came back only in the night. She was delighted. The demonstration had got some results. From that day, she looked less sad.

Meanwhile we held meeting after meeting. We marched up to Hong Ngu, Cai Sach, Tan Thanh to press our demands. The enemy on his side launched attacks and was each time repelled. In February 1960, they lost a whole section at Tam Thuong and the Chief of Police of Hong Ngu was among those killed. In March they vainly tried several times to seize Tan Thanh and finally had to send airborne reinforcements to clear the way for their retreat.

In September, dozens of Diem troops fell into our booby traps and the mopping up operation was short-circuited . . .

I was vexed that mother never asked me to go with her. She must not have a high opinion of me.

"Why on earth," I told her one day, "don't you ask me to go with you?"

She thought a while, then said:

"It's not such a simple thing. You had better wait . . ."

Well, so that was it! She kept me aside, to preserve me.

The next day, no sooner had she gone than I left my loom so that I could look for the guerrillas. So here I am!

Can you imagine how mother got to know? We were at the river side drilling. After firing, as I stepped out of the ranks a woman came out from a group of on-lookers and ran towards me. It was Mother! She put her right arm round my shoulders and with her other hand patted my head:

"You sly thing! Why not a word to me?"

Her eyes were shining with pleasure.

Evening's coming on and I have not yet boiled the rice. Mother will be coming back. How time glides away when I write to you! I'll sign off here and promise to continue the story next time.

Your fiancée,
HIEN.



A Vietnamese Factory keyed up for Battle

by Hu Pan-ying

(a Chinese correspondent in Vietnam)

On the sands of the northern Vietnamese coast is the grave of a U.S. pilot, Edward Dickson, who was shot down while raiding Quang Binh Province on February 8. Dickson's corpse was found strapped to an unopened parachute. He was buried by the very fishermen whom he had strafed, as the American radio was announcing that Dickson had returned safely from his mission.

Up to the end of April, 293 U.S. aircraft had been shot down by the people's forces of North Vietnam, 163 of them in the month of April. Many aircraft were shot down by civilians, who have turned every factory, government office and village into a fortress.

Vietnamese workers everywhere are raising the militant slogan. "Work tools in one hand, rifle in the other." During a recent visit to the Bien Coc Saw Mill in Thanh Hoa, a coastal town some 130 kilometres south of Hanoi we were struck by scenes suggestive of a veritable frontline. Solidly-built trenches stretched in long meandering lines from the various workshops to the mill's approaches. Sharpshooters of the mill's militia, their heads and bodies camouflaged with foliage, were constantly scanning the sky, watching for enemy raiding planes.

The town, which is only a few kilometres from the coast, had been bombed many times by American aircraft. Yet the mill was working as usual, turning out sawn timber in a steady stream from morning till night.

The mill's manager told me that the workers had just been celebrating a "double": the contribution of their militiamen to the downing in Thanh Hoa Province of 47 enemy planes on April 3 and 4, and the overfulfilment of the mill's production quota for the first quarter of the year.

While we were talking, an air raid alarm sounded. The workers immediately stopped their machines and left the shops. The militia pointed their guns towards the sky, in readiness. The enemy planes, coming in at very high altitude, flew off without dropping any bombs. A Vietnamese comrade remarked, "Well, they tail after a bit of reconnoitring. If they'd dared to dive and attack us, our militiamen would have shown you how they bring the pirates down."

The machinery in the mill was soon humming again and every worker was back at his job.

Frequent air raids did affect production at first. But the workers made up for the loss by working extra hours in the evening. The shops launched an emulation campaign for higher output and special efforts were made to introduce improved techniques. "Keep up production while you hit the enemy

hard" became the watchword of the whole mill.

The directors of the mill told us a story that illustrates the high morale of the workers. Mai Tuyen Thuong, a machine-gunner of the mill's militia, fell ill after fighting and working for several days without a break. The doctor advised him to take a rest. After swallowing a dose of medicine, however, he slipped into the workshop and joined in the work of the night shift. A health worker from the mill's clinic came in and tried to persuade him to stop working, but he insisted on working on, saying he had to fulfil his production quota. After a long argument they agreed to put the matter to the mill's Party committee. The committee settled the matter by letting the worker finish the shift on condition that he submitted to proper medical attention afterwards.

"With this selfless, militant spirit of the Vietnamese people," said the director, "all the plans of the U.S. imperialists to bring us to our knees by bombing will be smashed to smithereens."

SPLENDID RECORD OF S. VIETNAM LIBERATION ARMY IN 4 YEARS

(Hanoi, June 1st (Hsinhua))—The armed forces and people of South-Vietnam have put out of action a total of 550,000 enemy troops, including 4,890 U.S. aggressor troops, between 1961 and the end of April, 1965, according to the latest figures published in the press here.

In the period, they shot down or hit a cumulative total of more than 2,100 aircraft, sunk or damaged a cumulative total of more than 1,000 gunboats, destroyed more than 2,300 military vehicles, destroyed over 2,000 outposts and training centres, captured 60,000 pieces of arms and wiped out some 7,000 "strategic hamlets." As a result, four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam, with a total population of ten million, was liberated.

Winning ever greater victories, the Liberation Forces, with the support of the people, had condemned the U.S. "special warfare" to dismal failure, and have grown into a powerful armed force of the people.

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THE FRUITS OF REVISIONISM

The fruits of the revisionist policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain are clearly shown by the recent gains in influence by Trotskyists among the Young Socialists. The Majority Committee of the Young Socialists, which was disowned by the Labour Party Executive, was able to convene a very successful conference at Morecambe on the week-end of February 27th and 28th.

Over a long period, the Young Socialists have conducted a bitter struggle trying vainly to win the so-called "Labour" Party for a socialist policy. What has been the attitude of the CPGB to these militant youngsters during this time? Judging by the scanty comments in the Daily Worker, it has varied from ignoring these activities altogether to sympathising with Transport House over unruly elements rocking the social democratic boat. Hardly a line compatible with Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. Inevitably, the CPGB leaders have allowed the best elements among the youth of Britain to become prey to the myths and legends of Trotskyism.

It has been easy for the Socialist Labour League and others to exploit the situation and appear "leftier" than the CPGB leaders. With absurd exaggeration, the publications "Newsletter" and "Keep Left" are boasting massive advances. To borrow a phrase of Stalin's, they are dizzy with success.

Meanwhile, Gollan and Co. are green with envy at being outsmarted by their brother opportunists. They are so incapable of analysing objective developments that they haven't even a clue as to how to be successful opportunists. It is clear that in pursuing their pitiful policy of grovelling to the Labour Party, the CPGB is treading the path to oblivion.

Many progressive workers are curious about Vanguard's position with regard to these happenings in the Labour movement.

P.T.

Walton-on-Thames.

THE PARTY CONGRESS

We must clear up quickly the tactical steps necessary to achieve the agreed strategic aim—the Marxist-Leninist Party.

There are good arguments in favour of the proposition that the C.P.G.B. cannot be transformed, but there are equally good arguments in favour of the proposition that there is a possibility of sufficient active C.P.G.B. members repudiating the present leadership and aligning the Party with other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

The situation has changed dramatically, within the past year and there is much drastic re-thinking going on by many Party members. To fail to recognise this, to fail to plan tactics accordingly, would be the greatest dis-service to Marxism-Leninism. The smear campaign, the suppression of facts and the under-hand tactics of calling on Party loyalty and trust to get away with these manoeuvres, have led to a sense of shame by many C.P.G.B. members; and a feeling of resentment against those "cadres" who consciously lent themselves to such falsifications. World developments tried to thoroughly confirmed the truth of what we anti-revisionists have consistently said, that there is now no possible excuse for any C.P.G.B. member continuing to trust John Gollan or to continue to accept present policies and programme.

Lots of us know the difficulties we had in arriving at the truth of the struggles which were going on in the international Communist Movement. Most rank and file members made no efforts to look anywhere apart from the Party press, because they had that kind of loyalty on which the "leaders" relied. Many local comrades tried to discover the truth but were told lies or half-truths by "higher" officials. The Political Committee must take ultimate blame for the deception of the Party—and who knows, perhaps even in the P.C. there is a group deceiving others to keep their mouths shut in the "interests of the Party." Are we to write off the Party as a whole, conceding victory to the Revisionists, or will we realise that the coming Party Congress could see a signal victory for the Marxist-Leninists? To my mind, anyone who thinks the latter possibility virtually impossible, is showing a lack of faith in the intelligence of rank and file members. Such an attitude would be entirely inexcusable.

The main tactics of all anti-revisionists should be to work in unity to obtain a positive outcome, one way or another, at Congress.

"Vanguard," "Forum" and any other groupings outside of the Party should publish articles and letters vis-a-vis Congress in a comradely way, not only among themselves, but toward the rank and file of the C.P.G.B. To take any other attitude, would be utterly negative, defeatist and non-Marxist.

Even if Gollan and Co., gained the day at Congress, the united Marxist-Leninist stand would be bound to have a big effect (even if not successful in its entirety) and our tactics in that event, would have to be thrashed out in the light of all that had occurred and which it would be futile to predict just now.

I think that every branch where members have been expelled or have resigned could pass resolutions demanding the re-instatement of such members, as this is necessary for an honest review of past mistakes. We must face facts and hope that all anti-revisionists will act in such a manner as to make our ideals a practical reality.

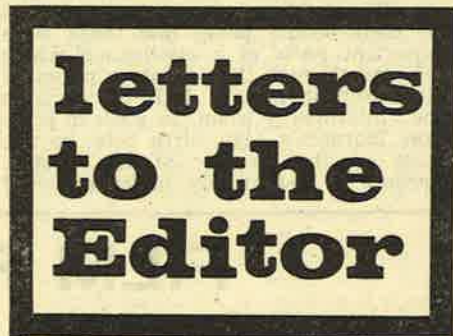
Paul Rivers,
Devon.

KERALA

On behalf of all Marxist-Leninists in the Manchester Area, I would like to send our congratulations through 'Vanguard' to the Marxist-Leninists in Kerala State on their recent triumph in the State Elections. What a magnificent achievement! Most of their candidates in Jail yet they still gained 40 seats whilst the Dange gang only scraped 3.

Here in the Manchester Area more and more CPGB members have become disillusioned with the party and no longer believe in the Divine Right of King Street. I don't know what the position is in other parts of the country:

I. McEwen, Manchester.



As one of your younger readers who has seen through the revisionist leadership of the C.P.G.B. I would like to congratulate you on the excellence of your paper. I am sure that in the near future "Vanguard" will have a leading part to play in the struggle for Socialism, provided enough work is done to introduce "Vanguard" to the Labour Movement, it is certain to prove an ideal weapon in bringing about the downfall of both the Social Democrats and the modern revisionists.

I would urge all readers to spare no effort in playing their part. I enclose a donation and want information re. your various leaflets.

Yours fraternally,
Alex Forsyth,
Ex-YCL
Dundee, Angus.

**GREAT POWER CHAUVINIST?
STALIN OR KHRUSHCHEV?**

From Zeri i Popullit

"J. V. Stalin always maintained a most fraternal attitude towards our party and our country, gave us generous internationalist aid, always treated our party on the basis of parity and of mutual respect, never intervened in its internal affairs and to force his ideas on it. During talks with leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania, when our Party solicited his ideas and council on this or that matter, he always insisted that his words were by no means binding on our Party, that they should be viewed with a critical eye, conformable with our concrete conditions and our Party should decide itself according to its own experience and judgment. This is quite contrary to the hostile, brutal and chauvinist attitude of N. Khrushchov and his group towards our Party of our country."

From The Young Parisian Group of the Federation of French Marxist-Leninist Groups.

Dear Comrades,

The Young Parisian Group of the Federation of French Marxist-Leninist Groups has much pleasure in sending you the first issue of its paper "Vanguard of French Youth." We would be glad to receive regularly copies of your paper.

We know that our struggle is just and assure you of our solidarity in your courageous fight for the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

THE SHAH STRIKES AGAIN

ONCE again the heavy hand of the Shah of Persia's secret police has descended upon and threatens the lives of a group of innocent Iranian students and teachers, all of them graduates of Berlin universities.

They are accused of conspiring against the life of the Shah. The true nature of this frame up becomes immediately apparent to all those who are familiar with the brutal methods of the Iranian secret police (of which an account has been given by Lord Russell in his pamphlet "Freedom in Iran"); this organisation which permeates the whole superstructure of civil, military and judicial life in Persia has thousands of agents in the country and abroad where intelligent or articulate Persians are living or studying.

The above mentioned accused, all former leaders of Iranian students in England, could not have been but under observation since their return to Iran, as they were all known for their democratic views and liberal opinion. It would be inconceivable for anyone let alone former student leaders - to have contacted palace guards to make an attempt on the Shah's life. The lie is given to the whole frame up when it is realised that amongst the list of leaders published by the Iran Government are two former leaders of the Confederation of Iranian Students in Europe who are not even in Iran. Clearly this fraudulent list has been given out by the Iran Government without even checking up on the whereabouts of those accused. The graduates arrested by the Secret police in Iran were all coaxed back to Persia from England with the promise of employment in their respective specialities, by the Iranian authorities. All this now turns out to be a means of luring these graduates home only to entrap them in a fraudulent frame up.

The Western public only knows the Shah's regime through the careful television and Press promoters on which the Shah yearly spends millions abroad. The true picture of a dictatorial regime has been thus camouflaged and any opposition silenced by the familiar accusation of Communism in order to attract press and public sympathy abroad especially in Western democracies.

We, Members of the Committee for the Defence of Iranian Graduates hereby make an urgent appeal to the British Press and Public. The lives of innocent former Iranian Students of British Universities are in imminent danger. We know from previous experience how the terror regime in Persia has dealt with any democratic opposition—field trials by military tribunals and summary executions. We, appeal to the public and Press in this country and to all who care for freedom and justice, to help save the lives of these innocent young men. Please:

Send protests to the Iran Embassy and Government.
(Committee for Defence of Iranian Graduates)

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AN IMPORTANT STEP IN ANGL-CHINESE RELATIONS

On 15th May, approximately 800 people attended the Inaugural Meeting of the SOCIETY FOR ANGL-CHINESE UNDERSTANDING, whose stated aims are — "to present every aspect of China — social, political, economic and cultural — to the British people," for, "without understanding, friendship cannot be firmly based."

The list of sponsors includes: Earl Russell; the ex-Dean of Canterbury; actress Vanessa Redgrave; ballerina Beryl Grey and writers Jacquetta Hawkes, Allan Sillitoe. Also listed are a number of M.P.'s and Trade Union activists, such as William Warbey, (A.U.F.W.), and Reg Birch (A.E.U.).

At the Press Conference prior to the Meeting, Dr. Joseph Needham, F.R.S., stated that the S.A.C.U. was a "British association than the Britain-China Friendship Association" — which in latter months has lost many members due to dissatisfaction with its policy vis a vis the defence of China against distortion of China's views on international affairs.

Regarding certain correspondence which passed between Dr. Needham and the B.C.F.A. Chairman, Mr. S. Mayne, Mr. Mayne's public account of this was described as "inaccurate."

Dr. Needham, in reply to a question from this writer said that, "if desired by S.A.C.U. members, there would be 'public discussions' on the merits and demerits of Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism." There would also, alongside meetings on China's history and culture, be discussions on Chinese economics and foreign policy. "This is a very broad, non-political Society, but this should not prevent us from explaining Chinese opinions regarding politics," said Dr. Needham. "We must get to know the Chinese better, for the sake of world peace and international understanding."

At the Meeting, the Chinese Charge-d'affaires, Mr. Hsuing Hsuing-hui, hoped that the S.A.C.U. would make "fresh and important contributions to understanding between our two countries." He then translated a tape recording of a congratulatory speech by the Chairman of the Chinese People's Association of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

Welcoming messages were also read out from 17 British residents in Peking, a group of British students now in China and the London District Council of A.S.S.E.T.

The proceedings were obviously a big success and the S.A.C.U. is off to a good start.

In the evening 500 members were the guests of the Charges-d'affaires and his wife, at an excellent reception at his London Office. D.V.

SOURCE OF REVISIONISM

J. V. Stalin Works Vol. 9

"It must not be thought that the proletariat is completely isolated from society, that it stands outside society. The proletariat is a part of society, connected with its diverse strata by numerous threads. But the party is a part of the proletariat. Hence, the Party cannot be exempt from connections with, and from the influence of, the diverse sections of bourgeois society. The pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology on the proletariat and its party finds expression in the fact that bourgeois ideas, manners, customs and sentiments not infrequently penetrate the proletariat and its party through definite strata of the proletariat that are in one way or another connected with bourgeois society."

MOROCCO

REPRESSION AND DEPRESSION IN THE WAKE OF THE COMMON MARKET

(By courtesy of "Free South Arabia.")

SOME people think, that while direct imperialist aggressions - like the U.S. war against Vietnam or the Congo, or the British "pacification" of South Arabia are daily perpetrated, one may leave the problems, and the sufferings, caused by neo-colonialism aside. No. Neo-colonialism is an integral part of imperialism. It supplies imperialism with the raw-materials and the manpower. Without its stooges, imperialism would collapse.

And the stooges supply imperialism with its normal argument: "... look at them, once they are in power they are worse than we were ... and the Cadillacs, etc., etc. ..."

By doing the dirty work for the imperialists they "confirm colonialist thinking."

On March 23, 1500 Moroccan school-boys and students decided to march in protest against cuts in education. They were joined by railway workers; factories stopped; the airport closed down; all Casa Blanca used the opportunity to manifest its dissatisfaction with King Hassan's autocratic regime.

Police terror broke up the demonstration. A doctor reported that 600 people had been wounded and over 200 shot dead. Many of them boys between 15 and 16. (Le Monde 31.3.65) Police outrages happened in Morocco before, but never had such a bloodbath been unleashed against the youth. It is part of the repression against the progressive forces and the Trade Union Movement. (U.M.T.)

The conspiracy against the popular forces started immediately after Morocco won her independence in 1955. The feudalists, backed by foreign advisers, the army and the police set out to break up the unity of the National Liberation Movement and to destroy the true pioneers of Morocco's independence. In a country where a large intelligentsia and a militant working class had fought for independence they tried to impose an archaic monarchy-similar to Saudi Arabia - which would allow the perpetuation of colonial exploitation and feudal privileges. Every year a new pretext for repressive measures was devised.

Morocco's "Reichstag Fire"

In 1963 a "plot" was contrived. It followed the 1962 elections in which the King's party suffered severe defeat. The palace could not reconcile itself to the verdict and the UNFP the National Union of Progressive Forces, was accused of "plotting the assassination of the King." On July 16, '63 over one hundred national leaders including 21 deputies in violation of their parliamentary immunity, and thousands of others, were arrested. People were tortured to "confess." The prominent leader of the U.M.T. Mehdi Ben Barka was sentenced to death in absentia.

In spite of the protest of leading international lawyers 14 prisoners were executed last March. The government stipulated, that "lawyers, registered with a French Bar, had no right to appear in court." (Report M. Ben Barka, 24.8.63).

The Economic Background:

Compare eight years of Moroccan independence with the record of the Algerian revolution: In Morocco the French enjoy still the same privileges they had while in power; the people become every day poorer. Ben Bella's government nationalized in the course of one year all French property, including 2 mil ha. of land. Committees of Workers Control organised co-operative farms and ensure a rational distribution of incomes. In Morocco however:

Of 8 mil hectar of arable land
5 mil hectar are under cultivation
3 mil hectar of these belong to feudalists, who represent 10% of the population
1 mill hectar of the 3 mil. the most fertile belongs to 6000 settlers

The revenue from the land produce:
50% is taken by the landlords
50% sustains the peasants, who represent 70% of the population

The net result is permanent malnutrition, periodic famines, unemployment and misery.

75% of the export-import business is still in foreign hands.

Wine growing is entirely citrus, four-fifths in foreign hands. The enormous profits of those exports are not re-invested in Morocco but sent abroad. Even the profits of the Moroccan big landowners are not ploughed back into productive purposes.

The country harbours the world's biggest phosphate deposits.

They are still owned by foreign companies like all other minerals.

Morocco produces:	coal	petrol
wine	iron ore	manganese
wheat	iron ore	iron ore
dates	iron ore	iron ore
citrus fruits	iron ore	iron ore
wool	iron ore	iron ore
tobacco	iron ore	iron ore
cotton	iron ore	iron ore
olives	iron ore	iron ore

MAURETANIA--

LOOT ON A BIG SCALE

Morocco's deep south harbours Africa's biggest iron ore reserves. It is estimated that 100 million tons* of 65% content can be quarried. The imperialists, who were out for the treasure, wanted "security of tenure" which they felt, they could only have, by slicing off the rich province and declaring it an independent state:

Mauretania: it is mainly desert and sparsely populated and no hard bargaining and struggles for royalties etc. need be feared.

Exploitation can go on unhindered; but for a railway line which links the mountain with the port no capital outlay was necessary.

The exploiters are the MIFERMA a joint company which represents:

50% French	Capital
30% German and Italian	"
20% British	"

This is a sort of Kuwait: 6 million tons of iron ore will be shipped away this year. Mauretania might have served the whole of Africa ... this had to be prevented.

New Statesman
26-12-59

THE HUMAN MATERIAL

It is not only the mineral wealth which is being plundered but also the human material. Thousands and thousands of young men have no other choice but to seek work in Europe. Every ship which leaves Casablanca or Tangier takes a cargo of menfolk leaving their unhappy families behind. Some of them take menial jobs for the U.S. forces in Europe, earning £3 10s. per week, which they send home to feed parents, wife and children. Others work in France and Germany in the pits and on the roads. This is one of the most tragic aspects of the so-called under-developed countries: the separation of families. Waving good-bye to their dear ones - perhaps for another year - they have to help in building up Europe; to make the rich nations richer still, through their labour and Africa's raw-materials.

THE CASABLANCA CONFERENCE AND AFTER

In January 1961 the late King Mohammed V. was host at Casablanca to a Summit Conference which had been the target of bitter imperialist attacks. The conference was attended by Ghana, Mali, the United Arab Republic, Guinea and the President of the Provisional Algerian Government. The Casablanca States - to distinguish them from the pro-Western Brazzaville bloc - supported Morocco's claim to Mauretania, Algeria's demand for self determination and it took a clear-cut stand on the Congo in support of Patrice Lumumba. Alas, a few weeks later Lumumba was brutally murdered and King Mohammed died during a minor operation.

The King's death was followed by an increasing influence of the U.S. Kenitra and Ceuta became NATO bases.

Without the consent of the people the Americans were given the right to station 16,000 U.S. personnel on Moroccan soil. They acquired 40,000 acres of land for their aerodromes. The peasants were driven away by force, from their only source of livelihood, and the absentee landowner received a lump sum of dollars. The deal caused a great deal of anger. Nevertheless, there are still 8600 Moroccans on the U.S. payroll.

BEWARE OF MALTHUSIANISM

The Moroccans are not backward people. In Fez stood the Western World's first university, the Kairouine, which was founded in 859 A.D., a hundred years earlier than Al Azhar in Cairo, and four hundred years before Oxford. The magnificent Moroccan towns renowned for their beauty prove that these were important parts of a civilisation which declined through the predatory policy of the European powers. It is an insult to one's intelligence when the western press cites Morocco's high birth rate, as the cause of the poverty of her people. Morocco is desperately underpopulated

and vast stretches of land in eastern Morocco, (where an old irrigation system had fallen to pieces) ought to be saved from erosion, and brought back under cultivation. The country with progressive economic planning, could feed three or four times her present population.

COMMON MARKET THREAT TO INDEPENDENCE

Prof. Abdel Aziz Belal, Morocco's leading economist says: "Participation in the E.C.C. presents a menace to the economic development of the newly emergent African states. They remain appendages to the Western economy, a reservoir of cheap labour and raw materials; in the words of M. Rueff De Gaulle's financial wizard: the E.C.C. is a "substitute for the colonial regime." Morocco's problem was not to find a market for her produce, but to liquidate under-development.

The Bank of Morocco is a flag of convenience of French, U.S., German, Italian and British Banks*. They control Morocco's exchange rate, to her disadvantage.

We have to develop our internal market by carrying out land reform to raise the living standard of the peasants. The agrarian reform, not the Common Market will solve our agricultural surplus, which only exists, because the majority of our people cannot afford to eat. Morocco's foreign trade must not remain under the Diktat of the E.C.C. but in our national interests. We must trade with Asia, Africa and the Socialist countries.

We must build industry. As long as foreign monopolies and the big bourgeoisie control our economy, capital is exported for luxury cars, and wasted on villas etc. As long as we remain underdeveloped we are a prey to neo-colonialism."

FILM REVIEW

PUERILE YOUNG CASSIDY

by PAT O'DONOVAN

THE makers of "Young Cassidy," some "left wingers" it is alleged amongst them, ought to be publicly ashamed of themselves. They present us with a film purporting to be based on the early life of the revolutionary Irish worker and dramatist, Sean O'Casey. To lend authenticity to the fiasco most of the scenes were shot in Dublin, the home of the playwright. But neither Dublin, its dynamic people or Sean O'Casey ("Young Cassidy") as played by the bulky Australian actor, Rod Taylor, ring true.

In the first place Mr. Taylor is utterly miscast. He neither possesses the sensitivity, appearance nor profundity to even remotely convey the unique man that was Sean. Then the politics of the period, both before and after the 1916 Rising, are misinterpreted and again blatantly distorted.

That O'Casey did not participate in the rebellion is well known. But as a member of the Citizen Army - its Secretary - and a loyal comrade of James Connolly it was not a sickly affair with a middle class woman or personal ambition as a writer that kept him away from the fighting.

O'Casey in actual fact opposed the concept of what transpired on two definite grounds: (1) Militarily, he was of the view that British Imperial rule in Ireland could not be terminated through a temporary occupation of Dublin's main buildings or even through an extension of the struggle along these lines in the countryside. (2) He also firmly opposed any alliance with any class outside of his own. For Sean it had to be a *technically calculated*, sole proletarian revolution - or nothing at all. *This we now know is not always a necessarily correct strategem but within the Irish context in*

1916, as subsequent events bitterly proved, it was absolutely so.

Understanding Sean O'Casey

Herein therefore lies, contrary to the bourgeois careerist implications of "Young Cassidy," the real clue towards grasping the fierce hatreds and glorious horizons that stirred O'Casey. His greatest play, the "Plough and the Stars," bears powerful testimony to this opinion.

In it he ruthlessly exposed and debunked those false vociferous Irish "patriots" - the petty businessmen and the hypocritical fat clergy. He showed up too the awful stupidity of the working tools of British Imperialism - the servile Tommies. Rough language and prostitutes screamed across his stage and if the film has any merit at all it is in one incident (as actually happened on the first night performance at the Abbey Theatre of this play) when the rich, "holy" ladies and gentlemen of Dublin are seen going berserk in the audience. Then, as now, they will tolerate almost anything but the stark truth about life - and themselves. Such truth ever and always terrifies them.

O'Casey "Alone"

The film ends with O'Casey boarding a ship for Britain. His middle class girl friend deserts him. He is utterly alone, as indeed in the *crucial* sense he remained, right up to his death last year in out of the way Torquay.

The Irish persecuted Sean O'Casey and the English cunningly ignored him. His plays were eventually accepted but his political message was rejected. But some of us toilers still remember that message. A message not to be found anywhere in puerile "Young Cassidy."

MAO TSE-TUNG'S STATEMENT ON U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION AGAINST THE DOMINICAN PEOPLE

RECENTLY, a coup d'etat overthrowing the Cabral dictatorship of traitors took place in the Dominican Republic. The Johnson Administration of the United States has dispatched more than 30,000 troops there to carry out sanguinary suppression. This is a grave provocation by U.S. imperialism to the Dominican people, to the people of Latin America and to the people of the whole world.

The patriotic Dominican people are now waging a heroic fight against the U.S. aggressor and his lackeys.

The Chinese people firmly support the Dominican people in their patriotic armed struggle against U.S. imperialism. I am convinced that the Dominican Republic, with the support of the people of the world, is sure to win final victory in its patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism so long as it relies on the broad masses of the people, unites all patriotic forces and keeps up a protracted struggle.

U.S. imperialism has never ceased to subject Latin American countries to its interference, control, subversion and aggression. On this occasion the U.S. Government has abandoned all such deceptive phrases as "the good neighbour policy" and "the principle of non-intervention," and carried out naked intervention and aggression in the Dominican Republic. This has further revealed the true features of the U.S. imperialist gangsters.

The United States is carrying out its armed intervention in the Dominican Republic under the banner of "defending freedom." What kind of "freedom" is this? It is the freedom to use aeroplanes, warships and guns to slaughter the people of other countries. It is the freedom to seize the territory of other countries. It is the freedom to seize the territory of other countries at will, the freedom to trample their sovereignty

underfoot at will. It is the freedom of pirates to loot and kill. It is the freedom to tread every country and people under its heel. This is what the U.S. imperialists are now doing in the Dominican Republic, in Vietnam, in the Congo (Leopoldville) and in many other places.

The United States is also carrying out its armed intervention in the Dominican Republic under the banner of "fighting communism." By "fighting communism" U.S. imperialism means fighting all those who are unwilling to be slaves of the United States, fighting all those who defend the independence, sovereignty and national dignity of their countries, fighting all those who refuse to submit to U.S. imperialist bullying, interference, control and aggression. This is what Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo did in the past. This is what U.S. imperialism is doing today on an even greater scale.

In the eyes of the U.S. imperialist aggressor, the United Nations, the Organization of American States and what not, are just tools in its hands. It makes use of them when it needs them, and kicks them away when it does not. But it may still pick them up later if they happen to be useful again. Using them or kicking them away depends on which is more convenient for its aggressive purposes.

U.S. aggression against the Dominican Republic has forcibly brought home to the Dominican people and all the other people of Latin America that in order to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty, it is imperative to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against aggressive U.S. imperialism.

U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic has aroused a new wave against U.S. imperialism among the people of Latin America and the world. You, the heroic Dominican people,

are definitely not alone in your struggle. You enjoy the support of all the people of Latin America, the support of all the people of Asia, the support of all the people of Africa, the support of the people in the socialist camp, and indeed the support of the people of the whole world.

The people in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, all peace-loving countries and all countries subjected to U.S. bullying, interference, control and aggression should unite, and form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace.

The struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism is bound to triumph!

U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people of the world, is bound to fail!

ALBANIAN PAPER CONDEMNS U.S. TERROR AGAINST DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Zeri i Populit, journal of the Albanian Party of Labour condemned U.S. imperialism for imposing a campaign of terror on the Dominican people. "They are using U.N.O. to cover up their crimes, as they did in Korea and the Congo. Obeying Washington the Security Council adopted a resolution calling for a "cease-fire" in the Dominican Republic and demanding that the Secretary-General send his representative to that Country. This was tantamount to recognizing U.S. imperialist armed intervention."

It pointed out that in endorsing this resolution the Soviet delegation again laid bare the hypocritical promises of Soviet leaders to combat imperialism. It testified to the efforts of Soviet leaders to follow the policy of unprincipled compromise and capitulation to the U.S. imperialists. "The armed intervention was an attack on all the Latin American peoples and all the forces fighting for independence."

LATIN-AMERICAN VOLCANO IS ERUPTING

Reports from Latin America clearly indicate that the people, led by militant forces of national liberation are increasingly taking the road of armed struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their local lackeys. Alongside the heroic exploits of the Dominican people are the workers mass demonstrations in Bolivia and other resistance actions in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay and Haiti. The "Washington Star" was compelled to admit on 16th May that British Guiana too is a "danger point" while the "New York Times" commented editorially on 11th May, on the "steady deterioration in Columbia." Armed struggle against the U.S. puppet Branco Government in Brazil took place in the Rio Grande during March. The U.S. has "unstable situations" which will develop in Latin America, the main source of its ill-gotten loot. Nonetheless the "U.S. News and World Report" and "U.S. Journal" both expressed alarm that the U.S. troops were being over-extended and this could lead to increased conscription and strain on the economy.

Thus the gangster-exploiters are tightening not one noose around their necks, but many.

Speed the day!

Tom Flint.

DR. HEWLETT JOHNSON'S COMMENT

Dr. Hewlett Johnson former Dean of Canterbury has issued a statement to the Chinese News Agency endorsing Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung's statement on the situation in the Dominican Republic.

I can endorse every sentence of Chairman Mao's indictment of U.S. armed aggression" he said. "All people who value justice are outraged by U.S. imperialism's actions in Latin America. The struggles of the peoples against injustice are certain to triumph."

CANADA SWAMPED BY DOLLAR MOGULS

Mr. James M. McAvity President of the Canadian Export Association has bitterly censured the growing U.S. domination of Canadian industry. "Canada should not be treated as a dependent colony" he said "the sheer scale of U.S. investment may threaten our political sovereignty." "Canada is the biggest importer of U.S.A. goods. The U.S. control 95% of our automobile industry. 85% of our rubber products; 64% of our electrical apparatus; 70% of petroleum and natural gas; 52% of mining and nearly 60% of all manufacturing." "It is not surprising that Canadians feel like "Colonials" and believe that we should resist the pressure that threatens to engulf us."

U.N.—TOOL OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

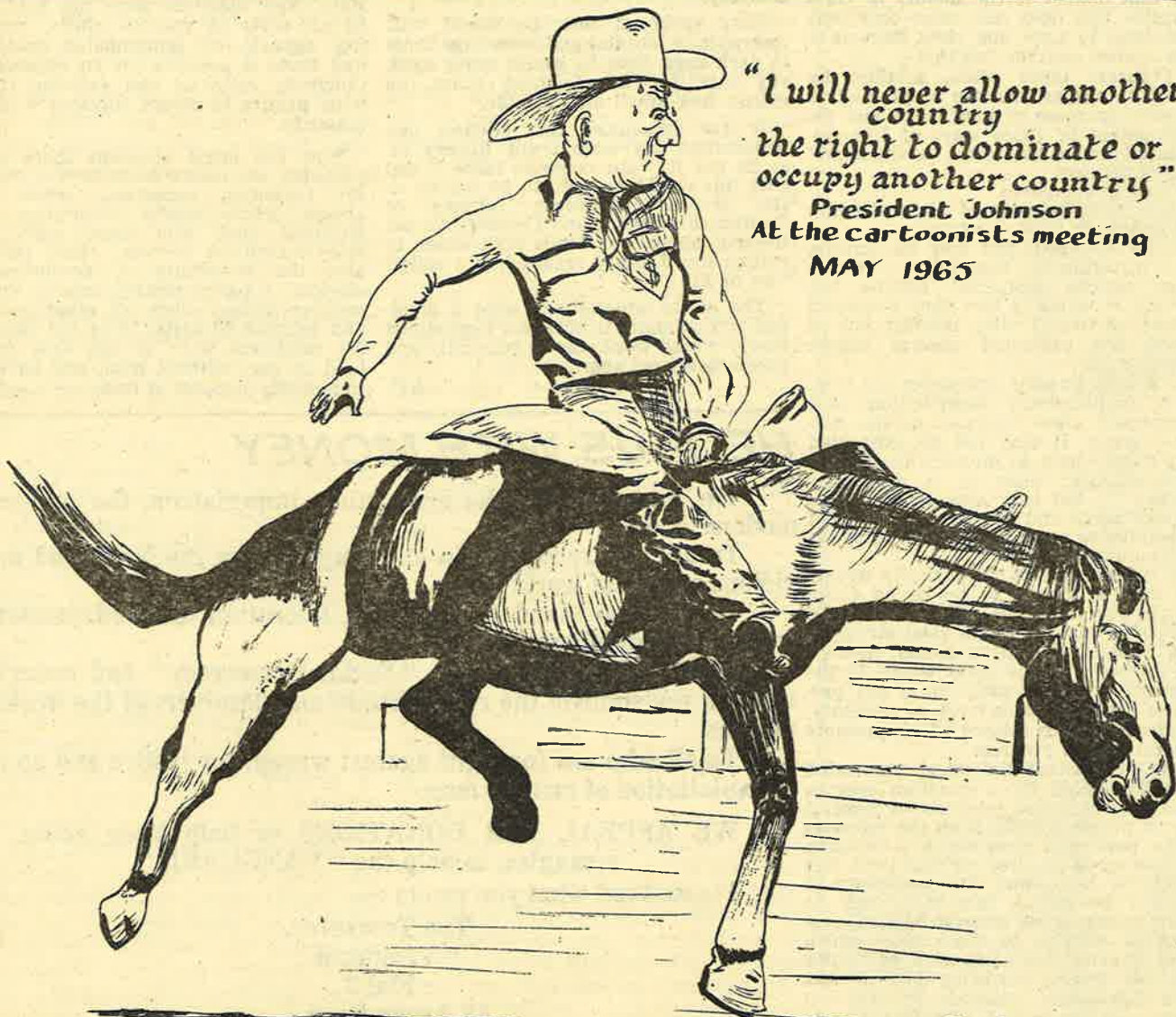
Dar-es-Salaam, May 20 (Hsinhua) - the Pan-Africanist congress in a statement here said that as the reactionary racist regime in South Africa was established and maintained by the sword, "it can only be removed by the sword."

It pointed out that the rabid racists in South Africa enjoyed the support of U.S. imperialism and British colonialism.

It pointed out that "U.S. imperialism which seeks to police the whole globe, acts in consonance with its very nature and pattern."

U.S. imperialism was sparing no efforts to defend its interests in South Africa by arming the Hendrik Verwoerd regime to attack the defenceless exploited Africans, it said.

It went on to say that it would be ineffective to seek sanctions and arms embargo against the South African racist regime through the United Nations because the U.N. as an instrument in the hands of U.S. imperialism, could not force the U.S. and Britain to carry out its resolutions.



"A HORSE CALLED THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC"

AGAINST IDEALISM

BY MICHAEL McCREERY

The following is one of the first public articles by Michael McCreery, written in the early days of his involvement in the fight for the victory of Marxist-Leninist principles. VANGUARD is reprinting this particular article at this time as it is felt it is important that the variety of Comrade McCreery's contributions be remembered as well as their outstanding quality and insight. - The Editors.

MAURICE CORNFORTH'S "Philosophy, Criticism and Progress" in the October 1957 issue of *Marxism Today*, is an article which confuses rather than clarifies the theoretical questions it attempts to deal with.

For example, Cornforth lays many traps for the unwary in the course of his "thinking aloud" about the nature of philosophy, by failing to make clear when he is describing the views of various historical schools of philosophy and when he is giving us the Marxist view on philosophy.

He quotes Engels with approval, "That which still survives, independently, of all earlier philosophy is the science of thought and its laws - formal logic and dialectics. Everything else is subsumed in the positive science of nature and history."

but himself gives upwards of ten definitions of philosophy many of which do not agree with this Marxist position. Such statements as "The subject matter of philosophy should be defined in terms of the kind of questions philosophers try to answer," and "Philosophy questions and criticises the general assumptions underlying the current ideologies of society," may be correct statements of the way in which logical positivists and other schools have defined the scope of philosophy, but they are not within miles of Marxism.

There is, however, a more basic source of confusion. The author purports to be a materialist, but in fact makes considerable concessions to idealism.

For Marxists the distinction between these two points of view in philosophy is vital. Engels wrote,

"The great basic question of all philosophy, especially of modern philosophy, is that concerning the relation of thinking and being."

And in his *Materialism* Lenin shows that all philosophers can be classified into two fundamentally opposed schools according to how they tackle this question of the nature of reality;

"The fundamental philosophical trends are materialism and idealism. Materialism regards nature as primary and spirit as secondary; it places being first and thought second. Idealism holds the contrary view. This root-distinction between the 'two great camps' into which the philosophers of the 'various schools' of idealism and materialism are divided Engels takes as the corner-stone."

And Lenin maintains that there can be no compromise between these two schools,

"either materialism consistent to the end, or the falsehood and confusion of philosophical idealism."

With this in mind let us look at Maurice Cornforth's soliloquy. In the course of this he says,

"The measure of the general progress of society is the growth of productive technique and knowledge . . . In this sense progress is not a matter of opinion or preference but of ascertainable fact."

Thus far we can agree; but he continues, "While it may be suggested that technique and knowledge provide the objective basis and measure of progress I do not think that these concepts exhaust what we mean when we speak of progress, not merely as something which happens and can be measured but as something desirable to strive for . . . What evidently counts is not technique and knowledge in themselves but the way of life they enable people to enjoy. And here we are beginning to speak of things which cannot be measured, and to introduce moral rather than factual considerations." [Italics in this and other quoted passages are all Cornforth's.]

In the course of his remarks Cornforth

has switched from a materialist to an idealist standpoint. This can be seen most clearly if we look at what he says in the light of Lenin's answer to the question, "What is meant by a definition? It means essentially to bring a given concept within a more comprehensive concept." The most comprehensive concepts possible to man are those of being and thinking, matter and sensation. Beyond these it is not possible to go. It follows that the ultimate, the fully comprehensive definition of any concept must for a materialist be in terms of physical being and matter, for an idealist in terms of thought and sensation. The unbridgeable gulf between these two sets of ultimate concepts reflects irreconcilable views on the nature of reality.

On which side of this fence is Cornforth, in the above passage? Unmistakably the idealist. For in his definition of the concept of progress moral considerations, themselves unmeasurable, take precedence over material, factual considerations. The objective concepts of technique and knowledge in terms of which human progress is at first defined are themselves specifically subordinated to the subjective concept of an enjoyable way of life.

Cornforth gives philosophy the important task of examining these unmeasurable moral considerations in terms of which we are to assess human progress.

"Philosophy contributes to progress also by dealing with the ends which we try to make our material progress serve, and helps to formulate the purposes which by our material progress may be realised."

This completely erroneous view of what philosophy is about (compare it with Engels' classic definition quoted above) is itself further evidence of the idealist nature of the path Cornforth is treading. But his handling of the concrete issue of the class struggle provides, I think, the conclusive proof.

Cornforth points out that when Marx says that history is the history of class struggles this does not mean only that from time to time one class delivers a blow against another, but that

"Progress takes place, marked by such things as increase of productive power, increase of knowledge and development of those ways of life embraced under the terms 'civilisation' and 'culture'."

and that this happens "not independently of class struggle but through class struggle."

So far so good; but now he wavers, "A historian can therefore . . . assess the various historical actions not solely in terms of how they promoted some particular class interest but of how they promoted general human progress."

And a later passage completes his ruin. "A philosopher's contribution may transcend class interests in the narrow sense. It may not be exhausted by ideas which do no more than serve a particular class at a particular time . . . but may also include ideas which serve and in their development continue to serve the general interests of human progress."

This last passage is categorically wrong, and can be shown to be so on Cornforth's own evidence. For if progress only takes place through class struggles then actions and ideas which advance the interests of the class which is the standard bearer of progress at any particular time and place must, of necessity, be identical with actions which promote general human progress.

For a consistent dialectical materialist it is impossible for a situation ever to arise in which the interests of general human progress differ from the interests of the particular class which is carrying the banner of progress at that time. Yet Cornforth does admit this possibility as soon as he allows that there can be ideas which serve general human progress in addition to those ideas which serve a particular class at a particular time. A second yardstick has in fact been introduced whereby actions and ideas may be judged and this clearly allows for the possibility of a class.

It is not difficult to see that such reasoning can be put forward as a justification for deserting the interests of the working class in a time of crisis.

The way in which Cornforth puts his argument tends to obscure the fact that he is attempting to revise basic Marxist theory; for he never directly contradicts the Marxist position. Rather he attempts to by-pass it. The critical stage at which the leap from materialism to idealism is made is concealed from the unwary by the introduction of an "end," which proves to be idealist, the attainment of which is made possible by strictly materialist "means" (e.g. "the end which we try to make our material progress serve.")

When Comrade Cornforth, widely accepted as a leading Marxist theoretician, throws doubt and confusion upon problems that have been resolved for fifty years, it is little wonder that we have yet to smash the crumbling bastions of bourgeois thought in this country, and win the intellectuals to our side.

LONDON MEETING HONOURS McCREERY

Nearly 100 people gathered at Conway Hall on the 11th May to pay their respects to the work and memory of Michael McCreery, late Secretary of C.D.R.C.U. and co-Editor of "Vanguard."

Industrial workers, professional workers and intelligentsia of many countries, some of whom had never met Michael and knew him only by his writings, heard John James, Mrs. Ahilya Noone and Dave Volpe give an account of Michael's vital contribution to the cause of international solidarity of the exploited peoples.

One after the other, speakers from the Hall told of his personal kindness to them and of his readiness to help out in all kinds of difficulties.

Former economic students of his, recounted how he would find time to personally coach a pupil through a difficult exam., showing great patience and courtesy.

They spoke of how he would visit comrades in hospital and encourage them in dark days. How he would never shirk any task for the Leninist cause, no matter how small and humble.

It was announced that Michael had bequeathed his magnificent library to, as he put it, "our common ideals" and that this would henceforth be known as the Michael McCreery Library of Politics, Economics and Culture. An on-the-spot appeal for funds with which to extend this Library resulted in a collection of £15.

The entire proceedings were a dignified and poignant tribute to a Communist leader whose work was so tragically and prematurely cut short.

A.G.

HELP US WITH MONEY

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

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

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

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

To all who are for right against wrong, for justice and an end to exploitation of man by man.

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

Please send what you can to :—

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

(Receipt and acknowledgment by return of post.)

THE EDITORS.

QUOTES

VIETNAM and REVISIONISM

SOURCE: The editorial "U.S." Imperialist Aggression in Vietnam and the Manoeuvres of the Anti-Party Revisionists," *Akhata*, Japanese C.P.

The only prerequisite for a peaceful solution to the Vietnam question is the immediate stopping of the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam and the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from south Vietnam. Any proposal for a "settlement of the Vietnam question" through an "international conference" or "political negotiations" without the realisation of this prerequisite will inevitably lead, in practice, to the quagmire of capitulationism: to maintain aggression in Vietnam and recognise an "armistice" which would allow U.S. imperialism to hang on in south Vietnam. Such a stand goes against the demand of the Vietnamese people that the "Vietnam question and the peaceful unification of Vietnam be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves."

On the lips of the revisionists, the call for "the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam" is only fine words.

To expose before the popular masses the revisionists' new schemings over the Vietnam question is a struggle of the utmost importance.

SUBJECT: KERALA: PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM? SOURCE: "THE BROADSHEET"

When the Communist Party of India in 1957 won 60 out of the 127 State seats, established a working majority in alliance with independent members, and formed a State government, it looked like furnishing the first solid evidence in support of the feasibility of peaceful transition to socialism by the parliamentary road.

However, as soon as this government attempted to introduce moderate land-reform schemes, it was unseated by the Central Government in Delhi, and President's Rule was imposed on the state. New elections were not held until all sorts of dubious shifts, including appeals to communalist motives, had made it possible for an alliance of Congress, religious and extreme right-wing parties to scrape together a small majority.

Now the latest elections there have provided an ironic twist to the peaceful transition argument. While the Dange group rigidly advocating the electoral road, won three seats, the Marxist-Leninist section, which repudiates the possibility of revolutionary change by parliamentary means, won a popular victory over all other parties and secured 40 seats, 29 of the successful candidates were at the time being held in gaol without trial, and have no immediate prospect of being released.