

Red Front

FOR WORKING-CLASS POWER
FOR A SOCIALIST BRITAIN!



ORGAN OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN Price 1/-

AT THE FOCAL POINT OF WORLD-WIDE NATIONAL
LIBERATION STRUGGLE...



THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE ADVANCE TOWARDS FINAL VICTORY!

THE FOCAL POINT OF THE WORLD-WIDE STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM LIES AT PRESENT IN VIETNAM.

This year, 1968, the Vietnamese people - and, indeed, progressive people of all lands - celebrate the 7th anniversary of the founding of the National Liberation Front - the national, democratic organisation formed by the people of south Vietnam to co-ordinate their heroic struggle for liberation from the most vicious enemy of the peoples of the world: United States imperialism.

The U.S. aggressors have been aided in their vain efforts to subjugate the Vietnamese people by the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union and their agents in the leadership of the Communist Parties of many countries, including Britain. While condemning the U.S. aggression in words, these renegades stress the cruel losses and suffering inflicted on the people of Vietnam by this aggression not in order to stiffen resistance to it, but in order to boost their calls for "Peace in Vietnam!"

But, in the present circumstances, this "humanitarian" slogan of "Peace in Vietnam" is in fact a call for the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms and surrender to the occupation of their country by the U.S. forces and the fascist puppet regime propped up by those forces. This kind of "Peace in Vietnam" is precisely the war aim of Johnson and the Pentagon. And it would not even bring peace, for one of the cardinal aims of the U.S. imperialists is to make an occupied Vietnam into a base for the expansion of their aggression into other countries of south-east Asia.

In the seven years of existence of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the resistance of the Vietnamese people has, however, grown ever stronger. During this period the Liberation Armed Forces of South Vietnam have wiped out:

nearly 1½ million enemy troops, including 181 battalions and 982 companies;
8,590 enemy planes;
15,835 military vehicles; and

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THE MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION OF BRITAIN

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

In order to reflect the increased membership of the organisation, the Political Bureau recommended in January that the Central Committee should be enlarged to ten members.

At its meeting on Sunday, February 25th, in London, the Central Committee heard, discussed and approved the report "Proletarian Internationalism: the Key to Victory in Anti-imperialist Struggle and Socialist Revolution!" and a resolution of self-criticism in connection with the situation in the People's Republic of China (these are published in the current edition of RED FRONT), together with a financial report and a report on the reorganisation of the M.L.O.B. press.

As a result of this last report, RED FRONT will continue as the main organ of the M.L.O.B., but will be orientated primarily towards the militants of the working class movement and in the mass organisations. In addition to RED FRONT, a separate theoretical journal will be published devoted to the theory and practice of socialist revolution and problems of Marxism-Leninism in Britain and the world. This theoretical journal will appear quarterly.

RESOLUTION

At its foundation Conference in September 1967, the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain unanimously adopted a resolution characterising "the thought of Mao Tse-tung" as a creative development of Marxism-Leninism and the "cultural revolution" in the People's Republic of China as a progressive movement.

In January 1968 the Central Committee of the M.L.O.B. issued what will in the years to come be recognised as a historic document, the "Report on the Situation in the People's Republic of China", which demonstrated that the resolution adopted on these questions at the conference four months earlier had been a grave mistake.

As Lenin says:

"The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it in practice fulfils its obligations towards its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it - that is the earmark of a serious party." ("History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)"; Moscow, 1941; p.361).

The most serious, basic, long-term error we made on these questions was our failure to make a penetrating, objective Marxist-Leninist analysis of "the thought of Mao Tse-tung". Had such an analysis been made, as it should have been made, many years ago, it would have revealed then that "the thought of Mao Tse-tung" - far from being "a creative development of Marxism-Leninism" - was essentially revisionist and anti-Marxist-Leninist in character. We should then have seen the counter-revolutionary essence lying beneath the demagogic mask of "the great proletarian cultural revolution" headed by Mao Tse-tung far earlier than we did.

Why was such a Marxist-Leninist analysis of "the thought of Mao Tse-tung" not made until many years after it should have been made? The roots of the answer lie in the revisionist habits of thought and practice which all of us have brought with us to some extent into the new, developing Marxist-Leninist movement even though we have formally broken with the revisionist party machine. For in the revisionist party - for obvious reasons - independent, objective Marxist-Leninist analysis is strongly discouraged. In the revisionist party a "good comrade" is one who accepts uncritically "the line" which emanates from the world leading revisionist centre in Moscow.

It is not without significance that the great majority of people who constitute the so-called "anti-revisionist movement" in Britain had their eyes opened to the character of Khrushchevite revisionism not in 1955-6 - by which time its actions had clearly exposed its treacherous, renegade character - but in the 1960s, after the Chinese Marxist-Leninists had begun publicly to expose it. Even then many of these people tended to see the "Great Debate" between Marxism-Leninism and

modern revisionism primarily as a struggle between the lines emanating from rival world leading centres in Moscow and Peking. The uncritical acceptance of a line emanating from a world leading centre was carried into the so-called "anti-revisionist movement"; only the leading centre was changed. And this led the anti-revisionist movement into a new revisionism.

The uncritical acceptance of "the line from Peking" in place of independent objective Marxist-Leninist analysis blinded us to the fact that in 1966 "the line from Peking" changed from a Marxist-Leninist line to a revisionist one as a result of the coup d'etat by which the "left" revisionists headed by Mao Tse-tung seized control of the "Central Committee" of the Communist Party of China and of the armed forces. It blinded us to the fact that the "left" revisionists headed by Mao Tse-tung had cunningly transformed the socialist cultural revolution in China into a counter-revolutionary assault in the interests of the Chinese capitalist class upon the Party and the new-democratic state. It carried us to the point where we found ourselves repeating - albeit with some uneasiness - the more absurd phrases from "Peking Review" concerning the personal attributes of Mao Tse-tung. It lowered our revolutionary vigilance.

How, then, did the M.L.O.B. come to recognise the erroneous path it had begun to tread?

Just as failure to make independent, Marxist-Leninist analysis was responsible for our error, so it was resumption of independent Marxist-Leninist analysis which forced us to recognise the error.

From the moment it was set up last autumn, the M.L.O.B. began to elaborate a Marxist-Leninist programme for the achievement of socialism in Britain. This compelled us to make an independent, objective Marxist-Leninist analysis of various aspects of the situation in Britain, Europe and the world. By the beginning of December 1967 it had become clear that this analysis was bringing us into irreconcilable contradiction with the line emanating from Peking. For example, our own analysis had led us incontrovertibly to the conclusion that the movement of "black nationalism" and the slogan of "black power" were reactionary and harmful; yet it became clear in November 1967 that Peking was giving this movement and this slogan full support. It was such contradictions which forced the Political Bureau to undertake what should have been undertaken long before - the initiation of an objective Marxist-Leninist analysis of "the thought of Mao Tse-tung" and of the situation in the People's Republic of China. The end result of that analysis was the report of the Central Committee issued last month.

What are the lessons to be drawn from this grave error - in order to ensure as far as we can that we do not ever again make such an error? We must wage a relentless battle against the revisionist habits of thought and practice which all of us have brought to some extent into the new, developing Marxist-Leninist movement. We must never again substitute blind faith for independent, objective Marxist-Leninist analysis. We must strive to raise the political level of our members at all levels so that they may nip any future errors in the bud immediately. The fact that the M.L.O.B. has published the truth as soon as it became aware of it, being the first of any of the developing Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations in the world to do so, presents a good augury for the overcoming of the obstacles which lie ahead.

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The Unity Theatre Swindle

Unity Theatre has, for as long as most of us can remember, been a beacon of progressive and working class culture in London. Today it is fighting for its life against enemies who would destroy it and everything for which it stands.

Some years ago the Unity Theatre Society raised a fund from friends and supporters for the purpose of buying the freehold of its site in Goldington Street, N.W.1. and of rebuilding the theatre. A trust was set up to administer the money raised on behalf of the Unity Theatre Society, this trust consisting of actor Alfie Bass, composer Alan Bush, lawyer John Platts-Mills and one other member who has since died.

The land on which the theatre stands was duly purchased for £5,000, leaving a balance in the fund of £15,000 out of the £20,000 raised through this appeal. Then, with the connivance of the former Management Committee of the Society, the theatre was closed "for rebuilding".

But as the weeks and months went by without any sign of activity, members came reluctantly to the conclusion that the intention was not to rebuild the theatre at all, but to allow it to become a derelict shell, fit only for demolition. And so in March 1967 the irate membership of Unity Theatre Society threw out the old Management Committee and elected a new one - pledged to reopen the theatre at the earliest possible moment and to raise to new heights the progressive traditions of the theatre.

The new committee found the theatre a shambles, the accounts unintelligible. They found that over £1,000 of box-office receipts and bar takings had mysteriously found its way into the bank account of the trust instead of that of the society, leaving a huge debt outstanding. By almost superhuman efforts on the part of the activists associated with the theatre, these obstacles were sufficiently overcome to permit the re-opening of the theatre.

After the election of the new committee at the A.G.M. of the society, Alan Bush shouted: "The members will be sorry they voted you in. You will not get a penny of the trust fund". It must be said that he has done his best to keep his word. Documents appeared purporting to show that the society was no more than an insecure tenant of

the trust, which had the absolute right to use the money in the fund in many ways other than that for which it was raised. In fact, the balance of £15,000 remaining after the purchase of the land has shrunk to £7,000 (£8,000 having been expended by the trust on "administration") without a single nail being driven. And the society has been engaged in battle with the trust for almost a year in an effort to secure money for essential repairs.

The aims of the hard-faced business men on the trust are quite simple. They wish to demolish Unity Theatre and use the site for the more profitable purpose of the erection - by a group of developers associated with Phil Piratin, himself co-opted to the trust as a "building expert" - of a block of luxury flats. A small theatre in the basement or on some other site is mentioned vaguely as a possible substitute for Unity Theatre.

The revisionist-led Communist Party has now been called in and has, as might have been expected, thrown its weight on to the side of the trust. Their plan is to hold off adverse publicity or legal action until the party can mobilise its voting fodder to rig the A.G.M. of the society and secure the election of a new Management Committee which will consent to the "peaceful transition" of Unity into the hands of Piratin and his knackers.

No doubt lawyers can argue long and expensively on the legality of the trust's actions. But the workers, trade unions, and supporters of Unity who gave their hard-earned cash - as well as the talented band of artists who are determined to revive this historic theatre - will characterise Bass, Bush, Piratin and Platts-Mills in no uncertain terms - as swindlers who have robbed Unity Theatre of its funds and who are bent on destroying Unity and everything for which it stands in the "sacred" cause of profit!

The future of Unity Theatre depends on the exposure and rout of this gang of unscrupulous swindlers.

"BLACK NATIONALISM": THE BETRAYAL OF THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

In the United States of America Negro people constitute an oppressed nation in the South, while Negro workers in the North form part of a national minority within the American nation and one of the most exploited strata of the working class.

American Marxist-Leninists understand that the road to self-determination of the Negro nation in the South and to the social liberation of the Negro workers in the North lies in the revolutionary destruction of the common enemy of the working class and of the Negro nation in the South - and, indeed, of the peoples of the world: United States imperialism. And they understand that this revolution can only be brought about as a result of the building of a united struggle against U.S. imperialism, led by a Marxist-Leninist Party and embracing the working class - black and white - in the North together with the Negro people in the South.

However, historical factors have enabled the struggle of the Negro people in the United States to be influenced by anti-Marxist-Leninist political trends, and to be the happy hunting ground for various kinds of demagogue, charlatan and disruptor.

THE BLACK MUSLIMS

In the early years of this century an American negro by the name of Timothy Drew became acquainted with certain facets of the Mohammedan religion. He convinced himself that Christianity was "the white man's religion" and that Islam was the instrument for Negro salvation. He adopted the name of "Noble Drew Ali".

In 1913 he founded the first Moorish-American Science Temple in Newark, New Jersey, and later similar temples were established in other United States cities.

By the late 1920s Drew's leadership of the movement was being challenged by "Sheik Claude Greene", who was murdered in his Chicago office in March 1929. Drew was arrested, and died under mysterious circumstances while released on bail.

A new leader immediately appeared on the scene in the person of one Wallace Fard, who claimed to be the reincarnation of "Noble Drew Ali". He founded a temple in Detroit in 1930 and in the next few years a number of subsidiary organisations were established, including the "University of Islam" for the training of Black Muslim youth.

In 1933 Fard suddenly and mysteriously disappeared and a split occurred in the movement on the question of whether or not he had been Allah (God). Those who supported his deification eventually set up headquarters in Chicago under "Elijah Muhammad", the present leader of the movement.

Elijah Muhammad was born in Georgia in 1897 and has lived in Chicago since 1946. He occupies a well-furnished, eighteen-room house in one of the "better" neighbourhoods of Hyde Park and is known as "The Messenger".

The myth of the Black Muslims portrays the American Negro people as the "Nation of Islam", the Chosen People of Allah, and their origin as Morocco. They form part of the larger "Black Nation", which includes all non-white peoples, and the "Black Nation" is Man as

created by Allah. The white race consists of devils, created by the genetic experiment of an early scientist by the name of Yakub. Soon will come the "Last Judgement" when Allah will destroy all except paid-up members of the orthodox Black Muslim movement, and they will then rule the earth for ever in peace and happiness.

The Black Muslim movement owns a number of business enterprises, the employees of which receive no wages but what is called "Charity" and is not subject to collective bargaining.

Until the 1950s the Black Muslim movement remained a small, influential sect with a membership - mainly middle-aged and elderly - numbered in the hundreds. However, with the rise of national liberation movements on the African continent and of Negro militancy in the United States, tens of thousands of new adherents, most of them young people, came into the movement.

The movement played a certain progressive role in breaking down the myth of the inferiority of the Negro people. As one of its leading figures, "Malcolm X", said after breaking with the movement:

"I had helped Mr. Muhammad and his other ministers to revolutionize the American black man's thinking, opening his eyes until he would never again look in the same fearful, worshipful way at the white man. I had participated in spreading the truths that had done so much to help the American black man rid himself of the mirage that the white race was made up of 'superior' beings". (Malcolm X - assisted by Alex Haley -: "The Autobiography of Malcolm X"; New York; 1965; p.293).

However, the Black Muslim movement was a religious movement, the principal objective role of which was to divert the American Negro people from political action to passive waiting for the solution of their problems by Allah's Last Judgement. The only political concessions made to the growing impatience of the rank-and-file, when the Last Judgement failed to materialise as quickly as had been hoped for, was to set up small business enterprises for the employment and service of members, and to put forward the demand for a "National Home" for the American Negro people. As Malcolm X expressed it in his last public speech before he broke with the movement, in December 1963:

"The Honourable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that the race problem can easily be solved, just by sending these 22 million ex-slaves back to our own homeland where we can live in peace and harmony with our own kind. But this government should provide the transportation, plus everything else we need to get started again in our own country. If the white government is afraid to let her 22 million ex-slaves go back to our own country and to our own people, then America must set aside some separate territory here in the Western Hemisphere, where the two races can live apart from each other, since we certainly don't get along peacefully while we are here together. ...

But if America waits for Almighty God himself to step in and force her into a 'just settlement', God will take this entire continent away from her; and she will cease to exist as a nation".

(Malcolm X: "God's Judgement of White America", radio address cited by G. Breitman in: "The Last Year of Malcolm X", New York, 1967, p.57).

This political diversion of the Black Muslim movement towards the reactionary and unrealistic demand for a "National Home" was associated with the firm prohibition of members' participation in political activity along any other lines or in association with non-Muslims. After Malcolm X had broken with the movement he expressed the frustration felt by many members when he telegraphed to George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party:

BLACK NATIONALISM

"This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement."

(Malcolm X: "Malcolm X Speaks"; New York; 1965; p.217).

MALCOLM X BREAKS AWAY

Malcolm X, converted to the Black Muslim faith in 1952 while in prison, rose to be Elijah Muhammad's chief minister. In the 1960s, however, he became convinced that the movement was corrupt and that the leader was not conforming to the strict moral code binding on all members. Elijah Muhammad replied with a campaign of slander against Malcolm and the latter severed his connection with the orthodox movement in March 1964. He made it clear at the time that his reasons for breaking away were primarily personal:

"Mr. Muhammad and I are not together today only because of envy and jealousy." (Malcolm X: (assisted by Alex Haley): "The Autobiography of Malcolm X"; New York; 1965; p.200).

At a press conference he announced his intention of forming a rival religious movement to that of Elijah Muhammad:

"I am going to organize and head a new mosque in New York City, known as the Muslim Mosque, Inc. This gives us a religious base, and the spiritual force necessary to rid our people of the vices that destroy the moral fibre of our community." (Malcolm X: "Malcolm X Speaks"; New York; 1965; p.21).

He termed the philosophy of the new movement "black nationalism":

"The political philosophy of the Muslim Mosque will be black nationalism, the economic philosophy will be black nationalism, and the social philosophy will be black nationalism." (A.B. Spellman: "Interview with Malcolm X", in: "Monthly Review"; May, 1964).

"BLACK NATIONALISM"

At first a central point of Malcolm's conception of "black nationalism" remained that of a "National Home":

"The political philosophy of the Muslim Mosque will be black nationalism ... And by political philosophy I mean we still believe in the Honourable Elijah Muhammad's solution as complete separation. The 22,000,000 so-called Negroes should be separated completely from America and should be permitted to go back home to our African homeland." (Malcolm X; *ibid.*).

But this was seen as

"still a long-range programme, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs right now." (Malcolm X Speaks"; New York, 1965; p.20-21).

Thus, as an immediate programme

"The political philosophy of black nationalism means: we must control the politics and politicians of our community". (Malcolm X: *ibid.*, p. 20-21).

By the end of 1964 Malcolm X had renounced the idea of physical migration to Africa in favour of a purely symbolic "migration":

"If we migrated back to Africa culturally, philosophically and psychologically, while remaining here physically, the spiritual bond that would develop between us and Africa ... would enhance our position here. ...

And this is what I mean by a migration or going back to Africa - going back in the sense that we reach out to them and they reach out to us." (Malcolm X: *ibid.*, p.226-227).

During the same year he abandoned the "religious base" of black nationalism and proceeded to found a purely secular instrument: the Organisation of Afro-American Unity (O.A.A.U.), with himself as Chairman. He also began to express the view that Negro freedom could be attained only by revolution, by the destruction of capitalist society, holding up the state capitalist systems of certain newly independent African states as "models of socialism":

"It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system ... to produce freedom right now for

the black man in this country." (Malcolm X; *ibid.*, p.69).

"As our people begin to wake up, they're going to realise they've been talking about Negro revolt, Negro revolution." (Malcolm X; *ibid.*; p.71).

"While I was travelling I noticed that most of the countries that have recently emerged into independence have turned away from the so-called capitalistic system in the direction of socialism." (Malcolm X: *ibid.*, p.65).

That Malcolm X had, in the last year of his life, reached a political position identical in all its central features with that of international trotskyism was not, as we shall see, accidental.

MALCOLM X AND THE TROTSKYITES

George Breitman, himself a trotskyite, has recorded the increasingly close relations between Malcolm X and the trotskyite Socialist Workers' Party in the last years of his life.

"One exception was Malcolm's attitude to 'The Militant', the weekly newspaper expressing the views of the Socialist Workers' Party. While he was still a Black Muslim, Malcolm used to buy this paper when it was sold outside meetings where he spoke. Even at that time, he said after the split, he used to tell Negroes it was a good paper and they ought to read it. Initially he was attracted to 'The Militant' because it sought to explain the Black Muslims and black nationalism and defended them against reactionary distortion and attack. ...

Malcolm continued, at OAAU rallies, to urge the audience to buy 'The Militant', and in opening his speech before the (trotskyite-Ed.) Militant Labor Forum on January 7, 1965, he noted that this was the third time that he had spoken under its auspices:

'I always feel that it is an honour and every time that they open the door to me to do so, I will be right here. 'The Militant' newspaper is one of the best in New York City. In fact, it is one of the best anywhere you go today.' ...

Another speaker at this May 29 meeting was Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers' Party's presidential candidate in 1964. In the discussion Malcolm praised DeBerry's formulation of the need for a combination of firmness in principle with flexibility in tactics. A few weeks later, in a private discussion with DeBerry, Malcolm said that he sympathised with DeBerry's candidacy. ... For various reasons, however, he felt that he could not openly endorse DeBerry. What he could do, he said, was to 'open some doors' for DeBerry in Harlem, so that he would get a better hearing for his programme and greater circulation of his literature. Malcolm did make such arrangements before his second trip to Africa in July, and before leaving he urged his closest workers to cooperate where possible with the Socialist Workers' Party's campaign. ...

Malcolm's friendly relations with the Socialist Workers' Party ... continued throughout Malcolm's last year, and were closer at the end than at the beginning." (George Breitman: "The Last Year of Malcolm X"; New York; 1967; p.28,37,33-34, 30).

RACIALISM

The imperialists seek to hold back the building of a united movement of struggle against them by adopting a policy of "divide and rule". One aspect of this policy is the encouragement of racialism, that is, the incitement of one race against another. They seek to incite white against black, and black against white.

Marxist-Leninists fight all forms of racialism. They aim to unite all oppressed peoples against their oppressors.

"Black nationalist" leaders strive to build an "ethnically pure" black movement. As the "Basic Unity Programme" of Malcolm X's Organisation of Afro-American Unity put it:

"The exclusive ethnic quality of our unity is necessary for self-preservation". (Breitman: "The Last Year of Malcolm X"; p.119).

They hold that if inter-racial unity with white workers were ever possible, it could be only in the distant indefinite future and must be actively resisted in the meantime. In an interview in March 1964, Malcolm X was asked: "Can Negroes do it alone?". He replied:

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"Yes. They'll never do it with working class whites. The history of America is that working class whites have been just as much against not only working Negroes, but all Negroes, period. ... There can be no worker solidarity until there's first some black solidarity. There can be no white/black solidarity until there's first some black solidarity, ... One of the mistakes Negroes make is this worker solidarity thing. There's no such thing." (A.B. Spellman: "Interview with Malcolm X"; in Monthly Review, May; 1964).

In practice, of course, the building of an "ethnically pure" black movement which resists solidarity with white workers involves the purveying of anti-white racialism.

Asked in 1962 to comment on police brutality towards whites, Malcolm X said:

"We're not interested in the hell that whites catch from whites. ... That's your problem - we're not interested in it." (Malcolm X: "The Crisis of Racism", cited in Breitman's "The Last Year of Malcolm X"; p.67).

In December 1963 he expressed this anti-white racialism in orthodox Black Muslim terms:

"We want no integration with this wicked race that enslaved us. We want complete separation from this race of devils." (Cited in G. Breitman: *ibid.*, p.58).

And, asked in April 1964 to pay tribute to a white minister killed during a demonstration in Cleveland against segregation in schools, he replied:

"The day is out when you'll find black people who are going to stand up and applaud the contributions of whites at this late date. ... Don't you ever think that I would use my energies applauding the sacrifice of an individual white man." (Cited in Breitman: *ibid.*, p.23).

The "black nationalist" Robert Williams writes:

"The gap between black and white is becoming ever more wide. ... The white man's relations with the black man in America are governed by an imperialist mentality. He sees no need to respond humanely to the black man's cry of anguish. His response is the club and the bullet. ...

Why should the black man in racist America trust the white man? Is not the white man the one who created the hate barriers? Is he not the one who has betrayed and abused the black man." (Robert F. Williams: "U.S.A.: The Potential of a Minority Revolution", in: "The Crusader"; Sept/Oct. 1967; p.3,4,14).

The trotskyites - who function as agents of imperialism within the progressive movement but pose as "revolutionaries" and "Marxists" - not only give full support to black racialism, but provide a spurious "Marxist" theoretical basis to justify it. They put forward the view that only white racialism is reactionary, but that black racialism is progressive. The trotskyite Ken Coates expresses this view in the London Bulletin of the (trotskyite) "Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation":

"No equation can be made between the offensive racialism of ruling groupings, which is profoundly irrational and reactionary, ... and the defensive reactions of communities which are persecuted and oppressed". (Ken Coates: "Stokely Carmichael at OLAS", in: "Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation London Bulletin"; September 1967; p.8-9).

Under the slogans

"race becomes class" (Ken Coates: *ibid.*; p.10) and "class questions are often expressed in racial terms" (G. Breitman: *ibid.*, p.146)

they justify the incitement of black racialism on the grounds that black people form a "proletarian class" while white people (and particularly Jewish people) form a "bourgeois class":

"The black people of the U.S.A. are a basically proletarian formation, ... the black people-class. ... The Jews have preserved themselves as a social class. ... The Jews ... are a class, or more precisely a people-class." (Ken Coates: *ibid.*; p.9-10)

An identical formulation on the Jews appears in "The Communist", organ of a trotskyite group calling itself the "Communist Workers' Group (anti-revisionist)", composed of former members of the (trotskyite) "Irish Workers' Group" now masquerading as "Marxist-Leninists":

"When Jews immigrate into a country they tend to form themselves into a socially tight group and by efficient capitalist methods, although starting penniless, manage to extort money from the working classes, manage to build themselves into a social elite. ... This is just another example of Marx's theory: 'The history of the world is the history of class struggle'. The jews are the class." ("The Communist", September 20th, 1967; p.11.).

If it is pointed out that there are white workers as well as black workers, and that both have a common interest, objectively, in the overthrow of the exploiting class, the trotskyite reply is that white workers share in the exploitation of black workers and so must be counted with the exploiting class. The economic essence of this view was put forward in Britain in 1966 by the "Finsbury Communist Association" in its pamphlet "Class and Party in Britain". It was expressed in its full clarity at the 1967 OLAS Conference in Havana by the "black nationalist" Stokely Carmichael, who has taken over the mantle of Malcolm X since his assassination in 1965, and who calls non-white people "the Third World":

"The American working class enjoys the fruits of the labour of the Third World workers." (Stokely Carmichael: "Black Power and the Third World", in: "B.R.P.F. London Bulletin"; p.14).

SEGREGATION

The United States imperialists, like their South African counterparts, have striven to hold back the inter-racial unity of those they oppress by adopting a policy of segregation, of striving to keep black and white apart in public transport, in places of entertainment, in place of residence, and above all in schools and colleges.

Progressive people have always fought segregation and have won significant victories in the fight against it, while Marxist-Leninists have understood the value of this struggle, not only for its immediate aims, but for the building of a movement of struggle with the wider aim of eventually destroying U.S. imperialism.

The "black nationalists", however, urge the Negro people not merely to accept segregation, but to demand it! As the "Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives" of Malcolm X's Organisation of Afro-American Unity puts it:

"A first step in the programme to end the existing system of racist education is to demand that ten per cent of the schools ... be turned over to and run by the Afro-American community. We want Afro-American principals to head these schools. We want Afro-American teachers in these schools. ...

If these proposals are not met, we will ask Afro-American parents to keep their children out of the present inferior schools they attend. When these schools in our neighbourhood are controlled by Afro-Americans, we will return to them." (Cited in G. Breitman: "The Last Year of Malcolm X"; p.107-108).

The trotskyites endeavour to distinguish the "black nationalist" policy of "separation" from the imperialists' policy of segregation:

"'Separation' ... should not under any circumstances be confused with 'segregation', a system that is imposed upon blacks by whites." (G. Breitman: *ibid.*; p.53).

There is no doubt, a discernible difference between a wage cut that is imposed upon workers by their employers and one which is demanded by the workers themselves - but the effect is precisely the same. And the effects of separation and segregation are precisely the same: both assist the imperialists to "divide and rule".

The trotskyites "justify" the "black nationalist" policy of "separation" not only in the name of "black unity" but in that of "reducing inequality":

"When, in England, liberal authorities decide to 'integrate' the schools, by exporting from the black ghettos those children who make up a black majority in the classrooms and opening wide the white suburban schools to new immigrant quotas, they do not oppose inequality: far from it, they augment it." (Ken Coates: "Stokely Carmichael at OLAS", in "B.R.P.F. London Bulletin, September 1967 p.7).

As the last quotation shows, the "black nationalists" and their trot-

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'NATIONAL SOCIALISM':

ON THE SO-CALLED "WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND (M.L.)"

When, in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, the rights enjoyed by the working class under "parliamentary democracy" become a threat to the wealth and power of the ruling monopoly capitalists, they seek to destroy both those rights and "parliamentary democracy" itself.

"Fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." (G.Dimitrov: "The Working Class Against Fascism"; London; 1935; p.6).

Fascism is not, however, simple capitalist dictatorship. It is capitalist dictatorship in which the powers of the capitalist state machinery of force are strengthened by means of a counter-revolutionary mass movement, composed mainly of reactionary petty-bourgeois elements and lumpenproletarian thugs.

A fascist party generally has its origin in a small group which puts forward a programme designed to deceive the working people and lower their vigilance, a programme designed at the same time to appeal to finance capital and secure its backing - just as Hitler's "German Workers' Party" was taken over by the finance capitalists of Germany as the instrument of their fascist dictatorship.

Among the more important points in the programme of such a fascist party are the following:

- 1) it presents itself as a "revolutionary workers' party";
- 2) it takes up a national or racial antagonism (real or invented) within the country and strives to intensify this in order to assist the monopoly capitalists to "divide and rule";
- 3) it opposes the strike weapon ("in the interests of the working class") and urges the workers to work harder (so increasing the profits of the capitalist class);
- 4) it denounces democratic voting and demands that policy decisions should be made by "a leader";
- 5) it denies that women are equal to men, it denounces demands for equal economic and political rights for women and calls for women to be allotted a "special role" in society - centred primarily on the home and the family.

All these points of a fascist programme have now been put forward in the programmatic statements of the so-called "Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist)".

"THE SCOTTISH NATION"

Seeking to capitalize on the present upsurge of Scottish petty bourgeois "nationalism", the "Workers' Party of Scotland" puts forward the view that Scotland, Wales and England are separate nations.

"Scotland is a nation". ("The Manifesto of the Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist)", in: "Scottish Vanguard", Vol.1, No.2, p.11).

But Marxist-Leninists have always understood that, despite declining survivals of pre-national languages and cultures in Scotland and Wales, these regions of Britain do not possess the characteristics of nations, but, on the contrary, that Scotland, Wales and England form a single British nation.

"The British, the Germans and others ... were formed into nations from people of diverse races and tribes." (J.V. Stalin: "Marxism and the National Question", in: "Works", Vol.2, Moscow: 1953; p.303).

"The British, French, Germans, Italians and others were formed into nations at the time of the victorious advance of capitalism and its triumph over feudal disunity." (J.V.Stalin:ibid; p.313-14).

"The formation of people into nations occurred during this period. I am referring to such countries as Great Britain (without Ireland), France and Italy." (J.V.Stalin: "Theses on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection with the National Problem", in: "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question"; London 1936; p.99).

Basing themselves on the anti-Marxist-Leninist concept of the "Scottish nation", the journal of the "Workers' Party of Scotland" publishes demands that Gaelic (which is spoken only by some 77,000 people in Scotland - mainly in the Hebrides - out of a total population of over five millions) be

"allowed to regain its rightful place as the national language of all Scotland", (Scottish Vanguard, Vol.1., No.2. p.15).

More important, the "Workers' Party of Scotland" portrays the ruling class of Scotland not as British imperialists (who in fact control the state machine and the economic resources throughout the whole of Britain) but as

"English imperialists" and "the ENGLISH CAPITALIST ESTABLISHMENT". ("The

'NATIONAL SOCIALISM'

Manifesto of the Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) in: "Scottish Vanguard", Vol.1, No.2; p.11).

This false, anti-Marxist-Leninist picture of Scotland as "a nation oppressed by England" opens the door for the publication of chauvinist attacks on English workers - attacks which serve the interests of British imperialism (the existence of which is denied by the W.P.S.) by seeking to divide the British working class, the unity of which is an essential precondition for socialist revolution.

"How many English NALGO members supported the efforts of their Scots counterparts for, and right to, parity in wages with their English 'comrades' and 'fellow-workers'. How many English miners supported demands by their Scots 'mates' for enquiries into Scots pit closures. ...

'Solidarity' with such as these I find unbearable." ("Scottish Vanguard", Vol.1, No.2; p.5).

"DOWN WITH STRIKES"

Recently the programme of the "Workers' Party of Scotland" has been developed much further along fascist lines in a book entitled "POLITICAL POWER: A CLASS ANALYSIS", by Dr. S.W. Taylor (Edinburgh, 1967). The book is published by the W.P.S. and is endorsed by Ken Houlison, Val Sutherland and Tom Murray (on behalf of the Central Committee of the W.P.S.) as a book which,

"must be widely read for its fundamental challenge to pedestrian and all too often, if perhaps subconscious, conventional thinking." (Preface, p.1.).

Militant workers have long been under the impression that the strike was an invaluable weapon by which to defend or improve their economic conditions. This, says the W.P.S. (in company with the Federation of British Industries and the extreme right-wing trade union leaders) is a delusion.

"The effect of the economic strike upon the economy is in the direction of depression. The very scramble for a bigger slice of the cake cuts down the amount of cake to go around anyway. Such strikes therefore exacerbate the very state of poverty which they claim as their cause and this is their Luddite-like characteristic. ... Strikes directed against the employers hit the people. ...

What value is a weapon which cuts savagely at one's friends, ... but which merely brings a sense of vicarious delight to the class enemy and gives him the opportunity to introduce anti-working class laws in the march towards fascism? ...

Economic strikes against the employers which force up wages play into the hands of monopoly capital enterprises which alone can afford to stand up against the economic blows of the costs and the losses of production involved. ... The end of this road can only be, for the worker, to create a new status for himself and stripped of the freedom he yet enjoys, be tied by Laws to his workbench as an industrial serf on a bare subsistence wage... For capitalism the economic strike is the blow which refreshes. ...

Economic strikes do not serve to bring economic gains to the working people in the long run, but rather to bind them ever more firmly to wage servitude. ... Inflation can swallow rises as quickly as they are given." (p.119-121).

Yet just over a hundred years ago, in 1865, Karl Marx disposed of these reactionary arguments in his famous address to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association

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MORE ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

BRENDAN CLIFFORD'S RESEARCHES

In an effort to give some "theoretical" support to the reactionary "Scottish" nationalism and Welsh "nationalism" that is at present being peddled by certain spurious "Marxist-Leninist" groups, Brendan Clifford has been searching the Marxist classics. The results of his twelve months' researches are published in a long article in the November 1967 issue of "The Communist", organ of the trotskyite Communist Workers' Organisation (anti-revisionist).

In 1891, cries Mr. Clifford triumphantly, Engels referred to the British Isles

"where the two islands are peopled by four nations".

Mr. Clifford "forgets", however, that Marxist-Leninists do not regard the classics of Marxism as "holy writ", every word of which must be taken as inspired from heaven. In 1891 the Marxist definition of the concept "nation" had not yet been developed. Although the fundamentals of this definition were laid by Stalin in 1912 in his famous work "Marxism and the National Question", it was not until 1950 that even Stalin came to differentiate clearly between "nation" on the one hand, and the forerunner of a nation - "nationality" or "pre-nation" - on the other. Today, having the benefit of seventy-five years development of Marxism since Engels wrote that sentence in 1891, Marxist-Leninists are able to describe the British Isles more correctly as "two islands peopled by two nations". These two nations are the Irish and the British nations, the latter being composed of three nationalities: Scottish, Welsh and English.

STALIN RE-ASSESSES HIMSELF?

Mr. Clifford goes on to claim that in 1925 Stalin "re-assessed" the national question as it had been put forward in his 1912 work. Consequently, theses - such as that to the effect that Britain constitutes a single nation - based on "Marxism and the National Question" are not valid.

But did Stalin amend his definition of the "nation" as given in the 1912 work? Did he amend his definition of the British people as constituting a single nation? Not at all.

In fact, Stalin did not "amend" the 1912 work, he developed it into the conditions of a new historical period, the period of the general crisis of capitalism. He refers to a sentence from the earlier work:

"The national struggle under the conditions of rising capitalism is a struggle of the bourgeois classes among themselves!" (J.V. Stalin: "The National Question Once

Again" in: Works", Vol.7; Moscow 1954, p.226).

Since this formulation refers specifically to "the conditions of rising capitalism", it is correct, says Stalin. But now, he says, we are living in the period of the general crisis of capitalism which began with the first imperialist war; now, therefore,

"the national question ... had ceased to be a part of the general democratic movement, ... it had already become a component part of the general proletarian, socialist revolution." (J.V.Stalin:ibid: p.226).

Clearly, the Scottish and Welsh "national socialists" can derive no support from vague talk about Stalin's "re-assessment" of his 1912 position.

BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION: PROGRESSIVE OR REACTIONARY

The greater part of Clifford's article is devoted not directly to the national question, but to a passage in an article on the national question in the organ of the A.C.M.L.U. The passage concerned, which Clifford misquotes, reads:

"In this period, when capitalism was developing within the disintegrating old society, political actions which served the interests of the capitalist class, which assisted in the development of capitalist society, were progressive. ...

In this period, the best interests of the masses of the Scottish people (and the English people too) were served by the development of capitalism, and therefore by Union." ("The National Question in Britain", in: "Hammer or Anvil", November/December 1966; p.47).

Revisionist, anti-Marxist nonsense - cries Clifford.

"Capital comes into existence 'dripping from head to foot' ... with the blood of the masses. ...

When coming into existence capitalism served the interests neither of the old masses of serfs or clansmen nor of the new proletarian masses." (R.Clifford:"Scotland: How Capitalism Serves the People", in: "The Communist"; November 1967; p.11).

By the title of his article - "How Capitalism Serves the People" - Clifford wishes to suggest that HAMMER OR ANVIL is saying in the

passage quoted that capitalism serves the interests of the masses now, in the period of the general crisis of capitalism. This is to sink to the depths of political dishonesty new even for trotskyites such as Clifford.

And to deny that the development of capitalism within the womb of feudal society was progressive, was in the interests of the masses of the people despite the suffering associated with its birth, is to deny one of the most fundamental concepts of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory:

"Capitalism is progressive compared with feudalism". (V.I.Lenin: "A Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism'"; in: Selected Works, Vol.5; London; undated p.299).

In the period prior to the February 1917 revolution, Lenin fought unremittingly for the spread of understanding among the working class of the essentially progressive character of the bourgeois revolution in Russia:

"In countries like Russia, the working class suffers not so much from capitalism as from the lack of capitalist development. The working class is therefore undoubtedly interested in the widest, freest and speediest development of capitalism. The removal of all the remnants of the old order which are hampering the wide, free and speedy development of capitalism is of absolute advantage to the working class. The bourgeois revolution is precisely ... a revolution which most fully guarantees the widest, freest and speediest development of capitalism. ...

Therefore, the bourgeois revolution is in the highest degree advantageous to the proletariat. The bourgeois revolution is absolutely necessary in the interests of the proletariat." (V.I. Lenin: "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", in: Selected Works, Vol.3; London; 1946; p.75).

Had Clifford and his trotskyite rabble been in Russia in the early twentieth century, clearly they would have been denouncing the line of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and assisting the Tsar with "leftist" phrases, just as they have for the last few years sought to disrupt the developing Marxist-Leninist movement here.

STALIN AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The attacks upon Stalin made by the modern revisionists since 1956 - attacks following precisely the same lines as those of the trotskyite "left" revisionists which date from an earlier period - were in reality attacks upon Marxism-Leninism made under the false cloak of "Marxism-Leninism".

At the present time in Britain, where Marxist-Leninists are working for the reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class, an assortment of groups has appeared calling themselves "anti-revisionist" and "Marxist-Leninist" but with a policy which aims at dividing the Marxist-Leninist movement and the working class on "national" and racial lines.

Elsewhere in this issue we illustrate how the so-called "Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist)", which began by embracing Scottish "nationalism", has degenerated into an open purveyor of trotskyite and even fascist ideology, and has attacked not only Stalin but Lenin. We also show how the trotskyite groups calling themselves the "London Workers' Committee" and the "Communist Workers' Group (anti-revisionist)", which have endorsed the reactionary pseudo-nationalist views put forward by the S.W.P., have now begun to purvey respectively "black nationalism" and anti-semitic racialism, so assisting the imperialists to divide the working class along racial lines.

WELSH "NATIONALISM"

In this situation it could not be long before some hopeful opportunist would espouse, in the name of "Marxism-Leninism", the cause

of Welsh "nationalism". This dishonour has fallen to A.H. Evans in his pamphlet "The National Problem in the light of the teachings of Lenin and Mao Tse-tung" (London; 1967). Evans will be remembered as an early member of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity who resigned from that body when, under the leadership of Comrade Michael McCreery, it refused to publish an anti-Marxist-Leninist article by him.

This renegade follows in the footsteps of the "Workers' Party of Scotland" in seeking to stir up hostility on the part of Welsh workers towards their English comrades:

"The English sneer at 'Scots tightness', 'Scots "pride"', 'Welsh shiftiness', 'the Welsh "useless language"'. The English people, including its working class, has been completely indifferent to the butchery of the Welsh language, in fact, they have condoned the acts of barbarism of the English state against the Welsh people and a language that was civilised long before English came into being." (p.18-19).

Evans, of course, gives his support to the anti-Marxist-Leninist concept that Scotland, Wales and England constitute separate "nations" and, along with the "Workers' Party of Scotland", accuses of "English chauvinism" those who, like the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain, hold that Britain - Scotland, Wales and England together - forms a single nation:

"There are a small minority of English people whose chauvinism is so deeply embedded as to completely blind them to British history:

they have brought into 'being' a monstrosity, 'A British Nation!'" (p.12-13).

EVANS ATTACKS STALIN

Unlike some of his fellow "nationalists", Evans does not evade the dilemma that the viewpoint of the M.L.O.B. on the national question in Britain is identical with that put forward implicitly and explic-



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itly by Stalin, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of his era and one whose special field was that of Marxism-Leninism in relation to the national question. Evans "resolves" this dilemma very simply. He declares not only that "Stalin grossly over-simplified the national problem" (p.17) but that "we must emphasise that Stalin inclined to the position of great race chauvinism."

In his allegation that Stalin was a "racialist" and a "chauvinist",

Evans is at one with the most vicious enemies of the working class - the modern revisionists and the trotskyites. Furthermore, like them, he calls in Lenin to "support" his view:

"Stalin's 1913 thesis on the National Question came to be regarded as the last word on the problem, yet the fact is that Lenin was sharply critical of Stalin's views on the National problem." (p.8).

No-one, least of all Stalin, would claim that his writings constituted the "last word" on any subject. Yet it is true that Stalin's classic work "Marxism and the National Question" has always been regarded as laying more than the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of this question. It is this which Evans seeks to deny.

But Evans goes further than this. He revives that old, rusty weapon of the trotskyite propoganda arsenal which was taken over by the modern revisionists in 1956 - the so-called "Lenin's Testament":

"Lenin's justified criticism of certain weaknesses in the psychological make-up of Stalin was not brought forcibly enough to the attention of Soviet people." (p.8).

Let us look at these allegations in cold detail.

STALIN: LENIN'S COMRADE-IN-ARMS

First of all, did Lenin regard Stalin as an outstanding Marxist revolutionary leader and an authority on the national question?

In February 1913, while Stalin was still working on "Marxism and the National Question", Lenin wrote to Maxim Gorky:

"We have a marvellous Georgian who has sat down to write a big article for 'Prosveshcheniye' for which he has collected all the Austrian and other material." (V.I.Lenin: Collected Works, Vol.35, Moscow; 1966, p.84).

Learning that it was proposed to print the article with the reservation that it was for discussion only, Lenin vigorously objected:

"Of course, we are absolutely against. The article is a very good one". (V.I.Lenin: *ibid.* p.70).

Soon after Stalin's arrest, in March 1913, Lenin wrote to the editors of 'Sotsial-Demokrat':

"Koba had time to write a big article on the nationalities question (for three issues of 'Prosveshcheniye'). Good! We must fight for the truth. (V.I.Lenin: *ibid.*; p.94).

Lenin further commented:

"The situation and the fundamentals of a national programme for Social-Democracy have recently been dealt with in Marxist theoretical literature (the most prominent place being taken by Stalin's article)" (V.I.Lenin: "The National Programme of the R.S.D.L.P." in: Collected Works, Vol.19, Moscow; 1963, p.539).

After the events of July 1917, when Lenin was forced to go into hiding, it was Stalin who was entrusted with guiding the work of the Central Committee and the central Party organ, and with steering the 6th. Party Congress in July-August 1917.

When, on October 16th, 1917, the Central Committee elected a Party Centre to direct the revolution, it was headed by Stalin.

With the victory of the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Government, Stalin was appointed People's Commissar for the Affairs of the Nationalities, a position which he held until 1923.

It was on the motion of Lenin that, in November 1919, the Soviet Government awarded Stalin the Order of the Red Banner in recognition of his services during the Civil War.

At the 10th. Congress of the Party, in March-April 1921, it was Stalin who was entrusted with making the report on "The Immediate Tasks of the Party in connection with the National Problem."

And it was on the motion of Lenin that, in April 1922, the Central Committee elected Stalin to the supreme position of its General Secretary.

When, therefore, did Lenin criticise Stalin's views on the national question and Stalin's "psychological make-up", as Evans claims?

In fact no documents written by Lenin expressing such views are known to exist. Evans, one must presume, is referring to the letters alleged to have been dictated by Lenin in December 1922 and January 1923.

In order to assess the significance of these letters, it is necessary to know that for a considerable time before they were written, Lenin had been suffering from sclerosis of the brain, and that his first two strokes - in May and December 1922 - had already permanently incapacitated him.

And since they relate primarily to the policy of the Russian Communist Party with regard to Transcaucasia, it is necessary to look in some detail at the situation existing there immediately after the civil war.

THE FIGHT FOR FEDERATION IN TRANSCAUCASIA

The three Transcaucasian nations - Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan - had a long history of bitter national conflicts, reaching the level of persecution of national minorities and even open war.

As Stalin told the 12th. Party Congress in April 1923:

"From very early times Transcaucasia has been an arena of massacre and strife and, under the Mensheviks and Dashnaks, it was an arena of war. You know of the Georgian-Armenian war. You also know of the massacres in Azerbaijan at the beginning and at the end of 1905. I could mention a whole list of districts where the Armenian majority massacred all the rest of the population, consisting of Tatars. Zangezur, for instance. I could mention another province - Nakhichevan. There the Tatars predominated, and they massacred all the Armenians. That was just before the liberation of Armenia and Georgia from the yoke of imperialism." (J.V.Stalin: "Report on National Factors in Party and State Affairs", 12th Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) in: Works, Vol.5, Moscow; 1953; p.256).

In these circumstances, the Central Committee of the Party decided that for a certain period the three Transcaucasian Republics should be united in a federation:

"To put a stop to that strife an organ of national peace was needed, i.e., a supreme authority whose word would carry weight." (J.V.Stalin: "Reply to the Discussion on the Central Committee's Organisational Report", 12th Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) in: Works, Vol.5, Moscow; 1953, p.232).

Thus, on November 28th, 1921 Lenin wrote to Stalin proposing that the Political Bureau of the Central Committee should resolve

"1) to recognise the federation of the Transcaucasian republics as absolutely correct in principle and its realisation as absolutely necessary ... ;

2) to instruct the Central Committees of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan to carry out this decision." (J.V.Stalin; *ibid*; p.233).

A motion to this effect was adopted unanimously at the next meeting of the Political Bureau, attended by both Lenin and Stalin. Two commissions - one headed by Dzerzhinsky, the other by Kamenev and Kuibyshev - reported that federation was indispensable, and this was affirmed by no less than three meetings of the Central Committee.

In accordance with this policy, the Federative Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Transcaucasia was brought into being in March 1922.

THE GEORGIAN "DEVIATORS"

However, federation of the Transcaucasian Republics was actively opposed, both before and after its establishment, by a minority group of Georgian communists, headed by Mdivani (who was found guilty in 1936 of treason against the Soviet state). They opposed this in words as a move inspired by "Great-Russian chauvinism", attacking especially Stalin - himself a Georgian! - under this label. Stalin pointed out to the 12th. Congress of the Party that the facts showed that fear of Great-Russian chauvinism was not the real motive for the opposition of the Georgian "deviators":

"There has been and still is a group of Georgian Communists who do not object to Georgia uniting with the Union of Republics, but who do object to this union being affected through the Caucasian Federation. ...

These statements indicate that on the national question the attitude towards the Russians is of secondary importance in Georgia, for these comrades, the deviators (that is what they are called), have no objection to Georgia joining the Union directly; that is, they do not fear Great-Russian chauvinism, believing that its roots have been cut in one way or another, or, at any rate, that it is not of decisive importance. Evidently, what they fear most is the federation of Transcaucasia. Why? (J.V.Stalin: "Report on National Factors in Party and State Affairs, 12th Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)", in: "Works", Vol.5, Moscow 1953, p.257).

Stalin proceeded to demonstrate that the real motive behind the opposition of the Georgian "deviators" to federation was, in fact, Georgian chauvinism:

"The point is that the bonds of the Transcaucasian Federation deprive Georgia of that somewhat privileged position which she could assume by virtue of her geographical position. Judge for yourselves. Georgia has her own port - Batum - through which goods flow from the West; Georgia has a railway junction like Tiflis, which the Armenians cannot avoid, nor can Azerbaijan avoid it, for she receives her goods through Batum. If Georgia were a separate republic, if she were not part of the Transcaucasian Federation, she could present something in the nature of a little ultimatum both to Armenia, which cannot do without Tiflis, and to Azerbaijan, which cannot do without Batum. There would be some advantages for Georgia in this. ...

Then there is yet another reason. Tiflis is the capital of Georgia, but the Georgians there are not more than 30 per cent of the population, the Armenians not less than 35 per cent, and then come all the other nationalities. That is what the capital of Georgia is like. If Georgia were a separate republic the population could be reshifted somewhat - for instance, the Armenian population could be shifted from Tiflis. Was not a well-known decree adopted in Georgia to 'regulate' the population of Tiflis ...? The intention was to reshift the population so as to reduce the number of Armenians in Tiflis from year to year, making them fewer than the Georgians, and thus convert Tiflis into a real Georgian capital. I grant that they have rescinded the eviction decree, but they have a vast number of possibilities, a vast number of flexible forms - such as 'decongestion' - by which it would be possible, while maintaining a semblance of internationalism, to arrange matters in such a way that Armenians in Tiflis would be in the minority.

It is these geographical advantages that the Georgian deviators do not want to lose. ...

It is on to this dangerous path that our comrades, the Georgian deviators, are pushing us by opposing federation in violation of all

the laws of the Party, by wanting to withdraw from the federation in order to retain an advantageous position. They are pushing us on to the path of granting them certain privileges at the expense of the Armenian and Azerbaijanian Republics. But this is a path we cannot take, for it means certain death to our entire policy and to Soviet power in the Caucasus." (J.V.Stalin: *ibid*; p.259-9, 261).

The Georgian "deviators" were decisively rejected at the 1922 Congress

of the Communist Party of Georgia, receiving only 15% of the votes. Nevertheless they continued to organise opposition to the policy of the Party with regard to federation, and in the autumn of 1922 their leaders, including Mdivani, were recalled to Moscow by the Central Committee. As Stalin told the 12th Congress in April 1923:

"In Transcaucasia only the Soviet Government succeeded in establishing national peace by creating the federation. That is why we in the

Central Committee regarded that decision as being absolutely binding. But what do we see? That the Mdivani group disobeys that decision. More than that, it opposes it. That has been established both by Comrade Dzerzhinsky's commission and by the Kamenev-Kuibyshev commission. Even now, after the decision of the March Plenum concerning Georgia, Mdivani is continuing to oppose federation. What is that if not contempt for the Central Committee's decisions? Such are the circumstances that compelled the Central Committee of the Party to recall Mdivani." (J.V.Stalin: "Reply to the Discussion on the Central Committee's Organisational Report to the 12th Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) in: Works, Vol.5, Moscow 1953; p.236)

POLITICAL INTRIGUE AROUND LENIN'S SICK-BED

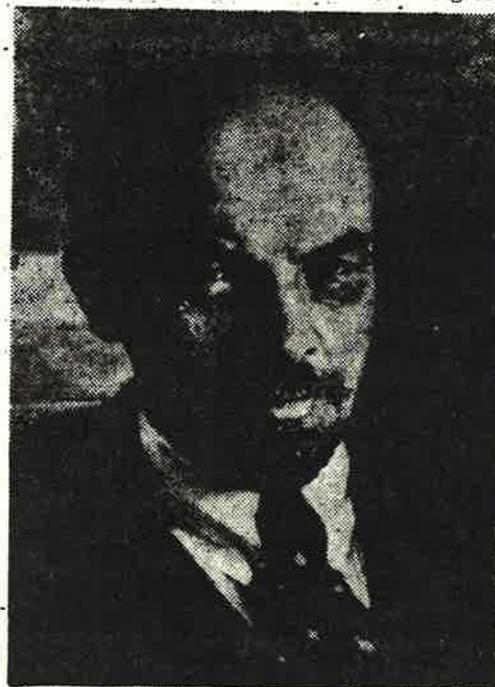
On his arrival in Moscow, Mdivani made contact with opposition leaders there and - through the agency of Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, who was at that time very sympathetic to the opposition - was given facilities to complain to Lenin, who was seriously ill and isolated from the Party leadership (he was unable to attend the October and December plenums of the Central Committee in 1922). In December, Stalin received a letter written by Krupskaya, allegedly at Lenin's dictation, endorsing the opposition charges that Stalin and Dzerzhinsky were forcing an incorrect policy upon Georgia as a result of their "Great-Russian chauvinism".

When Stalin asked by telephone that representatives of the Political Bureau should be permitted to see Lenin and put the true facts of the situation to him, Krupskaya refused on the grounds that "his health would not permit it". Stalin protested strongly at this situation, and on December 23rd, 1922 Krupskaya wrote a personal letter to the opposition leader Lev Kamenev (later, in 1936, found guilty of treason against the Soviet state) complaining of Stalin's "rude outburst" and of his "threat" to refer her conduct to the Control Commission of the Party.

"LENIN'S TESTAMENT"

On the following day, December 24th, Maria Volodicheva, a Kremlin secretary, allegedly at the dictation of Lenin, wrote a letter addressed to the Congress of the Party. This purported to reverse Lenin's life-long experience - that of fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with Stalin against the continual anti-Marxist stands of Trotsky - by denigrating Stalin and praising Trotsky:

"Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary-General, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands, and I am not sure whether he



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will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand, as his struggle against the C.C. on the question of the People's Commissariat for Communications has already proved, is distinguished by outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C." (V.I.Lenin: Collected Works, Vol.36; Moscow; 1966, p.594-5).

Six days later, on December 30th, 1922, Volodicheva wrote a letter on the national question, again allegedly at the dictation of Lenin, in which the criticisms of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky made by the opposition leaders were supported:

"Stalin's haste and his infatuation with pure administration, together with his spite against the notorious 'nationalist-socialism', played a fatal role here. ...

The Georgian ... who carelessly flings about accusations of 'nationalist-socialism' (whereas he himself is a real and true 'nationalist-socialist' and even a vulgar Great-Russian bully) violates, in substance, the interests of proletarian class struggle. ...

The political responsibility for all this truly Great-Russian nationalist campaign must, of course, be laid on Stalin and Dzerzhinsky." (V.I.Lenin: Collected Works, Vol.36, Moscow, 1966; p.606, 608, 610).

On January 4th, 1923, Lydia Fotieva, a Kremlin secretary sympathetic to the opposition, added a postscript to the letter of December 24th, again allegedly at the dictation of Lenin, calling for the removal of Stalin as Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Party:

"Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest that the Comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc." (V.I.Lenin: Collected Works, Vol.36, Moscow; 1966, p.596).

The letters were addressed to "The Congress", but when the 12th Party Congress took place in April 1923 they were not presented. Lenin, although even more seriously ill after a third stroke, was still alive and while he lived the danger to the opposition existed that he might repudiate them.

But on January 24th, 1924 Lenin died, and the letters were, as the revisionist editors of the latest edition of Lenin's Collected Works testify:

"read out to the delegates of the Thirteenth Congress which was held from May 23-31, 1924." (V.I.Lenin: *ibid*; p.712).

The Congress rejected the allegations made in the letters by confirming Stalin in the post of Secretary-General and, as the revisionist editors of the "Collected Works" say,

"The Congress unanimously decided not to publish the letter, because it was addressed to the Congress and had not been intended for the press." (V.I.Lenin: *ibid*; p.712).

However, after the Congress, the opposition began to use the letters - which they referred to as "Lenin's Testament" - in a campaign to remove Stalin from his position. And in 1924 they were published in the United States by the trotskyite Max Eastman, who obtained them from opposition elements in the Soviet Union.

Following their coming to power after Stalin's death, the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union circulated the letters at the infamous 20th. Congress and later

"in accordance with the instruction of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the letters were published in the magazine 'Kommunist' No. 9 in 1956." (V.I.Lenin: *ibid*; p.712).

It is not accidental that, in support of his reactionary "nationalist" views, Evans picks up the blunted weapons of the trotskyite and revisionist propaganda arsenal in order to attack Stalin. As in 1922 and 1956, the attack upon Stalin conceals an attack upon Marxism-Leninism.

STALIN: OPPONENT OF CHAUVINISM

It is clear that the discreditable political intrigues of the enemies

of Marxism-Leninism, whether in 1922 or in 1956, give not the slightest support to Evan's claim that Stalin inclined to "great race chauvinism". On the contrary, Stalin fought chauvinism in all its forms consistently throughout his life:

"I understand our policy in the national question to be a policy of concessions to non-Russians. ... That policy is undoubtedly correct." (J.V.Stalin: "Reply to the Discussion on the C.C.'s Organisational Report, 12th Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)", in: Works, Vol.5; Moscow; 1953; p.235).

"The principal factor impeding the union of the republics into a single union is that force which, as I have said, is growing in our country under the conditions of the N.E.P.: Great-Russian chauvinism". (J.V.Stalin: Report on National Factors in Party and State Affairs, 12th Congress, R.C.P.(B.) in: Works, Vol.5, p.249.

"We can achieve success only by fighting on two fronts - on the one hand, against Great-Russian chauvinism, which is the chief danger in our work of construction, and, on the other hand, against local chauvinism; unless we wage this double fight there will be no solidarity between the Russian workers and peasants and the workers and peasants of the other nationalities." (J.V.Stalin: *ibid*; p.273).

LENIN AND "NATIONALISM" IN BRITAIN

Was there, in fact, as Evans claims, some difference between Lenin and Stalin on the national question in relation to Britain? Did Lenin, unlike Stalin, believe that "Scottish nationalism" and Welsh "nationalism" were progressive movements of genuine nationalism?

On the contrary. Speaking of "the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe", Lenin says:

"in these countries the bourgeois, progressive, national movements came to an end long ago." (V.I.Lenin: "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", in: Selected Works, Vol.5, London, undated; p.275).

and

"in those advanced countries ... the national problem has been solved for a long time; ... objectively, there are no 'national tasks' to be fulfilled." (V.I.Lenin: "A Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism'", in: Selected Works, Vol.5, London, undated, p.295).

and

"In the western countries the national movement is a thing of the past. In Britain, France, Germany, etc. ... it has played its historical role, i.e., the national movement cannot yield here anything progressive, anything that will elevate new masses to a new economic and political life. (V.I.Lenin: *ibid*; p.305).

The truth of Lenin's analysis in this respect is born out a hundred-fold by the brief history of most of those groups calling themselves "Marxist-Leninist" who have embraced "nationalism" in Britain. They have quickly degenerated into slanderers of Lenin and Stalin, and into purveyors of reactionary trotskyite, racist and even fascist ideology.

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THE AMERICAN BATTLEFIELD

AN INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE MICHAEL LASKI, General Secretary of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

QUESTION: Could you outline for our readers the history of the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement in the United States of America.

COMRADE LASKI: There are, apart from the C.P.U.S.A.(M.L.), four groups in the United States which call themselves "Marxist-Leninist".

In 1958, at the 16th Convention of the revisionist-led C.P.U.S.A., a split occurred centred around a leading individual, Armando Roman, who was a member of the New York State Central Committee of the party. The split occurred over certain central questions, namely, the role of Comrade Stalin, the analysis of the Hungarian counter-revolution (to which the C.P.U.S.A. took an attitude of partial support), the national question in the United States, the attitude towards the trade union movement and, of course, the basic questions of the transition to socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The right-wing revisionists - Dennis, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Gus Hall - were able to gain effective control of the party, while Foster played a centrist, conciliationist rôle of "trying to hold the Party together".

There had been a tremendous influx of petty bourgeois and intellectual elements into the party in the thirties and forties, and these had provided the basis for revisionism. This had led in 1944 to the triumph of Browderism and the complete dissolution of the party, which was transformed into the "Communist Political Association". The subsequent "reconstitution" was mere window-dressing: the elements who had adopted Browderism merely used him as a scapegoat and then proceeded to carry through the same policies in a more subtle way.

When the 16th. Convention was over, the right wing moved to expel the small, scanty opposition, which was centred mainly among the Negro and Puerto Rican workers and the remains of the party's working class base on the waterfront of New York City, in Cleveland and Chicago, together with a small scattering on the West Coast. These anti-revisionist elements formed in 1958 the Provisional Organising Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (known as the P.O.C.) and began to publish the "Marxist-Leninist Vanguard". This was the first group to emerge and it is still in existence.

In 1962, after the Chinese and Albanian Parties had begun to expose international revisionism publicly, the Progressive Labor Movement (later the Progressive Labor Party) was formed mainly from elements who had come out of the revisionist party; its leading elements had been expelled from the party as trotskyite. Rosen, the leading figure in Progressive Labor, astutely capitalised on the situation brought about by the polemics in the international Communist movement to muster whatever support he could across the country among those who had dissociated themselves from the revisionist party.

About the same time Homer Chase was expelled from the Central Committee of the Communist Party and, with a number of collaborators set up "Hammer and Steel" and the now defunct "New England Party of Labor". The paper still exists but it and the movement around it has made no growth.

In the winter of 1962-3 an organisation called the "Ad Hoc Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party" came into existence in Chicago. This has an anonymous leadership and is allegedly formed of members of the Communist Party who are in opposition to its revisionist line and believe that it is possible to transform the party by means of inner-party struggle.

The Communist Party of the United States of America (Marxist-Leninist) developed out of the P.O.C. in 1965, because, as a result of the Watts uprising at this time, it became clear that the P.O.C. was adopting a sectarian stand, refusing to wage a political struggle, to give any political leadership, to expand its forces or to give any lead on the

formation of a Marxist-Leninist Party.

The founding conference of the C.P.U.S.A.(M.L.) was held on September 4-5th, 1965. Its general organ is "The People's Voice" (established shortly before the founding conference, in August 1965). Its theoretical organ is the journal "Red Flag".

QUESTION: On what organisational principles is the C.P.U.S.A.(M.L.) constructed?

COMRADE LASKI: On the organisational principles of the "party of a new type" elaborated by Lenin and Stalin. It is democratically-centralised, capable of forming the leading force of the working class movement. Its Central Committee is the leading organ of the Party, apart from the Congress which elects it.

QUESTION: What is the basic policy of the C.P.U.S.A.(M.L.) towards the trade union movement?

COMRADE LASKI: We hold that our main task in the trade union field must be to break what we call "the fascist labour front", which is actually the incorporation of the bureaucratic organs of the trade unions into the monopoly-capitalist state. We do not believe that the bureaucratic leaderships can be replaced merely by seeking election to official positions in shop stewards committees or trade unions. Our policy is to concentrate on the political education of the rank-and-file primarily by leading them in struggle; only then will the trade union elections have a firm, stable basis.

QUESTION: How does the C.P.U.S.A.(M.L.) view the national question in the United States?

COMRADE LASKI: The U.S.A. is a multi-national state, made up of three nations: the American nation, the Negro nation in the south, and the Puerto Rican nation. Our viewpoint is based on Stalin's teachings on the national question embodied in his classic "Marxism and the National Question".

The existence of the Negro nation was settled in 1928 by the C.P.U.S.A. as a result of a decision of the Third International. Stalin pointed out that the Negro nation did exist, and that the demand for its right of self-determination was an obligation for American Communists to fight for in order to solve the national antagonisms within the United States.

This correct position was liquidated by the revisionists in 1956, and in its place was put support for "civil rights"; the policy of equal rights within the American nation and of self-determination for the Negro nation was discarded.

Our Party takes the following stand on this matter: that there is in fact a Negro nation in the south and that it has the right of self-determination. The question of the relationship of the Negro nation to the American nation - whether the former should form an independent socialist republic, an autonomous section of a unitary socialist American republic, or a republic of a federated American state, or whether it should fuse with the American nation - this question is a matter for the working people of the Negro nation to determine. Marxist-Leninists in the American nation fight for the right of self-determination for the Negro nation, while those in the Negro nation (who are part of the same Party) fight for fusion with the American nation.

This Marxist-Leninist position on the national question is a powerful weapon against reactionary nationalists. Reactionary Negro nationalism is the complement of chauvinist Anglo-American nationalism put forward by the most reactionary sections of the U.S. imperialists.

QUESTION: What is the attitude of the C.P.U.S.A.(M.L.) towards the slogan "Black Power"?

COMRADE LASKI: We do not advocate "Black Power" in any sense of the

term. This is essentially a nationalist slogan, not a Marxist-Leninist slogan. The Marxist-Leninist slogan is "self-determination for the Negro nation", and not "Black Power".

However, we do recognise that there is an anti-imperialist aspect to the "Black Power" slogan, and where this slogan is used to mean the right of self-determination for the Negro nation - self-determination which can be realised only by means of struggle against U.S. imperialism - we support it.

But where it is used - as by certain representatives of "Black Power" like Stokely Carmichael - to mean fighting for black institutions, for black teachers in black schools, for black policemen and black firemen, we oppose it as reactionary and divisive.

The majority of Negro workers do not support the conception of "Black Power" put forward by Carmichael and his ilk. This is merely a demand the Negro bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie put forward for a share in "the American dream".

QUESTION: What is your analysis of the disturbances that have taken place in recent months and years in various American cities?

COMRADE LASKI: We regard the disturbances in Watts, Newark, Detroit and New York City over the past two years primarily as class disturbances not national disturbances, in their origin and composition. They represent militant struggles by the most oppressed and exploited sections of the United States proletariat, which are for the most part made up of national minorities. However, other sections of the working class participated in these struggles, especially in Los Angeles and Detroit. Of course, the nationalists stepped in to try to utilise the matter, and the entire bourgeois press has tried to present these class struggles as racial disturbances.

We hold that the essential contradiction within the American nation is the class struggle, while the national question is secondary. The national question is a factor which enters into it because the exploitation of Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican workers is especially intense.

QUESTION: How does the attitude of the C.P.U.S.A.(M.L.) on the national question differ from that of "Hammer and Steel" and the Progressive Labor Party?

COMRADE LASKI: "Hammer and Steel" holds that the national question is the main contradiction in the United States today. We recognise that national liberation struggles are the focal contradiction in the world, but not in the United States.

The Progressive Labor Party, like most opportunist organisations, stands for: "self-determination of the Negro people" and "Black Power", both at the same time.

But by "self-determination of the Negro people" they mean self-determination for Negroes wherever they may be. Whether in Harlem, Seattle, or in Birmingham, Alabama, in the heart of the Negro nation. They consider Harlem and Watts "Negro nations" and stand for their "self-determination", but they deny the existence of the real Negro nation in the south. The effect is to give support to reactionary nationalism.

Two years ago it was fashionable to call for "integration". But "integration" means in practice integration for the wealthy bourgeoisie of the Negro nation or of the Negro national minority in the north with the American bourgeoisie. It meant nothing for the Negro workers - how can you "integrate" rich and poor? We reject the slogan of "integration" in favour of that of "equal rights". But we make it clear that equal rights are impossible under imperialism, and that the struggle for equal rights is an important aspect of the struggle for socialism under which alone there can be equal rights.

Who were the strongest advocates of "integration" two years ago? The Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), supported by the Progressive Labor Party. Now the P.L.P. is just as strongly backing SNCC in its advocacy of the "Black Power" slogan and the use of indiscriminate violence as a catch-all threat. This is typical of the dual aspect of the petty-bourgeois opportunist radical.

Now it is fashionable to support "Black Power", and the P.L.P. now support this slogan in the crassest terms. Two years ago the Progressive Labor Party was saying: "No discrimination in the state schools! No all-black and no all-white schools in areas of mixed populations! No segregation!" Now these very same people are calling for all-black teachers, for all-black schools, for all-black cops. If we didn't know

better we might think that Governor Wallis was speaking to us.

Thus, what is going on is an opportunist tailing by the Progressive Labor Party of everything that moves in the United States. But Marxist-Leninists gain nothing by hiding their position, by changing their position to suit every transient petty-bourgeois fashion. The way to deal with petty-bourgeois progressives and intellectuals and their movements is to work with them and explain to them the Marxist-Leninist standpoint in the course of struggle.

QUESTION: What, then, is your estimate of the Progressive Labor Party?

COMRADE LASKI: It is a party composed mainly of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, led by unprincipled opportunists. However, we regard the rank-and-file of the Party as fundamentally progressive elements who can be won to Marxism-Leninism by proper polemic exchange. We are, in fact, perfectly willing to enter into negotiations with the Progressive Labor Party - as also with "Hammer and Steel", the P.O.C. and the Ad Hoc Committee - for the purpose of discussing our differences and laying the basis for Marxist-Leninist Unity in the United States.

It must be said that the Progressive Labor Party has responded to some extent to our criticism. In the last five months, for example, there has been a complete shift in their attitude to the Peace Movement. Whereas before this they were working hand in glove with the Trotskyite "Socialist Workers' Party" and with the "Spartacists" (a breakaway group from the "Socialist Workers' Party"), and to a lesser extent with the "Workers' World Party" (an earlier split from the "Socialist Workers' Party") and also with the revisionists - this collaboration with Trotskyites has now ceased as the result of criticism of it.

The Progressive Labor Party has considerable financial resources, although its membership throughout the United States is not large.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

LAOS

In December and January liberation forces in Laos gained momentous successes against the U.S.-supported government forces. In January, after a long siege, liberation forces occupied the heavily fortified base of Nam Bac, only 60 miles north of and gateway to the royal capital of Luang Prabang. A government communique admits that 2,000 of its troops are missing in Nam Bac. Another government communique on the same day admitted a heavy attack upon the U.S. air base in Luang Prabang itself.

SOUTH YEMEN

After 128 years of British rule, the people of south Yemen - formerly the Aden protectorate - won their independence after four years of armed struggle which began with the Radfan revolt in 1963. Inspired by the national-democratic ideas of Che Guevara and Mao Tse-tung, the National Liberation Front was able to push aside the rival organisation FLOSY, which was equipped and directed by the newly-emerged Egyptian capitalist class headed by Nasser. On November 30th, 1967 British imperialism handed over power to the National Liberation Front and the People's Republic of South Yemen was established.

YEMEN

Further north, in Yemen itself, armed revolutionary struggle continues against the forces of the reactionary feudal monarchy, which are financed and armed by feudal Saudi Arabia and by the U.S. forces in that country. In November 1967 the United States imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and Saudi Arabia successfully pressed the 80,000-strong Egyptian army in Yemen to withdraw from the country - hoping that this measure would force the republican revolutionaries to lay down their arms. The move has failed dismally and, despite the continued aid to the royalist forces from Saudi Arabia, the National Liberation Front - freed from the oppressive restrictions of the Egyptian occupation - is fighting with new strength.

NIGERIA

The seven-month civil war for the unification of Nigeria under its federal national-democratic government continues at the time of writing. The reactionary feudal forces in Biafra are being aided not only by the Portuguese imperialists, but also by those of France. The latter have been promised that an "independent" Biafra would expropriate the oil concessions in the area, now largely held by Shell/B.P., and transfer them to the French state-owned oil concern SAFRAP.

WE ACCUSE...! YOUNG COMMUNISTS DENOUNCE LEADERSHIP

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY AT THE END OF NOVEMBER AT A MEETING OF MEMBERS FROM VARIOUS LONDON BRANCHES OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE:

At a time of crisis for capitalism, when bourgeois ideology is obviously out of keeping with the requirements of the age, when it is becoming increasingly apparent that the epitaph of the capitalist economic order is currently being written by the revolutionary peoples of the world - at such a time it is of supreme importance that we Communists have a thorough understanding of Marxism-Leninism for, in Lenin's words:

"Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement."

In that they have failed to present the need for such a theory, the Communist Party of Great Britain and its youth movement, the Young Communist League, have both proved to be no longer capable of uniting the working class of this country under the banner of scientific socialism and of leading it in revolution. The C.P.G.B. and the Y.C.L. have deliberately neglected to educate members in the principles of Marxism-Leninism, negated the role of the working masses in changing society, repudiated the need to smash the capitalist state machine, and instead have attempted to ingrain in their members a belief in social-democracy, in the establishment of socialism by the use of peaceful means, suggesting that the ruling class would take their sham "parliamentary democracy" at its face value and permit the masses of the people to vote away their wealth and power.

DEGENERATE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE

This is the essence of the degenerate political atmosphere that pervades the C.P.G.B. and the Y.C.L. today. Obviously, such organisations are dangerous to the movement - for social-democratic parties serve the interests of the capitalists, not those of the working class. But past events and recent analyses have proved that it is virtually impossible to change the policies of these organisations. What must be done is to expose them, while at the same time building a new Communist Party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a Communist Party that is really dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of the existing social order and to the construction of a Socialist Britain. Unless such a Party is built along correct lines, with a correct leadership and with a programme for the seizure of power - all future struggles on the part of the working class of Britain will inevitably be doomed to failure.

A TOTAL FAILURE TO STAND BY PRINCIPLES

Within the Young Communist League a situation now exists where many members have openly come out in opposition to the leadership's approach to the class struggle - an approach that is anti-Marxist-Leninist, as is evidenced by their journal "Challenge", by their attitude to recruiting, by their methods of work, by their "appraisal" of the Labour Government, by their approach to broad-front organisations, notably the R.C.P.V. and the Y.P.V. - in all, a total failure to stand by principles, and a policy that rarely shows a trace of working class consciousness. The leadership has launched vile, slanderous attacks on the Marxist-Leninist vanguards of China and Albania, which chose to reply to the attacks levelled at them by the Soviet revisionists - attacks which, coupled with the renegade Khrushchov's denunciation of the great proletarian leader J.V. Stalin, brought about the rift in the international Communist movement.

The National Committee of the Young Communist League, instead of using the Y.C.L. journal "Challenge" as a means of promoting healthy discussion on the many major issues facing the Communist movement, such as the split mentioned above, has given over the pages of the journal to commentaries on present-day phenomena of minor importance, such as the "Hippies" and the Pirate Radio Stations, in order to try and win support from the middle class.

PACIFISM

The Young Communist League has for many years "fought" many issues from what is virtually a bourgeois-pacifist position (for instance, the campaigns on the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, on Rhodesia and U.D.I., on nuclear weapons, etc.), and by its failure to adopt a Marxist-Leninist

standpoint has misled many young people on the vital issues of peace and war. Thus, the inevitable disillusion of young people in the concept of non-violence and the resultant demise of the C.N.D. as an effective organisation has left a body of anarcho-pacifist-liberals of primarily middle-class origin in need of a political body through which to channel their protests. These found the Y.C.L. most obliging. With the absorption of the ex-C.N.D.-ers into its ranks, the Y.C.L. was virtually compelled to retain the outworn pacifist slogans in order to recruit and keep these people as members. And so, organisations calling for solidarity with the Vietnamese people were passed over in favour of those calling for "negotiations now", for "stop the bombing and talk". The failure of the Y.C.L. to organise for, and participate in, the demonstration of October 22nd, is a direct result of the Y.C.L. forsaking principle. While other groups which are also part of the Y.P.V. took part in this demonstration, the Y.C.L.'s non-participation was a damning reflection of its revisionist policies: the parent body, the C.P.G.B., has chosen the electoral "road to Socialism" and, as a result, cannot contemplate an encounter with the class enemy other than in the accepted institutions, such as councils and parliament.

A TRAVESTY OF DEMOCRACY

The national leadership flagrantly violated the principle of democratic centralism at the 26th. National Congress held at Skegness over the Whitsun weekend of this current year. Those opposed to the revisionist line of the leadership were vetted by a group of loyal Y.C.L. lick-spittles, and thus prevented from speaking. In the few exceptional cases where opposition speakers managed to elude the vetting committee, their words were shouted down by the Chairman yelling over a microphone. Votes for National Committee nominations who opposed the revisionist line were conveniently "lost", as were some emergency resolutions. In all, it was a travesty of democracy - but all that could be expected of a congress under the control of the present national leadership.

GROWING OPPOSITION

At the present time opposition to the revisionist policies and insidious tactics of the Y.C.L. leadership are becoming more and more evident, more and more widespread. Particularly in the London district, attempts by the District Committee to interfere in the affairs of branches that were upholding and defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism have resulted in numerous expulsions over the last twelve months.

Comrades - it is time to take very careful stock of our position. The "efforts" of the social-democrats to attain Socialism have always resulted in the working class finding itself abandoned and betrayed. Such will be the fate of the workers of Britain without a vanguard party which adheres to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The C.P.G.B. and the Y.C.L. cannot be transformed from the middle-class talking shops, which they now are, into a Bolshevik party. A new, revolutionary Communist party has to be constructed.

Comrades! Let us dedicate ourselves to the building of a REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY!
Forward to the building of a REVOLUTIONARY YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE!
WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE!

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'NATIONAL SOCIALISM': CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

(published as a pamphlet under the title "Value, Price and Profit"). He concludes his lengthy analysis with the conclusion that

"a general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but, broadly speaking, not affect the prices of commodities." (K.Marx & F.Engels: "Selected Works", Vol.1; Moscow; 1958; p.447)

and asks rhetorically if the working class

"ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation." (K.Marx & F. Engels: *ibid.*, p.446).

Marxist-Leninists have long been under the impression that economic strikes were important in raising the class and political consciousness of the working class in preparation for their emancipation from capitalism. This too, says the W.P.S., is a delusion:

"This is a short-sighted argument and does little justice to the intelligence of the working people. It is on a par with the type of military leadership which, for the sake of action, sends men 'over the top' into senseless suicide battles. ...

Only the cessation of economic strikes will result in the filling up of the reservoirs of mass organisation and working class political power" (p.120).

Here again the "Workers' Party of Scotland" stands Marxism on its head. For, as Marx pointed out in that same address of 1865:

"By cowardly giving way in their everyday conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement." (K.Marx & F.Engels: *ibid.*, p.446).

What alternative does the W.P.S. propose to the working class in place of the economic strike? Again it is one which will endear the party to the Federation of British Industries. The workers should follow, in our capitalist society, the example of the Stakhanovites in a socialist society. They should work

"as if possessed" (p.122).

"The political party of the working class must be the centre from which eradication of the Luddite mentality will spread throughout the movement. ...

There is need to engender the theory and spirit of Stakhanovism in industry for the sake of the working class political movement itself." (p.122-3).

THE NATURE OF FASCISM

As has been said, fascists present their movement as one of "socialist revolution". The "Workers' Party of Scotland" applies this principle not only in relation to the name of the party, but to German fascism in particular:

"The views of the bourgeois communists ... who seek to bury the truth in lies, especially that Hitler was merely the paid agent of monopoly capital, must be rejected. ...

Fascism ... is the socialist revolutionary movement in the era of transition ...

The essential prerequisite of communist participation in bourgeois parliaments ... is that the party be totally free of corruption itself. ... Hitler, and the National Socialist Party satisfied this criterion. ...

The power Hitler released in his 'National Socialism' was the power of the organised proletariat, the same power as had been released across the border in the Soviet Union." (p.31,33,52).

In fact, says the W.P.S., the ideology and organisational structure of the German fascist movement were essentially that of the German "Left Communists" - which (as will be shown later) they regard as "the correct trend" within the German communist movement.

"Broadly speaking, the tactical and organisational planning and ideas of the German 'Left' communists and Hitler's National Socialist Movement were on parallel lines." (p.51).

It is true, admits the W.P.S., that the German fascist movement in its later stages came to serve the interests of the capitalist class, but this was because of the "errors" of the leadership:

"The tragedy of the German National Socialist Workers' Movement was precisely in the nature of its leadership. ...

The power Hitler released in his 'National Socialism' was the power of the organised proletariat.... His error was to misdirect it into the service of bourgeois purposes. It thus proved too big a power for him to handle. ...

Fascism is capitalist ideology grafted onto a working class organisational stock. It is the socialist revolutionary movement in the era of transition whose leadership is usurped by the bourgeoisie. ..." (p.48, 52, 33).

And who was responsible for the victory of the "opportunist-led" fascist "socialist revolutionary movement" over the "correctly-led" "parallel" "Left Communist" movement? None other than Lenin, says the W.P.S.!

LENIN AND PARLIAMENT

It was Lenin above all who exposed "parliamentary democracy" as a sham facade to the machinery of force that forms the essential structure of the capitalist state. At the same time Lenin stressed - in particular in his book "Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder" - that it was essential for Communists to participate, where possible, in "parliamentary democracy" in order to expose the true character of parliament as a talking-shop to deceive the working people.

A harmful error on Lenin's part, says the W.P.S.!

"A clean break with parliamentarism and with the slogan 'parliamentarism as a tactic' is the order of the day. ... Participation as a tactic is seen to be wrong in all circumstances and the most damaging form of opportunism. It is not just a question of a Marxist-Leninist Party not standing candidates, but of urging the working people to keep away from the polling booths." (p.111).

Lenin cited the experience of the Bolsheviks to illustrate the necessity for Communists to participate in "parliamentary democracy" and the Communist International, under Lenin's leadership, made acceptance of this principle a condition of affiliation to the C.I. "A gross error", comments the "Workers' Party of Scotland". The Communist International was

"based on false internationalism, on big nation chauvinism, on the baton and the gag in the relationships within and between the world communist parties. ...

Its policy of domination and interference in the affairs of fraternal parties was in breach of proletarian internationalism. ... This is the key to the mistake of the period. ...

Lenin was to make the mistake of insisting on the universality of this particular experience, ... making its acceptance a condition of affiliation to the Communist International.

By overriding considerations of 'narrow national' tactics and demanding 'international conformity' the Comintern was precisely overriding proletarian internationalism which it failed to understand correctly. ...

Lenin should not have entered into the struggle as a participant, but confined his advice to a theoretical evaluation of the problems involved. ... The world has gone through agonies of struggle for this truth to crystallize and to emerge. ...

The Soviet Communist Party stepped off on the wrong foot in its relations with fraternal parties, beginning with the publication of "Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder" and going on to the policy of diktat which became the policy of the Comintern and whose consequence was the failure of communist policy, first in Versailles Germany, and later in all the other communist parties of the West." (p.17, 45, 54, 55, 59).

The particular "error" on the part of Lenin which led, the W.P.S. asserts, to the victory of fascism in Germany was the expulsion by the Communist International, under Lenin's leadership, of the "leftist" Communist Workers' Party of Germany in 1921 for failing to carry out C.I. directives. The W.P.S. comments on this action as follows:

"In usurping the leadership in this manner the Comintern beheaded the German communist movement on the eve of a revolutionary situation." (p.44-45)

since the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany

"was no more than a putty group of 'yes men'" (p.45).

Thus, says the W.P.S.,

"Hitler picked up the option Lenin rejected." (p.51).

"THE ROOTS OF REVISIONISM"

It has not been uncommon for spurious "Marxist-Leninists" to seek to attribute the rise of modern revisionism to "the errors of Stalin". The W.P.S. goes further and attributes it to the "errors" and "interference" of Lenin!

It presents as one important root of the rise of modern revisionism the expulsion by the Communist International, under Lenin's leadership, of the German "leftists" - already discussed.

"The split in the German communist movement ... was the deep historical root of the later Great International Ideological Dispute." (p.48)

The W.P.S. presents as another important root of the rise of modern revisionism the "betrayal" by the Soviet Communist Party, under Lenin's leadership, of the international revolutionary movement in that, after the establishment of Soviet power, the Red Army was not ordered to "extend the Soviet Revolution to Germany":

"These were the circumstances which made Germany alone of the Western nations the natural prospective ground for the extension of the Soviet Revolution. ... Had the Soviet Revolution entered its true international phase in the immediate post-war period this is the direction it must have taken, to leap the national boundary on to German soil. ... It could have happened. ... Objective conditions were ripe. But the mind of man - ideas, thinking, theory - is also part of objective reality. ... The Revolution was fated to enter its national and not its international phase." (p.29-30).

TROTSKYISM

That this trotskyite formulation is not accidental is shown by the praise of the W.P.S. for Trotsky's

"creative contribution in, e.g., organising and directing the Red Army at a most critical juncture of revolutionary history, or his role as a focal point of a contradiction that cried aloud for solution." (p.64).

and by the statement that

"Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky ... were the leading comrades-in-arms of the Soviet revolutionary leadership ... united ... in common cause." (p.37).

The W.P.S. agrees with Trotsky that the "theory" of Lenin and Stalin that Socialism could be built in one country was

"a revisionist illusion" (p.68) and "a gross distortion of Marxism" (p.69).

This "theory", they allege, was

"the inevitable outcome of the wrong views held by the Soviet leadership on the question of the International Revolution." (p.69).

and these "wrong views" on the question of International Revolution led to the rise of modern revisionism both in the Soviet Union and in the Communist Parties of the "West":

"The Soviet initiative was to become blunted as its revolution slipped down to the muted key of its more specifically national phase. ... The Great International Ideological Dispute revealed a state of revisionism so widespread as to be virtually universal throughout the Western Communist Parties. Thus was instanced the bankruptcy of Soviet policy as vested in the communist parties of Western capitalism, and this is where, it must be said, the 1917 Soviet Revolution suffered its setback which turned it from its international to its national phase. ...

The Western communist parties belonged to the structure of the Soviet International Revolution. The uniformity of their failure, their impotence and inability to seize the leadership in mass struggle, of

which the defeat in Germany was but an instance, was the expression of the failure of the revolution to enter directly into its International Phase." (p.26, 33).

The W.P.S. agrees with the trotskyites that

"even before the war the distortions being produced by the suppression of democracy within the U.S.S.R. were beginning to make their presence felt with more and more force." (p.70).

and that

"the pre-war trials and purges in Russia and the post-war 'doctors' plot' were symptoms of a deep ideological and political malaise associated with this leadership rift" (between Stalin and Trotsky) (p.37).

The close parallel between counter-revolutionary fascism and counter-revolutionary trotskyism is shown clearly in the programmatic documents of the "Workers' Party of Scotland."

"THE LEADERSHIP PRINCIPLE"

The "Workers' Party of Scotland" holds that a third cause of the rise of modern revisionism in the international communist movement was the practice of taking votes on policy:

"A policy vote is a vote for or against a policy. ...

"The policy vote is not the vehicle of true democracy as it is the means of overriding the views of the minority. ...

True proletarian democracy is expressed through the system of Democratic Centralism which incorporates the principle of unanimity. ... The policy vote reduces all decisions to the mediocrity of the average. ...

The policy vote ... is the instrument of stupidity. ...

Through the policy vote the organisation falls victim to opportunism. ...

It is up to every individual who does not consider himself a bourgeois to see that he does not soil his hands by participating in a policy vote. ... In working class organisations he should avail himself of the right of discussion to challenge, not the resolution but the legality of the vote itself. ...

From the proletarian class point of view the policy vote is illegal and any decision reached through it is invalid." (p.77,81,82,84).

The bizarre distortion of "Democratic Centralism" which is recommended by the "Workers' Party of Scotland" bears a certain similarity to the fascist principle of obedience to an elite leader:

"Many tasks, and the making of wise decisions is one, can best be carried out by a single person. ...

'Iron discipline' demands that the decisions of elected leaders at all levels must stand. They may be overridden neither from above nor below." (p.79, 72).

HOME AND CHILDREN

Marxist-Leninists - along with all progressives - have always fought for equal rights for women with men. "Wrong!", says the "Workers' Party of Scotland".

"The bourgeois communist attitude is that men and women should mix together and be treated as equals, which amounts in practice to the vicious policy of male chauvinism. ...

Men and women are not 'political equals'. ...

Economically women should not aim for 'equal pay for equal work'. ..." (p.136).

As a "reward" for dropping the demand for equal pay and equal rights, the "Workers' Party of Scotland" offers certain spheres of social life which will be reserved for women under Scottish "National Socialism".

"In the socialist reorganisation of society certain fields must be recognised as women's spheres of interest. ... These spheres of interest would embrace those related to domestic and family life, and, in particular, civil law, medicine and basic education." (p.136).

CONCLUSION

The "Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist)" is no more a Marxist-Leninist Party, a party serving the interests of the working class, than was Hitler's "German Workers' Party".

It is a reflection of the generally low level of political under-

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THE DRIVE TO MONOPOLY IN BRITAIN

THE DRIVE TO MONOPOLY PROCEEDS EVER FASTER IN BRITAIN.

Thorn Electrical Industries (Stock Exchange valuation: £158 million) is taking over Radio Rentals for £155 million. Schweppes is taking over Typhoo Tea for £45 million. In January Leyland Motor Corporation and British Motor Holdings merged to form a new company with a market value of £412 million, a labour force of 200,000 and 52% of the home market in motor vehicles. In February it was announced that talks were proceeding between two big Lancashire textile firms - Calico Printers and English Sewing Cotton - the merging of which would create a combine worth £100 million.

And among recent mergers in the field of banking have been:

The two largest independent Scottish banks - the Royal and the National Commercial - with combined deposits of £906 million.

The Westminster and National Provincial Banks, with combined deposits of £2,990 million, 3,600 branches and 40,000 staff.

Barclays, Lloyds and Martins Banks, with combined deposits of £5,620 million, 5,500 branches and 70,000 staff - this producing Britain's largest banking combine and the fourth largest in the capitalist world.

The recent flood of mergers and takeovers, of which the above are notable recent examples, is the most massive in the history of British capitalism. Mergers and takeovers in January 1968 involved almost as much in assets as in mergers and takeovers for the whole of 1967, while the Barclays/Lloyds/Martins bank merger involves more assets than in all mergers and takeovers for several years put together.

A key role in this process of seeking to form ever more gigantic companies and groups is being played by the government's Industrial Re-organisation Corporation. The aim is to try to make British capitalism competitive not only with the giant trusts of western Europe, but also with those of the United States.

In this respect, however, British monopoly capital has a long way to go to catch up with its rivals. In our October issue we reported on the giant GEC/AEI merger; the table below shows its position in the electrical "league" of the capitalist world.

	Assets	Profits
	(in millions of dollars)	
1. General Electric (U.S.A.)	4,852	339
2. General Telephone and Electronics (U.S.A.)	4,511	205
3. Philips (Netherlands)	2,978	96
4. Western Electric (U.S.A.)	2,948	173
5. International Telegraph & Telephone (U.S.A.)	2,360	90
6. Westinghouse Electric (U.S.A.)	1,932	120
7. Hitachi (Japan)	1,745	49
8. Siemens (West Germany)	1,579	41
9. GEC/AEI (Britain)	1,297	42

Nevertheless, the new combine will have a large part of the British market for electrical goods: 75% of turbo-generators, 50% of switch-gear, 36.5% of telecommunications, 20% of cables, and 17% of transformers and domestic appliances. It will have 42% of G.P.O. telephone contracts, against Plessey's 38% and Standard Telephone's 20%.

And as the process of concentration and centralisation of capital goes on, with it go the "rationalisations" and "economies" that mean "redundancy" for thousands of workers. Some 6,500 men and women face unemployment in the London area alone from closure decisions taken as a result of the GEC/AEI merger - 5,000 from the threatened closure of the large telephone equipment factory at Woolwich.

A united token strike of GEC/AEI workers has been called for March 12th.

THE MURDER OF THE MINING INDUSTRY

The government White Paper on fuel policy has fully confirmed Roben's gloomy predictions about the future planned for the coal miners of Britain.

It is planned that by 1975 coal output will have been reduced from 168 million tons a year to 120 million tons a year, with the closure of 173 pits and a reduction in the labour force from 389,000 to around 190,000 - a cut of 199,000 or more than 50%. Figures leaked from the Selsdon Park conference go further. It is planned that by 1980 output will have been reduced to 80 million tons and the labour force to only 65,000.

On the other hand the White Paper reveals that it is planned that fuel oil consumption will increase from 112 million tons a year to 145 million tons in 1975.

The plan expresses the utter subservience of the Labour government to monopoly-capital, and its complete capitulation to the demands of one of its most powerful and reactionary sections, the great oil companies which, by 1975, will control 5% of Britain's fuel industry. And, for their benefit, the mining industry is to be murdered.

THE DOLLAR OVER BRITAIN

In reply to a Parliamentary question on November 3rd, 1967, the President of the Board of Trade estimated that there were about 1,650 companies in Britain owned or controlled by U.S. firms. These companies had book assets of about £1,960 million.

The Revisionist World

YUGOSLAVIA

Of all the former socialist countries of eastern Europe, Yugoslavia has to date gone farthest along the road of the "new economic reforms" which signal the restoration of capitalist relations of production and economic principles and practices.

The Belgrade newspaper "Politika" recently published an article on the desirability of Yugoslav enterprises entering into joint production agreements with British commercial firms, and Mr. Charles Clore has been invited to build a new hotel.

Meanwhile the press reports numbers of cases of the bankruptcy of enterprises under "workers' control", revealing that the workers in "socialist" Yugoslavia are no more secure than in capitalist Britain.

The last official figures reveal a total of 14,500 unemployed workers in Belgrade alone, of whom 3,000 are young skilled workers. As the Belgrade newspaper "Politika" expressed the situation:

"Often only unemployment or emigration lies in store for young people who have just left school. They are left to their fate. ... Thus, an engineer begins to sell lottery tickets, a highly trained electrician is catching and selling fish, a doctor has become a photographer, a young agricultural scientist earns his living by singing in the street."

SOVIET UNION

Among the "cultural events" to "celebrate" the 50th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution was the release of a new film slandering Stalin. The film is entitled "If You Treasure your Homeland ..." and is composed of film material from the archives of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the German Democratic Republic "edited" to smear Stalin's leadership during the war against German fascism.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

During the latter part of 1967, an alliance was formed between right-wing liberals and representatives of the Slovak bourgeoisie, which has for a long time resented the subordinate position allotted to it by the nationalist representatives of the Czech bourgeoisie who have long dominated the central apparatus of the revisionist party.

In December 1967 this alliance was successful in forcing the replacement of the Czech revisionist Antonin Novotny as First Secretary of the Party by the Slovak revisionist leader Alexander Dubcek. Novotny retains his position as President.

The change of leadership heralds further moves along the road to the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia.

Meanwhile Czechoslovakia took a further step away from "Stalinist" (i.e., Marxist-Leninist) cultural values when Miss Alzbeta Strkulova became the first girl from eastern Europe to enter the Miss World contest. A statistician at the Czech Embassy in London characterised Miss Strkulova as 37-24-37½.

SOVIET REVISIONIST GROUP ARRESTED IN CUBA

In January the "left" revisionist Cuban leadership announced the arrest and forthcoming trial, on charges of plotting against the state, of 11 members of an alleged conspiratorial faction headed by right revisionist Anibal Escalante. Two members of the Central Committee - Jose Matar and Ramon Calcines - were among those charged. It was claimed that the group's aims were to secure the repudiation by the Cuban party of its support for armed revolution in Latin America in favour of the line of "peaceful transition" put forward by the Soviet revisionists.

PEOPLE'S CHINA

The Chinese counter-revolutionary faction headed by Mao Tse-tung is making arrangements to hold a "Congress" of the "Chinese Communist Party" this summer in order to "ratify" the faction's coup d'etat.

Hsieh Fu-chih, Minister of Public Security and head of the Peking "Revolutionary Committee" has announced that delegates will be selected and not elected.

LETTERS FROM READERS

A MORE POPULAR STYLE

"Having read the first two issues of RED FRONT, I must congratulate the M.L.O.B. on the very high standard of its paper. The issue on the events in China is the first account which makes sense and it is a relief to now be in the position of no longer having to try and justify the nonsense that is now appearing in PEKING REVIEW.

My only criticism is that I find it rather difficult to sell the paper to workers on the factory floor, since they tend to find it rather dear and somewhat "above their heads" at the moment. What the movement needs, in my opinion, is a paper which, while not 'talking down' to workers, is written in a more popular style which they can understand without a dictionary.

Communist greetings.

J.H., London E.1.

We agree with the point you make, as you will see from the report of the meeting of the Central Committee on page 2. EDITOR.

"THE NEW CHALLENGE"

"A new "with-it" CHALLENGE has now been issued by the revisionist National Committee of the Young Communist League. It shows that there has been a further turning away from working class politics by the National Committee along a road of bourgeois "pop" and liberalism.

Opening the "pop" cover one finds a shallow, metaphysical, classless "pop" analysis of the October Revolution, asserting that in the lifetime of CHALLENGE readers there will be Communism in the Soviet Union.

The opposite page is splattered with "hippy" drawings, which have now become synonymous with CHALLENGE. And then follows a two-page spread on Greece. Undoubtedly a good theme, and one could write quite a pointed article on two pages, but the editor succeeds in making the content quite indistinguishable from something that might have been issued by the Young Tories. But perhaps that is in accordance with the peculiar form of "united front" policy of the Y.C.L.

Following this comes a pointless full-page article, sloppily written in sloppy language, on "pop" records, which makes no attempt even to touch upon any sort of class analysis of the subject. Then comes a page of adverts - almost all devoted to an advert for "Christian Aid".

One has to wade through a further two pages on the obsession of CHALLENGE - drugs - to come to a ten-line report on the Vietnam demonstration of the 14/15th October. This is the only mention of Vietnam, apart from three incidental remarks, in the whole journal. Considering that Y.C.L. political activity centres almost solely around the Vietnam war, surely we should expect more.

Then again back to the "hippies" and drugs. There is an "unbiased selection" of letters for and against the "hippy" movement - some of the letters criticising Stan Becow's article in the previous edition of CHALLENGE which fully supported the "hippy" movement.

And so it goes on ... ending up with a full page caricature of Prince Charles titled with the slogan "Workers of the World Unite!"

Either the National Committee of the Y.C.L. really thinks that working class youth are of very low intelligence or they are deliberately trying to divert the attention of their members from working class politics. I think that both are probably the case, but they will be doomed to failure on the latter point.

The new-style CHALLENGE is helping more and more rank-and-file members of the Y.C.L. to see clearly the reactionary role of its revisionist leaders.

D.E., Ilford.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

"Today in the lunch break at the factory where I work the talk got round to foreign exchange and devaluation, but we found that nobody was very clear how they worked. Can you explain?"

H.W., Coventry.

If a U.S. capitalist wishes to buy British goods, he must buy pounds with his dollars in order to pay the British exporter. Similarly, if a British capitalist wishes to buy U.S. goods, he must buy dollars with his pounds. The exchange of the currency of one state for that of

another is called foreign exchange and is carried out through the medium of what is called the foreign exchange market.

The rate of exchange of a currency is the number of units of another currency for which a unit of the first currency can be exchanged on the foreign exchange market. More simply, it is the price of a unit of the first currency on the foreign exchange market in terms of the units of another currency. Thus, before devaluation, the exchange rate of British currency with U.S. currency was around 2.80 dollars to the pound.

The price of something on a market varies according to supply and demand. Consequently, if more people wish to buy dollars with pounds than wish to buy pounds with dollars - if, that is, Britain has a payments deficit with the United States - the exchange rate of the pound in terms of dollars goes down. On the other hand, if more people wish to buy pounds with dollars than wish to buy dollars with pounds - if, that is, Britain has a payments surplus with the United States - the exchange rate of the pound in terms of dollars goes up.

By international agreement the Bank of England must not allow fluctuations in the rate of exchange of the pound to exceed 1% above or below the fixed parity of (before devaluation) 2.80 dollars to the pound. That is, it must not allow the exchange rate of the pound to exceed 2.828 dollars to the pound or to fall below 2.772 dollars to the pound. If, for example, the rate falls towards the lower limit of 2.772 dollars to the pound, the Bank of England buys as many pounds as may be offered for sale at a rate just above this lower limit. It does this by means of its reserves of gold and foreign currency.

If Britain has a considerable payments deficit with the outside world as a whole over a considerable period - if, that is, it has a long-term adverse balance of payments - the Bank's reserves of gold and foreign currency may be seriously depleted.

The Government seeks, of course, to correct this adverse balance of payments by stimulating exports, curbing imports, imposing restrictions on the purchase of foreign currency with pounds, etc. But it may have to borrow foreign currency from international financial sources to make up its reserves. And it may have to alter the exchange rate to a lower level i.e., to devalue the pound.

Britain has had for many years an adverse balance of payments averaging several hundred million pounds each year. This reflects Britain's adverse balance of trade (the excess of imports over exports) and the parasitic nature of British imperialism in general; the stagnation of production and technical backwardness of British industry which makes it difficult for British exports to compete on the world market with those from other imperialist countries; the heavy overseas military expenditure to try and hold on by force to its foreign sources of wealth against the rising national liberation movements, etc.

The unstable position of sterling is made much more vulnerable by the fact that foreign and Commonwealth capitalists hold large balances in London in sterling; in mid-1967 these balances totalled some £4,500 million. If the pound is devalued, the holders of these balances suffer heavy losses overnight. If, therefore, the exchange rate of the pound falls and the holders of these sterling balances fear that devaluation may be under consideration, they may hasten to change these sterling balances into other currencies - so greatly aggravating the "run on the pound" and the threat of devaluation. At the same time speculators step in and sell sterling in the hope of making a profit by buying it back later at a lower price, increasing still further the "pressure on the pound".

All these factors operated in the autumn of 1967 to cause the British government in November to devalue the pound by 14.3% - from 2.80 to 2.40 dollars to the pound.

Devaluation enables British exporters to reduce the prices of their goods abroad without lowering their profit margins. It also increases the price of goods imported in Britain (by 16.7% in the case of the devaluation of November 1967).

The object of devaluation is to achieve a shift from home consumption to exports. To the extent that the latter is brought about, it will assist in correcting the adverse balance of payments. For this reason the government accompanied devaluation with deflationary measures to freeze wages, restrict bank credit and raise interest rates, stiffen hire-purchase terms, and cut state expenditure. The rise in interest rates is also intended to attract foreign money to London. But this object can only be achieved if it is possible to shift still more of the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of Britain's working people.

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BLACK NATIONALISM

skyite theoreticians are dedicated - not to breaking down the walls of the big city "black ghettos" in which the majority of U.S. Negroes live - but with building them higher. They call on Negroes to move into the ghettos in the name of "black unity"; they call for the election of black politicians to their local government bodies; they demand that the capitalist state machinery of force be represented in the ghettos by black policemen; they demand that the businesses in the ghettos be operated by black bourgeois and petty bourgeois:

"The economic philosophy of black nationalism only means that our people need to be re-educated into the importance of ... controlling the economy of the community in which we live. And controlling the economy of the community in which we live means that we have to learn how to own and operate the businesses of our community and develop them into some type of industry that will enable us to create employment for the people of our community, ...

We have to learn the importance of spending our money in the community where we live. Anyone who knows the basic principles of economics must be aware of the fact that when you take the money out of the neighbourhood in which you live and ... spend it in a neighbourhood in which you don't live - the neighbourhood in which you spend your money becomes wealthier and wealthier, and the neighbourhood out of which you take your money becomes poorer and poorer. And this is one of the reasons why wherever you find Negroes, a slum condition usually develops, or we have to live in the ghetto - because all our wealth is spent elsewhere." (Gramophone Record: "Malcolm X Speaks Again"; Twenty Grand Records, New York, 1965).

THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE(SNiCC)

In February 1965 Malcolm X was assassinated and, following his death, the "black nationalist" organisation he had founded (the Organisation of Afro-American Unity) reverted to its original aim of a "national home" for the Negro people and went into decline.

The leading role among "black nationalists" passed to the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNiCC), founded in 1960 by a group of students who travelled through the South challenging the segregation code. And the mantle of Malcolm X, as leading figure in the "black nationalist" movement passed to the then-President of this body: Stokely Carmichael, who was born in the West Indies in 1921.

In the summer of 1966 SNiCC adopted as its slogan that of "Black Power".

"BLACK POWER"

We have seen that the trotskyite equation of "race" with "class" has provided a spurious "Marxist" theoretical basis for "black nationalism" according to which the exploiting class in the United States is the white race (often called by Carmichael "the Anglos") and the exploited class is the black race (which forms part of what Carmichael calls "the Third World").

As Carmichael put it to the OLAS Conference:

"Our struggle is to overthrow this system which feeds itself and expands itself through the economic and cultural exploitation of non-white, non-western peoples - the Third World. ... The proletariat has become the Third World; the bourgeoisie is white Western society." (Stokely Carmichael: "Black Power and the Third World", in: B.R.P.F. London Bulletin, September 1967; p.11,14).

In other words, the modern proletariat consists of the non-white people inside and outside the United States, while the modern bourgeoisie consists of "white society", made up of white employers, white petit bourgeoisie and white employed workers.

In this false picture white workers share in the exploitation of the black race and so must be placed with the exploiters as part of the counter-revolutionary forces:

"All whites can be counted on to fight to the death for the evil cause of slavery and tyranny." (Robert F. Williams: "U.S.A.: The Potential of a Minority Revolution", in: "The Crusader"; Sept./Oct. 1967; p.11).

There is, therefore, no traditional class struggle in the United

States between employed and employers, only a struggle between the black race and the white race:

"Thus did the United States anticipate the prophecy of Marx and avoid the inevitable class struggle within the country by expanding into the Third World and exploiting the resources and slave labour of people of colour." (Stokely Carmichael: *ibid.*, p.14).

In this false picture of the United States, the state is not the machinery of power of the monopoly capitalists, but that of the white race; it represents what Carmichael calls "white power":

"White power makes the laws and enforces them with guns and night-sticks". (Stokely Carmichael: *ibid.*, p.3).

The revolutionary force in the United States is thus the black race and the revolution will be a "Black Revolution":

"The black power movement has been the catalyst for the bringing together of these young bloods: the real revolutionary proletariat. ...

We must use our colour as a weapon of liberation. ...

The true potential revolutionaries in this country are the black youths of the ghettos." (Stokely Carmichael: *ibid.*, p.12, 14).

"Could a minority revolution succeed in racist America? It most certainly could! ...

All degrees of white supremacists and their Uncle Tomboes and some honest, but retarded thinkers, are more than zealous in pointing out that a Black Revolution in racist America can never succeed because of the numerical superiority of the white racists and the concentration of state power in the hands of the majority." (Robert F. Williams: *ibid.*, p.2, 11).

This revolution can succeed without the need for the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class, just as can - in the opinion of the Castroites and trotskyites - the revolutions in Latin America:

"A high quality leadership would have to be developed. It must be wholly committed and devoted, selfless, devoid of ego, mentally alert, imaginative, fearless servants of the people, acting as an instrument responding to the desires, necessities and aspirations of the revolutionary masses." (Robert F. Williams: *ibid.*, p.2).

The black revolutionary forces will not be strong enough to overthrow "White power" by direct force, but they will do so by means of sabotage and of terror directed against the white population.

"We survey our numbers realistically and know that it is not possible for black people to take over the entire country militarily and to hold large areas of land. ...

We are in the cities. With our rebellions we have become a disruptive force in the flow of services, goods and capital." (Stokely Carmichael: *ibid.*; p.13).

"The most aggressive and irrepressible arm of the overall organisation would be the fire teams. ... They would enjoy complete autonomy. ... The fire team's mission would be sabotage. ... America cannot afford to allow its rich timber resources and crops to go up in smoke. ...

Fire is the black man in racist America's most effective weapon. No method of terror or destruction against the oppressor should be overlooked. ...

These small portable sets can be ... fixed to remain directed against gas mains, oil pipe lines, gas and oil storage tanks to effect explosions. ...

Any all-out minority revolution must create a state of crisis wherein almost all of the white male population would be forced to remain in their homes to protect their property and families... America could be brought to her knees in 90 days." (Robert F. Williams: *ibid.*, p.6,7,9,10,14,15).

The "Black Revolution" will establish, not the political power of the working class - the dictatorship of the proletariat - but the political power of the black race: "Black Power":

"How can such a small minority expect to control and reconstruct a vast nation wherein the oppressors constitute such a great

BLACK NATIONALISM

majority? ... Why can't America be opened to unlimited coloured immigration? Why can it not logically pass from coloured back to coloured? It is a foregone conclusion that even if whites were welcomed with open arms in such a just society, the overwhelming majority would resent living in an environment justly guided by coloured power." (Robert F. Williams: *ibid.*, p.11).

PROVOCATION :

The strategy and tactics of revolution embodied in Marxism-Leninism - in the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin - are the sum of the experience of all peoples who have engaged, successfully and temporarily unsuccessfully, in revolutionary struggle.

The modern "black nationalists" put forward a programme for "revolution" which contradicts Marxism-Leninism on almost all central issues.

This programme is based on a completely false analysis of the class structure of United States society, an analysis which confuses "race" with "class".

It does not distinguish between the Negro nation in the South and the Negro national minority in the North.

It seeks to isolate the Negro people in the South and the Negro workers in the North from their essential objective allies: the white workers of the North.

It directs the struggle of the Negro people away from their real enemy, the U.S. monopoly capitalists, the U.S. imperialists, towards the white population in general.

It calls on the Negro people to undertake destruction of resources which the Negro people and the working class will need when they have established a socialist America, and to carry out terrorism against the white population in general: such a course will not destroy the political power of the U.S. imperialists but, on the contrary, will assist them by isolating the Negro people still further from their essential allies - the white workers of the North.

It puts forward the aim of "black supremacy", thus assisting still further in alienating the white workers from the Negro people.

It preaches that revolution can be successful without the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class.

The "black nationalists" seek, in other words, to incite the Negro people into isolated rebellion which cannot destroy the power of U.S. imperialists, but can only lead to the defeat of this rebellion, to the bloody slaughter of the best, most militant sons and daughters of the Negro people and to the putting back of the revolutionary movement in the United States for many years.

Eventually the Negro people in the South, together with the working class - black and white - of the North and under its leadership, will, led by the growing Marxist-Leninist Party of the United States of America, destroy the citadel of world imperialism, United States imperialism.

A not unimportant part of the task of preparing for that socialist revolution in the United States is that of exposing the programme of the "black nationalist" demagogues for what it is: treachery to and provocation against the Negro people which plays into the hands of their greatest enemy - the greatest enemy of the peoples of the world: United States imperialism.

"BLACK NATIONALISM" IN BRITAIN

In Britain, as in the northern United States, coloured workers form one of the most exploited strata of the working class. And here, as there, the task of Marxist-Leninists is to build a united movement of struggle embracing all working people, white and coloured, which alone can destroy imperialism.

Here too "black nationalist" demagogues are striving to disrupt the building of such a movement and to split it along racial lines.

At the present time "black nationalists" in Britain are organised in two bodies:

THE RACIAL ADJUSTMENT ACTION SOCIETY (R.A.A.S.)

This body has for its symbol a broad-bladed spear and is the Black

Muslim society in Britain, founded in 1965. Originally a religious body, it has recently moved along more secular paths.

Its leader was, until his recent imprisonment under the Race Relations Act, West-Indian born Michael de Freitas ("Michael Abdul Malik", or "Michael X"), a former ponce, dope-pusher and housing racketeer. Its new leader is actor Frankie Dymon ("Frankie Y").

THE UNIVERSAL COLOURED PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION (U.C.P.A.)

This body has for its symbol a black panther and the slogan "Black Power". Established in July 1967, it regards itself as the British counterpart of SNiCC. It claims several hundred members in London and many more in other parts of the country. It is led by West African playwright Obi Egbuna.

THE "BLACK NATIONALIST" BID FOR CARD

The Campaign against Racial Discrimination (CARD) was founded in 1964 as an inter-racial organisation with the aims of its title. Despite certain "liberal" weaknesses, there can be no doubt of the usefulness of the work it has carried out against racialism and racial discrimination in Britain.

This year, at the organisation's 3rd. Convention in London on the weekend of November 4-5th, an attempt was made jointly by "black nationalists" and trotskyites to transform it into an instrument of "black nationalism".

A resolution - moved by the "London Workers' Committee", a trotskyite group which poses as "Marxist-Leninist", and supported by delegates of the U.C.P.A. - was put to the Convention that all officers of CARD should be coloured. It was carried by a considerable majority, amid anti-white, anti-Jewish and anti-Asian racist insults, but failed to attain the two-thirds majority required to alter the Constitution.

Following allegations that Assistant Secretary Johnny James, a prominent member of the "London Workers' Committee" - had enrolled some twenty bogus organisations into the conference, a committee was set up to investigate the allegations and the convention ended in confusion and disorder.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Continued from page 17

standing among the so-called anti-revisionist movement of Britain that a group putting forward such a reactionary, pseudo-nationalist, pro-fascist programme could have been accepted for a moment as "Marxist-Leninist".

Yet the fact that some honest Comrades have accepted the W.P.S. as a "Marxist-Leninist group" has caused these Comrades to be influenced by the W.P.S. in favour of the formation of a loose federation of autonomous groups in various parts of Britain.

"Groups! Proletarians! Do not surrender power! ... The profusion of groups is not a bad thing. May it multiply a millionfold! ... Keep power in your hands and unite in a great federal organisation. ... We say, a Federated Party for Wales, Ireland, Scotland and for England!" ("Party Building, Two Roads!", a W.P.S. Discussion Document, 20th Sept.1967, p.3,4).

Even were they genuine Marxist-Leninist Groups, such a federation of autonomous groups would have nothing in common with Marxist-Leninist principles of organisation. Lenin, Stalin and the Bolsheviks fought unremittingly (even in a genuinely multinational state like Tsarist Russia) against such a form of organisation, and for the principle of a single, democratically centralised Party. (J.V.Stalin; "Works", Vol.1, Moscow, 1952, p.41, 36-40).

But, of course, the "Workers' Party of Scotland" is not interested in the formation of Marxist-Leninist Parties. The parties which it wishes to see established are reactionary, pro-fascist parties, the demagogic programmes of which are adapted to local requirements.

But all these disruptive demagogues will be swept from the scene in the course of building a centralised Marxist-Leninist Party of Britain.



"The prevalence of unofficial strikes indicates a state of indiscipline in the industry of this country." -

Minister of Labour Ray Gunter.

THE DOCKS

The six-week Liverpool dock strike, in which 9,000 workers exhibited the utmost solidarity and laid more than 100 ships idle, ended in October with a 75% victory for the workers' demands. The main demand - retention of the 25-year-old "continuity agreement" (which banned the transfer of workers from a shift until it had ended) terminated by the new "decasualisation scheme" introduced in September - was won, together with:

- an increase in loading and discharging pay of 2s. an hour (equivalent to £4 a week);
- parity with London on sick pay;
- a pledge of "no redundancy";
- promise of revision of the new working rules; and
- agreement on the supply of protective clothing.

Still outstanding are claims for parity with London on "fallback" pay; on a further increase in loading and discharging rates; on checkers' and crane-drivers' rates; on work-starting time; and on changes in the system of payment for many jobs.

In London the strike involved some 7,000 men but was not so solid as in Liverpool. It failed to achieve retention of the "continuity agreement", but did win the concession that this would be operated "wherever practicable" and under the joint supervision of representatives of the workers and employers.

The strikes have further exposed to the dockers the character of the right-wing leadership of the Transport and General Workers' Union and have stimulated the development of the shop stewards' movement in the docks.

ROBERTS ARUNDEL

In our October issue we reported on the apparent settlement of the then ten-month-old dispute at the U.S.-owned Roberts Arundel works at Stockport. At a conference held in York on September 14th, the company agreed to recognise trade unions, shop stewards and collective bargaining, and to re-employ all the workers without loss of service. The company agreed to take back 30 workers immediately, another 15 within ten working days, and the remainder within two months. The workers accepted the settlement, despite their reluctance to work alongside blacklegs and strikebreakers.

However, by September 30th, Pomeranz, the American head of the company, had torn up the York agreement. On this day he told a press conference that the company was prepared to take 15 workers back immediately, a further 30 in two weeks and the rest "as rapidly as new orders are developed". Stockport engineering employers stepped in with a proposal that was accepted by the unions; this was that Roberts Arundel would take back all 86 men, giving work to 45 as promised by Pomeranz on September 30th, while the remaining workers would be loaned to other Stockport firms until work was available. Pomeranz rejected this out of hand.

Even the President of the Manchester Engineering Employers, Charles Barnard, was compelled to say: "I am now convinced that this company does not want a settlement. They are just stalling." Later, at a meeting with national union officials, Pomeranz took back even his promise of September 30th, offering to re-employ only 12 strikers and the rest at the rate of 12 a month.

By November a total of 41 workers had been arrested, and a number brutally beaten up inside the police station.

In December Pomeranz announced that the Stockport works would be closed in January. But workers (non-union) are still being taken on. The fight goes on at the time of writing.

BRITISH RAIL

After guards had refused to perform "second man" duties on diesel trains since August, in October British Rail announced that guards who refused such duties would be sent home without pay. This was followed by a threat by Minister of Labour Gunter to bring troops on to the rail-

ways, and on October 20th the National Union of Railwaymen executive called off the ban.

At the end of the month the executive accepted an offer of payment of a bonus of 4s. 7d. per day to all 14,600 guards in return for acceptance of "second man" duties.

CBR JERSEY

The eight-month dispute at the CBR Jersey Mills in Brighton, where male machinists were expected to work a minimum working week of 6 days and 72 hours, formally ended in December when the employers agreed to recognise the right of the workers to join a union and of the union to negotiate on behalf of its members. However, the right-wing leadership of the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers accepted the employers' demand that the 17 workers dismissed in April 1967 for joining the union need not be reinstated. Secretary of Brighton Trades Council Denis Hill described the agreement as "a betrayal".

VAUXHALL

In June 1967 the unions submitted to Vauxhall Motors a claim for a new simplified wage structure which would bring the car workers in the company's Luton, Dunstable and Ellesmere Port plants into parity with car workers in the Midlands.

In July the company submitted a "Proposed Revised Wage Structure" coupled with a so-called "productivity plan" which amounted to a surrender of conditions and practices won over many years. The company issued this proposal to all hourly-paid employees against union objections, and it was decisively rejected by the shop stewards of the three plants.

In September the company offered pay increases based on the existing wage structure varying between 7d. and 8½d. an hour, but these were still coupled with the unacceptable "productivity plan". The offer was rejected by the workers of the three plants, and the joint liaison committee issued instructions for working to rule and the banning of overtime. The company retaliated by shutting down production in the Luton and Dunstable factories.

In October the company offered to begin negotiations on terms put forward by a Coventry mass meeting of 15,000 workers, with no victimisation and a speedy re-opening of the plants. On that basis the joint liaison committee approved the lifting of work restrictions and negotiations began. Later the right-wing leadership of the National Union of Vehicle Builders summarily dismissed Arthur Leary, its local officer who had been handling the dispute and who had sided with the workers.

TEACHERS

In November local authorities presented an ultimatum to the National Union of Teachers that if the union's ban on school meal supervision in 18 selected areas was not called off by December 1st, teachers operating the ban would not be paid.

The N.U.T. rejected the ultimatum and decided to press on with the extension of the sanctions to 6 further areas. It added that if any N.U.T. member was suspended, all its 220,000 members would be instructed to withdraw from non-statutory meals supervision.

At the end of the month the union called off the ban in return for an agreement that working parties would be set up to devise another system of meals supervision and the phasing out of unqualified persons from teaching. Until then teachers would supervise meals on a voluntary basis.

THE BARBICAN

In November the 54-week strike at Myton's construction site in the Barbican was called off by the strike committee. Despite the solidarity of the building workers involved, the strike ended without achieving the removal of the ban on employment at any Taylor Woodrow site of the six members of the strike committee. Following the alliance between employers and right-wing leaders of both the National Federation of Building Workers and the Transport and General Workers' Union, and the police violence against, and arrest of, pickets, the obvious reluctance of the revisionist leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain to mobilise support for the November demonstration proved the final blow which caused the decision to call off the strike.

BANKS

For the first time in British banking history, some 2,300 bank clerks in 250 Welsh banking offices held a two-day strike in November to back the demand of the National Union of Bank Employees for national recognition by the clearing banks.

TRADE UNION NEWS

"EXPULSION" DEMAND

Members of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial staffs at Harlow have sent a resolution to the national executive of their union demanding the expulsion from the union of Prime Minister Wilson, for "activities prejudicial to the trade union movement".

T.U.C. ENDORSES "SEVERE WAGE RESTRAINT" POLICY

In November the right-wing General Council of the Trades Union Congress overwhelmingly accepted the government's appeal for a further period of severe wage restraint. Only three members of the council - Bill Jones, Richard Briginshaw and Dan McGarvey - opposed a statement which made it clear that the cost of living would go up by 3% as a result of devaluation and that no compensatory wage increases would be approved. In addition, the council decided that no claims for wage increases would be allowed if they were due to take effect within twelve months of a previous settlement.

"FIRE CANNON!"

In November, some 1,500 workers in the electrical contracting industry marched through London to demonstrate against the reactionary leaders of their union - the Electrical Trades Union - and against the "slaves' charter" - the new agreement it has concluded with the National Federation of Electrical Associations.

"THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY"

The official "National Income and Expenditure Blue Book", published in September, reveals that 9 million families in Britain had incomes below £500 a year.

In September it was announced that electricity prices would be increased by an average of 10.5% (adding £64 million a year to the bills of domestic consumers).

The Association of Public Health Inspectors in its annual report published in September, disclosed that there were 111,859 houses in Britain without water-closets.

According to the "Guardian" of Sept. 26th, gas prices may rise by an average of more than 10%.

The 1967 Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories reports that in 1967 701 workers were killed in industrial accidents (74 more than in 1966). The total number of industrial accidents rose to 296,000.

The Air Transport Licensing Board approved in September increases in domestic air fares varying between 11% and 15%.

The "Building Societies' Gazette" pointed out in September that since 1960 house prices and mortgage payments have risen faster than incomes. In the 10 years to 1966 repayments on a 90% loan over 20 years have almost doubled.

Officials of the National Federation of Wholesale Grocers estimate that by the end of March grocery prices will have risen by 1s. 2d. in the pound since devaluation.

"The Grocer" lists 1,400 grocery price increases since December.

December official figures showed a rise of unemployment in Great Britain and Northern Ireland to 620,779. Highest rate was in Northern Ireland, where more than 7% of the labour force is unemployed.

In January Ever Ready Batteries announced an increase in the price of hearing aid batteries from 1s.10d. to 2s. 9d. - or more than 50%.

The 1967 Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines records that 160 miners were killed and 1,061 injured in pit accidents last year.

A government report, "The Brain Drain", reports that the emigration of British scientists, technologists and engineers rose from a net loss of nil in 1961 to one of 2,700 in 1966. It estimates that 50% of engineers who qualify this year will emigrate.

STUDENTS 'CONGRATULATE' PRINCE CHARLES

A resolution on the agenda of the National Union of Students conference at Margate in November read:

"Council congratulates the Prince of Wales on his exceptional performance in the GCE A-level examinations and on his rare good fortune in getting a place at Cambridge University with two A-levels. Council would be interested to know how many other candidates with similar qualifications have gained places at universities, and particularly how many candidates with similar qualifications have been admitted to the University of Cambridge to study for a period of less than the normal three years and thereby not qualifying for a degree.

Council at the same time commiserates with the 50,000 similarly qualified students who will not get a place at any university".

The Welsh Committee of the National Union of Students also passed a resolution concerning Prince Charles, deploring the terms of his admission in 1969 to the University College of Wales in Aberystwyth. The resolution deplures:

"the abandonment by the University of Wales of the principle of academic ability as being the only criterion for university admission".

EUROPE

SPAIN

On October 27th, 1967 workers throughout Spain staged a one-day strike against the economic policies of the Franco fascist dictatorship, supported by students of Madrid university.

CYPRUS

An attempt on the part of the Greek monarcho-fascist regime to annex Cyprus to Greece began in November with attacks on several villages in which 24 Turkish Cypriots were killed.

As a result of an ultimatum from the Turkish government, which mobilised its forces in readiness to defend their compatriots, the United States imperialists - who had instigated the aggression - were forced to send Cyrus Vance to call off the plan and persuade the Greek government to evacuate, first General Grivas and then the 12,000 Greek troops under his command, from the island.

In December the Turkish community in Cyprus set up a "transitional administration" to control their affairs, under the Presidency of Turkish Cypriot leader Dr. Kutchuk.

LETTERS Continued from Page 19

Faced with the continuing and intensifying crisis of British capitalist society, an influential section of Britain's monopoly capitalists is moving to turn away from former dependence on United States imperialism, seeking a new lease of life for their decaying system in alliance with the monopoly capitalists of western Europe. But there can be no solution for the working people except the establishment of a socialist society in which political and economic power is held by the working class.

J. V. Stalin [1879-1953]

Fifteen years ago this month - on March 15th, 1953 - there died in Moscow Josef Vissarionovich Djugashvili - JOSEF STALIN.

A revolutionary and a Marxist from his boyhood, Stalin became the comrade-in-arms and the successor of Lenin. A political and military strategist of unparalleled ability, his writings are among the clearest expositions of Marxist-Leninist theory. Throughout his life he fought unswervingly for the working class and against its enemies. That the modern revisionists - who have betrayed every principle of Marxism-Leninism - should have slandered Stalin after his death and dragged his body from its resting place, is the highest testimony to his revolutionary stature and his unshakable loyalty to world socialism. The struggle to restore Stalin to his rightful place of honour in the international Communist movement is a not insignificant part of the struggle to restore that movement to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

463 war vessels.

And in North Vietnam in 1967 alone 1,064 enemy aircraft have been shot down and 65 enemy ships damaged or sunk.

All the varied offensive manoeuvres of the invaders have been beaten back, and today the war of national liberation has entered its final and decisive phase. Four-fifths of the territory and two-thirds of the people of south Vietnam have been liberated. In Khe Sanh brilliant military strategy and tactics have cut off the U.S. forces, which face another Dien Bien Phu - the battle which forced the French imperialists in an earlier war of national liberation to decide to withdraw from the country. The Vietnamese forces are hammering at the gates of, and even within, the urban fortresses that alone are left under enemy occupation, and U.S. planes have been forced into the position of bombing the very capital they are supposed to be "defending". The capture of the U.S. warship "Pueblo" by Korean forces has been a timely measure of fraternal aid against the common enemy.

Faced with this desperate situation, Johnson has ordered another 10,000 U.S. troops to Vietnam and begged for further aid from Washington's increasingly reluctant allies. But this cannot save him from defeat. On the contrary, it can only stimulate the mounting opposition of the working people of the United States to their government's "dirty war".

For the enemies of the Vietnamese people are the enemies of the working people of all countries. Their battles are our battles, their victories our victories. One of the most important and urgent tasks in Britain is to organise the class-conscious militants of the working class movement in anti-imperialist solidarity committees, which will awaken the independent class initiative and the organised might of our British working class in order to bring it to bear in support of the just cause of the Vietnamese people and the oppressed and exploited peoples of all lands who are developing world-wide struggle against their main enemy, world imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism.

Once these most advanced sections of our British working class movement have been won for independent action in the cause of solidarity with the fighting people of Vietnam and their allies in the other colonial and neo-colonial lands - through such actions as the blacking of war supplies and other aid to the U.S. aggressors, including supplies to their bases in Britain - their initiative will lay the basis for building a broad and overwhelmingly powerful anti-imperialist solidarity front embracing all peace-loving and progressive forces of the British people.

Such a united front of militant solidarity with the fighting people of Vietnam would bring about a significant sharpening of the already developing contradictions between that section of monopoly-capital which is orientated towards subservience to U.S. imperialism and the rival section - the strength and influence of which is even now rapidly increasing - which sees in the building of an imperialist alliance with the remaining major powers of western Europe the most effective policy promoting the future interests of British imperialism. The building of an increasingly powerful and influential united front of militant anti-imperialist solidarity, linked with the mass united front struggles of the working class and working people of Britain to extend and deepen the revolutionary scope and character of their own class struggles and to promote and defend their own working class rights and liberties, could ultimately force the British government to withdraw its reactionary support for the United States aggression.

Such a step, in conjunction with the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people themselves, could well be decisive in bringing about the only acceptable "Peace in Vietnam": the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnamese soil, leaving the people of Vietnam to determine their own destiny.

The Vietnamese people are advancing towards victory - and their victory will be a victory for all the oppressed peoples of the world, for the working people of all lands who seek their liberation from imperialism.

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