

FORUM

FOR MARXIST - LENINIST STRUGGLE

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SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

"Support of the national liberation movement is an essential criterion for distinguishing people who genuinely oppose imperialism and defend peace from those who do not. Support of the Vietnamese people in their fight to drive out the U.S. aggressors completely and to re-unify their motherland is another essential criterion.."

It is vital for every comrade to grasp this point, made by the Chinese delegate at the World Peace Conference in Helsinki. A largely spontaneous movement of protest is developing in Britain, some people joining in through fear of a general war, and others because they are appalled at the atrocities committed by the U.S. Solutions put forward are in general humanitarian - the bombing of North Vietnam must stop, the atrocities must cease, at all costs the fighting must be brought to a halt, the "warring parties must be brought to the conference table". And the C. P. G. B., in its propaganda, goes along with this.

But what has to be done is to convince the people of Britain that the Vietnamese people, in fighting and defeating U.S. imperialism, are by the same token fighting to ensure peace, that peace in S. E. Asia is only possible when the last U.S. serviceman has left Vietnam. Hence, solidarity with the Vietnamese people is the struggle for peace here in Britain. To the extent that this is not grasped, we are lagging behind. All the negotiating was done in Geneva 11 years ago, and the peace-task now is to ensure that the results of those negotiations (the

Geneva Agreements) become reality. This means actively supporting Vietnam's struggle for independence, actively opposing U.S. imperialism. What is there to negotiate about now? Either the U.S. retires from Vietnam of its own accord or they must be kicked out. One possible outcome of a conference now is that the Geneva Agreements of 1954 would be changed to the advantage of imperialism. The other is a stalemate, which would give imperialism a breather, and thus help the U.S. to wage war more effectively. Of course Lyndon Johnson and his friends want negotiations, because in battle they are getting hopelessly beaten, and they desperately need time to consolidate their military positions, to call up reservists, train more troops for jungle warfare, draft in more Asian troops, increase their military strike power. This is the reason for Johnson's "unconditional talks" offer in April, the 17-nation appeal led by Yugoslavia, the Commonwealth "Peace" mission proposal, and the suggestion by Goodlett (U.S. delegate at Helsinki) for a conference delegation to Hanoi, Peking, Washington and the U.N. to arrange a ceasefire and negotiations.

There is one sure way you can always tell a revisionist - he is convinced that the tiny Vietnamese nation cannot win the military struggle against the "all-powerful" U.S.A., with its new weapons, its planes and its ships. He is appalled and numbed at the thought of imperialist violence, and completely lacks confidence in revolutionary violence. Therefore his fear drives him to what for him is the only solution - a negotiated settlement. Such a man is John Gollan, who talks of solidarity with the people of Vietnam, but has never once dared to say that he is against negotiations now.

Communists have two duties, first to promote the formation of 'Peace in Vietnam' committees and to develop every possible form of solidarity action especially direct industrial action, and secondly to carry out persistent struggle within the growing movement for a correct line - to win the movement for class struggle against imperialism and for the people of Vietnam. One important test for a communist in Britain today is his success in carrying out these two tasks. We can all get encouragement from what happened at Helsinki, for Carlton Goodlett himself, before proposing the delegation, started by criticizing U.S. Government policy and voicing support for the Vietnamese people. According to press reports he received a standing ovation at the end of his speech, led enthusiast-

astically by the delegates of the Soviet Union and India. But, thanks to the fighting speeches by the Chinese and other delegates, supported by Ralph Schoenman of the Russel Peace Foundation, the final conference declaration pointed its finger at U.S. imperialism as "the sole cause" of the conflict. It went on to appeal to the forces of people and the democratic organisations of the whole world to launch a broad and powerful movement to support, in all possible ways, the people of Vietnam in their just struggle against the U.S. war of aggression, and for national independence, unity and peace. Goodlett and the other five American delegates were almost the only ones to vote against and were thus entirely isolated. Where a firm fight for the correct line is waged, it can be successful.

Certain practical problems exist for the leadership of the movement in Britain, born of a long history of revisionism, and carefully nurtured by it. The general problem is how, in practice to develop a broad movement with mass support and at the same time encourage those sections which are capable of spearheading the movement by direct action. At the present moment close on a hundred local 'Peace in Vietnam' committees have come into existence (almost all within the last three months), and mostly they consist of that same group of interested, left-wing, humanitarian people who have been associated with similar causes over the last 15 years. The reins are taken by CP members, and the committee is seen by the public as a 'communist + fellow travellers' set-up. Although many T.U. branches and Trades Councils have come out in support, very few trade-unionists actively take part in campaigning. The base of the campaign tends to get narrower rather than broader. The job for Communists is to ensure that each newly-formed committee is a genuinely broad affair, and is run by as wide as possible a variety of people. Secondly, a serious attempt has to be made to get trade unionists involved, and this cannot often be achieved simply by writing round to the secretaries of union branches - a lot of individual canvassing has to be done. Thirdly, it is necessary to win the local committees for going beyond existing labour movement organisations, by organising meetings at factory gates. Fourthly, the question of direct action has continually to be raised. A call has already gone out from Forum, and refusal to load ships has already happened in several countries. Comrades need to explore the possibility of bringing this about in all discussions

with other workers.

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WILL PAYNTER DOES IT AGAIN.

Some months back, we criticised Will Paynter for advising N. U. M. members against strikes to enforce their wage claim. Once more, he has shown an attitude hostile to militant class struggle.

Mr. Lee, the Minister of Power, has been openly threatening the closure of "uneconomic" pits.

At the annual conference of the N. U. M. at Margate, the Scottish delegation had intended to move a resolution insisting that alternative employment must be found before any pit was closed.

But Cde. Paynter barred this resolution by moving a watered-down "emergency resolution" from the Executive, calling for urgent consultations with the Government and National Coal Board about the closures and safeguards for men.

Further, he said he did not expect a fair hearing at the Miners' Energy Advisory Council. He hinted to the Labour Party that they might lose the Miners' political support.

What is Will Paynter upto ? Instead of paying attention to the aspect of class-struggle (which distinguishes a Communist from a Social-democrat) he even went so far as to appeal to the delegates not to give weapons to those hostile to the industry. And this in face of high feeling as witnessed in speeches by delegates from Cumberland, Durham and South Wales.

No wonder even A. Moffat felt disturbed while moving a resolution on behalf of the Executive !!

Will the C. P. G. B. have the courage to investigate Will Paynter's behaviour ?

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MANIFESTO OF THE MALAYAN NATIONAL LIBERATION LEAGUE with FORUM

(Introduction)

All those in Britain who oppose the Labour Government's servile support of U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam must never forget that this support is a direct consequence of British imperialism in Malaya and the attempt to maintain British colonialism through the creation of "Malaysia". It was an earlier Labour Government which in 1948 launched a brutal war against the people of Malaya - a war that is still being waged. Like the U.S., Britain maintains a corrupt puppet government drawn from feudal and comprador elements and uses its full military force to suppress all popular movements in this area it considers vital to its imperialist interests. Like the U.S., Britain depends upon troops from the Commonwealth - Australia and New Zealand. Like the U.S., Britain has devised new forms of oppression to wage its war against a national liberation struggle. Indeed the idea of strategic hamlets used in South Vietnam by the Americans was learnt from British experience in Malaya. To demand a change in the policy of the British government on Vietnam is in effect to demand an end to British imperialism in Malaya and North Kalimantan. It is regrettable that in the recent movement developing in Britain for an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam there is rarely any reference to the British Government's dirty war in Malaya.

We reprint in full the Manifesto of the Malayan National Liberation League, originally published in the Malayan Monitor. We feel that comrades in Britain must be informed and concerned about the struggles being waged by the peoples in those parts of the globe which, while nominally independent, are still dominated by Britain. Too long has there been a deliberate policy of division between the class struggle in Britain and the liberation struggles in British colonies and semi-colonies. The two are inter-related and by supporting each other we shall be bringing about the destruction of the same system of monopoly capitalism that enslaves us.

MANIFESTO OF THE MALAYAN NATIONAL LIBERATION LEAGUE.

Struggle to crush "Malaysia" and for the genuine independence of Malaya-

Compatriots and friends,

After the end of World War II, British imperialism completely dis-regarded our people's aspiration for independence and brazenly restored its colonial rule in our country.

On June 20, 1948, British imperialism launched a colonial war against our people, and, by this sanguinary means, tried to uproot our people's ever-growing movement for national liberation. But the resolute determination of broad sections of the people for national independence and the dauntless resistance of the National Liberation Army shattered the enemy's wild attempts. In the course of the war, the British colonial rule was shaken to its very foundations, while the people's movement for national liberation made rapid strides.

British imperialism, finding itself isolated and in extreme difficulties, was forced to declare the "independence" of the Federation of Malaya on August 31, 1957. It substituted a new form of disguised and indirect colonial rule for the old, undisguised and direct one. In beating a political retreat, British imperialism utilized the Rahman administration to disseminate the lie about "independence" in order to lull the people's anti-imperialist struggle.

However, this intrigue of British imperialism and its henchmen has failed. During the last few years, inspired by the long and persistent armed struggle of the National Liberation Army, our people's struggle for genuine independence, democracy, peace, and the re-unification of the Malay Peninsula with Singapore has made further headway, while the national liberation movement of the people of North Kalimantan has gained momentum and taken the course of armed struggle. Throughout Southeast Asia, new emerging forces which stand opposed to imperialism and old and new colonialism are daily growing stronger. The Anglo-American

imperialists are finding themselves in a worse plight in this region. It is under these circumstances that British imperialism, backed by U.S. imperialism and its instrument, the U.N.O., made use of the Abdul Rahman clique, the Lee Kuan Yew clique and the reactionaries of Sarawak and Sabah to rig up "Malaysia" which is a neo-colonialist tool for suppressing the patriotic struggle of Malaya and North Kalimantan and menacing the peace and security of the peoples of Indonesia and the rest of Southeast Asia.

Since the formation of neo-colonialist "Malaysia" on September 16, 1963, the Rahman clique has been plunged into increasingly serious internal and external difficulties. It has managed to carry on with its reactionary rule by relying on the support of British bayonets and by intensifying its violent suppression of the people. It has declared a nation-wide state of emergency, repeatedly made mass arrests of patriots and ferociously attacked patriotic political parties, trade unions, and students' and other mass organisations. The Rahman clique has wildly embarked upon military expansion and war preparations. By enforcing conscription, it has been supplying British imperialism with cannon-fodder for saving its tottering colonial rule. In order to make up for the huge deficits resulting from its military expansion and war preparations, it has raised the existing rates of taxation and imposed new taxes. Callously ignoring the difficult living conditions of the people, it has stepped up its extortion, particularly from the workers and peasants and others in the lower income groups.

The Rahman clique has become exceedingly isolated among the Afro-Asian nations. The policy of confrontation implemented by the Indonesian people demonstrates the sympathy and support of the New Emerging Forces for the just struggle of the Malayan people. Only the imperialists and the reactionary quarters of other countries are on the side of the Rahman clique.

The British imperialists have thrown into our country and North Kalimantan almost all the troops they could possibly transfer from elsewhere in an attempt to intimidate and suppress the peoples of Malaya and North Kalimantan, and to threaten and attack the people of Indonesia. The U.S. imperialists, too, have repeatedly made a show of their military might before the peoples of our country and

North Kalimantan and of Indonesia. They have tried hard to infiltrate further into our country and North Kalimantan by providing the Rahman clique with military aid. These war provocations by the Anglo-American imperialists have aggravated tensions in Southeast Asia.

Whatever desperate moves the Anglo-American imperialists and the reactionaries might make to save themselves, they are doomed to failure.

To all patriotic political parties and organisations opposing "Malaysia," whether functioning publicly or secretly, whether in Malaya or overseas, and to all compatriots whether at home or abroad, the Malayan National Liberation League makes this fervent appeal:

Although there are differences in political views among ourselves, nevertheless, let us join our forces and form a strong united front. Let us crush "Malaysia" and fight for our country's true independence, democracy, peace, and the reunification of Singapore with the Malay Peninsula.

The Malayan National Liberation League puts before our people of all national groups and social strata a programme for the current struggle. Based on this programme, we are willing to hold talks with all patriotic political parties and individuals opposing "Malaysia" whether in Malaya or overseas, and, through adequate consultations, to reach agreement with them in accordance with the principle of seeking concord while preserving differences. Let us march forward hand-in-hand, in mutual support and in close co-operation in the struggle against our common enemy.

THE PROGRAMME

- (1) Realise the genuine independence of Malaya (including Singapore).

Overthrow the neo-colonialist rule of British imperialism and its henchmen, the Abdul Rahman clique; establish a national democratic coalition government consisting of representatives from all patriotic political parties of the Malay Peninsula and Singapore; break away from the "British Commonwealth", abolish the Treaty of External Defence and Mutual Assistance between Malaya and

and Britain; dismantle foreign military bases and expel all foreign troops;

Oppose all criminal designs of U.S. imperialism attempting to take the place of British imperialism by infiltrating into our country in the military, political, economic and cultural fields etc.

(2) Adopt a broad democratic system

Repeal the Emergency Regulations, the Internal Security Act and all other laws and ordinances which prohibit and restrict the struggle of workers and peasants for better living conditions and other popular movements, abolish the policy of forcible grouping of the rural inhabitants and identity cards; guarantee the inviolability of the people's fundamental democratic rights.

Release unconditionally all political prisoners; enable the unconditional return to Malaya of all patriots who have been forced to leave the country or banished.

(3) Build an independent national economy

Confiscate and transfer to the State all plantations, factories, commercial firms, mining, banking and other industries belonging to Anglo-American imperialist and their lackeys; empower trade unions to participate in the management and supervision of production of state-owned enterprises; build up an independent national economy with the state-owned economy playing the leading role; assist handicraft industries and small-holdings etc.

Abolish the present system of multifarious and exorbitant taxes; introduce an equitable and rational policy of taxation; wipe out corruption.

(4) Improve the people's livelihood.

Take active steps to improve the living conditions of workers, employees and government servants etc; introduce an eight-hour working day and the policy of equal pay for equal work; eradicate unemployment and prostitution.

Ensure landless and land-poor peasants the freedom to open up new lands as well as their titles to such lands as are opened up by them; ensure freedom to the fishermen to pursue their occupation; reduce rents and interests; outlaw all forms of exploitation by usury and the squeezing of huge profits by middlemen; the state to grant loans free of interest or at low rates of interest to peasants and

fishermen so as to enable them to develop production and raise their living standard.

(5) Build a patriotic, progressive culture and education

Eliminate the colonialist culture and education of the Anglo-American imperialists and the reactionaries that enslave the people; build a progressive and healthy culture and education which foster the spirit of patriotism and democracy to serve our fatherland and people.

Extend every effort to develop primary and secondary schools using the mother tongues of the various national groups (including the English language) as the media for teaching, learning and examining; introduce free, compulsory and universal primary and secondary education.

Expand adult education using the mother tongues as media; wipe out illiteracy.

Establish universities, colleges and other institutions of higher learning where the media of teaching and learning are Malay, Tamil, etc; recognise the status of existing universities, colleges and other institutions of higher learning where Chinese or English is the medium of teaching and learning; safeguard the academic freedom of all institutions.

(6) Realize equality for all national groups in all spheres

Smash the British-Rahman clique's racist policy which tramples on the principle of equality for all national groups; consolidate anti-imperialist unity on the basis of equality for all national groups in the spheres of politics, economy, culture and education etc.

All national groups, whether big or small, are equally entitled to use their own language and develop their own culture and education; adopt a multilingual system in assemblies and councils at all levels.

Develop the Malay language into the lingua franca of the country on a voluntary basis and reject the Fascist policy of the British-Rahman clique in coercively imposing a "national language".

All workers and employees, irrespective of national origin or religion, whether in government service or in private employment are to receive equal treatment.

Lend every aid to the national minorities in the mountainous

regions to develop their economy, culture, education and health services and improve their living conditions, and bring them into the main stream of the political life of the country.

Ensure the people of each national group the freedom to preserve or change their customs and habits, and the freedom of worship.

(7) Support the national liberation struggle of North Kalimantan

Recognise the Kalimantan people's right to self-determination.

Unceasingly strengthen our solidarity and co-operation with the people of North Kalimantan in our common struggle to overthrow the rule of the British-Rahman clique; vigorously and unreservedly support the North Kalimantan people's struggle for national liberation; thoroughly crush neo-colonialist "Malaysia".

(8) Pursue a peaceful, independent and active foreign policy.

Establish diplomatic relations, expand trade and promote cultural exchange with Afro-Asian nations and other countries on the basis of the principle of peaceful co-existence adopted by the Bandung Conference; oppose the policies of aggression and war pursued by the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries headed by the United States of America; support the just struggles of peoples throughout the world against imperialism and old and new colonialism; defend world peace.

Compatriots at home and abroad!

The international situation is rapidly developing in our favour. The surging tide of the national liberation movement is sweeping over the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The victorious fight of the 30 million heroic people of Vietnam to liberate the South, defend the North and re-unify their fatherland is dealing heavy blows at the U.S. imperialists' global policies of aggression and war, greatly inspiring and supporting the revolutionary struggles of all peoples. The Vietnamese people's staunch struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation has set a brilliant example for us.

Our people's struggle, which is part of the struggle of people the world over against imperialism and old and new colonialism headed by the U.S.A., is just and progressive. Despite numerous difficulties that may lie ahead, final victory is surely ours, so long as we foster

the spirit of daring to fight and daring to seize victory; so long as we unswervingly oppose the anti-democratic and anti-popular policies of the British-Rahman clique and their accomplice, the Lee Kuan Yew clique; so long as we resolutely fight against all the criminal machinations of the U.S. imperialists of infiltrating into our country in the military, political, economic and cultural fields; so long as we support with all the strength at our command the Malayan National Liberation Army, and, in the course of the struggle, defeat the enemy's attacks and expand the revolutionary forces.

People of all national groups, unite! Let us fight to the end to crush "Malaysia" and overthrow the neo-colonialist regime of the British imperialists and their lackeys! Let us fight for our country's genuine independence, democracy, peace and the reunification of Singapore with the Malay Peninsula!

Central Committee
MALAYAN NATIONAL LIBERATION LEAGUE.

March 15, 1965.

WODDIS AND ALGERIA

A recent article by Jack Woddis on Algeria in the D.W. (July 7) was headed, "Algeria.... the Revolution is at Stake" and the very first sentence spoke of Boumedienne's coup menacing the Algerian "revolution". But can Communists characterise Algeria since independence as revolutionary? The heroic armed struggle of the Algerian people for almost eight years could have been turned into a revolutionary storm given the right leadership and programme. A people's democracy rather than social democracy could have been established and the national bourgeoisie, that compromised with French imperialism in drawing up the negotiated settlement of 1962, could have been kept under control under a truly popular leadership representing a united front under

the hegemony of workers and peasants. But that is not what happened. There is nothing in Woddis' article to indicate that he knows of the class basis of the Algerian Republic or of the class struggle in Algeria when it became apparent that the Algerian national bourgeoisie, vacillating as usual, had finally been able to ditch the revolutionary elements.

Because Woddis does not know or care to know that a bourgeois government was established after independence in Algeria he can write such utter nonsense about the "sweeping advances" on the economic level. As in other parts of Africa and Asia the national bourgeoisie uses a great deal of pseudo-socialist terminology to confuse the people. Thus much play is made of "nationalisation" as Woddis does with his enthusiasm for the state tobacco monopoly and state transport, tourism, hotels etc., in Algeria. Probably he is not aware of the usefulness of the state machine for the economic transactions of a weak bourgeoisie who prefer a "public sector" to private enterprise since the people bear the expenses without the profits.

Woddis' praise for the apparent land reform programme since independence might have been in order had there not been such corruption and typical compromise with the original idea of converting the large French estates into collectives, co-operatives etc. Woddis waxes enthusiastic over the Yugoslav type facade of workers' control without making it clear that the managerial control of the new state farms is no different from the administration of any other department of a bourgeois government in one of the newly liberated Afro-Asian countries. Far from initiating an agrarian revolution in Algeria as in China, North Vietnam or Cuba Ben Bella's government was guilty of high flown phraseology and incompetence or corruption.

If Woddis finds "the first shoots of socialism" in the development of a creaking economy, top-heavy with bureaucracy and the ritual of government, expertise, derived about equally from Trotskyite and revisionist quarters, is it surprising that he is equally incapable of analysing the reasons for the coup? Ben Bella was undoubtedly a mass leader whose intentions might have been honourable. But why was it possible to

overthrow such a national hero so quickly and with the minimum of bloodshed? For all that Woddis writes of the resistance to Boumediene it is amazing that in a country which has an armed struggle for years there should not have been any kind of fighting or skirmishing to defeat the junta. Woddis has nothing to say about the many disquieting things which did develop in Algeria over the last few years : the replacement of the old liberation army by what was in essence a foreign army of occupation brought into Algeria by Boumediene when negotiations were in sight; the sinister presence of dubious leftists from Europe and America and the increasing dependence on Belgrade,

Woddis has nothing to say about Ben Bella's government's attitude to these and other developments. Instead he praises Ben Bella as a revolutionary and one who was not anti-communist. This curious formulation is based on Ben Bella's speeches where he apparently professed not his friendliness to Communism but that he was not their enemy. Can anything be more revealing of the bankruptcy of Marxist understanding among the experts of the C.P.G.B. than the following:- "Though he requested the Algerian Communist leaders not to continue the separate organisation of the party, he never persecuted the Communists..."? Ben Bella forced the disbandment of the Algerian C.P. (what a reflection on it that it agreed!) as Nasser did in Egypt. To Woddis the absence of a Communist Party in Algeria is obviously of little concern since this is in keeping with the line adopted by him in his books on Africa - that the social-democratic regimes established in newly independent countries as a result of negotiated settlement with imperialism can be transformed into revolutionary governments through the influence of individual communists (note Woddis' reference to Henri Alleg's work) and dependence on aid and experts from the Soviet Union and East Europe. It is the individual communist who can best achieve the work of convincing and advising leaders like Ben Bella, Nkrumah etc. There is no need for organising the people by a local Communist Party. To have Communist Parties in African countries is termed "premature".

Woddis' article reeks of the opportunism and anti-Marxism that permeate the thinking of revisionist parties when they pretend to be so concerned with national liberation.

There is, inevitably, the assumption that any government which accepts massive quantities of Soviet aid must be on the road to socialism (what price India?) There is also the phoney build-up of the latest Afro-Asian leader to have last dined with leaders of the Kremlin. In Woddis' piece Nasser serves the role played by Nehru in earlier versions of this type of tailism. The following typifies the extent to which revisionism has distorted Marxism.

"The Close links with the U.A.R., personified in the personal friendship between Nasser and Ben Bella, were a strong foundation of the anti-imperialist front of the Arab peoples."

One has truly plumbed the depths: there is no need of a Communist party and there is not even the need for people to struggle as long as the men at the top can remain the best of friends.

The real lesson of recent events in Algeria is the same as in Iraq - that the national bourgeoisie no matter how "progressive" at one stage of the liberation struggle, cannot carry through the revolution. In the absence of a strong revolutionary party to provide correct leadership for the masses they spread confusion, opening the door to neo-colonialism and outright reaction. The answer in Algeria is not, as Woddis does, to pin all one's hopes on Ben Bella, but to abandon this liquidationist line and support the mobilisation of the masses for the establishment of the dictatorship of the workers and peasants through the revolutionary party.

EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER FROM FRIENDS ABROAD.

"Here we have to add our own opinion on the crucial question of negotiations. The U.S. want negotiations. Why? Because they are being beaten. They want to win at the conference table what they can't win on the battlefield. They want a breathing spell. They want the N.F.L. to let down its guard and lay down its arms. Then they will attack again. They insist that their Saigon puppets represent South Vietnam -- i. e. that U.S. domination must be preserved.

Look at South Korea. The Americans are still there after 11 years. They will never leave Vietnam until they are kicked out.

"London, New Delhi, Paris, Moscow and Washington have been calling for negotiations - while the bombing of Vietnam is stepped up. What is the Vietnamese people's attitude to negotiations? They know they cannot be defeated; that negotiations now means throwing away victory. They beat the French, who had 400,000 men (several times as many as the Americans), who knew the country and the people, were acclimatized and had far better morale than the jittery American troops, whom the Vietnamese have already licked in hand-to-hand combat.

"The Vietnamese demand is not for negotiations but for the withdrawal of all US troops, weapons and war material from South Vietnam, the dismantling of all military bases there and the stopping of all acts of war against the territory of North Vietnam. The Americans are trying to force the Vietnamese to negotiate by bombing them. Should any Communist Party support such pressure by suggesting that it too favours negotiations? No, it should openly oppose them.

"This has not been explained in the British Party press. Marxism To-day, the Party's theoretical journal, has not carried a single article analyzing the issues in Vietnam since the beginning of 1963. The Daily Worker of March 25 did carry extracts from the N.F.L. March 22 Declaration; but it presented the Front's warning to US: "we may call for fighters from other lands" as if it were a desperate appeal instead of an expression of their determination to fight until final victory. It did not include extracts showing the Vietnamese people's contribution to the worldwide struggle against US imperialism and what we owe them; their confidence in victory and the US imperialists' desperate plight and weakness in Vietnam. On April 22 the DW reported Yugoslavia's view that "an initiative was needed on Vietnam and suggested unconditional talks" - without a word of comment to show that this was precisely Johnson's line. On May 2 the DW quoted Gollan as saying, "The real voice of Labour and the progressive movement was the decision of the USDAW conference and the Easter March... we should win every trade union and public body to do as USDAW has done." But USDAW passed several resolutions, one urging "negotiations that will leave the people of Vietnam free to decide their own future", another supporting the 17 nation (Tito) appeal for "realistic negotiations" and it also demanded that "the government use its influence to stop the fighting". And neither Gollan nor the DW

Obviously the Party and the Daily Worker, while appearing to support the people of South Vietnam, is creating confusion on the most crucial question. It is not spearheading the campaign directly against US imperialism and for the demands of the people of South Vietnam.

"Gollan said he was going to Vietnam" to develop the solidarity campaign." What did he mean? The South Vietnamese have made clear what they mean by solidarity offers of aid including arms and volunteers. It is necessary to be precise on this point because the revisionists try to twist on it. The official committee of the WFTU nearly split the recent International Trade Union Conference on it (Held in Hanoi June 2 to 6) by opposing even a mention of arms, volunteers and boycott of US shipments. One West European delegate to the conference put the revisionists' attitude very clearly when he said; "You (i. e. the South Vietnam NFL) by calling for volunteers are trying to enlarge the war. Our unions are against all wars of any kind anywhere. We support you to restore peace and carry out the Geneva Agreements, not to make war!" Is this the sort of solidarity Gollan offers ?

"The Daily Worker of April 26 announced a coming conference of Communist Parties of capitalist countries in Europe to discuss 'solidarity with the people of Vietnam and the struggle against American aggression there...' It went on : "Because of the worsening situation in Vietnam, and because of the dangers which this means for world peace, it was proposed to call this conference as soon as possible." What is meant by "the worsening of the situation"--- when the Vietnamese people are winning? What are "the dangers which this means" for world peace -- when the imperialists are being defeated? This is pure pacifism without any class approach, which can lead to no real "solidarity with the people of Vietnam". It plays into the hands of Johnson who tries by every means to drive a wedge between the North and South to weaken the unity of the Vietnamese people. Vietnam's slogan is : "Defend the North, Liberate the South, Unify the Country". It is solidarity for this that is needed.

On the Communist Party's leading a Mass Campaign in Britain

"...Is (there) a mass campaign initiated by the Party, or is it tailing behind the labour movement and the CND?

"If the Party is putting its whole strength into support of Vietnam, why was no publicity given to the Vietnamese May Day Trade Union Appeal to transport workers all over the world not to handle US war material for South Vietnam. Why did not the Party press publicise the Japanese dockers' refusal to load ships for Vietnam? These should have been top headlines to arouse similar action in Britain. Why has there been no call for action in Britain like that in New Zealand, where the Federation of Labour Conference took a stand against sending troops to South Vietnam and the seamen came out against transporting either troops or military equipment?

"...We have long noted that the line of the British Party leadership is to play down the victorious fight of the Vietnamese people and by stressing the war's horrors and the campaign for a negotiated settlement, to advocate compromise and capitulation. This is aid and comfort to Johnson, not to our Vietnamese comrades.

"Of course this line is not advocated openly. Instead confusion and illusions are created. We know how Gollan and Matthews used their visit to Peking in February 1963 to tone down opposition at the April 1963 Party Congress with a show of impartiality. Now they are preparing for the November 1965 Party Congress by arming themselves against a challenge to their revisionist line by a show of "solidarity with Vietnam" - - which in reality does not support the Vietnamese people's fight for victory. We believe they aim to use their Hanoi visit to this end..."

contd, from page 16.

said a word to the effect that calling for "cease-fire" and negotiations amounts to telling the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms in the face of aggression. On April 8 in a front page box on the May Day March the slogan was: "Voice your demand for peace and no war in Vietnam"! How would it have sounded if the Party had called for "peace and no war" in Spain in the '30's instead of recruiting International Brigaders? Or in Russia in 1919 instead of calling for "Hands Off Russia" and striking the Jolly George?

contd, page 17.

The following publications are available from "Forum"

A reply to James Klugman on Peaceful Coexistence	6d.
The National Liberation Movement Today (a reply to Dutt & others)	1s.
Statement on John Gollan	6d.
Revisionism and Imperialism	1s.
Classes in Modern Imperialist Britain	4s.

International Marxist-Leninist Publications

Seven Letters exchanged between the CC of the CPC and the CPSU	6d.
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