

WORKERS NO. 2. VOL. 5. **BROADSHEET**

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Editorial : THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TRADE UNIONS

Tweedledum and Tweedledee have had their battle. The TUC and the Wilson Government have been "fighting" as Labour and Tories used to do. As all policy — not merely foreign — becomes increasingly bipartisan, a new "loyal opposition" is required, and the Left Wing of the TUC offers itself for the job.

At present there is an alliance between the right-wing openly non-Socialist leaders (excepting Mr. Cannon, the Powell of Trade Unionism) and the Left wing which has already a majority of the organised workers (TGWU, AEF, SOGAT, ASTMS etc.).

The right wing has proposed that the TUC shall take over strike prevention. They are in fact telling Wilson to keep out because they can smash up strikes better than any government.

This may or may not be true. In any case the left wing of the trade union leadership including both AEF and TGWU, knows that as soon as it accepts the principle of strike prevention, it will rapidly lose the support of its members. What none of "the Left" will do is to face the fact that there is a major crisis for British imperialist capitalism, which cannot continue its present policy and survive in its present form.

THE REAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

As a result of this unwillingness or incapacity to face the facts of the financial crisis, "the Left" have failed to win the mass of the non-political or semi-political. The opinion polls at present reflect the actual situation in giving the Tories a massive preponderance of popular support — just like Pompidou across the Channel.

By refusing to face the need for a revolutionary solution, social-democrats everywhere and always lose it both ways, just as they did in 1933 in Germany, and in 1968 in France.

In a situation that calls for revolution, only a REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT can win the massive support that is needed to bring an end to the crisis.

Once before in 1926 a previous TUC found itself in such a situation. Then too they continued to

make noises of resistance at the Government, while the Left wing called ever more strongly for defence, until finally the printers of the "Daily Mail" (remember it, SOGAT ?) and the Tory Prime Minister together called the TUC's bluff and the General Strike was on. But what was needed then, and is needed now in a comparable situation, is not defence however firm, but a COUNTER-ATTACK on the capitalists and their Government (which today happens to be Labour).

WANTED - A NATIONAL CALL

What the left wing should be doing (and would be doing if they were socialists) is to call on the whole British working people to support a policy the very opposite of Wilson's Tory policy — a policy of MAXIMUM GROWTH.

And to put such a policy into practice, they should propose a Revolutionary Grand Alliance with, as a political programme, a WORKERS' NATIONAL PLAN.

This would of course mean a break with the dollar, with gold, with SDR and all the rest of the mumbo-jumbo used to cover up the basic policy of maintaining the export of capital — at whatever cost to the whole national economy.

Even today, food is being massively destroyed in America, while millions are hungry — not just all over the world but in the USA itself — to maintain profits.

The imperialist policy of exporting capital from Britain is essentially the same sort of thing. In the interest of the world and of ourselves, IT MUST BE STOPPED.

IMPERIALISM THE NATIONAL ENEMY

Imperialism fights wars in Vietnam and in Africa, while in England so far it only cuts our wages and our production. But in both cases the cause is the same — the export of capital for profit.

The TUC Left wing, whatever its political affiliations, is ideologically led by the CPGB, the gnomes of King Street.

Just as in France the tragedy of the workers has been and still is their domination by the CPF and the CGT, who organised to PREVENT REVOLUTION, so in England our tragedy is not the present disrupt-

tion of the Labour Party — this was inevitable and necessary — but the absence of any nationally influential alternative.

In the recent presidential election in France the Trotskyist candidate is reported as having addressed the workers at Renault-Billancourt (the Paris Dagenham). And there the workers chanted solidly "Vote for Duclos" (the Communist candidate) so that no speech was possible.

WORKERS BROADSHEET does not defend these fascist-type election tactics, but it is quite determined that the revolutionary leadership of the working class must belong to the working class itself. It will be impossible for misleaders of the workers to prevent them hearing the voice of their own revolutionary leadership, precisely because it is their own, not something imported to them and for them from the petty bourgeoisie, instructing the workers what they must do — Big Brother knows best what is good for you !

NEEDED - A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Note how similar are the attitudes of Trotskyists and all the other sectarians and dogmatists who claim to be Marxists. Such leadership can never hope to lead a revolution, and a good thing too.

In contrast let us all help to build up a revolutionary party ("No revolutionary party, no successful revolution") that is deeply and fully of the people and can lead that great majority of the people who need and want GROWTH that develops and lives;

NOT IMPERIALISM that constrains and kills.

How we may be able to do the job is discussed elsewhere in this issue.

But the important, the main, the essential decision we must make is that THE JOB MUST BE DONE. Once this is decided it may even turn out to be surprisingly simple, like Columbus's egg.

Once all those who will benefit by revolution have understood that we need it, what on earth will be able to stop us ? Certainly not guns, which it should be remembered are never the monopoly of one side when it comes to shooting. EDITORIAL BOARD

Chairmans address

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TO THE SECOND CONGRESS W.P.P.E.

Comrades,

When our inaugural congress met a year ago the situation demanded a revolutionary party of the working class so urgently that in spite of our small numbers and small resources we took the necessary first public step towards building such a party, making a public declaration of intention, putting forward for discussion the mass line we proposed for a revolutionary party.

There have been and are still two main points of difference between us and other organisations that base themselves on Marxism-Leninism/Mao Tse Tung Thought. The first is the national question - a basic point that necessarily determines the kind of mass line that can be put forward. The whole revolutionary Marxist-Leninist international movement has adopted a modification of the last words of the Communist Manifesto by inserting the words "oppressed peoples and nations" after "proletarians of all countries". This should be the clearest possible indication, to all revolutionaries, of the central character of the national question for revolution today throughout the world. And yet the majority of comrades in England today, who claim to be Marxist-Leninists, claim that this country is somehow an exception, that the national question is required for Vietnam and the whole of Asia, Africa and South America, for the Afro-Americans in the USA and for the Quebecois in Canada, but not for the British Isles. And this in spite of the universal recognition that the two greatest revolutionaries produced by these islands in this century, James Connolly and John McLean, are recognised precisely because they each placed the national question at the centre of their revolutionary programme.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE BRITISH ISLES

How can the latest development in Ireland (April 1969) the election of a revolutionary united front M.P. to Westminster for mid-Ulster possibly be understood by anyone who refuses to treat national independence as a revolutionary question in the present imperialist era? Bernadette Devlin is a symbol of revolutionary unity produced by the alliance of revolutionary students from Belfast in People's Democracy with the Civil Rights Movement which in spite

of its revisionist origin had done good and useful work in Derry; this alliance in turn being supported tacitly but with their complete strength by the much more widely based Irish nationalists of Sinn Fein. The three together not only swept the board electorally in an election which showed by the 91% voting turn-out that it was already much more than an election. In fact this unity on what was a correct revolutionary line for the existing circumstances launched a mass movement of defiance comparable to the Black Power Movement in America, a movement of street struggle, of refusal to be intimidated by the organised thugs, whether in or out of uniform. A fine example of how a parliamentary election can and should be used in a Leninist manner, a model for us here in England.

For English Marxist-Leninists, and indeed for Marxist-Leninists in any country in Western Europe, to claim to be preparing revolution while ignoring the national question is to commit the same fundamental error that social democracy made throughout its existence. Behind the facade of "no nationalism" lies the unacknowledged hidden influence of imperialism.

This is why on this question there can be no compromise of principle. Successful revolution in the British Isles will only be possible by co-ordinating the forces of nationalism with those of revolution - not by trying to keep them separate. However, those sincere Marxist-Leninists who cannot yet see this, can and should at least not refuse to co-operate with those who are trying to put the national revolutionary slogan into practice as opposed to merely printing it on their newspaper.

We most urgently appeal to all Marxist-Leninists who still cannot see the importance of this question not to continue to divide the forces of revolution on this issue.

IS THERE A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION ?

The second main point that divides us from other Marxist-Leninists in England is our estimate of the present situation in this country. We alone have been stating since

July 1966 that the objective situation here is potentially revolutionary and requires ONLY the development of the subjective factor, namely an effective revolutionary party, in order to make the potential stand.

How disastrous this blindness to a potentially revolutionary situation can be was shown last year in France. In certain ways the situation is comparable to that in Russia in the spring of 1917. At that time also only a very few of Lenin's closest comrades were able to understand the need to prepare at once for a socialist revolution. Yet we can now see that without Lenin's April theses, adopted at the May 1917 Party Congress, the October revolution could never have taken place.

This blindness to revolutionary forces, while they remain under the surface of the day-to-day political scene, is due at bottom to the lack of revolutionary INTENTION in those who claim to be Marxists and yet can only see the surface of events. This problem is of course not restricted to England; the Marxist-Leninist movement in France has had the same difficulties. Closer relations between those Marxist-Leninists in both countries who agree in seeing the situation as potentially revolutionary now and not merely in the distant future, might be helpful in spreading recognition of revolutionary reality before it becomes too late to take advantage of this running tide.

PREPARING FOR REVOLUTION

Now let us consider some basic principles on the question of preparing for revolution.

First, we must understand that public opinion has to be prepared, that the working people - that is the great majority of the people - must WANT a revolution, that is they must want power. This preparation of public opinion has already gone quite far.

If you try the experiment of asking everyone you meet whether we need a revolution, you will be surprised how many think we do, how many agree even enthusiastically with the IDEA. But nearly always the comment follows: "But of course it's impossible."

Why is it impossible? It is impossible because we think it is and FOR NO OTHER REASON.

A genuine working people's public opinion poll would show an overwhelming majority who would support revolution, who would even fight for it, IF THEY COULD SEE IT AS THE WAY OUT OF THIS MESS.

NO IMITATION

The Russian people, led by Lenin's Bolshevik Party, took power in 1917 because they had understood the need to do so. The Bolsheviks were able to do this because they did not try to imitate any previous revolution.

The European Communist Parties in general tried to IMITATE the 1917 revolution, and failed. The foreign-influenced leaderships of the Chinese Communist Party up to January 1935 not only tried to imitate the Russian revolution, but tried to force the already correctly developing revolution under the actual leadership of Mao, into trying to become artificially "Bolshevised" with disastrous results. It was the thoroughly Chinese and strictly non-imitative leadership of Mao that saved the Chinese revolution and made it an example to the whole semi-colonial world. Albania did the same and Vietnam and Cuba. All these countries, at various stages of socialism and of struggle, are at one in having made their own road to freedom.

We in England and in Wales and Scotland and Ireland have to be equally self-reliant. We have to develop our own road, our own plan of campaign, and this must not try to be a copy of someone else's success, because an imitation can only be a failure.

The conditions for a proletarian revolution in a country of advanced capitalism such as England, with a long imperialist history and a still predominant imperialist outlook in the majority of our workers, are totally different from those of any country that has so far achieved, or even begun, a socialist revolution.

Unfortunately imitation continues. There are comrades in this country who believe that they are helping revolution by shouting that power grows out of the barrel of a gun, at a time when the struggle has not yet become a shooting struggle, and to talk of shooting can therefore only harm, not help, the revolutionary cause.

In a neighbouring country the leading Marxist-Leninist organisation has gone so far as to forecast a prolonged civil war as the only way to revolution. One can only suppose that this method of making revolution attractive derives from the fact that it took 22 years of civil war to achieve a change of class power in China and that in conditions such as Vietnam, Palestine, and the other Arab countries, and probably most of Africa and South America, prolonged people's wars will be necessary. But in each case, in each country the situation must be analysed in the most concrete manner; nowhere and never should a revolutionary party put forward a line that is trying to copy a successful revolution elsewhere.

ENGLAND

England comes into the category of rich imperialist countries, classified by Lin Piao as "the towns" as opposed to the rest of the world which is "the country". Revolution in "the towns" is in general most unlikely to develop in the same way as in "the country". Certainly here the idea of a prolonged civil war is sheer lunacy. ~~What we have to prepare to do is to overwhelm the class and national enemy, whose social base is extremely small, by a mobilisation of forces that will leave the capitalist government no forces strong enough successfully to oppose the mass tide of revolution.~~

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A revolutionary situation likely to be typical for an economically developed imperialist country was here in England in our General Strike in 1926, and then again in France in their General Strike of 1936, which reached a more advanced political level than ours had done. By far the clearest example of what such a mass mobilisation of the people can mean was shown in France in 1968.

Some have claimed that revolution was impossible because the army would have marched on Paris. Such a claim is typical of revisionist, i.e. non-revolutionary, thinking. Our delegate to Paris in the last days of May passed through an Air Force Base (in France part of the Army) that was providing transport into Paris. The men in no way disguised their open solidarity with the strike and with the potential revolution. There

can, in my opinion, be no doubt that any attempt by de Gaulle his Government to mobilise the Army to reoccupy Paris and the whole of France would simply have led to immediate widespread mutiny and that both de Gaulle and the revisionists knew this. The decisive factor that prevented revolution in France was not the question of the availability of the non-availability of the army but the absence of any effective revolutionary leadership prepared to use force at all. The revisionist Communist Party was determined to save the capitalist set-up (which has itself just dropped de Gaulle) while the Marxist-Leninists had not been envisaging the possibility of such a revolutionary situation and were therefore unprepared for it.

LENIN ON THE GENERAL STRIKE

I suggest that the most urgent lesson for Marxist-Leninists in England is to realise the need to prepare now both to work to produce such a situation and, equally important, to begin to make the necessary preparations now to meet it if it should turn up unexpectedly. In general, however, one can say that a general strike to be successful must be called by revolutionaries who then, if the response is adequate, can immediately issue the call to take power everywhere.

Thus the General Strike with occupation and with the aim of taking power has once more become a serious possibility. As this is in apparent contradiction with Leninist teaching let us examine the case in detail.

In Lenin's day, before 1914, the General Strike was being put forward by syndicalists as an alternative to the seizure of power by armed force. For this reason it was fiercely and rightly condemned by Lenin. But the situation is now very different. First, the example of socialist countries. Working class power is there for all to see. Secondly the understanding that in the end it is force and force alone that is decisive for class power is also widely recognised in a way that simply was not the case in Western Europe 60 years ago.

What we are putting forward now is the concept of the General Strike, not as a stay-at-home strike, but as a forcible occupation by the workers of all places of work including, of course an

for us revolutionaries first of all, all means of transport and communication. For instance, if the workers' revolutionary leadership calls for a General Strike with occupation with a view to taking power — and it would not call for a General Strike except in this way — then obviously the seizure of television and radio would be among the first of its immediate steps, simultaneous at least with the effective seizure of all transport (which should give no difficulty). Note that in France in May 1968 the radio and television service (ORTF) was itself among the most active forces opposing Gaullism. This does not mean of course that we shall not need guns, but it does mean that the guns will be chiefly there to reinforce the technicians who are ready to join the revolution, just as they will ensure the safety of transport and of key workers generally. If this appears to be mere day-dreaming you have only to remember May 1968 in France. Is it not perfectly clear that there are already in both BBC and ITV quite advanced potentially revolutionary forces, both technical and on the production side? Because these technicians, actors and producers are not Marxist-Leninists and probably few of them have read anything of Mao, or for that matter of Marx, it would be revolutionary blindness on our part not to understand that developments can easily make of them revolutionaries able, not to lead a revolt, but to assist and develop it to complete success.

AWAY WITH PESSIMISM !

Before May 1968 it seems to me that every one of us under-estimated the revolutionary potential to an extraordinary degree. It is significant that it was the revolutionary C.P.C. that, in early April, underlined the revolutionary significance of the students' struggles in Paris at a time when some of our comrades responded to these events by asking with a sneer whether students are a class.

THE ARMED FORCES

As a revolutionary outlook begins to develop among young people as a whole, we can be quite sure that brothers and indeed sisters in the armed forces and even the police will not remain uninfluenced. A revolutionary party will certainly include sympathetic contacts throughout the armed forces,

and probably throughout the main forces of the Establishment — unarmed as well as armed. Just as in 1940, although the bulk of the ruling class would have supported Hitler, a minority would have been prepared to join the resistance. A genuinely revolutionary party will always open its ranks to such defectors from counter-revolution as part of its permanent policy of uniting all those who can be united against the main enemy who thus must be divided from all those who can be divided from him. We do not intend to go round proclaiming the merit of guns, but we certainly do intend to see that the necessary guns become available together with the people without whom the gun is useless. It is impossible to know when the revolutionary situation may face us — this year, next year, or perhaps only in two or three years or longer. We must prepare for the possibility that it may, as it did in France, be on top of us before we expect it, though we must hope, for the sake of the revolution, that events will not develop too fast for the terribly slow pace at which the revolutionary forces have so far been developing.

Our immediate chief ideological task therefore is to attempt for the first time in this country, perhaps indeed anywhere, to work out concrete proposals for converting the economic struggle of class-conscious but not yet socialist trade unionists into a political struggle for class power

We have recently (February 1969) seen a great strike in a sector of the car industry. The whole of the gigantic production complex of Ford's was brought for the first time in its history in this country to a complete stop. The strike had some success. The wage agreement accepted is a better one than was first proposed before the strike and that had been accepted by the unions. We should note that here, as in France (at Renault-Billancourt) the workers were far ahead of their trade unions and political leadership. Yet this strike never even began to consider the question of political power.

1969 also saw the most important May Day demonstration since the Second World War. No national newspaper could be produced and most of the docks were at a standstill. This is a remarkable achievement and should be recognised

as such. But "Workers Broadsheet" correctly pointed out that a one-day strike, though it could be useful, did not face the essential problem that faces the working people and indeed the whole nation today, namely the question of class power. We therefore reminded both strikers and non-strikers that only an assault on the class dictatorship could take us forward towards a solution of our national problems.

TO TURN ECONOMIC STRUGGLE INTO POLITICAL STRUGGLE

To this correct reminder of ours the question could well be put "How are you going to do it?" and I think we should now give attention to answering this entirely proper question if we are to develop a widely based revolutionary movement which alone, in the opinion of Marxist-Leninists, can achieve revolution. Our main task should now be to mobilise the immense potentially revolutionary forces by bringing understanding of how it is possible in the present circumstances to make a revolution, both to our fellow Marxist-Leninists who have not yet understood this, and to those thousands of workers whose class consciousness is splendidly developed, largely (we must admit) under the influence of the revisionist party, but who have not yet understood the need for a revolutionary line and who therefore still remain in the morass either of parliamentary cretinism or else of a sort of political nihilism. But secondly, and perhaps more importantly, we must mobilise the young. In France it was the young in the motor industry as well as in the universities that led revolutionary development, and in England it is likely to be the same. However, it seems probably essential to win over at least some of the middle-aged revisionist-type shop stewards to reinforce the young, who are already leading but who need support, especially in industry, among the workers organised under anti-revolutionary influences.

To sum up, we must learn from everyone, but most especially from the greatest practitioner of revolution that the world has ever known, Chairman Mao Tse Tung, and simultaneously we must learn the supreme lesson of that same revolutionary, namely that to imitate is fatal, that self-reliance implies initiative from within, not merely stimulus from without —

It is one year since the first Founding Congress of the Working People's Party of England. It's time for us to sum up our experience of the last year — to note our successes but especially to recognise and investigate our failures. Only in this way can we develop positively and become more successful and efficient in our work.

We agreed a programme and a line at the First Congress the result of over five years analysis of the situation in the British Isles and the world, which started with the late comrade Michael McCreery. The first draft of our programme was arrived at by the October Organising Committee consisting of various organisations in the nine months prior to the First Congress. The programme was thoroughly discussed at that congress amended and endorsed unanimously by the congress. The development of this programme of this analysis and line has been the greatest single achievement of the W.P.P.E. and it has been fully supported by events in the past year.

The NATIONAL QUESTION in these islands has become a main issue with the developments in Northern Ireland the trial of the Free Wales Army members in Wales and the guerilla activity carried out by Welsh nationalists, and the tremendous growth of the nationalist movement in Scotland.

In the past year the balance of payments problem has worsened for British imperialism. Even capitalist economists are now admitting what WORKERS BROADSHEET was saying three years ago — that the underlying reason for the balance of payments crisis is the continued export of capital by the ruling class (largely to the neo-colonies in Southern Africa, the Middle East etc.) in search of higher profit than that obtainable at home. Added to this is the heavy wastage including the enormous arms bill to protect these overseas investments. Another central facet of the W.P.P.E. programme is to develop the national struggle in England against U.S. imperialist economic political military and cultural domination. This contradiction has been sharpening and a number of other Marxist-Leninists and other militants are taking up the call. This is encouraging and a good thing.

METHODS OF WORK

This programme having been developed and presented, the immediate tasks became

- (1) The agitational task of mobilising the people on the programme in a mass revolutionary movement.
- (2) The corresponding organisational task of developing the party on a national scale to implement the programme and take it to the people for development in practice.

How have we done ?

Not nearly well enough. We've had a few encouraging and modest successes, but time is short and the objective situation is VERY FAVORABLE for revolutionary developments. We have been making too many mistakes in our method of work — which stem in fact from wrong politics and wrong ideas. We have also taken too long to recognise these mistakes and take energetic steps to correct them. This has resulted in two serious ill effects. Firstly it has stunted growth of the organisation through failure to attract wavering but sympathetic militants; and secondly it has caused the loss of politically immature and wavering members of our party who needed success to consolidate their confidence.

We have not sufficiently shaken off King St. and Transport House methods of work. These erroneous methods of work are all manifestations of a petty bourgeois attitude whether revisionist or ultra-Left in form. The errors have been sectarian, elitist, bureaucratic, liberal and individualistic in nature. All stemming from a basic lack of trust in the revolutionary potential of the people of this country. The errors have been many and varied, such as attempting to organise the party in a purely formalistic passive and cliquish manner. Failing to work among the people starting with mobilisation for simple demands, but instead TALKING of revolutionary violence while waiting for revolution to begin spontaneously and expecting the masses to turn around and call in a clique of dogmatists to lead them. At its worst this attitude has been expressed in Blanquist terms as a conspiracy of a minority of trusted "cadres" to

seize state power on behalf the masses and then "give" masses socialism. This thoroughly petty bourgeois elitist notion is paraded as "Leninism". It has nothing at all in common with the Bolshevik Party led the masses because it had shared their life in day-to-day struggles; because it was of and for the masses. It was the party of the MAJORITY. It did not impose itself on the masses. The working class of this country is going to make its own revolution. We engage in political activity to help the people to see the way to their own emancipation. We repudiate and denounce those who use the revolutionary cause to attempt to gain political advantage for themselves.

We must never forget this difference between revolutionaries and pseudo-revolutionaries.

Another serious error committed by us all, and especially by the dogmatists who have held us back for so many months, is to underestimate the revolutionary potential of our own people. Comrades have failed to develop political struggle at work or where we live. We have not investigated the situation, analysed the class forces at play and determined on a suitable course of action to increase political awareness. How often have comrades dismissed their fellow-workers as "reactionary" and "useless" ? The fault, comrades, is in ourselves. We have failed to develop our brothers' consciousness — too often because we think, talk and act as dogmatists and so fail to appreciate the living reality of class struggle when it is taking place before our eyes.

Then when we undertake political action of one sort or another, one continuing error was to fail to carry the activity through to completion, to develop it, to check up on our work and see whether the initial decision and analysis were correct or needed modification. Moreover, we all too often tried to do everything at once, failing to discover what was the main task confronting us as a party, a branch or an individual party member in given circumstances. We therefore came up with lots of good ideas for activity which we half-heartedly began, failed to carry through and finally failed to check up on for necessary assessment and criticism.

At the last Congress we passed a number of resolutions in the orthodox way — but have we derived any political action from these resolutions in the last year? Are we to be just another revolutionary party? It would have been much more useful to pass resolutions for action by the branches and members. Pious affirmations of "complete solidarity" with revolutionary fighters in various parts of the world help nobody very much. As everyone knows it costs nothing to spew them out. Let's start MAKING revolution and let's start on a realistic basis. Unless we pay attention to small tasks and complete them successfully how can we gather sufficient strength and experience to undertake larger tasks?

OUR POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

We agreed on a programme, this was our first achievement. It has already influenced many people. But this is not enough, it must be a guide to action.

Our most significant practical achievement was in organising a defence committee in the Euston area of North London, carrying out one of the resolutions of the First Congress. Fascist-type assaults on Pakistani workers in this area have been virtually eliminated and in the process we helped our brothers in the Pakistani Workers Union to organise. We also made several useful contacts with militant workers. It was an action which won widespread support and respect. It was followed up by a successful fight to prevent victimisation of Pakistani workers by the police, and this necessitated mobilising political support among wide sections of people including Left Labour Party members. The most important although modest achievement of the whole struggle was the lesson learned by our Pakistani brothers in Euston, that one can fight oppression and win, that one needn't endure injustice, that the people must be self-reliant and not put any faith in the authorities to act on our behalf.

But apart from Euston what other defence committees were formed? Euston isn't the only place where assaults on workers have been occurring.

The other positive work we carried out included

(1) Participation in demonstrations, conferences etc., especially

those organised by the BVSF and RSSF.

- (2) More importantly we carried out ideological and propaganda work especially in the North-East of England and in North London with distribution at factories, in the streets and house-to-house of local leaflets based on the WPPE programme. It is important to follow this work up by the production and distribution of leaflets designed for specific circumstances to mobilise particular groups of working people.

In the propaganda field we have also sustained production of WORKERS BROADSHEET and have doubled its circulation.

WHAT WERE OUR WORST FAILURES?

As already pointed out, our worst failures were things NOT done, initiatives not taken, ideas not put into action and carried through. Instead we have been plagued by an attitude of waiting for something to turn up, thinking that all that was needed was ritual incantation of dogma.

We must remember that effective unity can only be built through practice and has to be started from below. For instance it was a mistake on our part to attempt to build an anti-imperialist united front by mere invitation to other organisations claiming to be Marxist-Leninists. Successful leadership can only be given by the initiators of a correct policy, never by opportunists seeking merely to make use of it for self-establishment.

We must decide on what our main tasks are, decide on the cadres needed to carry them out, then regularly check up and see what success is being achieved in practice.

We cannot advance on all fronts at once, we must concentrate our forces to make a break-through at a particular sector most favourable to us and so set an example for the whole front.

We must always remember that EXAMPLE is our most powerful weapon. Thus if we wish to create a powerful national squatters' movement, we do not seek to convene a conference of all militant contacts to discuss setting up a national coordinating body. No. First of all we go into one area where we

have links with the local people; concentrate our cadres there to do necessary preparation of the street concerned; move in a particular family and make sure there is sufficient local defence force to withstand an eviction. We should put out propaganda by local leaflets and press hand-outs, get support from friendly M.P.s, Councillors, Trade Union Officials, journalists and lawyers. We then contact other squatters and exchange experiences. Perhaps then it might be possible to form a functioning national liaison committee.

This is just an example of how we should begin approaching practical problems and how it is that good work carried out locally in a particular district or factory by a branch of the party can serve as a pacemaker for the whole country and give a lead to our whole class.

Example is much more important than exhortation. Numbers of cadres is not decisive at this stage. What is vital is the quality of the work we do.

Working in an organised and efficient manner we can have an influence out of proportion to size.

I would strongly advise all comrades to re-study Mao Tse Tung "on liberalism". Each one of us has been guilty time and again of the liberal mistakes Mao enumerates.

Over FINANCE, for example, there has been liberalism. Records weren't kept, dues not collected, personal and organisational spending were not kept distinct. Our present treasurer has done a great deal to improve the situation and get things on a sound basis. Nevertheless he needs the assistance of all of us, especially branch convenors, to keep our finance completely in order.

FUTURE TASKS

What tasks confront us this year? We have still to begin mobilising people on a considerable scale on the basis of our programme.

There are several immediate tasks.

- (1) We must simplify the organisation and put emphasis on the branches, pressing still further decentralisation of political initiative and activity. Branches must develop common political work with all honest militants and contacts.

(2) The WORKERS BROADSHEET must serve as the popular written theoretical organ of the party. Until we are in a position to produce a weekly paper, agitation is best carried out by means of leaflets whether local or national, produced by the branches or by the secretariat itself. W.B. must carry news from the branches and from allies and contacts to help to co-ordinate work.

(3) We must step up practical work. All of us must conduct propaganda at our places of work and seek to develop activity among our fellow-workers — designed to deepen class-consciousness and step up class struggle. We must begin by analysing our work situation; find out who are our friends and allies at work and who are our enemies — major and secondary. We will learn from our fellow-workers what struggles are best to develop.

(4) The squatters' movement is a crucially important revolutionary development which we must assist. Defence committees can help defend squatters from eviction by thugs as well as help to defend black working people and left-wingers from fascist attacks.

(5) We must give complete solidarity to the national liberation movements of Scotland, Wales and Ireland and at the same time develop the national proletarian struggle against U.S. imperialist overlordship of these islands.

(6) Our ideological guide is MAO TSE TUNG THOUGHT, the Marxism-Leninism of today, whose strategy is always SERVE THE PEOPLE and whose tactics are ever UNITE ALL THOSE WHO CAN BE UNITED AGAINST THE MAIN ENEMY.

Above all let us never forget that we are not serving the people in order to make a revolution, but rather we are seeking to make a revolution so as to serve the people.

It is a failure to get this clear which bedevils the Marxists of this country and which makes them bastards alienated from the broad masses of the people. Only by serving the people will we mobilise the people to secure their own emancipation. A revolution-

SECOND CONGRESS OF W.P.P.E.

The Second Congress of W.P.P.E. was held on May 10th and 11th at Student Movement House in Gower Street, London. Members of branches and representatives of seven of the invited organisations were present. Messages of revolutionary greetings and solidarity were received from the Working People's Vanguard Party of Guyana, from Swedish and Irish Marxist-Leninists and from the Doncaster Socialist Alliance. Delegates or observers came to the congress from the Caribbean Workers' Movement and Guyana Liberation Front, from the Frente de Libertacao of Portugal, from the Pakistan Workers' Union, from the Internationalists Organisation, from the London Communist Group (M.L.) and from The Mineworker. WPPE branches in Newcastle, Camden, Brent and Merton were represented.

The three political reports published in this issue of WORKERS BROADSHEET were unanimously endorsed by the members of the party.

The following organisational points were also adopted

- (1) All members of WPPE shall attend central committee meetings as full voting members until branch numbers are of such size that they must be represented according to numerical strength.
- (2) The Secretariat will also function as Editorial Board of the WORKERS BROADSHEET with the Chairman as Chief Editor.
- (3) The Secretariat will be reduced in size to consist of those executive officers needed to carry out the work of the party centre and the WORKERS BROADSHEET, namely Chairman, Vice-Chairman, General Secretary, Assistant General Secretary and Treasurer.

any cannot hate, despise or mistrust the people, he must love them. He must respect and trust them.

So comrades let's get to work ! for a socialist revolution in England !

PAUL NOONE

(4) Each Branch shall appoint convenor approved by the Central Committee and/or its Secretariat.

(5) It was unanimously resolved that the WPPE will give all possible support to "The Mineworker" and develop a comradely practical relationship with it.

WPPE BRANCH REPORTS

CAMDEN

Recently WPPE members and other militants in the Camden area formed the Camden People's Centre an organisation to help people help themselves on such issues as housing, civil rights, education or any other issue which the people demand.

It seeks to unite all progressive people in the area in this work. Anyone interested in helping this work in Camden should contact Camden People's Centre, c/o 54G. St. Giles High Street, W.C. 2.

(cont. from p.4)

an example in politics of the fundamental fact that everything in the universe works essentially from its own internal motion, not by being pushed by something outside itself — whether this is called God or Nature or Matter it is still idealism. The non-revolutionary, like the counter-revolutionary, has failed to understand this basic teaching of dialectics, and whatever he may claim in fact continues to think mechanically. Let me finish by quoting Marx, who is quoting Dante: "SEGUI IL TUO CORSO E LASCIA DIR LE GENTE", which we may give as "Follow your own path whatever others may say." This seems to me an appropriate motto at the moment for our party.

ALEX HART

International Report

8

by John E. James

Comrade Chairman, delegates, members. Our Second Congress meets at a time when all over the world revolutionary peoples are waging wars of liberation against world imperialism led by the U. S. imperialists, its junior partners the British, French and other imperialists and their agents, stooges and running dogs.

These revolutionary struggles by oppressed nations and peoples against oppressor nations are not all of them clearly defined. Many are showing the zig-zag of revolutionary war as Chairman Mao has so aptly described it.

Today the Chinese Communist Party the people of China and their country are the centre of world revolution pursuing the proletarian revolution to the end. The Ninth Congress of the CCP has just concluded and all brothers and sisters are encouraged to read and study carefully the great statement made by Comrade Lin Piao which was adopted by this historic Congress. This Congress was held at a time of great world significance, at a time when the social imperialist regime of Russia has carried out a fascist act of aggression against Chen Pao Island, territory of the Chinese People's Republic.

Briefly let us examine generally the international situation as it relates to the W.P.P.E.

Let us first examine Europe, the U.S.S.R. and other East European so-called socialist leaders and regimes.

DANGER OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS AND REVISIONISM

The leaders and regimes of so-called socialist countries like Russia and some others in Eastern Europe have become social-imperialists and can no longer be trusted or relied upon to carry the proletarian

revolution to the end against imperialism and racism. We have not arrived at this conclusion lightly or by using anyone else's brain. We have painstakingly examined Russia's leaders' social-imperialist behaviour towards our brothers and sisters of China, the centre of world revolution today; their behaviour towards our brothers and sisters of heroic Albania, the beacon light of revolution in all Europe; we have examined the various crimes committed by the new Tsars of the Russian regime in the Congo, in Cuba, in the Middle East, against their neighbour socialist states and finally their open fascist invasion of China's Chen Pao Island. Of late the Russian social-imperialist leaders who pose as the allies and friends of oppressed peoples are now openly joining hands with the common enemy of all mankind - the U.S. Imperialists.

It is clear that the leaders of Russia hope by joining hands with U. S. imperialism they can rule the world and continue the domination and oppression of mankind.

Yugoslavia is now a bourgeois capitalist country or damn near enough one when you consider the over \$1,430 U.S.* loans and aid and the reactionary regime of Messrs. Tito & Co.

Czechoslovakia needs special mention. The social-imperialist invasion by the U.S.S.R. and its Warsaw Pact buddies is wrong and must be condemned, but at the same time we must denounce the reactionary Czech regime for going pell-mell back along the road to full capitalism. The nub of the matter is that Czechoslovakia was emulating the U.S.S.R. regime in going back to capitalism but they overshot the tempo laid down by Breznev, Kosygin & Co. It was a case of gangster

logic on the part of the U.S.S.R. regime "Don't do what I do, do as I tell you to do" or I'll crush you.

In France, Italy, Germany Belgium generally economic battles are going on. In France and Italy students are straining at the leash of "European economic parliamentarianism". Pre-revolutionary struggles are breaking out, have broken out. What is lacking? "A revolutionary party capable of seizing state power by uniting all forces for the overthrow of capitalism and seizure of state power under the dictatorship of the working people".

In Portugal and Spain fascism is still reigning supreme. This does not mean that movements are not developing and struggling against the fascist regimes. But it is indeed interesting to note that the biggest demonstration against the fascist regime for many years to be witnessed by the outside world is not one to smash fascism and tyranny, but to choose which king must come back to the throne of Spain.

Albania The cause for excitement, enjoyment and a beacon light in the sad European scene for revolution is heroic Albania. Here the Albanian Party of Labour led by Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Government and people have fulfilled their economic programme and reached their targets set out, based on self-reliance. Albania has been carrying out their own Albanian cultural revolution with great success. Here is a small country with a formerly 65% Muslim, 30% Christian and 5% non-religious population which by revolution and determination to carry the revolution to the end against great odds are showing all Europeans and indeed all oppressed people how to make revolution and build socialism.

Now let us look at the Caribbean, South and North America. Bolivia where Che Guevara died heroically in attempting to lead the Bolivian National Liberation struggle, is awakened and the struggle goes on. Comrades who read Che's diary will know of the mistakes made here since Che himself pointed them out.

Peru offers us a peculiar and unique example of what happens when contradictions develop among imperialists and their stooges, when the stooges want too much for themselves and their clique. The Peruvian army generals quarrelled with their U.S. masters and have seized power expropriating Standard Oil (National Petroleum Co.) the U.S.-owned monopoly. They have claimed \$691 million U.S. for taxes etc. evaded by the U.S. over many years and have assessed by an independent body the value of I.P.C. at \$71 million U.S. which they have set against the U.S. debt.

But this is not a national liberation war for workers' state power by the Generals. The working people and their revolutionary movements are carrying out this struggle and naturally they support the Generals against the U.S. imperialists over this specific I.C.P. affair.

In Brazil, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Colombia and various other places the revolutionary movements are conducting armed struggle against the reactionary military and other regimes which are all U.S.-backed and dominated.

Cuba is also pressing ahead with its revolutionary programme of socialist construction. Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban C.P., and the Cuban people are driving very hard to diversify their economy. They are stepping up rice production and dairy products and expanding trade with other countries despite the U.S. blockade and the social-imperialist oppressive trade arrangements of the U.S.S.R.

Many comrades choose to deny Castro's and Cuba's revolutionary role in the struggle for national liberation and socialism. There are a lot of mistakes and errors that Castro and Cuba can be criticised for, but no one can doubt their revolutionary direction and their socialist aims.

EUROPEAN COLONIES & EX-COLONIES

- (a) Dutch Colonies - Surinam, Aruba, Curacao.
- (b) French Colonies -
- (c) British Colonies - Anguilla and the other Windward and Leeward Islands, including Bahamas, Bermuda and British Honduras.
- (d) Former British Colonies now neo-colonial independent countries - Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Guyana.

In all these countries the people's forces are against world imperialism led by the U.S. imperialists.

The invasion of Anguilla proves beyond any shadow of doubt that racism and imperialism are one and the same in relation to the struggle of non-white peoples against the main enemy. In one and the same breath the British Government legislates and Enoch Powell irritates fascist behaviour of British citizens to keep black people out of Britain - "keep Britain white" - while at the same time they invade the homelands of black people letting loose fascist murderers and rapists in British police and soldier uniforms to dehumanise the people. But here again the people are fighting back the revolution has begun.

All over the Caribbean there is unrest. Fascist laws such as imprisonment and deportation from our homelands to Paris, France is the weapon the French imperialists use against leaders who demand independence for their country and fight against all manner of imperialist evils.

In Surinam and the other Dutch-dominated colonies the people are in revolt. Already the Surinam Government has been forced to resign and elections are to be held soon. In Aruba and Curacao the situation is deteriorating rapidly and an explosion is likely very soon.

In Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados the situation is already exploding. For instance, the Black Power revolt at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica in October 1968; and the Rupununi revolt in Guyana in which fourteen persons, including 7 police, died, and the over 120 big strikes in 1968. These are only a few reminders that the people are on the move.

In Guyana the Working People's Vanguard Party (M.L.) has just been formed dedicated to revolutionary struggle against imperialism for liberation and seizure of workers' state power.

In all these so-called independent countries there are fascist-type laws -

- (i) anti-strike legislation;
- (ii) travel restrictions passport withdrawals and denials;
- (iii) bans on progressive literature (except for Guyana so far);
- (iv) registration or licensing of professionals such as teachers, doctors, lawyers etc. (a new law in Guyana);
- (v) national security acts which permit indiscriminate detention and imprisonment without charge or trial.

In the Caribbean area, including Cuba, we are speaking of some 25 million people, whereas the South American continent has a population of 200 million.

These countries contain great natural resources but are presently, in general terms, looked upon by western imperialists as suppliers of raw material.

NORTH AMERICA

In the U.S.A. and Canada the struggle for liberation and civil rights and the anti-Vietnam war campaign has swung into a new stage. The struggles are now openly armed in some instances, peaceful in others. In Canada the Quebecois struggle for independence is going steadily forward. The Quebecois people are determined to wrest independence from Anglo-Saxon imperialist Canada - determined, as are our comrades in Scotland and Wales, who demand independence from England. In Canada, like in the U.S.A. black immigrants are fighting against racism and imperialism.

During the last ten years, but particularly during the last six years, tens of thousands of black people have gone to Canada. Already the fascist authorities have shot down and killed one of the Black Power leaders over there. Recently, the students black and white, Caribbean and Canadian, at the Sir George University rioted and burnt down a computer centre. The press claimed over \$2 million damage has been done and many students are facing court trials.

In the U.S.A. you have all read of the heroic struggle against racism and imperialism. The resolve of black Americans to fight imperialism has been greatly enhanced by the warm support given them by Chairman Mao. China is the only country that publicly supports the black Americans against U.S. imperialism and racism. Through Robert Williams, exiled in China, the black Americans have accentuated their struggle to new heights. They have established a fighting force called the Black Legion, have met in Detroit recently and decided on the establishment of the Republic of New Africa (5 states in the South). Comrade Robert Williams has been elected the first president.

Also in the U.S.A. the students and the Anti-Vietnam War Campaign are dealing heavy blows at the monster U.S. imperialist system. The Vietnam War itself has taken its toll on the Yankee imperialist gangsters and they are now cooking up a number of peace frauds with the help of the USSR to deceive the Vietnam liberation fighters. But of course they are deceiving themselves - no one else.

Black people in the U.S.A. comprise approximately 12% of the 200 million people there. Including the Puerto Ricans other black (non citizens) people, poor Mexicans and so on there are over 15% of the population who represent the most oppressed, all of whom are now on the move to revolt against the system.

ASIA

Here we witness a general revolutionary war on the part of oppressed people and nations against imperialism. The theatres of revolutionary war are Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, North Kalimantan, Malaya, Indonesia and other places. Wherever there is a reactionary puppet regime in Asia, supporting U.S. imperialism the peoples are conducting armed struggle for national liberation and national salvation.

Vietnam is the example of all examples to show all oppressed people how to fight the imperialist enemy. And these wars of liberation grow and succeed in spite of the U.S. having the H-bomb and in spite of U.S./U.S.S.R. collaboration to put out the fire of revolution wherever it erupts.

China, today the centre of world revolution, is showing us all how to build socialism. Examine their technological and ideological development moving forward hand-in-hand, the H-bomb and the cultural revolution good harvests, advances in medicine and repulsing the social-imperialist invaders from the USSR out of Chen Pao Island. Today Mao Tse Tung Thought has advanced Marxism-Leninism to heights never before achieved. Mao's thoughts and ideology are today the guiding principles for all revolutionaries.

India and Pakistan are going through similar convulsions like other countries in Asia. Starvation in India erupts politically into Naxalbari-type People's War of Liberation, while the Dange-type of revisionist communist and other new type parliamentary neo-revisionists are meeting defeat after defeat. No less than 9 state governments have been squashed by the reactionary ruling Congress Government of Indira Gandhi which is being bolstered by the USSR and the USA who are competing in the robbing of the Indian people.

There has been established recently a real revolutionary Marxist Communist Party of the Naxalbari-ites which Mr. Chaval, the Minister of Home Affairs, has openly stated that he intends to ban.

Also there are the liberation struggles of the Mizos and Nagas which are going ahead for liberation in spite of the evil things the Congress Government are doing against them.

In Pakistan the people, fed up with the oppression of the Ayab Khan Government, have revolted, causing his resignation. They have thrown out one general, but have had another imposed up on them. The situation here is very difficult, very difficult indeed. As yet there is no revolutionary party

The war in Nigeria, that has been going on now for nearly two years, is basically an inter-imperialist conflict, especially for the control of the rich oilfields of the Niger delta. What cocoa is to Ghana, oil is potentially to Nigeria.

When the British imperialists decided to go over to their policy of neo-colonialism in Nigeria, a further stage of indirect rule, they used the antagonisms between the feudal Muslim north and the more advanced South to hand power to the feudal chiefs while preventing it going to the more anti-imperialist southerners.

When this arrangement was finally broken by a revolt of the south, this remained, as in Ghana, in essence a national-capitalist revolt by the emerging national capitalist forces, as yet extremely weak and also divided. Massacres were organised on a racial-religious basis until finally a group of easterners under Ibo leadership decided to form an independent secessionist state, and in doing this to grab the oil wells for themselves. The rival imperialisms of France and Portugal (stooge of the U.S.) were naturally very interested, while the Soviet Union, still smarting from the loss of Ghana, decided to show its strength by giving full support to the forces of self-styled national unity led by Gowon, the stooge of British imperialism.

THE NEW IMPERIALISM IN ACTION

massive arms supply by both Britain and the Soviet Union to Gowon, together with the arms embargo to the Biafrans which forced them into the arms of France and Portugal, has led to the present situation in which Biafra is threatened with total defeat, while Ojukwu, leader of the Biafrans, has been forced recently to declare for a people's war as the only means to keep resistance going. Public sympathy in this country has been overwhelmingly for the Biafrans. It is certain that the press support of Biafra is by no means disinterested, but of course this applies even more to the Government's one hundred per cent support for the would-be conqueror of Nigeria — Gowon.

In this complex situation Marxist-Leninists can of course, above all things, not be neutral. When any section of any people are resisting any oppressor with arms in their hands it is the duty of revolutionaries everywhere to give all possible support and, above all, not to counsel surrender, whatever retreats may be necessary.

The fact that the conflict is essentially inter-imperialist in no way means that revolutionaries should not be taking sides. The war of Japan against the Chinese from 1931 to 1945 was also an inter-imperialist conflict in which the revolutionaries, under the guidance of the greatest revolutionary of our epoch, understood on the contrary that they must force Chiang, the stooge of one group of imperialists (U.S. and Britain) to accept an alliance with their own revolutionary forces against the other imperialist group — the Japanese. So at the present time in Nigeria what is decisive for revolutionaries is not the desires or intentions of protagonists, but the objective nature of the struggle. In this case Gowon, representing the dominant imperialist forces which are out to turn the whole of Nigeria into a profitable neo-colony, is the main enemy, and African revolutionaries will support this African struggle and in doing so turn it into a people's war.

The instinct of sympathy for the struggling Biafrans among the English people is a correct one.

Marxist-Leninists in Britain should do all in their power to win support for the Biafran struggle against the criminal imperialist policy of that arch-imperialist and national traitor — Wilson.

VIETNAM LATEST

U.S. desertions from or to avoid their colonial war in Vietnam, which have been counted in thousands for some time, are now stated by the 'Daily Express' to include something hitherto unreported; desertion—chiefly of black soldiers—to the Vietnamese. The heroic carrying into practice of Lenin's slogan for an imperialist war.

REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM.

Tony Sinaris is doing two years in Maidstone Gaol for inciting the Notting Hill VSC to rebellion.

Tony — Antonio Soares is his Portuguese name — was born years ago of parents from the Indian town of Goa (until its recent absorption into India a colony of Portugal) who had emigrated to Mozambique, another Portuguese colony in South-East Africa. Not liking Portuguese colonial rule Tony wandered, spent a couple of years in Berlin, and then came to London where he spent last year vigorously helping to organise the Universal Coloured People's Association. This of course is the real reason why he was selected for police prosecution for "incitement" and then given his sentence of two years — not paralleled since the sentencing of John McLean in Edinburgh for a similar offence back in 1918 during the First World War. And McLean was released soon after due to public pressure.

Powell denounces black immigration. Wilson's Government just puts its political leaders in gaol.

It is right that we here in England should denounce the bestiality of fascist imprisonment and tortures in Greece, Spain and Portugal. But it is also right that we should denounce the imprisonment of socialist leaders here in England with the specific aim of removing them from political activity.

It is the duty of all Tony's revolutionary comrades to support his appeal against this monstrous sentence — only explicable as a measure to suppress a dangerous because clear-thinking, revolutionary.

WORKERS BROADSHEET

World War ?

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The Ussuri is a great river that since 1860 forms the frontier between North-East China and Siberia. In that year Eastern Siberia was taken over by the Tsarist Russian Empire from feudal China. A map that accompanied this 1860 "unequal Treaty" shows the various islands in the Ussuri apportioned to either Russia or China. One of these, Chenpao in Chinese, is shown on this map as still belonging to China. It is over the possession of such islands that battles have been taking place between these two great countries — the one the first country of socialism, the other the main country where socialism is developing today, that is regarded throughout the world as the main fortress of world revolution.

What else have the governments of these two countries been doing in recent years in matters of war and foreign policy ?

In 1956 the Soviet Union reoccupied Hungary that was in danger of going over to a reactionary regime. China at that time supported this reoccupation.

In 1959 the then Prime Minister of the Soviet Union denounced the Albanian Party of Labour — the government of the Albanian people — for insisting on its independence. China supported Albania, and was in turn denounced by the political leaders of the Soviet Union, who in 1960 broke all their commercial agreements with China, at that time suffering from two successive bad harvests and with a very serious food shortage. The Chinese said nothing.

In 1965 the Government of India — which the whole world knows is strongly influenced by the moneybags of London and Washington — attacked China on its Tibetan frontier in the Himalayas. The Chinese in a few days completely defeated the Indian Army and then withdrew to the frontier about which the trouble had broken out without making claims for more territory or any compensation whatever. Probably the first time in history that a country attacked has won a war and then made no claims.

In 1968 the Soviet Army invaded Czechoslovakia and was unopposed

China and most of the world denounced this move as unjustified aggression.

And now in 1969 there has been, and still is, shooting between the two leading countries of what used to be the "socialist camp" over the demarcation of a frontier imposed a century ago by a feudal imperialist Russian government on a weaker feudal Chinese government.

"Workers Broadsheet" feels no need to lay great stress on the fact that the disputed island was acknowledged to be Chinese territory even in 1860. That the armed forces of the Soviet Union should be shooting to obtain or retain possession of any island in this frontier river is a sufficient condemnation of the Soviet Union as a supposedly socialist country.

The whole world today recognises that the U.S. is fighting a persistent war of colonial occupation in Vietnam as well as having an aggressive policy everywhere that seeks to dominate the world, to make the whole world a source of profit to the U.S. millionaires.

The whole world also recognises that the main enemy of this U.S. imperialism is now socialist China. "Nixon prepares for end of cold war". (The Times 11.4.69)

No socialist wants a cold war, just as no good doctor wants diseases, but it is a foolish or treacherous doctor who claims there is no disease when it in fact exists. Socialists are obliged to recognise imperialism as a disease that has to be destroyed if the world, and the humans in it, is to live. We have to destroy the disease if we are to save the patient.

And those who attack the world's main socialist country, the main home of the world revolution against imperialism and national and racial oppression, have given notice to all socialists that from now on the Soviet Union must be regarded as having joined the imperialist enemy.

There are still serious contradictions between the ex-socialist Soviet Union and the leading imp-

contradictions will not easily disappear, however fawningly Moscow may seek imperialist friendship or patronage.

Nor should it be imagined that socialist China will passively allow these new and therefore most treacherous enemies of revolution and of socialism to seek, as Chamberlain did in the 1930s, to provoke a war between a chief country of socialism and a rival imperialism, seeking to weaken and destroy both. It will continue to be the socialist and revolutionary duty of China to avoid war so far and so long as possible. This has always been socialist policy since the days of Lenin, and the U.S. Government may have the sense that its predecessor Hitler lacked, not to attack an enemy of greater strength than any imperialist can achieve. If anyone thinks that China is not much stronger than the imperialist U.S., let them look at what is happening in Vietnam. And however loudly the revisionist clique in Moscow may boast, they too certainly know that a war on China would mean their end. —

We can now add a postscript

The Times 7.7.69 printed a long article which unequivocally showed that the Soviet Union bears the entire responsibility for what is happening between itself and China on their frontiers and points out how this carries the risk of a world war. The Soviet Union has already printed the threat of using atomic weapons.

Should not every Englishman who has not lost his senses join in pressure on the Soviet Government just as we have put pressure on the U.S. Government over its imperialist actions ? Is the threat of atom bombs on China less serious than was that of atom bombs on Vietnam ?

Squatters

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NEWS FROM WORKERS COMMITTEES

BRENT

The Brent squatter, Mrs. Jolly, has been rehoused by the G.L.C., safely out of the way in Kennington, South London. She received such widespread support from militants and local people, especially during the council meetings dealing with her case, that the Tory council refrained from carrying out its declared aim of evicting her and her family.

Nevertheless the council has sent workmen to smash floors and wreck unoccupied but habitable houses in the borough. This includes houses which have been standing empty for up to 2 years waiting for the new major road development through Brent which now might not start for another 5 years. This is what Brent working people are paying rates for!

Meanwhile the row develops over the Chalkhill Estate in Wembley, where new council flats are going to cost £9, £10 and more a week in rent.

EUSTON

So far this summer there have only been isolated and infrequent assaults on Pakistani workers in the Euston-Goodge St. area. However the Pakistani people in the area and WFFE members are remaining vigilant and ready to resume defence patrols should the situation deteriorate. Attention is also being turned to other problems, including housing. Gross exploitation is occurring. One European landlord owns a row of about 12 houses in one street which he creams with Pakistani workers, three or more sharing 2 rooms, each paying £2 or so a week in cash.

These rooms are let unfurnished and Pakistani workers must fully equip them not only with beds and furniture but also provide sinks, plumbing and cookers. Usually they have to carry out interior decorating too. One worker has just spent £26 of his own money to get water provided on one floor.

The Pakistani workers of Euston are no longer prepared to go on tolerating such exploitation. Discussion is going on now as to how to conduct a successful campaign on this issue, to get a fair deal for Pakistani tenants.

For several years public concern has been growing about the plight of homeless families. B.B.C.'s "Cathie Come Home" greatly helped to develop this concern.

There have been two different approaches to this problem.

"SHELTER" and other charitable organisations have tried to tackle the problem by constitutional methods, by begging "conscience money" from the affluent to provide homes for the deprived. They have had an infinitesimal effect on the problem.

The other approach has been direct action. This started from the basic fact that there are more habitable houses standing empty in London than there are homeless families — not to mention empty office blocks, empty luxury flats, under-occupied royal palaces and the like. Houses have been standing empty for years, waiting on shelved redevelopment plans.

Various militants have moved homeless families to squat in these vacant houses, families desperate to avoid break-up and the Dickensian squalor of local council "half-way houses".

What has been the result? Councils have tried legal eviction, and where that failed they have been using private armies of thugs. These thugs, the most notorious at the present time being Redbridge Council's Barry Quartermaine, have used organised violence to terrify the squatting families and their supporters. Redbridge and Brent Borough Councils have also ordered council workmen to wreck empty houses in the boroughs, to render them uninhabitable at the ratepayers' expense!

But the squatters' movement has aroused such widespread sympathy and support that the councils have had to modify their tactics. Brent, having threatened to evict a squatting family, ultimately capitulated and re-housed them far away. Lewisham Council has gone much further and has in fact offered all its empty houses to homeless families providing charitable organisations pay the rates and promise to find alternative accommodation when the houses are

eventually pulled down. This is an important concession to the pressure of public opinion and a victory for the people. It has already forced Redbridge Council to offer the same terms for the future while at the same time showing its insincerity by refusing to allow the present squatters to benefit from this concession.

However, this partial victory shows that determination to fight an issue which has the support of masses of people, can win victories. It is essential to develop this work on houses and related issues so as to mobilise masses of working people against an establishment which profiteers from high rents, high interest rates, homelessness, broken families and soul-destroying squalor.

NORTH LONDON COMMITTEE, WFFE

Workers Broadsheet joins the worldwide greetings to Cuba and its Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Fidel Castro for their tenth celebration, with the Cuban people in power in their own country, of the national day on 26th July. What Albania is to Europe and China to the world, Cuba is to America — the example of socialist victory over oppression and reaction. Above all of continued socialist development and of national revolutionary solidarity.

Long Live Socialist Cuba

MERTON Branch has been invited to useful discussions with other Marxist groups and hopes to organise a series of film shows for the autumn. Merton and South London readers of Workers Broadsheet are invited to write to 32 Park Rd., Colliers Wood, to be put in touch with the Branch Secretary.

Brecht in the West End

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To see "The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui" (i.e. Adolf Hitler) out of Brecht by the Nottingham Playhouse Company at the Saville Theatre, playing to an enthusiastic middleclass packed house, was an odd experience for one who had lived through the original act, who in 1932 with millions of fellow-communists was eagerly awaiting the expected revolution in Germany, and in the November elections — hurrah! — Hitler was resoundingly defeated — and then the call was not sounded, but rather whispered, not for advance, but for retreat, and the German Establishment was allowed to call Hitler into power just as Mussolini had been called ten years previously in Italy.

And here now making good box office money in the West End is the grim comment of a German Communist who with the other 6 millions or so had not been allowed to fight in 1933, and who had the talent to make this comment in the form of a mock-Shakespearean historical tragedy, now splendidly presented to us as a revolutionary bourgeois play, which it really is, by a very talented bourgeois company to a bourgeois audience who simply loved it.

How come? Well, Brecht is certainly among the two or three greatest playwrights of this century, and "Arturo Ui" is not a minor work. Nor is it a "revisionist" work — it is the product of most bitter anguish by a great revolutionary artist living in exile with his country occupied by the most horrible enemy occupation of all — the class enemy who has won a large section of the people to support his rule at its most loathsome.

In Greece today the military thugs have no support but that of their hirelings, in Vietnam there is fighting with victory already in sight. But in Germany in 1939 the terrible fact was that Hitler had the majority of Germans, especially young Germans, not against him but for him. And there had been, and was then, no fighting at all. German communists in tens of thousands had been rounded up into concentration camps without a shot fired. The few active resisters were executed with hardly a protest. As one of the anonymous workers says in the play "It needs only someone somewhere to stand up to him." But nobody

did until Hitler himself made the fatal mistake of attacking the Soviet Union. Then in under four years he was dead and the world leadership of gangsterdom moved from Berlin to Washington. And Brecht could return to Berlin and form the Berliner Ensemble, and die of a heart attack some ten years later. So we shall never know what he would have thought of the "peaceful" occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 or the Cultural Revolution in China.

Maybe Brecht was the last great revolutionary bourgeois playwright. No, I do not forget his splendid fighting lyrics that were the marching songs of the 11th International Brigade in the Spanish War, and before that of the Rotfront-kaempferbund that marched in resistance to the Hitlerite Brown-shirts up to 1933 and then faded out, much of it, naturally and in a certain sense one can say even rightly, into the Brown-shirts — to be "liquidated" the following year.

To prepare for revolution and then not to make it is to give victory to the enemy. Thousands of young workers, mostly unemployed, came into the Red Front to fight. When there was after all to be no fighting, who can blame them for joining the other side? The responsibility belongs to their leadership, which failed to lead.

At the time we all blamed the Social Democrats, who had refused to fight Hitler and who finally voted for him in the Reichstag (Parliament) — and then the very next day were sent by him to join their communist opponents in the concentration camp.

In politics as in any less complex science, say medicine, it is for the scientist to take full responsibility when things go wrong — to analyse where he made a mistake so that that mistake will not be made again, either by him or by those successors who have the strength and courage to learn from his experience. History for Marxists is not a kindly mother who will overlook a mistake, especially if "well-intentioned". She is on the contrary a stern teacher, who reminds us always that Kautsky too doubtless had good intentions, and today Liushaochi and doubtless Mr. Dutt. Indeed, do we not all have good intentions? The man

— and must we not all try to make history? — and claims to do so with good intentions, is a traitor. Does anyone trust a doctor who proclaims that his intentions are good?

THE PLAY

So back to Brecht, and Leonard Rossiter and his remarkable company from Nottingham. They are like Joan Littlewood's Stratford Company used to be, before "success" broke it up, like the Fortune Theatre recently, and like what we can hope John Neville's newly announced Park Theatre Company will be. The production, the acting, the settings are all superb. Go along and see, if you have got the 15/- needed for the cheapest seat, which however is a good one.

Leonard Rossiter's individual performance has been rightly judged to place him in the front rank of contemporary actors — far ahead of, in my opinion, for instance, a recent much acclaimed "popular" Hamlet now making a lot of money in the U.S. But as in all good productions everyone is good, not just the star.

Let me here note an apparently minor error in the production. At one point Ui finally pats Dogsborough (Hindenburg) patronisingly on the head. This is a mistake. There is a press photograph of Hitler in top and tails receiving the Chancellorship from Hindenburg; the brutal contempt on Hindenburg's face, the fawning adulation on Hitler's are both unmistakable. We all, even the biggest of gangsters, have to believe in something. Mr. Powell quite possibly believes in the "free capitalism" he so naively peddles to Tory ladies. Hitler believed in capitalism, just as did Al Capone and as most professional criminals in our society still do. Hitler fawned on Hindenburg, and probably on Krupp, as sincerely as the millionaire's dog does on his owner. He would never have patted him on the head, though he might well have reverently shot him had the need arisen. Hitler after all was from 1919, or possibly earlier, a paid police informer.

REVOLUTIONARY THEATRE

Why still call this a fine bourgeois theatrical occasion? I have little doubt that its leading spirits see this, on the contrary, as an anti-bourgeois production, just as Brecht wrote it — in its original form; this is by no means a mere translation and quite right too — as a revolutionary play. Well, in the theatre as elsewhere, we must seek to unite all those who can be united against the main enemy — which there is reactionary philistinism. But at the same time, in the theatre as in politics generally, we must also remain perfectly clear as to what revolutionary theatre is — and that means theatre for revolution.

A revolutionary play on this important topic — gangsterism at the highest level — would deal not with Hitler and Hindenburg of a generation ago, but with our present crisis here in England in 1969 or would at least relate clearly to our present situation. It is indeed no effort at all for an affluent West End audience to obtain Aristotlean satisfaction of its nobler feelings by jeering at Hitler's coarse gangsterdom without, so to speak, needing to shift its bottoms from their comfortable seats.

We are safely away from Powell, or Mr. Wilson, or the Immigration Act, or the successful (because profit-making) gangster hypocrisy of "our" policy today in Nigeria or Rhodesia, that perfectly matches anything done by Hitler up to 1941. Now, let's not be unreasonable — that is just why Brecht has so far never brought in the money, always such a Bolshie, and so dull, my dear — of course we are all political nowadays, but that needn't mean we have to be vulgar.

Yes, that's just what it does mean and what Brecht was — vulgar, of and for the people.

Good luck to the Nottingham Players. But we still need and must get a revolutionary theatre — to help, as Brecht worked to help, to make revolution. And revolutions are vulgar and heroic, whereas bourgeois theatre is at its best critical (Chekov, Shaw) but never revolutionary.

Still, go along and see it, there are many lessons to be learned.

NEEDED — A PLAY FOR TODAY

We are now in a fairly advanced stage of the third capitalist world crisis. The first came in 1914, the second in 1929. It was different from the first, but also brought on a world war and a re-division of the world. The present one is different again, partly because the capitalists, too, learned from their mistakes. They are determined not to repeat 1929 and have so far succeeded, but "controlled inflation" will not save them from another 1933, as the spate of assassinations in the world since 1962 already indicates. Arturo Ui's methods are still the methods of capitalism.

We are today in the Bruening (pre-Hitler) period of the third world crisis. The big boys of the City with whom real power lies — the handful who really direct our society on its capitalist road — don't know what to do about their own financial system any more than the unfortunate US President Hoover did in 1929. It is out of control. In such conditions another Hitler may be put in to replace Wilson, who has lost "credibility". (How such words expose the demoralisation of this society we have to live in — it has ceased to believe in itself).

Our revolutionary theatre will not only show Wilson and his gang, and Heath and his gang, for what they are — front men for the main organising racketeers or profiteers (the terms are interchangeable). It will also point the way to how the people, the working people in their millions, can defeat the whole racketeering anti-social system and replace it by a social one.

If the basic law of capital is profit, its social essence is class.

Which is why the revolutionary theatre will also have as its motto "Working people of the world, unite and fight!" And not bother much with the West End and its suburban middle class, for it destroys and devours potentially revolutionary talent that falls into the trap of capital — making money.

AMENDER

The pseudo medieval flummery staged at Caernarvon Castle by the Lord Snowdon around an amiable young toff trying to appear democratic was made to coincide with the end of the "trial" of some patriotic Welshmen for objecting to continued English lordship over their country.

But the movement for Welsh independence is more important than coronations. When will Welsh workers understand this and take the leadership of a good movement which should not be left to farmers and office workers, as if middleclass independent Wales, like the present middleclass independent South Ireland, could give Welsh people the new life that they, like Englishmen and Scotsmen and all of us will get only if they are strong enough to make it?

The Labour Party from the days of Ramsay Macdonald's M.P. for Aberavon has never been more than a deception of the people and is now disintegrated. When will our Welsh fellow workers see that they must build their own revolutionary Welsh Workers' Party?

(cont. from p. 16)

This document (read) on Black Power is given for general interest as it is. I thought it good for WPPE members understand the Black Power ideology, the ideology which is moving black people to fight imperialism and racism.

Comrade Chairman, delegates, comrades, let us go forward in this new period with a programme of:—

- (1) Build the WPPE into the revolutionary party for socialism in England
- (2) Strengthening WPPE's relationship with international revolutionary peoples and organisations all over the world and supporting the Wars of National Liberation.
- (3) Let the WPPE be seen even more than in the past fighting against imperialism and racialism.

Teachers March

16

I was on the March to County Hall with 7,000 others, not all of whom were teachers. The 5th and 6th year students of Starcross School in Islington had come out with their teachers and I met a parent who had joined us on his day off and a young person from Paris. The numbers who turned out were a great surprise - not only to the public but to the teachers themselves.

The March was an education. The teacher's image is not one of militancy but this was developed on the march. The teachers also learnt what it was to be out of favour with the police. Apart from provocation by the police who tried to stop the marchers from leaving County Hall to march to Central Hall - which was dealt with promptly by the teachers climbing over the parapet to Westminster Bridge and stopping the traffic - I personally saw three incidents where the police attempted to make arrests. At the first they let the man go after the demonstrators protested strongly; at the second they dealt with a girl carrying a placard by knocking her against a wall and manhandling her neck; the third was an arrest of a girl - probably the smallest teacher there - also carrying a placard and who was taken away despite strong protest from the others.

These incidents only helped to increase the solidarity of the teachers who were not treated like the dockers who demonstrated within the precincts of Westminster without hindrance in support of Powell.

What I felt was sadly lacking in evidence, both from the banners and from the speeches made at County Hall was any emphasis on changing the conditions of education and the inequalities of the present system. We met some American teachers who told us of their 2 month national strike which produced

among other things a 37% wage increase, better health welfare and college education - for the children of teachers - putting the teachers in an elite class. True this would set afoot other claimants. But we in England must be careful not to cut ourselves off from our fellow workers whose children we teach nor seek a position of special privilege.

I know of one school where only one teacher joined the march and one class had the afternoon off; at least a dozen parents wrote saying they were keeping their children away from other classes in support of the teachers' strike. If we want to keep the parents support we teachers must not see ourselves as a class apart or divorce our struggle from that of all other working people, nor would I like to see as on this March, sections carrying banners claiming 'Professional status now'.

I would like to see us claiming a re-appraisal of education, pointing out the glaring inequalities in our schools, demanding higher education for all and the abolition of private education, nursery schools everywhere, chreches to assist working women - just as a start.

LONDON TEACHER

(cont. from p.10)

aiming at the seizure of state power. Things are quiet at the moment, a sort of surface quietness but of volcanic character. It can explode at any time.

A clear analysis of Pakistan by Pakistani revolutionaries must be sought as a necessity by our party. Pakistan represents complex questions that are not clear, but one thing is clear - the people have the revolutionary potential for change and events have shown their desire for change.

Africa is now alight with revolutionary liberation struggles. Outstanding today are those in Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and in Azania and Zimbabwe (South Africa and Rhodesia) armed liberation war has already begun.

In the Congo the liberation war continues, despite the loss by murder of Comrade Pierre Mulele who mistakenly returned to the cities under a so-called amnesty arrangement put about by the fascist murderer Mobutu. We must also grieve for the death by murder of the Mozambique leader, Dr. Mondlane,

Most heartening is the new spirit of the Arab people of Palestine, the PLO including Al Fatah, in their war against Zionist fascism and USSR social-imperialist tricks and betrayal.

The Nigeria/Biafra War tells its own story about people and nations, self-determination and the national question. Although both the Nigerian and Biafran regimes are capitalist in outlook and character, we must support self-determination for the Biafran people. The Biafran people, once independent, are quite capable of dealing with their own capitalist bourgeois ruling clique throwing off capitalism and seeking socialism.

Conclusion

Although this is an international report I cannot conclude without touching on racism, neo-fascism and fascism in Britain. In addition to the remarks made by our Comrade Chairman on this matter, racism etc. affects black nationals from other countries living, working and/or studying here in Britain. These black people represent the most oppressed section of the working people here. There has been a lot of confusion about Black Power and I will briefly give you a synopsis of the Black Power ideology as pronounced by the Black Power Revolutionary Council made up of black revolutionaries from the Caribbean, Asia

NEWCASTLE

The Newcastle Comrades have been extensively leafletting factories, especially U.S. owned factories on Tyneside and in the North-East. The leaflets expose the establishment's sell-out to U.S. big business and call for a Workers' National Plan to replace the Tory "freeze and squeeze", with the nationalisation, under workers' power, of all U.S. owned factories and plants.

Newcastle Workers' Committee will be organising a series of public discussions in the Autumn to cover such subjects as "freeze and squeeze", "Black Power", "Coal & Oil", "A New Party of the Working Class", "The Chinese Revolution", "Trade Unions & The Law", etc.

'I am a free man, yea, a free-born denizen of England, and I have been in the field with my sword in my hand, to adventure my life and my blood against tyrants for the preservation of my freedom, and I do not know that ever I did an act in all my life that disfranchises me of my freedom, and by virtue of being a free man, I conceive I have as true a right to all the privileges that do belong to a free man as the greatest man in England, whatsoever he be, whether Lord or Commoner, and the ground and foundation of my freedom I build upon the Grand Charter of England ...'

John Lilburne
July 1645

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